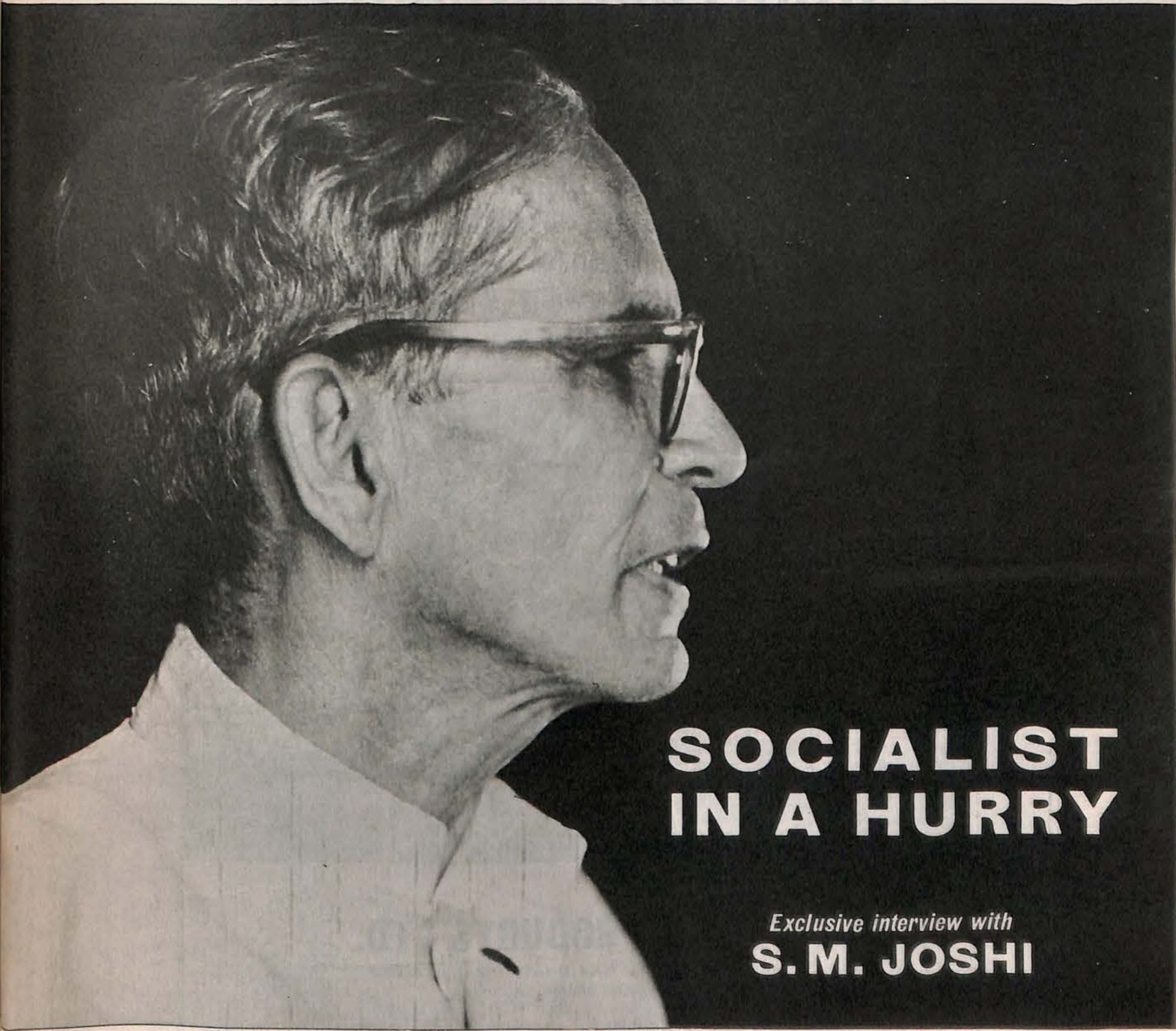


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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



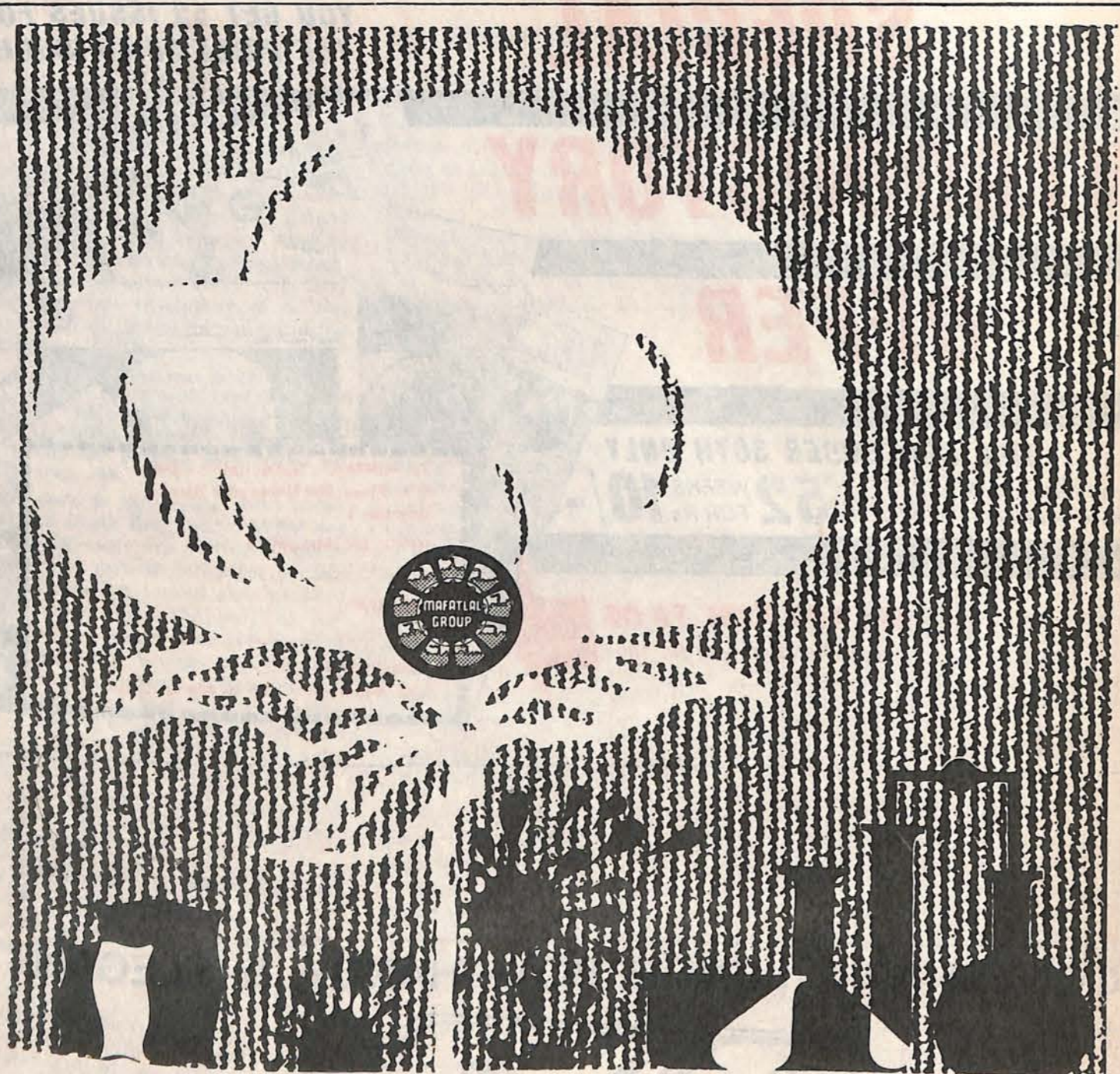
SOCIALIST IN A HURRY

Exclusive interview with
S.M. JOSHI

Friday
September 3
1965

AMERICA'S OTHER SIDE

Picture Feature



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, September 3, 1965 Vol. I No. 44

Crusading Adenauer

IN THE VERBAL GUNFIRE of West Germany's election battle, neither Chancellor Erhard nor rival Lord Mayor Brandt steals the thunder. That honour goes to 89-year-old, ramrod-straight Dr. Konrad Adenauer. *Der Alte*, as he is respectfully called, addresses six to seven political meetings a day but, as a grudging concession to his age, campaigns for only half a day. The other he spends working in his office.

Quick-witted, hard-hitting, joking, withering his hecklers with his scornful stare, the maker of post-war Germany campaigns. Dr. Adenauer is using the election to educate his affluent people on the hard realities of Europe. Both Britain and the U.S.A. may express surprise at his recent attack criticizing both these nations within a week of one another. Britain has withdrawn one of her regiments equipped with nuclear missiles guarding the access routes to Berlin. London has denied this presages a move to denuclearize her Rhine Army. But Bonn still suspects that Britain's ultimate aim may be to withdraw her nuclear arms from Germany.

The U.S., meanwhile, has placed before the Disarmament Conference in Geneva a draft prohibiting non-nuclear nations from acquiring nuclear weapons. Bonn is afraid that after the elections the U.S. may abandon the proposed Multi-lateral Nuclear Force for Europe (of which Germany is to be a member) as a bargain for Soviet acceptance of the U.S. proposal.

Adenauer's former Defence Minister Strauss, a factor to be reckoned with in Germany, warned that if Germany was discriminated against in terms of nuclear protection on her soil, the emergence of a "new type of *fuehrer*" could not be discounted.

The growing fear in Europe is that a U.S. and U.S.S.R. *detente* may be at the cost of Europe's security. President de Gaulle, shrewd enough to see this danger, has speedily gone ahead with his own nuclear programme to back an independent policy.

Washington's irritation with de Gaulle can be understood, but Washington, in her turn, needs to understand that if she desires to trim her sails to warmer winds from Russia, her allies cannot be blamed if they fear being left in the cold.

With all her Asian involvement, America still needs Europe and Europe needs America. Whichever party wins the German elections, the winner and Washington will be wise to heed the concern of Dr. Konrad Adenauer.

Concrete Action

THERE ARE indications that common sense is beginning to prevail, at least in some industrial policies.

For years the cement industry was throttled by the Government's policy of fixing a low price on the factories and slamming on a fabulous excise duty—not a paisa of which was used by the Government to

expand our cement capacity to meet urgent needs. Companies were deprived of the incentive of adequate profits to re-invest in plant expansion while for years middle men, who exploited the shortage, organized a flourishing black market.

While our Finance Minister claims, "I am a believer in controls," Prime Minister Shastri and Industries Minister T. N. Singh have gone ahead partially to de-control cement.

Although Government cement needs will be met first, the free sale of cement is expected soon to create the necessary financial surplus with cement companies to expand their present production. Our demand annually for cement is 12.5 million tonnes and our production is 10.5 million. After some months it is expected that, with this new incentive, factory production will meet demand.

Announcing the de-control in Parliament, Mr. Shastri said that the Government wanted to remove controls wherever it was felt necessary. Mr. Shastri needs to hold this line with copy-book dogmatists who occupy citadels of power both in his Cabinet and the Planning Commission.

Trunks Are Busy

EVERYONE knew it had to come. The nagging, fearful knowledge of the facts could be withheld no longer. No amount of whistling in the dark could light a candle to guide the groping experts in their desperate search for some solution.

No, the world at large had to be told. Modern man had to face the truth, bravely and sanely sooner or later. And last week the truth came out, trumpeted across the world by Reuter: *Soon there will be standing room only for elephants.*

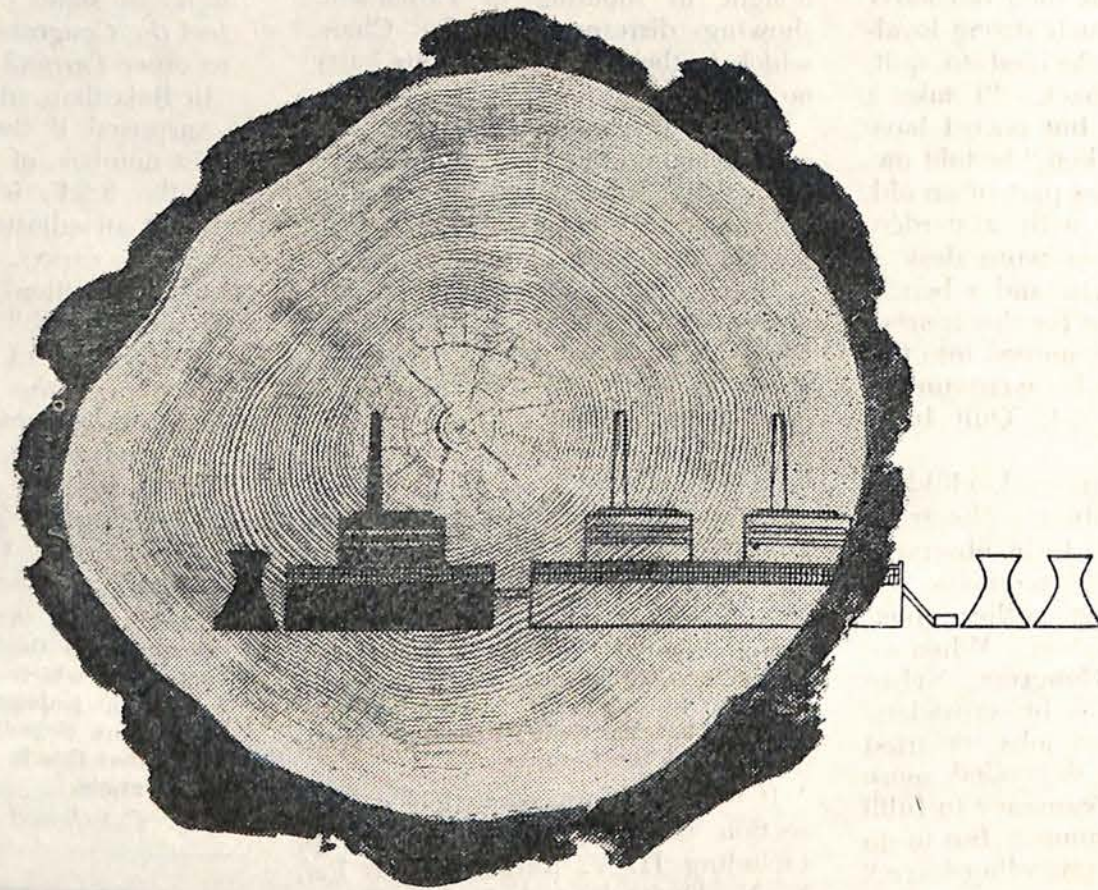
Yes, the elephant world is up against it. It is threatened by a "population explosion", if the state of affairs prevailing in Africa's largest national park is any indication. Here, in Tsavo Park in southern Kenya, already 15,000 elephants roam an area large enough for only 10,000. As everyone who has kept a pet elephant knows, an average beast needs two square miles of munching territory.

Demographers and Malthusians, already wringing their hands over the gruesome prospects of human overcrowding in the year 1999, are frantically muttering, "We told you so," "We told you so."

Now here is a challenge to the U.N. population conference taking place in Belgrade! Let them get their priorities straight and concentrate on the proliferation of pachyderms. Otherwise there won't even be standing room for people, only munching territory for elephants.

Unless this desperate situation is met firmly the escalating elephant population might even forsake vegetarian habits in their search for fodder. Then we poor, beleaguered humans might one day find ourselves, one by one, summoned for munch by a trunk call.

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America's other side—the world comes to Mackinac Island

The world has heard a great deal about one side of the U.S.A., of Negroes denied civil rights, living in ghettos, subject to indignities and even brutalities. Occasionally pent-up feelings channelled by organized groups find expression in riots, street fighting and even insurrectionary incendiarism and sniping such as in Los Angeles last month which hit world headlines.

But though much may yet be heard of the Negro revolt against the white man, the struggle for civil rights is already becoming a thing of the past as leaders like Martin Luther King move into other arenas of conflict and the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) concerns itself increasingly with raising the status and social standing of the Negro people of America.

Acute social problems such as that of the disintegrating family, marriage break-ups and illegitimate births, which are far more acute among the Negroes, are being faced more boldly.

A second side of America, which all are aware of, is its extreme confidence as a world power, able to determine the issues of war and peace and apt to be irritating to sensitive Afro-Asians with her strength and know-how.

"We want a friend and not a master," said President Ayub Khan of Pakistan in a national broadcast on the subject of the deteriorating relations of the U.S.A. with his country.

America's Indians

But the most significant fact about the U.S.A. is neither the self-defeating violence of the minority races nor the temporary frictions of its international policy. For an Asian observer, the demonstration at Mackinac Island, Michigan, which is the United States training centre for Moral Re-Armament, holds the key for the role of America in the world of tomorrow.

The long-suffering and patient American Indian who hitherto preferred the eloquence of silence to the noise of protest is conspicuous at this conference by his leadership, untainted by the bitterness of the past, and

unique in his vision for the whole world.

Four hundred Indians from 65 tribes, the largest Indian gathering in recent years, have produced a pageant of American history that is remarkable for its simple grandeur and truthful dignity, its compulsive freedom from hatred and its passionate longing for a world in which there is a place for all men under the Great Creator.

The head of the Indian delegation, Governor James Hena of Tesuque Pueblo, said at the Assembly, "We have had a long history. Many of us today look up to the statesmen, warriors and chiefs who fought against the white man to retain their land and the way of living they were losing. These were dedicated men. They were not educated in the white man's way. But the things they said are profoundly moving. Among these people are many men in whose footsteps I would like to follow. Men like George Washington and Abraham Lincoln were also the kind of men we need in modern society.

"These are the kind of people we need to help the Indians. We need dedicated people who will work

**SEE PAGE 22
PHOTO FEATURE**

longer than the prescribed eight-hour working day, live and work for the people, show and teach them how to flow into the main stream of American life.

"We American Indians are living on the paths of our forefathers. We are no different from any other race. But I think we can work with others as brothers and sisters, children of one God. If we have such a spirit, this revolution, which Moral Re-Armament is involved in, which I am involved in and which all of us should think about and get involved in, is going to succeed."

At a time when reports of the violence of aimless youth who beat and burn as a pastime shocks the nation to a sense of crisis and the drift of the indifferent turns into a demonstration against country and character, thousands of youth from

Under the Lens



by **R. VAITHESWARAN**

schools and colleges all over the country find here a fresh challenge in clean living, a new purpose in patriotism and an infectious care for the entire world.

I shall never forget the welcome which Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of the Mahatma, and Masahide Shibusawa, great-grandson of the founder of modern industrial Japan, received in Mackinac Island on their arrival here—a thousand singing, swinging, swaying, purely passionate boys and girls whose only thought for the moment was to express their concern for Asia by doing honour to the Asian leaders. Nor shall I forget the crowds of young men and women who questioned us endlessly because they wanted to help us.

While Millions are Hungry

They were ready to pay any price in order to do it and they meant what they said. "We are an explosive generation," they declared. "We want to race to take up the responsibility previous generations have not had the dare to accept."

They declare in a manifesto for the world, "We believe in America. We want a great country—respected and followed because of our great purpose and way of life. Our generation is going to explode the hate, fear and greed that blocks the progress of humanity. We will not remain comfortable and quiet while millions the world over have too little to eat, millions are deprived of their just freedom and millions in our own country are starved of any purpose for which to live."

One evening a young Negro girl said, quite simply, "I have always been conscious of the white people. I hated them. I realized suddenly today that for many days now I haven't thought about the colour of skin—mine or anyone else's." It was as natural as that.

Continued on next page

AMERICA—from page 7

This multi-racial family of white, black, brown and American Indian felt they needed each other because the task that they had undertaken—to change the entire world—was so big. It is so normal to live like a family and so stupid to be driven by hate that has less and less to justify it as it grows stronger and stronger. I understood here what “modernizing man” meant.

The whole world is here—Asia, Europe, Africa, Latin America and New Zealand as well as every part of the United States and Canada. They come worried about this nation, perhaps even resentful of her leadership, certainly anxious that they should help this country fulfil her world responsibility better. But, where they anticipate arrogance, they find ready listeners and where they expect resistance, they find response.

It comes as a pleasant shock that this nation, tired of the aimlessness of affluence, frustrated by the senseless indulgence and wanton destruction of a sick generation and defeated

by the failure to evoke any enthusiasm in the nation or abroad for its world responsibility, is turning to what a friend of mine called “pure undiluted Moral Re-Armament”.

Simultaneously with the conference, 150 youth with a magnificent musical called “Sing-Out '65” have been operating in the Cape, the prosperous resort area of the East Coast, winning and changing the influential families of the nation. Task forces have moved out to Washington, D.C., the backward mining area of Appalachia in West Virginia and the reservation country of the Southwest.

Out of Mackinac has emerged a strategy to win continents such as Asia and Latin America whose leaders have gathered here.

Mr. Masahide Shibusawa outlined his strategy as follows. “The Prime Minister of Korea wants to have a Mackinac type of youth demonstration in Korea this autumn where the youth of the world would come to Korea and give the youth there this new theme and new conception of the modernization of man. I would like

to invite all of you to participate in Seoul because this is very vital for the future of Korea.

“Then I want to have an assembly in Tokyo. I would like all of you to come there. The leadership of Japan wants very much to have the best idea planted in the minds of the youth.

“World conquest is the dream of China and we have to create a belt of bigger ideas around China, a bigger conception of the world and nationhood.

“After the conference in Japan, I would like to take all of you to the countries in Asia, Taiwan, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Laos, Thailand, Malaysia, Ceylon, Pakistan and India.

“You must come to Asia and explode your spirit there and appeal to and enlist the youth of the whole world.”

To Capture Peking

Inviting young Americans in their hundreds to help us in Asia, Rajmohan Gandhi declared, “Vietnam is extremely important and I thank God for America’s presence in Vietnam but our aim is far more than the defence of South Asia and the Far East. Our aim is with Moral Re-Armament to capture Peking and Moscow

“To bring these things about we shall need large sums of money. We should use planes carrying large forces of young Americans, South Americans and Europeans to Asian lands. We shall need plays, and we shall need machines.

“We shall also need a few things far more important than that—brave men and women prepared to take not just a year or two but perhaps five or ten or their whole life to live in and try to change those lands.

“We shall need men and women prepared to stand discomfort and strange food. You will have to risk disease and separation from loved ones you will need to learn the secret of modernizing man, of changing the character of the man you meet, of making him strong and great, fearless and incorruptible.

“Your job is to fulfil America’s mighty destiny to feed, clothe and house the hungry millions of the world far more effectively and far more speedily than the Communists can ever do.”

Marvels of the Computer Age-I

By Reginald Holme

Computers and automation will bring “the greatest change in the whole history of mankind”. So says Sir Leon Bagrit, head of Elliot-Automation, one of the largest British computer companies.

Basically, computers are lightning calculating machines. Some can already multiply 500,000 ten-digit numbers in one second. They are mathematicians with marvellous brains, which think literally with the speed of light. Electronic impulses search through their innards for information with the speed of light (186,300 miles per second).

Yet these machines are, so far, morons. They depend on man to tell them what to do by the “programme” he feeds into them. They are slaves.

Computers have superhuman memories as well as superhumanly speedy minds. Some can store 500 million figures, but find any one of them in one-tenth of a second. Magnetic card files can take 2700 million characters. Average time for retrieving information is about a third of a second. These files went with machines designed by ICT (International Computers and Tabulators) which I saw at work in London.

The change which computers are starting to bring compares with the

First in a series of three articles by our Special Science Correspondent

change for mankind when writing or printing were invented, or when steam and machines replaced the horse and human muscle, and opened up the first Industrial Revolution.

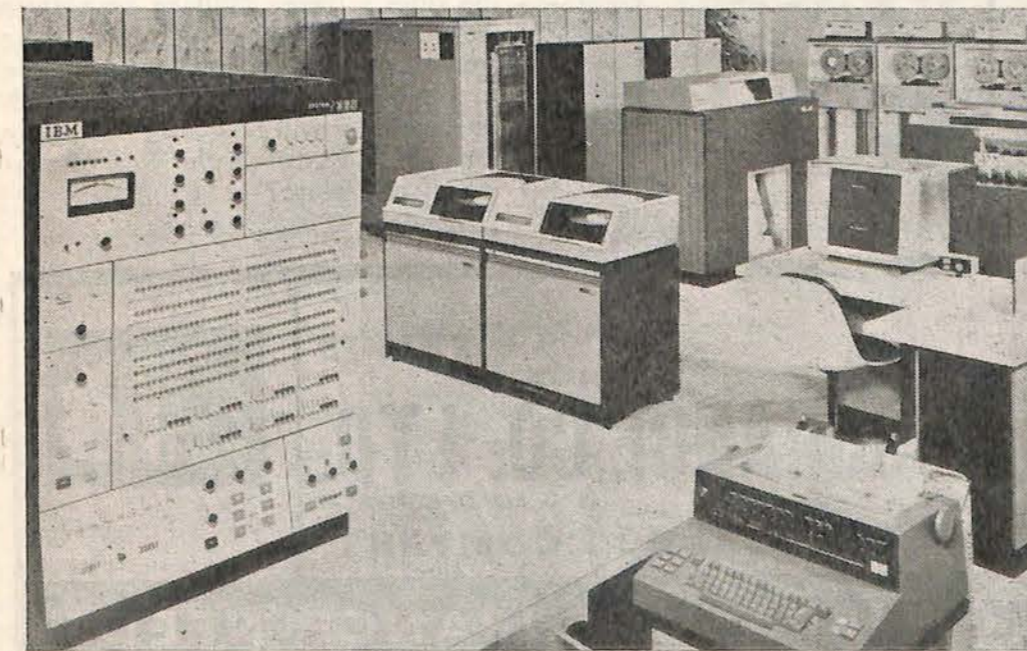
Then, man mechanized muscle. Now he is mechanizing the mind. He can speed up his thinking and the pace of invention by millions of years.

“The electronic computer,” says Dr. Louis T. Rader, a Vice-President of General Electric, “may have a more beneficial potential for the human race than any invention in history.”

Computers are already riding into space. A model weighing only 59 lbs. flew in the Gemini IV capsule with the two American astronauts. It could make 7000 separate calculations a second. Dozens of larger computers in the South Indian Ocean and 16 other sites watched and guided the flight, telling the spacemen what to do and when. Computers will be essential for man’s flight to the moon.

On more earth-bound tasks computers are already at work, typesetting for newspapers, forecasting weather, controlling jet aircraft flights, and the flow of electric current to U.S. homes and industries. It is a commonplace

The latest IBM-360 series computer finds the facts stored in its “memory” 1000 times faster than previous models and can store up to 8,000,000 characters. Eight different models in the series cost from £38,000 to £5,000,000.



The core storage memory system of the IBM-360. Arrays of these core planes, resembling small screen doors, can be linked to put each of 8,000,000 or more characters at the direct command of the computer programmer in eight-millionths of a second.

for them to take over control of stocks for industries, to pay thousands of workers, send out phone bills, process documents at 1200 a minute, analyse the safety of structures for engineers.

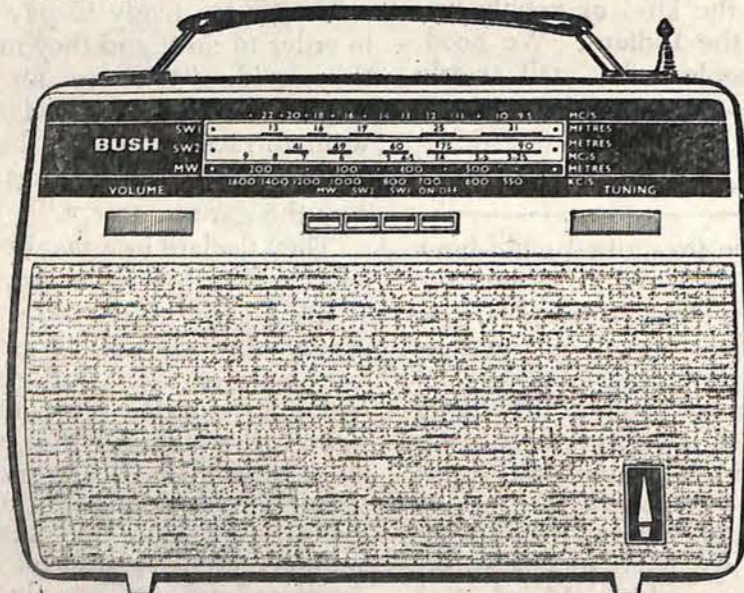
One General Post Office computer in England is already reading 500,000 cards a day and sending phone bills to a million and a half subscribers. Five more, at a cost of Rs. 3.2 crores (£2.5m), will issue 26 million bills, compile phone directories, take orders for new phones, tell engineers where to instal and repair them, and see that equipment is always on hand.

A computer is finding out the best routes for London’s 600 Post Office vans on their 5000 possible journeys. It takes traffic jams into account as well!

Soon the GPO hopes to have computers available to give information to businesses and individuals over ordinary telephone lines. Computers may become as common as telephones. People will be able to find out, for instance, how to fill out their income tax forms—and the computer, whether they like it or not, will not lie!

In Bombay the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research has a computer which is also used by the Reserve Bank of India for working out seasonal variations in financial statistics, among its many other uses. With India’s vast population computers already play a part in demographic studies, census work, and no doubt in Government Five Year Plans. The

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computer, however, cannot produce the co-operation and will-power to make the Plans work. As a blind brain it cannot tell right from wrong or judge moral values.

Computers already lift a mass of clerical drudgery from large businesses. Pan American Airways, for instance, get 75,000 requests for information and reservations a day. They have a system by which any one of 1800 agents in North America or Europe can book seats for passengers by using a special keyboard. Average time to confirm that the seat is available is four seconds, from the time the clerk operates the keyboard.

Computers book the hotel rooms, arrange for cars to meet the incoming flights, as well as working out salaries for Panam's 23,000 employees and planning maintenance of the planes.

Now machines are being made with 2000 times the capacity of those in use. They will be able to scan and store whole libraries containing all human classical and scientific know-

ledge. They will be able to understand and reply in English and translate languages for simultaneous world television programmes.

Computers not only think fast but evolve fast. An executive of one American company says: "Not a single computer which we will be marketing in 1970 is known today even in our laboratories."

The latest plum belongs to research scientists at the Standard Telecommunication Laboratory in Harlow, England. They have developed techniques of micro-electronics by chemical reactions which could bring the dream of a "computer in a match box" nearer to reality.

A mighty extension in miniature form of man's brain power may become available to millions of people. The only question is whether our wills and hearts are going to remain dwarfed or grow to match the new brain power that can create a marvelous age for all.

TO BE CONTINUED

S. M. Joshi—from page 5

Joshi moaned that we had no national sense. "I was at Calcutta when Pakistan invaded Kutch. Believe me, no-one in Calcutta showed any concern. All they were concerned with was the trouble in Beruberi on the West Bengal border."

What do you foresee in the future if we do not develop this national sense?

"I see chaos. First, Pakistan may take Kutch, China will take Ladakh, and the country will disintegrate. And out of all this chaos order will emerge."

Joshi has two sons, one studying medicine and the other is at the National Defence Academy at Khadakvasla.

Mrs. Joshi who sat through part of the interview is a woman of conviction. S. M. Joshi related how, when a question of principle came up a few months back, his wife challenged him: "On this principle will you go on a fast unto death?"

S. M. Joshi was and is a democrat at heart who by frustration with events is being drawn more and more to agitation. Yet as you speak to this candid Socialist you feel there is a pull in him, a conscience, a wish, a hope that if he could achieve his object by Parliamentary means he would adopt them. But S. M. is a man in a hurry. He cannot wait. He is torn between the right way and the quick way. For the present he has chosen the quick way. In the S.S.P. he rides a tiger. Will he be able to lead it, or will he be led by it? If he gets off will he be swallowed by the creature he has fed and nurtured with such care, or will he gently but firmly be able to lead it in the way of progress with peace?

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Norway's Socialism—Pragmatic Style

FROM GORDON WISE

Oslo

One of this city's most impressive buildings is owned by the Norwegian Labour Party. The shirt-sleeved General Secretary of the Party came out of his conference for a talk.

He and the other Socialist Policy makers were mapping out a TV programme. This will launch the Government's election campaign soon, as sun-chasing Norwegians reluctantly leave their holiday huts by fjord and mountain and trek back to office and factory. The Conservatives and their friends claim they scent political victory. But Labour, which has governed Norway since 1935 (except for Quisling's unhappy tenure during the last war), talks confidently.

Socialism, pragmatic rather than dogmatic and often led by big-spirited men whose vision transcended class, has been the ruling philosophy in the Nordic North for decades. I asked the veteran President of the Norwegian Trades Union Congress about the original inspiration of the Labour Movement which had resulted in such stable growth and governments by consultation—where management and unions are both included in shaping policy. He put it down to the fact that the ordinary workers built the unions which now claim almost the total allegiance of the work force and the unions in turn built the Labour Party.

A worker told me that originally men of faith and social conscience built these institutions.

In Stockholm I was visiting a Co-operative Union personality. I asked whereabouts in the city the workers lived. "They live in all areas," I was

told. "There is no East End of Stockholm."

All these Nordic nations take part in generous foreign aid schemes for far off lands. The Norwegians have helped develop the fishing industry in Kerala. The Swedish Co-operative Union have assisted the development of an international co-operative centre in New Delhi. The President of the International Co-operative Alliance, Dr. Mauritz Bonow, made a fervent call to his Swedish countrymen in his presidential address last June. "The Far East," he said, "is at present inhabited by 52 per cent of the world's population, but its share of the total world income is only 12 per cent." He talks of the "two worlds of the poor and rich". Dr. Bonow said that "sufficient resources of technical production and capital are at hand in the rich countries. The world must be mobilized and plans elaborated" to "accelerate the efforts for increasing productivity in agriculture in the developing countries."

A Swedish and U.N. economist, Professor Gunnar Myrdal, has made a practical proposition for transferring the huge surpluses of food-stuffs from the Western countries to where they are most needed.

Scandinavia could blaze a trail here. These lands, with no imperialist past to live down, could send out their sons to serve in Asia and Africa.

Exploring Three Arab Capitals

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Amman

Beirut, Damascus and Amman lie on one of the great highways of the ancient and the modern world. Three small but vital countries share the range of mountains which rise sharply from the coast of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Where they recede a few miles from the sea, the fertile plain is now part of Israel. But the summits, and the road that has followed the line of their eastern border since trade

began, is an integral part of the Arab world. These mountain tops, with their scenery and history, have been a magnet for mankind ever since Abraham left Ur, and Pharaohs trad-

Continued on next page

The week in Asia

SAIGON—With the monsoon due to end in one month and the increasing victories of South Vietnamese-American forces over the Viet Cong, American optimism about Hanoi's willingness to negotiate is rising.

KUALA LUMPUR—Malaysian Prime Minister Abdul Rahman will forbid any other territory to secede from the Federation. Any who worked towards that end would be "regarded as a rebel or a traitor", he warned.

SINGAPORE—The new Government of Singapore has posted a regiment of infantry on the Sabah border facing Indonesia in a demonstration of its intention to co-operate with Malaysia in preventing Indonesian aggression.

TOKYO—Japanese diplomats in South-East Asia report that 90 per cent of the Viet Cong's arms come from Hanoi and that "more than two full divisions" had been committed by the North Vietnamese Government to aid the Viet Cong.

COLOMBO—Over 900,000 school students will spend 30 hours a year weeding paddy fields in a bid to reduce the Rs. 300 million annual import of rice as part of a Government youth mobilization programme.

BIEN HOA—Viet Cong guerrillas succeeded in penetrating the defences of the air base here and slightly damaging 30 American planes.

SAIGON—A third U.S. supersonic fighter-bomber was shot down 100 miles south of Hanoi by the Russian-built surface-to-air missiles. This is the first use of missiles so far south of Hanoi suggesting a major reorganization of missile defences stimulated by the suspected arrival of more Russian missiles.

SINGAPORE—The Government claimed it foiled a Communist-led coup backed by Indonesian weapons. An underground network is reported to have expected large consignments of Indonesian arms with which to assassinate Singapore's leaders.

RAWALPINDI—Pakistan is reported to have requested Britain to restrain India's current "provocative" actions across the cease-fire line.

SEOUL—The Government has ordered a division of the South Korean Army to occupy Seoul to subdue five-day long demonstrations by students against the Government and the recent treaty with Japan.

COLOMBO—Prime Minister Senanayake declared that his Government needed 50 million dollars in foreign aid this year and an additional 100 million annually for some time if the country was to recover from the severe financial crisis he inherited. India has offered Ceylon Rs. 7 crores in credit.

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New Horizons

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VIEWPOINT

First Prize: Rs. 35

Should the U.S. Stay in Vietnam?

By A. Radhakrishnan, Bombay

Yes. Because American presence in Vietnam would help check Communist Chinese expansionism, and hence domination, in South-East Asia.

But judging from the consequences of U.S. policies in this strife-torn area, it would be clear what is required is not a military solution, but a political solution of the problem.

The problem is the establishment of an effective, national, stable, democratic government which, with the help of friendly nations, would be able to check Communist inroads into South-East Asia.

North Vietnamese unwillingness to cease hostilities and help to the Viet Cong and come to the conference table for a settlement, should be met by a series of measures by the U.S. to transmute genuine Vietnamese nationalism into a political balance.

The achievement of national unity in war-weary South Vietnam is complicated by regionalism, factionalism, religious animosities, coups and government changes—all these exploited by Communist elements.

The fundamental failure of the U.S. policy in Vietnam has been that it had failed to foster popular nationalist forces.

The national movement there was badly frustrated by colonial intransigence and savage repression. The Communists carved out a state, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), after seizing the nationalist cause and then completely influencing the nationalist movement. In a swift transformation they established a Communist regime in the north-

COMPETITION RESULTS

Contributors to this week's competition were not in any doubt as to what they felt about the U.S. remaining in Vietnam. They were all clearly for or against.

SHOULD STAY 81%
SHOULD LEAVE 19%

We are receiving a number of entries after the closing date each week so please post early.—Ed.

ern part of Vietnam which was given over to the control of nationalists by the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

North Vietnam along with People's China and the Soviet Union, has spurned peace moves by the United Nations and the Commonwealth Peace Mission. Aided and supported by China, it has been supplying the hard core of forces—regular troops and trained guerrillas—along with arms and ammunition, and has been aiding the Viet Cong to commit acts of violence, terrorism and sabotage in South Vietnam.

Hanoi's intransigence is mainly due to Chinese and Soviet support to it. Moreover, Peking considers all of South-east Asia to be within its exclusive political and economic domain.

If the U.S. continues its punishment of North Vietnam, it would be faced with an enlarged guerrilla war, necessitating American commitment more heavily.

With the expressed determination of North Vietnam to absorb the South into the Communist fold, efforts to unify the two Vietnams in accordance with the Geneva Agreement would result in Communization of the South. This would frustrate the Americans whose presence had been requested by South Vietnam to contain Communism there.

At present an inchoate, non-unified, nationalism is brewing in South Vietnam, with the common aim of asserting a "Vietnamese" identity. The U.S. should transmute this nationalism, which has nothing to do with Communism, into political stability—in a framework adapted to Vietnamese needs, realities and traditions. It should win the local people, particularly villagers; check the Viet Cong; undertake measures for economic regeneration; and educate people in responsible leadership paving the way for an elected government.

That would justify U.S. presence in South Vietnam.

COMPETITION

* Should National Cadet Corps training remain compulsory for all college students?

Closing date: September 10

** English should be India's national language for ever.

Closing date: September 17

Prizes: Rs. 35, Rs. 10.

Best Points: Rs. 5 each.

Length: Up to 500 words.

Send entries to The Editor, HIMMAT, 13 Advent, Foreshore Road, Bombay-1.

Second Prize: Rs. 10 Should Stay Put

V. RAMA MURTHY, Hyderabad

The Americans should stay put in South Vietnam. What is involved in that war-torn land is not merely a few thousand square miles of territory, but the future of democracy in South-East Asia. The Saigon regime offers an alternative to Communism and it should be helped to its feet. This Washington is doing at great cost in men and materials.

The United States is often accused of harbouring imperialist ambitions. If it were so, the Americans would have carved out an empire comparable to that of the Russians at the end of the Second World War. In South Vietnam, they are fighting a war not with any idea of acquiring territory, but to stem the menace which Communism poses.

Opponents of Washington talk glibly about the Geneva Agreements of 1954. Nobody has taken them seriously, certainly not Dr. Ho Chi Minh. No sooner was the ink dry on the agreements, than he made plans to "liberate" the south.

The Viet Cong argument that they were fighting against the "corrupt" Diem regime will deceive no one, because they continue to fight even after his overthrow. So long as Diem was alive, he gave a sort of stability to his country, however crude and autocratic it might have been. After the coup, the Viet Cong

Continued on next page

became bolder and the numerous army generals have all along been at loggerheads. It was this situation that compelled Washington to com-

mit men and materials into South Vietnam.

The U.S. should stay in S. Vietnam because its withdrawal might lead to the victory of forces in that country which may threaten the peace of Asia for a number of years to come. Secondly, the Viet Cong, aided and abetted by outside powers, are rebels pure and simple. They are waging war against the government of the country. India is facing a similar situation in Kashmir where large-scale infiltration of Pakistan trained guerrillas is under way. We in India were very friendly with China, the mentor of Ho Chi Minh, once. The whole world knows what we got in return.

Considering these factors, people all the world over who believe in democracy should wish the U.S. venture in South Vietnam all success.

Best Points: Rs. 5

REMEMBER BONDILA

S. R. SRINIVASAN, Ghatkøpar

One should note that, since the Korean War, this is the only major conflict between the West and the East.

Whereas during the Korean War most of the Asian countries had recently won their independence or were still not independent, and almost the whole of Africa was colonial, during this war in Vietnam almost the whole of Asia and Africa is free.

The whole of Asia and Africa is in a politically adolescent state. The war in Vietnam would have a telling effect on the direction in which they mature—democratic or otherwise.

No, the withdrawal of U.S. from Vietnam will set a precedent for the pull out of all forces of freedom from Asia and Africa.

In Vietnam, China has to be taught, once for all, that neither subversion and guerrilla tactics nor face to face war will pay in the cause of domination by Communism. When will we have a better time for this? When she has terrorized and demoralized Asia and Africa with her nuclear arsenal?

Some times I doubt whether the persons (Indians) asking for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam are serious. Surely, they cannot forget Ladakh, Se-La and Bomdila so soon!

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

194 Miles from Tibet

WHERE ONCE MULES AND HORSES TROTTED,
TRUCKS NOW RUMBLE IN THE NIGHT

PARAS RAM came out of the kitchen, opened an envelope just delivered by the postman and took out a *rakhi*. "It's from my wife, sir," he said simply. "You know it is our custom for the sister to send her brothers a *rakhi* at this time of the year to wear round their wrists."

I thought of Paras Ram's wife in their little cottage 8000 feet up in the Himalayas north of Simla.

Paras Ram has come to work for us for many years now, going back for a while each year to put in some work at harvest and sowing time.

"How are things at home these days?" I asked him.

"God doesn't seem to have treated us too well this year," he replied and went on to explain the situation. Two bullocks he bought for Rs. 300 last time he went home have both died—one fell down the hillside, the other got sick and the vet could do nothing

for it. Two goats went the same way and to add to all this the heavy rains spoiled the vegetable crop and the apples. "Now only the potatoes are left for us," he said.

Paras Ram has a two-roomed cottage perched on the hillside with a magnificent view of the snow ranges towards the Tibet border. Not far away the Hindustan-Tibet road winds its way along the ridges. The milestone nearest his house reads "Tibet 194 miles". A few years ago mules and horses used it. Now every night you hear the rumble of the Army convoys going up towards the border.

"It makes it hard to get any help in the fields nowadays. Roadwork earns you far more. Of course it is a help to people, but these higher wages and the Army camps everywhere have shot up all the prices. It is not easy to make ends meet."



"I like serving well," says Paras Ram

"How did you get your training as a cook?"

"When Simla was the summer capital of the British Raj, a fine Swiss family started a hotel near my home. I was a small boy then and began doing the odd jobs. Later I learned how to be a bearer in the hotel. They really did things in a *pukha* way and I got good training. But after Independence people did not like holidays in lonely places and so the hotel closed down."

Home in the Hills

"What is it used for now?"

"For a time it was an Agricultural Training Centre. Then the State Government decided to make it a Tourist Bungalow. Of course it's easier to reach now, regular buses and cars can come right up."

"So you left Simla to get work outside?"

"Yes."

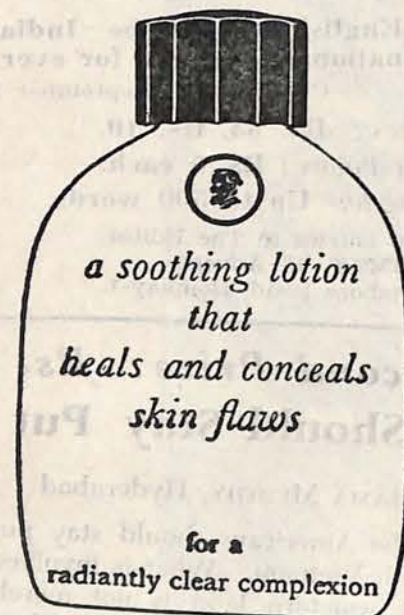
"What do you like doing best?"

"I like serving well. A bit of gardening, seeing things grow, looking after the house and cooking. I enjoy it all. I'd like to help in the MRA Training Centre for a New Asia that is going to be built in Panchgani. That I have set my heart on doing."

"And your home in the hills?"

"Who knows? God will make it plain. He has looked after me."

D.S.Y.



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HUBERT



"Would you mind getting up a minute? You're sitting on your wallet."

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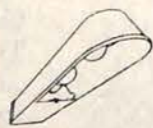
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JWPL 2315A

This was a life LORD SHAFTESBURY 1801—1885

A PARTY was in progress in a fashionable London home. A small boy peeped over the bannisters. He was hungry and cold. As usual no one had remembered to send food and fuel upstairs for the child. Anthony Ashley Cooper's parents were too absorbed in politics and glittering social life to bother about their son, the future Earl of Shaftesbury. The only person who cared was the housekeeper, a wise old countrywoman.

Many with such a background would have grown up determined to get all they could from life. But the old housekeeper planted in the boy faith which transmuted bitterness and self-pity into a passion to help all who suffered.

When Shaftesbury entered Parliament in 1826 there were few laws protecting workers in factories and coal mines. Women and children toiled 16 hours a day in dreadful conditions.

Year after year, against fierce opposition, he fought to get reform bills through Parliament. It took 17 years to get working hours for women and children reduced to ten a day.

"What is morally wrong cannot be politically right," was his creed. To pursue his aims, he laid aside all his ambitions to Government office.

His friendship for the poor brought sneers and suspicion from those of his own rank. When he married Lady Emily Cowper, a niece of Lord Melbourne (Queen Victoria's Prime Minister), one of her uncles wrote, "What has poor Min done to deserve such a fate?"

He cared profoundly for those whose causes he championed, especially for the children. In the insanitary London slums of his day he made personal contact with the hordes of ragged, illiterate youngsters, the bands of young pick-pockets and the exploited little chimney sweeps.

"You are your brother's keeper," he insisted. Where governments were slow to move he sponsored voluntary schemes for education and housing.

The slum dwellers had such confidence in him that forty of the most notorious thieves asked him to meet them and explain a proposed scheme of overseas settlement.

A Parliamentary spokesman declared at his death, "The reforms of the last half century have been due to the influence, character and perseverance of one man."

In the crowds that watched his funeral procession on its way to Westminster Abbey the poorest had pinned to their bonnets and sleeves a piece of black cloth.

Q and A

Readers are invited to send questions about our land or the world

Q—What do you think about military training for women?

CHOKSHI RAMESH RATILAL,
Ahmedabad 1

A—Countries short of manpower feel the need for military training for women. But a nation like India need not feel a compelling need to train them. One thing seldom remembered is that for every soldier at the front there is an average of five persons to support him. Women can play a vital role as nurses, clerks, secretaries, and doctors to undergird the nation's defence.

The morale of the home front depends not a little on the support of the women. They have their own role to play which is no less important than training with a rifle.

Women are clever. Some say that instead of receiving military training they should be placed on the Strategy Board!

Q—"Thinking is easy, action is difficult; to act in accordance with one's thoughts is the most difficult thing in the world." Any comment?

MAHENDRA PRASAD, Madras 36

A—What steps us from putting our thoughts into action—and more often than not, our right thoughts—is our will. There is no such thing as a weak will. A man often says his will is weak because he thinks he should resist temptation but cannot. In actual fact his will is so strong that he pushes aside other considerations to do what he wishes. A

man's will express itself in demand. Our basic demands are for sex, security and success. These demands hold each other in check.

Writing on this subject in "Remaking Men", Dr. Paul Campbell and Mr. Peter Howard say, "The will has a number of satellites, love, hate, pride, greed, fear which make it the most powerful constellation in our universe. As the sun controls the movement of its planets, the will in our universe exerts a decisive influence on our thinking and living. In the unremitting fight to change men's wills lies the true struggle to change the world."

Man's will is changed when he accepts a higher loyalty—to his conscience or God. Moral standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love provide a compass for his journey. The complete man is he who is integrated in thought and action.

Q—What is collective leadership? Is it now obtaining in India?

P. RAJAJIAH, Nellore

A—To a great extent it is. But the Prime Minister remains at the apex of power. Collective leadership implies that major decisions are arrived at by consensus of a key group of leaders. In a way there is also collective leadership in the Soviet Union as Mr. Kosygin and Mr. Brezhnev operate.

Q—Does the All India Radio give more importance to foreign news?

N. CH. VEERACHARI, Hyderabad 4

A—No. In fact we can do with more foreign news on the A.I.R. Our danger is that we become too insular and think only about problems that directly confront the country. Nations whose idea is to win the world constantly think of other countries.

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Injections of Hope

by Rajmohan Gandhi

THE HOUR IS GONE when a common national crisis could by itself have united all the Indian people. The Chinese invasion of '62 did produce waves of patriotic feeling but they spent themselves before long. The Pakistan infiltrators who have moved into Kashmir have aroused fierce indignation and our Government and Army appear to have the situation in hand. Yet even the superficial observer knows that the Pakistani action has not brought about the kind of effective unity that for long has been needed.

Prominent men and ordinary men continue with their helpless, hopeless attitude.

One of New Delhi's pioneering educators, a lady of much renown and charm, told me, "I wish I could get out of this country and live elsewhere. I just find it impossible to do anything worthwhile."

Another lady, a devout Hindu and sincere Gandhian, says this: "If I am to be reborn I hope I shall be born in Europe or America or some other land far away."

Proud to be an Indian

An outstanding Member of Parliament was telling me of the advice he gave his son who was going abroad: "If you would like to settle down in England, do so."

In a survey of "discontented youth" *The Statesman* writes, "Today it is hard to meet an educated young high school or college boy who would not welcome the opportunity to go out of the country. Our boys feel that life has little to offer them here."

I have no wish to settle down in another land. I do not know whether men are born again and again. If I am to be reborn, I certainly hope I shall be born again in this country. With all our petty tyrannies, annoying frustrations, poverty, filth, stench and overcrowding, I am glad and proud to be an Indian.

I love India as she is but I want to live and work in such a way that India becomes the land she is meant to be.

Yet I cannot put my hand on my heart and call these men and women whom I quote unpatriotic. Underneath the thick layers of disillusionment they possess, for I

know them, strong feelings for the country and are keen to see her grow in dignity and wealth.

I believe the same is true of the vast majority who demonstrate for the rights of classes, castes, communities, regions and languages.

It is natural, and not difficult, to express regret and anger when, at a time of major national challenge, some men choose to fight till the bitter end for a sectional cause.

Sant Fateh Singh's decision that he will immolate himself inside the Golden Temple in Amritsar raises the immediate issue. Evidently not only he but many of his followers will take their lives if the demand for a Punjabi Suba is not granted.

Mr. Shastri's dilemma is most difficult. A large section inside and outside the Congress are daring him to show firmness and say a definitive no to the Sikh insistence. They tell him that if he does not he will be proclaiming to everyone that pressure, and pressure alone, can change Government policy. If he does not go a good distance to meet the demand, he invites on himself and the Government the fury of the bulk of the country's Sikhs, including perhaps many of our jawans and officers. For, let there be no mistake, there is both logic and passion in what the Sant is fighting for. His techniques will be criticized as being ill-timed, undemocratic and against the Sikh religion, but this criticism will neither deter him nor weaken his steadfast following.

Ghost of Kairon

Along with Sant Fateh Singh fights the ghost of Pratap Singh Kairon, the murdered ex-Chief Minister of Punjab, seeking revenge. Kairon made serious mistakes, but those who shot him dead let loose a vengeful spirit in the hearts of the Sikhs and Mr. Shastri has somehow to quench it.

The point I want to make is that there is a reason and explanation for all our agitations and riots and campaigns, and that appeals in the name of national emergency are inadequate.

Nearly all persons with a grievance feel that they do not get justice at the hands of the Government. The number of people who feel this is frightening.

Now, indeed, it is true that often where a man feels his grievance is callously ignored or unheard he is thinking more of himself, his family, his caste, his community, his class and his language than of the country as a whole. But I fear that for every such instance there is also another where it is simply a pipsqueak tyrant delighting in delaying or preventing justice.

Mr. Shastri needs our fullest support. We must find intelligent, practical ways of helping him. His decision to appoint a high-power commission to overhaul the Administration is to be greatly welcomed. He must ask this commission to search out the right causes of the peoples' dissatisfaction and launch a workable plan of transforming the attitude of the powerful politicians and officials—big and small—to the man in the street. And we on our part need to work as hard and ably as we can to give our people a mature understanding of the incredibly huge problems Mr. Shastri and his Government are trying to solve.

Out with Pessimism

We must put the nation before everything else, yet it is obviously better to live for a community larger than me myself. Thus it would be blind folly to disregard Sant Fateh Singh's bravery and his dedication to the welfare of all Sikhs. What we can and must request him to do is to apply that same bravery and dedication to the task of making India a land where the honest and decent can thrive. And without doubt such a change can come.

Readers ought to know that the pioneering New Delhi lady quoted at the beginning has thrown her pessimism away. After she made that remark to me she talked with 13 young men and women from different towns of India who are part of a multiplying army learning to acquire the steel of character, the joy of unselfish care for others, the secret of effective leadership and the resolve to use every obstacle as a spring-board. "You have given me an injection of hope," she told them.

All we need are 10,000 men and women with the right syringe.



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92 from Japan and Korea include youth from 17 Japanese universities



Photos: Pace Publications

Youth of America's "go" generation out to explode the hate, fear, and greed that block progress of humanity



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10,000 Youth Demand Man's Modernization

Delegations from Latin America, the Caribbean, East, South and West Africa, the Middle East, 12 nations of Europe, India, Australasia, Japan and Korea are attending a Demonstration to Modernize Man at Mackinac Island in America's Great Lakes. Conference Director Blanton Belk stated, "Youth is being confronted with the alternatives of being animalized, communized, atomized or modernized."

See page 7

world-wide acceptance

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