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25P

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

JAIPUR'S FIGHTING MAHARANI

Page 15

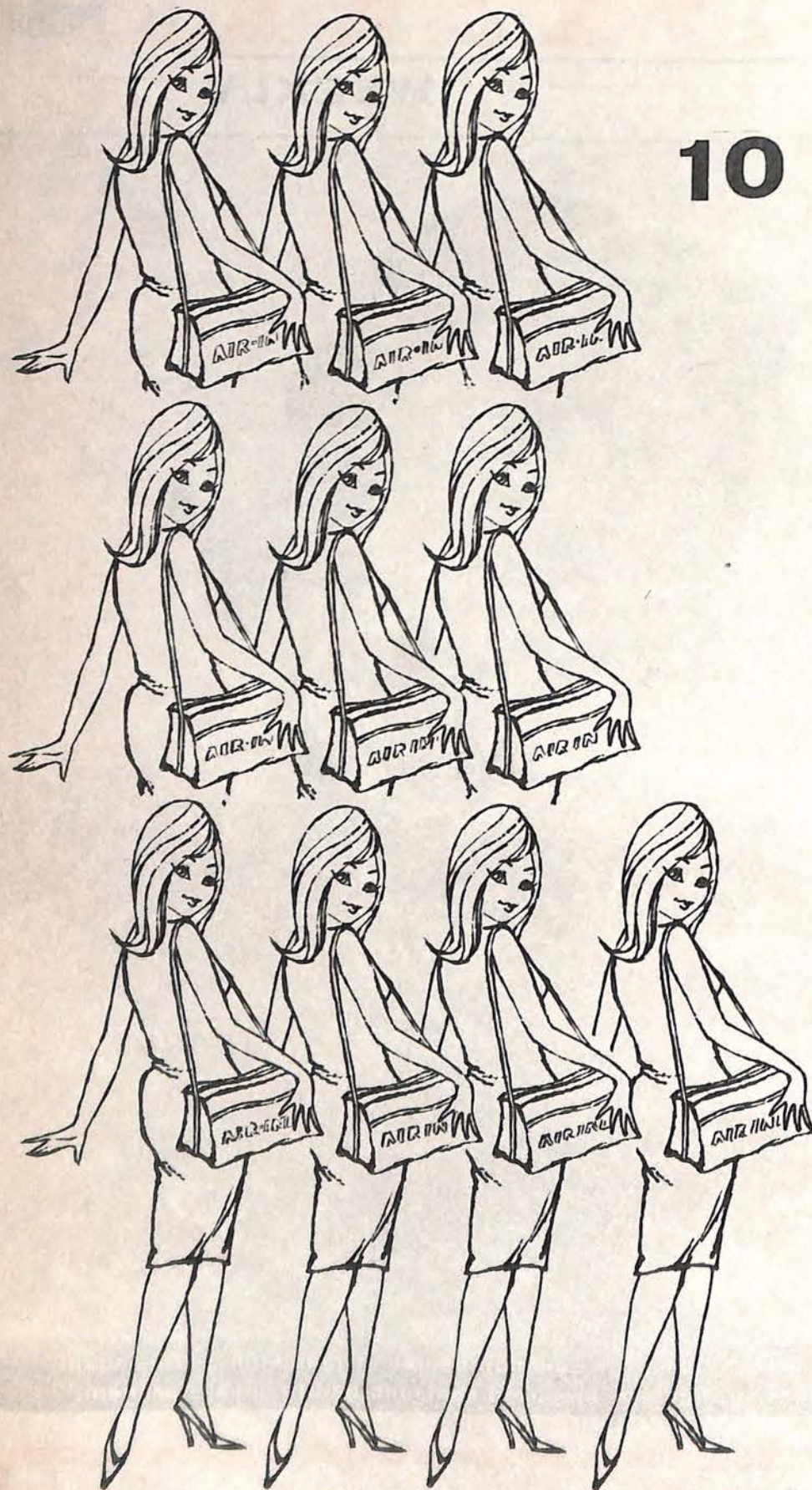


"....I had no intention of running for Parliament. Then the common people began coming to us again for justice as they had done before the transfer of power. I realized someone had to speak for them."

Friday
December 17
1965

Under the Lens

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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, December 17, 1965 Vol. 2 No. 7

Beyond War in Asia

PRIME MINISTER SHASTRI talked sense at Hyderabad last Saturday. He told a mammoth gathering of 400,000 that the nations of Asia must quit frittering away their scant resources in bickering and conflicts, and agree on broad areas of mutual development.

ECAFE experts say that economic development in Asia is largely dependent on more international collaboration between the nations and in the harmonizing of national development plans and joint ventures so as to share the markets on a regional and subregional basis. This, of course, is impossible in the present atmosphere.

Mr. Shastri's stand is a fitting answer to those reactionaries who daily sustain the atmosphere of hate and recrimination with bellicose talk of force. Mr. Shastri rightly emphasized that no conflict in Asia could today remain a local issue. It had, he declared, become the responsibility of all Asians to preserve world peace. He underlined the tragic truth that while peace reigned in Europe, America, Latin America, Africa and Australia, Asia was the only continent beset by war.

Against this stark situation is the report of Dr. B. R. Sen, Director-General of the F.A.O., that many Asian nations which are potential granaries are joining the long list of food importers.

Now is the time for bold leadership to end this constant conflict and work for a new era of prosperity which is the birthright of all and within the grasp of this generation.

Why should India, Ceylon, Pakistan and Burma not work together to create it; Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore do the same; and Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam as well?

Anything less condemns millions to third rate living, continuing poverty and, for many, starvation.

The Choice

DECEMBER 12, Kenya's National Day, marked the second anniversary of her independence. It was also the day of decision for Kenya's Indian community. On that day expired the two-year period allowed by the Government for non-Africans to choose whether to become Kenya citizens. Up to last week, over 100,000 Kenya residents of Indian origin had not yet made up their minds, despite an appeal by the Indian High Commissioner urging those who intended to stay in Kenya to become citizens. Many thousands have opted for British passports.

Indians, however, whether in Kenya or elsewhere, face a still more basic decision—how they will live, wherever they decide to make their home. Each one should be asking, not "What will Kenya or India do for me?" but "What can I do for both countries?"

Mahatma Gandhi lived in Africa for twenty years. From his experiences there came his passion to free India. A bigger and harder task confronts

all Indians today—to avert nuclear war, prevent tyranny and feed, clothe and house every man, woman and child.

Wheat and Rockets

A SNARLED UP Titan rocket and 1.5 million tons of wheat may not seem to have much connection. But on this side of the world last week America's critics were silenced for a while by reports of both.

America's readiness to let the whole world watch and hear the unrehearsed, inside story of her latest bid in space, not knowing whether it would spell victory or disaster, was in sharp contrast to Moscow's reports always made after the event.

If Gemini 6 had blasted off and rendezvoused with Gemini 7 as planned, the world would certainly have been agog with wonder and praise. But the failure of the rocket to rise from its pad at Cape Kennedy, the tense moments when the astronauts could have been frizzled alive in an explosion, all this followed by millions of TV watchers and radio listeners, somehow enabled the whole world to breathe and live with those men in the control centre whose split-second decisions counted for so much.

Spines tingled at the account of Walter Schirra deciding whether to sit tight with his companion in Gemini 6 atop the fuming, snorting rocket which at any moment could have toppled and exploded, or pull the safety ring and eject to safety at the cost of ruining the chance of a second shot. They sat tight.

This open-book approach, nothing hidden, won loads of friends for America and a lot of respect.

And what about the wheat? President Johnson's generous response to India's urgent plea for grain—an extra 150 shiploads of it—cannot be waived by those who see strings threaded through every grain.

India has been receiving 500,000 tons of wheat every month from America for some time. This may have to be doubled if famine is to be averted. We ask, America gives. But few realize that the wheat surpluses of America and many Western countries are fast disappearing. This is the warning contained in a recent report issued in Washington.

The world has assumed that Western surpluses would continue to grow. This is not so and it is giving cause for great concern in Russia, Eastern Europe and China. The US grain reserves are down to only 2,600 million bushels, not enough for a world food bank and regular local granary reserves.

So while we thank Uncle Sam for getting us out of a hole once again, we need to realize that he may not be able to do it forever.

But, meanwhile, a lot of people feel like saying, Thanks for those food ships. Thanks, too, for the invitation to be on the inside track watching those daring men ride their rockets to new horizons in space, watching when success was not guaranteed to be the order of the day.

Briefly Speaking ...

The way of this world is to praise dead saints and persecute live ones.
NATHANIEL HOWE

Mr. 51 Per Cent

MR. BARRY BINGHAM, proprietor and editor of the *Courier-Journal* and *Louisville Times*, told an International Press Institute seminar in New Delhi last week that the object of a good newspaper should be "to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable". Mr. Bingham made it clear that he has his feet on the ground when he added that he thought the ideal editor was one who possesses vast learning, unlimited courage and 51 per cent of the stock.

Congress Feast

BOMBAY NEWSPAPERS reported that the Maharashtra Government order banning the serving of meals after 5 pm on Mondays was diligently observed by all restaurants and eating houses.

CHALTA HAI ...



"I'm afraid there is no water in the dam now. By the time it was finished the river had changed its course."

This weekly feature comes to you through the courtesy of the Eagle Vacuum Bottle Mfg. Co. (Pvt.) Ltd., manufacturers of the Eagle range of vacuum flasks, jugs and insulated ware.



LADY HAMILTON

Bombay readers, however, were rather shocked to read the following UNI report from Meerut: "Minutes after Congress President Mr. K. Kamaraj had exhorted people to restrict consumption of cereals, thousands of Congress workers were entertained at a big feast. Cereals dominated the menu. What was more, the large party was in blatant violation of the Guest Control Order.

"Again when Mr. Kamaraj was calling for austerity at a meeting, Congress volunteers were busy distributing thousands of poster-size welcome addresses printed by the District Congress Committee Zilla Parishad and the Municipal Board. Many Congress workers put them to use immediately. They spread them on the dusty ground and sat on them."

Overheard

OVERHEARD during the recent Philippines election campaign:

Citizen: Is it too late for me to register my vote?

Registrar: Which party?

Lady (meeting politician): I've heard so much about you.

Politician (absently): Possibly, but you can't prove it.

10,000,001 Suggestions

MRS. VIJAYALAXMI PANDIT spoke a lot of sense when she told a press conference in Dehra Dun last week, while defending India's link with the Commonwealth, that in this period of disintegration "one should build rather than break". Mrs. Pandit further said, with reference to the many delegations of Parliamentarians recently sent abroad to explain India's policies, "It was also not proper to imagine that because one had been received cordially by any country, the latter was committed to one's point of view. This is a mistake which many of our politicians commit and that is why our assessment of the situation often goes wrong."

She said, rather sadly, that during 17 years of diplomatic assignments she had sent "at least 10 million suggestions" to the Government of India drawing attention to the fact that they had not appointed the

right people and spent enough money on publicity abroad. But she said it was to no avail.

Let us hope she keeps it up.

Cold Sweat

UNDER the chilly headline "The First Real Bite of Winter", *The Statesman* of Calcutta last week reported, "There can be no doubt that the cold weather has arrived."

Temperatures? *Maximum:* 24.7°C (76.5°F). *Minimum:* 14.4°C (57.9°F).

It is enough to make one break out in a cold sweat.

Ivan Rules the Waves

A RATHER SHARP commentary on the tremendous expansion in Communist use of the air waves to spread their revolution has come in a report issued by the BBC. It shows that last year Soviet Russia led the world in hours of external broadcasting. Her transmitters totalled 1,350 hours. Next came China with 950, Voice of America 875, while the BBC and West Germany tied with 625. In 1950 the BBC led the world with 650 hours of external transmissions. The report said that the major focus of Russian and Chinese broadcasts was Africa where a rapid rise in the availability of small and cheap transistor radios has been taking place.

Millionaire's Advice

JOHN PAUL GETTY, probably the world's wealthiest man, whose fortune is said to exceed \$1,000 million, has written a text-book, "How to be Rich". Discussing the "millionaire mentality" the author discounts the idea that it is based on cliches like "think big". It is more important, he says, "to be able to think small than to think big", in the sense of giving "meticulous attention to even the smallest details". Mr. Getty also advises: Discipline yourself to practise economy wherever possible in personal life as well as in business affairs; pay your debts. "Nothing will write *finis* to a career faster than a bad credit rating."

Amen

SEEN in a Bombay lift ("A" Road, Marine Drive):

"Capacity: Four parsons (including liftman)."

No doubt visiting parsons are relieved to learn that the lift is only available for going up.

Hot Air and Cold Facts on Rhodesia

From R. M. Lala in Nairobi

When the OAU passed a resolution giving Britain a deadline till December 15 or face a diplomatic break with its 35 member countries, it left some questions unanswered. The OAU has no executive powers and the respective Governments have to ratify its decisions. With three days to go for the ultimatum to expire, it is obvious that not all states will implement the OAU resolution.

President Kaunda of Zambia, the party most concerned with neighbour Rhodesia, is not keen to allow an African nation to send troops into Zambia for action in Rhodesia. It would mean, he says, a racial war that would devastate the southern part of Africa and start a world war.

Will President Kaunda be strong enough to hold this line if Britain cannot pull off a victory over Smith's regime in the next weeks?

Observers in East Africa feel that President Kaunda is firmly in control and the possibilities of a sudden change in Zambia are unlikely.

While President Nkrumah and President Nyerere love Africa in the abstract, President Jomo Kenyatta has shown more concern for actual people involved in the dispute. Speaking last Friday, he said, "We are particularly concerned that the Zambia Government has expressed serious doubts about the wisdom of breaking diplomatic relations with Britain."

He is consulting more fully with his East African neighbours and warns that division between African states could have serious repercussions on the OAU. His effort seems

to be to keep the more emotional President Nyerere in line with Kenya's thinking and keep the OAU, which he has nursed, intact.

Intense last minute activity is going on. Addis Ababa is keen on a postponement of the December 15 deadline. Speaking at Jamburi Park on Kenya's Independence Day, resplendent in a leopard-skin robe, President Kenyatta read out his cable to U Thant, urging the Secretary-General to summon the Security Council and force Britain to accept the sanctions.

Go, Go Ahead, Go Fast

Kenya, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tunisia and Malawi can be counted upon to do their best to avoid a break with Britain. Of the 35 nations who voted for the original resolution, 9 receive substantial aid from Britain. Some elements will be happy to use the Rhodesian crisis to alienate African nations from the West.

The OAU can be a great instrument for the creation of a new Africa if it finds a common aim big enough to both liberate and reshape the continent. Today 40 per cent of the members have not paid their dues for the current year.

Economic and military considerations will make it difficult for some nations to break diplomatic relations with Britain. If they are seriously thinking of military action, as Ghana is, the task will be staggering. For example, one East African country has 2 operational squadrons and only 10 fully qualified pilots. The rest of the pilots are seconded from

Britain and it will need the permission of the UK Government before they are engaged in action.

RAF planes landing in Lusaka and other Zambian airports were directed by the air-control tower in Salisbury. Zambia had no equipment.

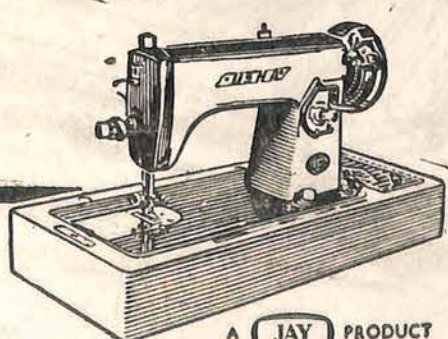
The Rhodesian crisis may further crystallize the division between the moderates and the extremists. All Africans strongly feel the injustice of the Smith regime and the slow reaction of Mr. Wilson to treason. The moderates will be willing to wait for two or three years for a majority rule in Rhodesia provided the Smith regime is speedily unseated.

As Kenya celebrates its Independence Day at Jamburi Park today, one sees the African, long suppressed, breathe joyously once again the air of freedom. He has found educational opportunities, unparalleled in his father's time. He sees around him material progress, new buildings, schools, universities and hospitals. Nairobi's new buildings put New Delhi in the shade. The African has found his share of progress.

Repressed for centuries the African of today wants to go, go ahead, go faster than ever before. Is he going to throw away lightly his advantages and invite an economic setback and a military misadventure?

Some politicians may be, but not the average African. In that lies the hope of a peaceful and sensible sorting out of the Rhodesian problem.

Violence and anti-white agitation are fast becoming worn tickets in Africa and if Britain is wise, she will not let Mr. Smith reverse this tide.



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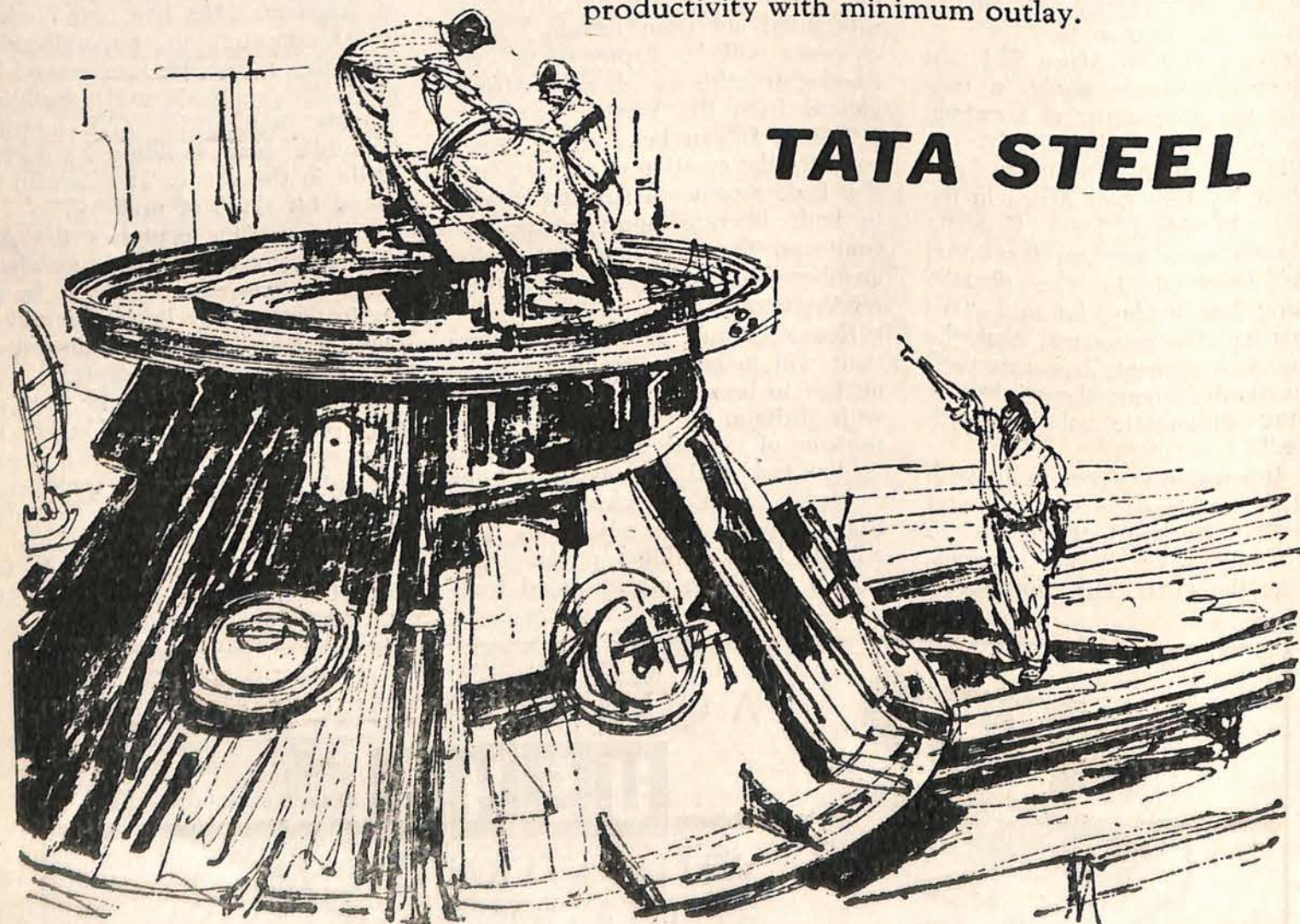
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Political axe fells University autonomy in Andhra

University autonomy is a sine qua non of the free, democratic system. Interference with it is the beginning of moral slavery. Its destruction will constitute the triumph of tyranny. If the freedom of academic institutions to formulate their own policies is tampered with, it will vitiate the pursuit of knowledge and the development of research.

It has, therefore, been the practice in free societies to endow universities with an organizational structure free from external influence and a constitution which enables the effective participation of the academic community in the formulation and implementation of university policy. (The Report of the Kothari Commission on Model University Acts lays down that "the teachers should have in practice an effective voice in the determination of the policies of the university".)

"Is Autonomy Untouchable?"

In practice, democracy in university administration and full autonomy have never been free from abuse. There has always been a provision in university legislation in India which vests governments with certain powers—principally those of appointment of vice-chancellors and the right of enquiry and mandatory remedial action in cases of mismanagement or ineptness. Public, non-academic, individuals and organizations have also participated in the academic and administrative bodies of universities.

This wholesome balance between government supervision and university autonomy, academic and non-academic representation in university bodies, was destroyed in Andhra Pradesh when the Universities' Amendment Bill was recently steam-rolled through the legislature without eliciting informed opinion on the draft bill or consulting important bodies like the University Grants Commission and the Inter-Universities Board. Fortunately for the future of academic freedom, university teachers and educationalists all over

the country and Mr. Chagla, Union Education Minister, have all raised their voices in protest against the arbitrary manner in which the leaders of Andhra Pradesh have sought to destroy university autonomy.

"What is autonomy?" retorted the Andhra Chief Minister, Mr. Brahma-nanda Reddy, at a press conference in Hyderabad last week. "Is it so sacrosanct and above the sovereign body of the country? Or is autonomy untouchable?"

The crux of the controversy lies in this assumption by the Chief Minister of the primacy of legislature in all matters including education, and his absolute determination to subject university education (education up to the secondary level is already completely controlled by Government, including the preparation and publication of text books) to the political fiat of Government.

The three universities of Andhra Pradesh—the Andhra University, the Osmania University and the Venkateswara University, are now governed by an Act of 1959. By the Amendments that were passed recently by the legislature, the Government seeks to:

1. Change the mode of appointment, term of office, and method of removal of the Vice-Chancellor.

Political Sinecure

Under the Act of 1959, the Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the Chancellor (the Governor of the State) for a term of five years from a panel of three names submitted by a selection committee. The selection committee is itself constituted with three members, two of them nominated by the Syndicate of the University and one by the Chancellor.

The Amending Bill curtails the Vice-Chancellor's term to three years and confers the right of appointment exclusively on the Chancellor. Thus the appointment is made political and may well become a sinecure for Party candidates. (The Andhra Chief Minister refused to give any assurance to a deputation of Osmania University teachers that

Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

the Vice-Chancellor should be appointed only from among eminent educationists.)

The Government also assumes the right to dismiss the Vice-Chancellor during his tenure of office. Public opinion has now ensured that such removal can only take place after an enquiry by a person who is or has been a judge of a high court or the Supreme Court.

Complete Subservience

The ostensible reason is the contingency of maladministration and an emergency which may call for his removal. But it is hard to see the justice of this claim in view of the powers Government already enjoys to enquire into affairs of a university and set matters right. As Dr. D-S Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, has pointed out, "About the clause regarding the removal of the Vice-Chancellor... the only plausible reason for including it (the removal clause) is to dangle the Damocles sword on his head in order to ensure complete subservience."

It is true that the recently published report of the one-man commission of enquiry into the affairs of Andhra University suggests irregularities in appointments, favouritism by professors, tampering with officially published results, irregular and arbitrary grant of grace marks by the Vice-Chancellor, etc. But surely the recommendations of Justice Gopala Krishnan Nair to amend and reinterpret university rules and regulations is adequate. Government nepotism is not the answer to the lapses in academic circles.

2. Reduce the representation of principals and professors in the Senate.

Continued on next page

The draft bill envisaged a reduction in the proportion of teachers from 60 to 37 per cent. On representation of university teachers, Government has conceded a proportion of between 40 to 45 per cent.

3. Assume the right to issue directives to the universities on all major aspects of educational policy like medium of instruction, pattern of university education and establishment of postgraduate centres.

This is the most controversial as well as universally opposed of all the amendments.

"Like any other item of people's welfare," contends Mr. Brahmananda Reddy in his letter to Mr. Chagla, "university education also should conform to the pattern adapted to the needs of society and to that extent, should be in accordance with the voice of the people. Certain far-reaching decisions have been taken at a meeting of the Congress Working Committee and Chief Ministers regarding the introduction of medium of instruction at university level.

"These matters cannot obviously be left exclusively to the universities whose approach would not be the same as that of Government."

It is thus clear that matters like the medium of instruction in universities are not going to be subject to academic requirements such as proper text-books, adequacy and appropriateness of languages and vocabulary as a vehicle for higher education, etc, but will be subordinate to the demands of electoral expediency and vote-catching.

Political Dictatorship

4. Take over the prerogative of the university to determine the conditions of service of teachers and other employees of affiliated colleges.

They become in fact akin to existing Government colleges under the Director of Public Instruction.

The Andhra Pradesh Government has thus undertaken a course that will ultimately threaten the autonomy of university education all over the country. The demand of Mr. Brah-

mananda Reddy for a conference of Chief Ministers of all Indian states with the Prime Minister, Union Education Minister, the Chairmen of the University Grants Commission and the Inter-University Board is an obvious ruse to obtain a political decision in favour of a truncated autonomy for universities all over the country. If this course is pursued, it can only lead to the further lowering of educational standards and the rigid partition of the country into linguistic compartments.

Besides, it will render impossible an atmosphere in which research and knowledge can be fearlessly pursued.

Of course, no one denies the duty of governments to step in where universities fail to do their proper job or even to bring legitimate pressure for the adoption of educational policies which the democratic process demands. But Government will defeat its purpose if it imposes its political dictatorship on the academic world. It stands to gain by pursuing its ends within the limits imposed by university autonomy.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Vietnam — Uncle Sam Digs In

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Los Angeles

The war in Vietnam is building to a climax. Hanoi has not only refused peace talks on any terms acceptable to either Saigon or Washington but is now stepping up its shipment of regular army units into the south.

Washington has announced that more mobile, hard-hitting "air cavalry" divisions are being sent to Vietnam and has hinted at the possible bombing of Communist supply routes through Laos and Cambodia.

The United States has no intention of losing the Vietnam war. The decision has been made to settle for nothing short of a total withdrawal of North Vietnam troops from the south. Adjustment to a long war has been made with the expectation that the Communist infiltrators and guerrilla fighters will finally disappear as they did in the Philippines, Malaya and Greece.

There is no longer any faith in negotiations. It is believed that the Ho regime has never had any serious intention to negotiate and has used every offer to do so to increase their troop concentration in the south.

The Hanoi Government seems just as determined to settle for nothing less than the total withdrawal of U.S. troops from the south and for full representation of the National Liberation Front in the Saigon Gov-

ernment. Both sides appear to have taken rigid, uncompromising positions that can only end in defeat for one.

Over 1,000 young Americans have been killed in battle so far. As the casualties increase so does the US determination to settle for nothing less than victory.

The people as well as the President seem prepared to pay the price. The present US troop strength of 160,000 may soon be raised by another 100,000.

North Vietnamese manpower and military resources are being sorely tested. Her supply lines are being narrowed down. Washington feels more and more assured the climax to this war will come within a few months.



Africa's Moderates "Hardpressed"

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

Crises in Africa sprout like desert weeds; only to wither again as fast as they grow. But the roots remain, springing to life at the slightest shower of provocation.

The roots of the present dilemma in Rhodesia go back three or four decades. The weakness in the millions of words that have been written and spoken about Ian Smith during the turbulent month of November is that they are contemplating the weed and not the root.

Protagonists of right and left have tried to assess the implications of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) only as it relates to Rhodesia and Zambia—the reluctant

Siamese twin joined to its partner at the Kariba Dam.

Few have ventured into a prognosis of its effect on the newly independent African states to the north—Malawi, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda.

During the past year these four countries, together with Zambia, have been moving steadily towards political and economic stability despite internal difficulties and external pressures.

Continued on next page

The week in Asia

ANKARA—The Bosphorus channel separating Europe from Asia will be spanned by a 4,150-foot bridge which will be the eighth largest in the world.

BANGKOK—24 police agents have been murdered recently in north-east Thailand by underground Communist terrorists.

PORT LOUIS—Several thousand Mauritians demonstrated against the proposed establishment of an Anglo-American defence base on Diego Garcia, an island dependency of Mauritius.

KATHMANDU—Reports from Tibet indicate that monks have committed suicide rather than publicly ridicule the Panchen Lama under pressure from the Chinese.

SINGAPORE—Head of State Yusof Ishak declared at the opening of Singapore's first Parliament that British defence bases would remain on the island for some time.

PEKING—Peking Radio accused Russia of constant sabotage in Sinkiang. It quoted the head of the regional government as comparing Soviet aims with those of Tsarist Russia, trying to "split off Sinkiang from our great homeland".

SINGAPORE—Indonesian Communist Party chief Aidit is now reported to be alive and a prisoner of the army. He is said to have been removed from a military aircraft at Djakarta. Intelligence sources here believe he is being used as a weapon against President Sukarno and Foreign Minister Subandrio.

DJAKARTA—The commander of the Djakarta garrison imposed a permanent ban on the Indonesian Communist Party, Radio Djakarta announced.

DACCA—Development funds for East Pakistan have been drastically reduced from Rs. 205 crores to Rs. 148 crores. The sectors affected are education, housing, and health.

SINGAPORE—Fighting over the Sino-Soviet dispute broke out among Communists under detention and led to an attempt at suicide by Singapore's most feared Communist, Lim Chin Siong.

SAIGON—The supreme head of Vietnam's Buddhists and leader of the Buddhist Front implored both sides in the conflict to find a "reasonable basis for peace negotiations".

TOKYO—The South Korea-Japan Reconciliation Treaty was pushed through the Japanese Upper House in the face of an Opposition boycott.

TRAVELLERS NEED TRAVELLERS CHEQUES CASHED EASILY

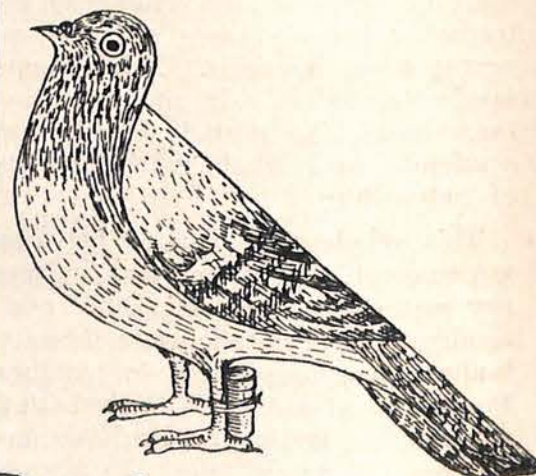
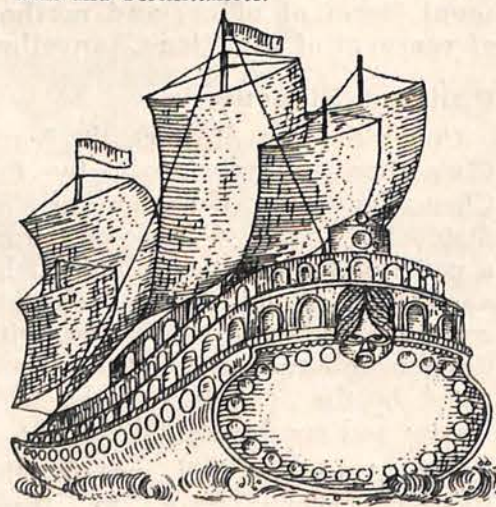
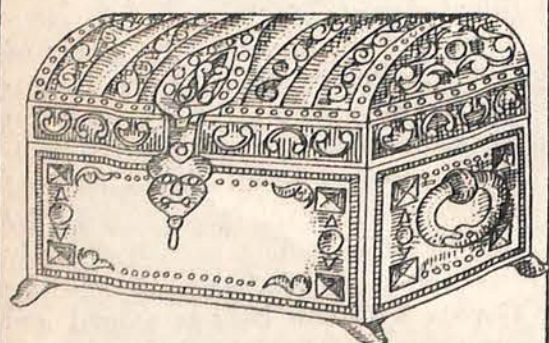
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ASP/UBI-33

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

In Uganda Prime Minister Obote has increased his majority in the Parliament. The recent elections in Tanzania have strengthened the hand of President Nyerere. Dr. Hastings Banda maintains his balance in a pragmatic approach to countries with whom he is politically irreconcilable but on whom he is economically dependent. Kenya enjoys a reputation (seen in increasing foreign investment) regarded as "miraculous".

Enter Ian Smith.

Whatever finally motivated his action in declaring Rhodesia independent it has scattered the pieces of a vast African jig-saw puzzle that was beginning to take shape. He has put a weapon into the hands of the extremists who want to overthrow the popularly elected leaders in the north.

Hardpressed by the "militants" in the Organization for African Unity (OAU) and within their own governments they will find it extremely embarrassing to explain why they have not taken a more extreme stand

against the racist Smith Government".

Ghana and the United Arab Republic blare out threats to "march on Rhodesia". But notice that those countries nearer the potential battle area and more likely to suffer from its effects are more cautious.

Unofficially, some African states had begun to "learn to live with South Africa", in the hope that moderation and a more constructive attitude would bring about the right kind of change sooner and more peacefully. The irony of UDI is that it has swept away that possibility. It has weakened the position of the sound and constructive leadership to the north.

Paradoxically, the solution could come from South Africa. If the Verwoerd Government stated its support for the rule of law in Africa and therefore its refusal to support or recognize the illegal Rhodesian regime, and if it insisted on new negotiations between Salisbury and London, there would be an immediate impact throughout Africa. Such a policy is unlikely—but necessary.

Rhodesians fondly boast of their British connections and customs. There is one adage of the old country to which they might have given a little more attention—"Look before you leap".

Left's Long-range Goal

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT
Tokyo

This year's Leftist thinking in Japan has a more long-range goal than abrogation of the recently ratified Japan-South Korea Treaty. The Leftists have their sights on 1967 when those who were born in the baby boom after World War II will become adults and eligible to vote.

In the three years starting from 1967, new voters will amount to 7,300,000. With these voters and the older generation, the Leftists are preparing and hoping for massive support for abrogation in 1970 of the US-Japan Security Treaty. The significant Leftist gain this month was made not in demonstrating outside the Diet, but in a victory inside the Senate. Mr. Senzo Nosaka, Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party, was elected to the Senate with Tokyo's highest poll of 700,000 votes.

Pravda, referring to the coming visit of a Russian delegation to study the secret of Japanese economic growth rate, says, "Though the two countries do not have the same social system, this does not hamper the development of business relations between them."

Mr. Kakuei Tanaka, Secretary-General of Japan's Liberal Democrat Party, says, "While complaining of depression, Japan's gross national product increase this year is four per cent over that of the European Economic Community."

Ribbons and Ice Cream

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT
Colombo

The men convicted earlier of a treasonable coup to overthrow the last Government of Ceylon are off. One died, one committed suicide and the rest have been released after four years of captivity. This is the decision of three British judges representing Britain's Privy Council, still Ceylon's highest Court of Appeal.

Much that is British is still the highest canon here, though a com-

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

mission, appointed by the Bandaranaike regime, has been reappointed by the new Government to examine what amendments Ceylon's Constitution would need for the country to become a republic within the Commonwealth.

But constitutional changes do not produce initiative and hard work. Until recently even ice cream was imported from Britain. Many items

The week elsewhere

ONE IN SEVEN HUNGRY

ROME—There has been no appreciable increase during the last seven years in food production per head, Dr. B. R. Sen, Director-General of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, told the FAO's recent Rome conference. In the Far East and Latin America, output per head was still less than it was before the war. In some of the more heavily populated areas famine was a possibility within 10 years. Sen said 15 per cent of mankind were hungry and up to half suffered hunger, malnutrition or both.

Swedish economist Professor Alva Myrdal said, "The rich countries must open their doors to a flow of trade with and aid to poorer countries. And the poorer countries should help break down public reluctance to this by rooting out corruption and fostering economic and social equality at home." Myrdal said that

could be produced here which are still imported, thus saving dwindling foreign exchange reserves.

The Government is not yet actively furthering local manufacturers. For instance, an import allocation for typewriter ribbons is still allowed, although ribbons of comparable quality are produced in this country. An enlightened policy to counteract over-dependence on outside help is urgently required in this potentially rich island.

countries throughout the world spent over \$200,000 million a year on arms—more than the total incomes of all the undeveloped nations outside the Communist bloc.

NEW ARMS RACE

WASHINGTON — The US and USSR are on the verge of a new arms race—to build a defence against nuclear missiles. Intelligence reports indicate that Russia is installing anti-missile systems round her big cities. The US has spent already £700 million on developing anti-missile weapons. To build a complete defensive system would cost her over £7,000 million. If one country built such a system, the other would increase the number and complexity of its missiles in order to counter it. Then defence systems would again be increased while costs would go on mounting.

Continued on next page

The week in India

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Shastri announced he would meet President Johnson in Washington on February 1 and visit Burma from December 20 to 23.

PATNA—A united front of five parties, with a combined strength of 78 seats in the Bihar State Legislature, has been formed to challenge Congress rule.

QUILON—Cyclonic conditions hit the south-west coast destroying many fishing villages. Fifty fishing vessels were reported missing.

NEW DELHI—Union Food Minister Subramaniam announced that 1.5 million tons of American grain were being made available immediately. A US loan of \$50 million has been sanctioned for fertilizers.

CALCUTTA—The leader of a Burmese trade delegation said here his Government is prepared to sell India 150,000 tons of rice at 1964 prices.

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Shastri told the Congress Parliamentary Party that if opportunity for an honourable settlement appeared at Tashkent "we should not shirk it because we cannot fight Pakistan for all time".

NEW DELHI—The Monopolies Inquiry Commission, while recommending a statutory body to control monopolies, stated that concentrated economic power may be "relied upon to make an important contribution to industrial development" due to its ability to undertake major industrial ventures.

MADRAS—Cases under the Defence of India Rules against the editors and publisher of *Kalki* and *Swarajya* have been postponed to December 20.

JAIPUR—The 70th annual session of the Congress Party will meet in Jaipur from January 18 to 21.

SHILLONG—Assam will have a surplus rice crop this year of some 200,000 tons. Production is expected to be 2 million tons.

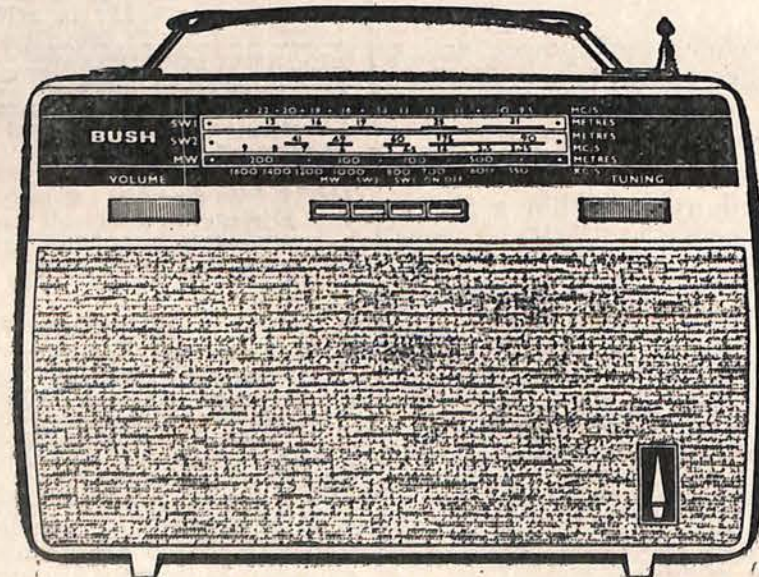
ERNAKULAM—Some 8,000 students boycotted classes and demonstrated demanding an inquiry into the death of a 16-year-old girl. Police fired tear gas to disperse them.

NEW DELHI—The Chanda Committee investigating All-India Radio and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting declared it was "totally disappointed" in the quality of programmes broadcast by AIR.

BOMBAY—More than 10,000 fake food grain cards were detected in Greater Bombay in the nine months ending last September.

BANGALORE—President Radhakrishnan called for building "bridges of understanding" with Pakistan. He said the greatest challenge facing India was to answer "mental and moral decay".

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LOSS OF BLOOD CELLS

HOUSTON, Texas—The Gemini 7 astronauts are being elaborately monitored medically because of the effects on astronauts of previous flights. These effects have included a loss of red blood cells of up to 20 per cent and a draining of calcium from the bones of up to 10 per cent. The causes are not certain although it is known that astronauts are exposed to radiation from radiation belts above the equator. They have not suffered serious or permanent injury so far. One medical explanation is that the changes may be part of the body's adaptation to an environment in which it has little work to do.

SOVIET AIDS IRAN

TEHERAN—Russia is to build Iran's first steel mill, costing an estimated £100 million, at the textile centre of Isfahan. It will produce one million tons of steel a year. The project includes a machine tool factory and technical school. Iran will repay Russia over a period of 12 years in

natural gas piped from its southern oilfields to the Soviet Union.

Over the last 25 years foreign experts have discounted the idea of a steel mill on grounds that Iran's coal and iron resources were too far from a suitable factory site.

The Shah is believed to wish to demonstrate his independence from the US which has given Iran \$1.5 billion economic and military aid in the last 15 years. The new agreement has not halted Communist broadcasts against the Shah's Government. Two stations regularly call for his overthrow and assassination.

NO GODS FOR TAO

PEKING—Traditional plays must give way to the Party line, Deputy Prime Minister Tao Chu told a recent drama festival. Tao, a leading spokesman of the campaign to replace old plays about emperors, gods and spirits, said modern drama and opera should "completely eclipse traditional ones both in political and ideological context and in artistic quality". They should deal with "contemporary, revolutionary themes". Modern works should reflect the class struggle, said Tao. "Worker, peasant and

soldier heroes imbued with proletarian ideology should be praised with enthusiasm."

SING OUT '65

HOLLYWOOD—Walt Disney, Jack Warner, Darryl Zanuck and the widow of Louis B. Mayer were among the 900 producers, directors and stars of the film industry who gave a repeated standing ovation to the Moral Re-Armament musical show "Sing Out '65" last week. It was the feature entertainment of the 50th anniversary celebration of the Technicolor Corporation held at the Beverley Hilton Hotel. Time and again the sophisticated and hard-bitten Hollywood audience were on their feet asking for more. Also present were Senator George Murphy, Gene Tunney, General Thomas Power, former Commander of the US Air Force Strategic Air Command, and the Assistant General of the Jesuit Order. The *Santa Monica Evening Outlook* wrote: "If no television production emerges from Hollywood in the next ten years except 'Sing Out '65' the industry will still be able to hold its head high."

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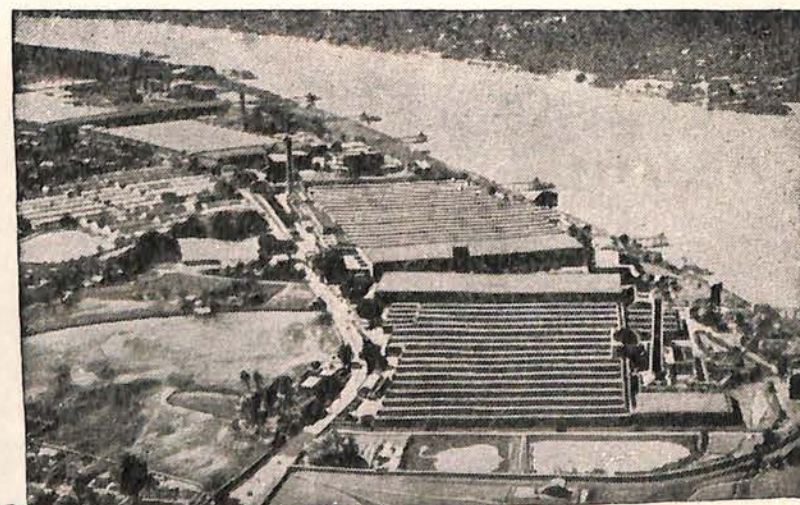
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NAS-2559

VIEWPOINT

First Prize

SHOULD THE UN HAVE ITS OWN ARMED FORCES TO IMPLEMENT DECISIONS?

By Miss Indira N. Rao, Hubli, Mysore

THE CORNER-STONE of the UN is its guiding principle to maintain international peace and security, to promote mutual understanding, and help member nations economically, politically and socially.

If the UN is to fulfil its functions effectively, it should on no account have an armed force of its own.

The maintenance of a military force to implement decisions is a negation of its basic principle. If for every territorial, racial or ideological dispute, the UN rushes out its force, then the strong arm of the UN will only succeed in driving the wedge of misunderstanding between the nations deeper.

The good motive behind the maintenance of such a force will become a matter of doubt. Weaker nations will fear that the presence of such a force may even influence the decisions passed in the UN, sometimes even leading to a wrong decision.

The UN will thus gradually cease to be an impartial body, its decisions being governed by the stronger clique of nations. This will lead to a further crystallization of power blocs in the UN.

The growth of power blocs will make the UN a zonal body, the strong house for members of similar ideologies and pursuits, defeating its purpose of making the world a family of nations.

If there is an armed force for the UN, who will give orders for the forces to move in to implement a decision? It will be the Secretary-General who will do so on the advice of the Security Council. Sometimes it may happen that a decision will have to be implemented immediately to stop a growing dispute. In cases of such emergency, the Secretary General may be forced to issue orders to the forces before informing the Security Council. A concentration of such great military power (for a UN force will have to be

large) in the hands of one man is dangerous.

To maintain an armed force strong enough to subjugate member nations—big or small, the funds necessary will be colossal. The expenses incurred for the maintenance of the armed force will cut at the very roots of the organization, withering away all its other activities.

The UN should therefore preserve its characteristic as a moral force and not a physical force. This moral force should be a magnetizing force attracting every nation of the world into its orbit of peaceful co-existence. A philosophy of mutual trust and understanding based on strong ethical principles will prove more powerful than a military force generating fear, distrust and hate.

An armed force of the UN will only increase the discordant elements leading finally to the disintegration of the world body.

**Second Prize
EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT**

By R. V. RAGHAVAN, Bombay 80

AT PRESENT, the UN has to call upon member-nations to send their armed forces to repel aggression.

As a result of the world-wide struggle between Communism and democracy, troops from one member of a power bloc become suspect by members of the other bloc, and hence the accent has to be on sending troops from neutral countries. The UN Force did commendable work in the Congo and in the Gaza Strip. But the question of footing the bill for these operations remains. There again, rivalry among the big powers comes in the way of an amicable settlement.

It is the considered opinion of many that if the UN has a permanent army of its own, owing allegiance to the ideals of the UN and to the UN Flag, the UN can per-

COMPETITION

* Who is really responsible for the increasing road accidents?

Closing date: December 24

** Who would get your award for the most remarkable personality of 1965? And why?

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form its functions more fully and make its impact better felt on world problems.

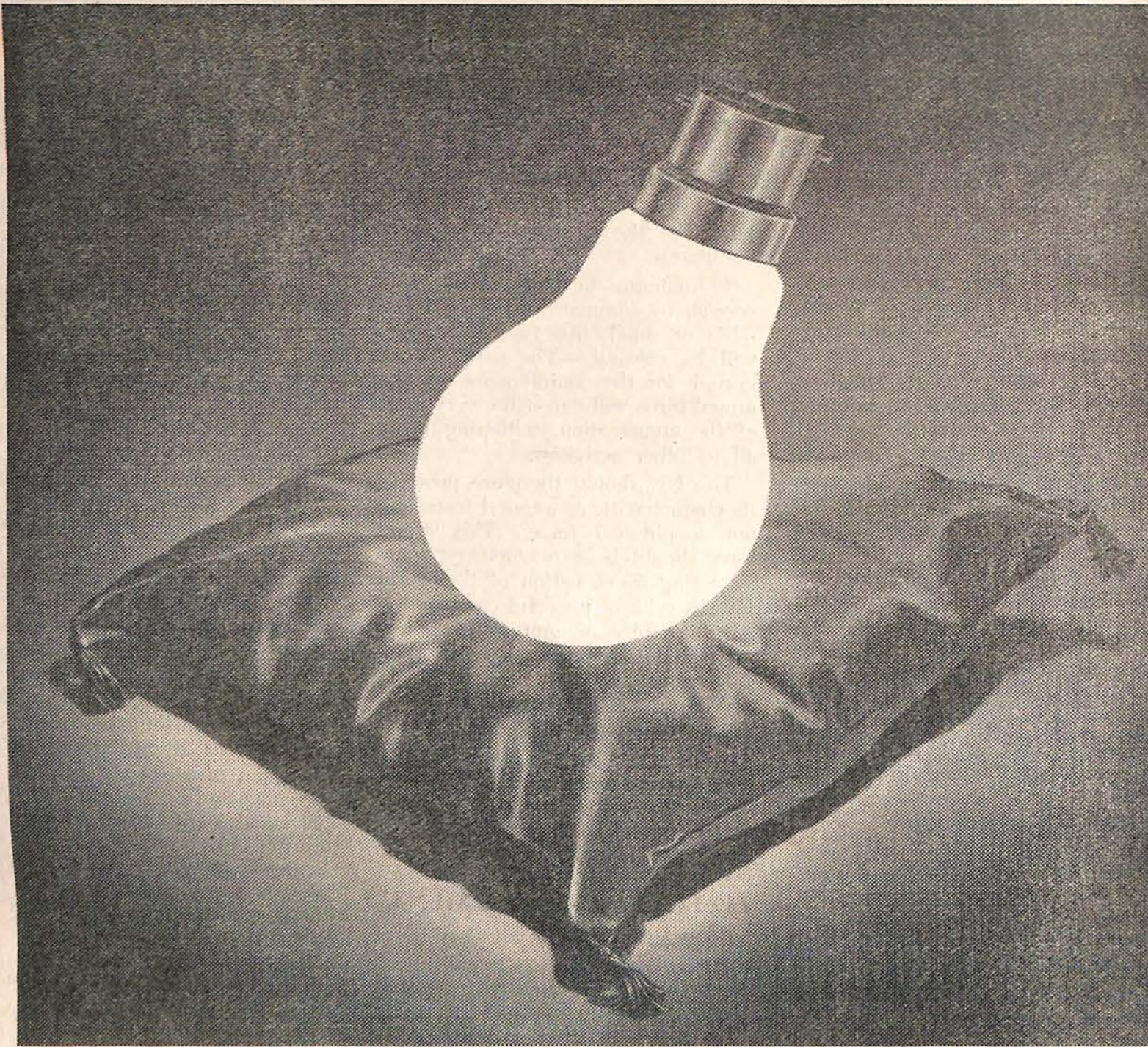
If such a UN Force is created, the UN will become more powerful and smaller countries can depend on it for their territorial integrity.

Critics argue that it is difficult to get the member-nations to pay for the cost of the maintenance of such a big army by the UN considering the way they have failed to agree on the payment of UN peace-keeping operations in Congo, Gaza and so on. However, if a small beginning is made, the skeleton force can serve as a nucleus around which a large army can grow. Such a force will owe allegiance only to the UN and UN ideals, and cease to think in terms of individual states. Such a UN Force will guard all strategic islands, the Suez Canal, Aden, disputed territories and even go to the aid of victims of aggression.

Now that Soviet Russia and the United States have come very close and are eager to contain the expansionist tendencies of Red China, the initiative should come from them for the creation of such a force. Each member-nation should contribute a certain quota of men.

These men will be trained in the use of the latest weapons and will be stationed in different parts of the world. They will be under the command of only the UN Secretary-General and the UN Commander and not under their own heads of state. Any partiality towards their native countries should be discouraged and soldiers of this Force made to think in terms of the whole world.

Such a force is very essential for the UN to become an effective instrument of peace.



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ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

India's Fighting Maharani— Gayatri Devi of Jaipur

CONTROVERSY is not something that pales Gayatri Devi, Maharani of Jaipur. Her real qualities can best be seen, some say, not amidst the cool elegance of Raj Mahal, but jeeping through the sun-blasted, fly-ridden villages of Rajasthan campaigning for the next election, or at the business end of a rifle, hunting tiger. She is a formidable opponent. Her record of polling ten times the vote of her nearest rival and the twenty-seven tigers she has bagged testify to it.

Yet she never ceases to be a Maharani in dress and manner. And the people appear to respect her for it. Politics meant learning Hindi, for Gayatri Devi was born a princess of Cooch-Bihar in West Bengal and educated at Shanti Niketan. In Switzerland and England she studied Home Science, an aspect of this modern Maharani which marked her as different from others of her station.

Available to All

The turbans of farmers and village elders seem to be a constant feature in the compound behind Raj Mahal's gates. Part of her popularity is her availability. Talking with her one gets the sense she depends on these people. They seem to be the spur behind her constant drive.

Why did you as a Maharani enter politics?

"The Congress Party asked me to run for office in 1957. At that time I had never addressed a public meeting. I believed that if there was to be democracy in India, the country needed a strong opposition party. Besides, I did not like the way Congress was using its power. In the beginning I had no intention of running for Parliament. Then the common people began coming to us again for justice as they had done before the transfer of power. I realized someone had to speak for them."

Families of your status have had generations of training in leadership. Why have not more of them come forward to contest public office?

"When the princely states merged with the Indian Union, many of the princes were too old to consider politics. Others were too engrossed in fighting for compensation. A few, such as the Maharaja of Baroda and the Maharani of Gwalior, joined the Congress Party. Some went into the Indian Foreign Service. But today, in many states, but notably in Gujarat, the sons of these families are taking an interest in politics."

There has been speculation that the Government offered your husband, the Maharaja, an ambassadorial post in order to lessen the power of the Swatantra Party in Rajasthan. Is there truth in this?

"The Maharaja approached Prime Minister Shastri first offering his services. He was offered several posts and chose Spain."

China aims at capturing Asia for her idea. Does India have a counter strategy?

"No. On the contrary some of our people, such as those who are advocating withdrawal from the Commonwealth, seem to take pride in isolating our country from the rest of the world. By our inactivity we are opening the door wide to China and Russia in Asia."

Lead Opinion

Some think that before he died Prime Minister Nehru was attempting to lead public opinion towards a working relationship with Pakistan. Can the present leadership do this?

"How can you achieve anything unless you educate public opinion? This is the Prime Minister's main task, and that of the press as well."

Why did you join the Swatantra Party?

"There is no point going into Parliament as an independent. I think

independents are most selfish of people. In a political party there is bound to be a difference of opinion, but you must operate together if you are going to give force to your political ideas. When I was first thinking of taking part in political life I was strongly attracted to the thinking of Rajagopalachari."

Will your party win in the next election in Rajasthan?

"This is very difficult to say. In normal circumstances it would have been likely. But the Congress Party is taking full advantage of the present crisis. An experienced politician can see that every day."

No Statesmen

A politician has been defined as one who thinks of the next election, a statesman as one who thinks of the next generation. In your opinion, do the Opposition parties have more politicians or statesmen according to this definition?

"There are no statesmen in India, only politicians. I make an exception for Rajaji, not because he is a leader of my party, but because of the man and his thinking. Jayaprakash Narain might be another exception."

It is said that your party has excellent intellectual leadership but lacks dedicated party workers. How do you propose to alter that?

"We are only six years old. Sometimes I think we are too gentlemanly, too broad-minded. The Jan Sangh have the R.S.S. which trains youth and recruits party workers. They have their hold on the villages and the factory workers. The Congress has bought the Panchayats. We may get leadership from the universities or the business community. Our ideology is a bit too sophisticated."

What evidence do you see of able, energetic young people entering the political scene?

"Very little. And that is what is so distressing. Wasn't there a time in America when politics seemed to attract only the opportunists? Maybe we shall just have to live through this phase."

"Sometimes I get so discouraged I am sorely tempted to forget the whole business and live in blissful oblivion. I could so easily do it. But when I drive through the streets and villages I cannot forget what I see."
A.H.R.

LETTERS

THE BROKEN STICK

SIR: Your readers may be interested in the following fable.

Pressed for a story, the grandfather began:

"Once there were two brothers, Shantilal and Yoddhalal. For years, they lived happily together; but one day Yoddhalal pressed for the partition of the property. Shantilal had to agree. They ran a wall right through the house, and Yoddhalal lived in the western half. But he kept on annoying his brother by letting his cattle and poultry stray into the other's garden, allowing his cesspool water to seep through the partition wall, and so on. Shantilal gave mild warnings and kept quiet.

"Once there was a robber scare; and Yoddhalal persuaded powerful Kuberas of a neighbouring town to give him a stout staff which was reinforced with metal bands. The latter complied with the request, advising him at the same time not to use it against his own brother who was known to be a good man. Being a promising lad, Yoddhalal airily said okay, particularly as no punishment was stipulated for misuse.

"One day, Yoddhalal beat his brother with the borrowed stick. Luckily, Shantilal had a metal helmet on, and the staff it was that snapped in two, in spite of the metal bands.

"While the neighbours were scolding Yoddhalal for his improper behaviour, he went again to Kuberas and asked for the free replacement of the staff as it had got broken because of the mean, wicked and cunning Shantilal wearing an extra thick helmet—"which clearly showed his low and suspicious nature".

Grandson—"Go on, grandfather, did the unthinking Kuberas give another stick, with stouter bands and sharp knobs, to the shameless man?"

Grandfather—"That, indeed, I cannot tell, as my grandfather broke off and did not complete the fable."

M. S. KALYANASUNDARAM*
Kodaikanal.

* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner.

MAKING UP WITH CHINA

SIR: After the Kutch aggression by Pakistan, a view is being expressed that we should seek some political solution with China. We are told that we cannot fight on the two fronts. Hence we should neutralize China. This view is being revived these days by Communists and their sympathizers.

Those who profess this view do not seem to understand that such a solution can be brought about only when both the parties are ready for that solution. They, therefore, do not consider the question of China's willingness to seek a peaceful solution.

This view also ignores conveniently that nothing can prevent China from repeating its past performance. She may accept a solution just now, gaining something in the process, and after a few years start fresh aggression.

So long as such betrayal is expected, we must not go in for peaceful solutions by ourselves. It is for China to take the initiative in this matter and to vacate the aggression first. Our efforts to seek a solution now will only make China's position strong. Once we come to terms with China, the purpose of military aid to us will be eliminated. The prospects of support in case of fresh mischief by China will also be weakened.

We must never make any distinction between the aggressors. All aggressors are equal for us. We must have only one policy in respect of them: build up our strength and make the aggressors vacate their aggression.

N. B. KULKARNI

Bombay 1

BANARAS UNIVERSITY

SIR: Ours is supposed to be a secular democratic country which allows religious freedom and toleration to all sections of the people. Still the Government retains some of the epithets such as "Hindu" and "Muslim" to a few leading educational institutions. While it is heartening to note that the Government has realized, though belatedly, the folly of having such names depicting nationality and creed of citizens, it seems that it has not the courage of convictions to carry through its reforms successfully. Or, how else is one to describe the recent decision of

HIMMAT awards Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be brief and exclusive.—Ed.

the Union Government to place in cold storage a Bill intended to amend the Banaras Hindu University Act?

The plea that the time is not opportune to rake up religious feelings and animosities when the country has to face unitedly an external aggressor, Pakistan, is no doubt true. But if that be the case, the Government should never have thought of introducing the amending legislation at the present juncture. To introduce a Bill and then confine it to the records by postponing it indefinitely is surely not the way of governing the country efficiently.

V. RAGHURAMAN

Bombay 22

CITIZENS' RIGHTS

SIR: It is heartening to note that you have steadfastly come out to speak for and safeguard the rights of the citizens, and the press.

The Maharashtra State's Hotel Federation, with the blessing of the Government of Maharashtra, has decided not to serve any type of meal on Monday evenings. This is to show patriotism and to comply with the request of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister never intended to make his scheme of missing a meal a compulsory one, but the Federation, due to its over-enthusiasm, has made the same a compulsory scheme. Though the motive may be patriotic, the step is an arbitrary curb on the freedom of a section of citizens, and a curb such as this is a complete violation of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution.

K. S. JAGMAG

Bombay 3



FOR SHEER DELIGHT

This was a life

JOHN WESLEY

1703—1791

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY England was corrupt, complacent and without ideals. John Wesley, founder of Methodism, changed the spirit of the age.

Wesley was born in Epworth, Lincolnshire, the fifteenth child of a Church of England minister. He studied at Oxford where he became a Fellow of Lincoln College. With a few friends, he founded a "Holy Club", devoted to self-improvement and good works.

A mission to Georgia in North America ended in fiasco after a mix-up with a young woman. "I went to convert the Indians," lamented Wesley as he sailed back to England, "but who will convert me?"

Contact with a group of German Christians, the Moravians, transformed Wesley's life. He stopped trying to prove his own goodness and resolved to rely totally on the forgiveness and help of God.

Comfortable clergymen closed their churches to Wesley because they hated his new "enthusiasm", as they called it. He spoke instead in the open air to crowds of thousands, especially in the growing industrial towns. "I look upon the world as my parish," he said.

He met furious opposition. Mobs stoned him. The press smeared him. He was unshaken. During 50 years he travelled 225,000 miles, mostly on horseback, addressed 50,000 meetings and wrote 233 books. He rose invariably at 4 a.m. He kept an exact account of his expenses.

Wesley's Rules for a Helper included: "Be diligent. Never be unemployed for a moment... Be punctual. Do everything exactly at the time... Be ashamed of nothing but sin; not of fetching wood (if time permit), or drawing water; not of cleaning your own shoes, or your neighbours'..."

He spoke with equal honesty to rich and poor. He attacked social evils like slavery, smuggling and corruption. He restored hope and dignity to tens of thousands of industrial workers. From such men came the leadership of the Labour Movement in the next century.

Wesley saved England from violent revolution by providing its moral equivalent. His work, wrote the historian Harold Nicolson, "purified politics, gave a fresh stimulus to public education, and created a wave of humanitarianism that led to the abolition of slavery and penal reform. Certainly it was one of the most civilizing inspirations that has ever improved the lot of man."

Q and A

Q—Why are most Indian traffic police so timid when it comes to giving directions and keeping things moving properly?

A. DELAUNE, Bombay 26

A—They are afraid to be wrong. Human, aren't they! For many people it is easier to take orders than give them. Taking orders leaves the other person responsible. Giving them means being responsible oneself. And this readiness to assume responsibility—whether policeman, pedestrian, clerk, student or trader—is what we shun most. We call it humility. It is really another way of saying, "I couldn't care less." "Don't involve me."

Q—Who is more useful to society, the journalist or the parliamentarian?

T. P. SATHYANARAYANA,
Hyderabad 1

A—Alas, we seem to need them both. And they seem to need each other. Pity the journalist without political antics to report. Pity the MP with no press coverage of his outbursts. And pity us all with no press and parliament!

Q—Why have so many Indians in Kenya chosen British citizenship rather than Kenyan or Indian?

KAMLA DESHPANDE, Poona 4

A—Forced to choose, I suppose most of us would decide on the passport we felt would benefit us most. But it is rather a sad commentary on our links with East Africa that those Indians who do not wish to become Kenyan citizens for life feel that they will benefit more from a British passport than an Indian one. They must have had too many letters from home about the increasing frustrations and cramping pressures

they would experience back in India, and not a few letters from friends in Britain where, for all our sour criticisms, there seems more opportunity, more incentive and more reward.

But having said this, the real point, as this week's editorial makes clear, is not what nation people choose nor what that nation can give them. It is rather what they choose to give that nation in which they find themselves today.

Q—Will the replacement of a parliamentary type of government with a presidential type improve the efficiency of our administration?

JANAKI VARADHAN, Bangalore

A—There are many forms of presidential rule. Some, as in the USA, are also subject to certain parliamentary checks and influence. I think you probably mean, however, a system in which full powers are vested in a president without reference to parliament. This, of course, is virtually a dictatorship—benevolent or otherwise. History does not record dictatorships which were efficient in the way I think you mean (that is, efficient for the benefit of all), unless for a period they enjoyed certain support of the people. Parliamentary government, cumbersome as it may often seem, does safeguard the privileges and freedom of the people. Through their representatives, they can criticize the administration and demand from its ministers, in person, adequate explanation of policies and actions. But efficiency is ultimately more a question of human nature than of administrative machinery. It is also a duty of the electors as well as the elected and the appointed. Efficiency is an excellent goal but a dangerous god. Hitler was very efficient—at doing things the wrong way. India wants the efficiency of a well-knit hockey team, not that of a chain gang.

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Can Africa Civilize the World?

By Rajmohan Gandhi

Nairobi

THIS is Africa's hour. In the flow of history, Africa's turn has come. At the United Nations, in Washington, Moscow, London, Rio de Janeiro, Peking, Tokyo and New Delhi, it is the African who commands attention.

What is going to be Africa's message in this day and age? Paradoxically, the African today enjoys in a sense the position and the platform which the white man enjoyed a few centuries ago. During that period the European had the chance to take all nations forward in economy, culture, social responsibility and character.

And he did something quite fantastic in nations and continents far away, among peoples and races with climates and habits totally different from his. He built roads, schools, hospitals and churches. He educated millions and lengthened their lives. He gave the common man, suppressed for centuries under native oppressions, revolutionary concepts of liberty, equality and democracy.

The colonizers were neither all good nor all selfish. A great number among them were remarkably unselfish and daring.

The European, however, failed. He did not succeed in creating a world family where all cared for each and each cared for all. And I believe he failed not because of the black sheep in his ranks but because many of the decent and hard-working among them preferred comfort and compromise to a life of absolute moral standards.

Bomb-backed Confrontation

Will the black man succeed where the white man failed? The idea that a black man was inferior because he was black was as absurd as it was costly. Yet it is equally irrational to assume that a black man is unselfish because he is black.

The challenge to the black man today is, of course, supremely difficult. He is called upon to play his part in resolving wars in Asia, divisions and rivalries in Europe, jealousies inside the Communist camp, the world-wide breakdown of family life, including in the United States, the instability in Latin America and the dilemma of the Bomb-backed confrontation: Communism vs. Democracy.

Anti-imperialism is too small an aim for Africa. It is also ultimately suicidal. Any aim that sets continent against continent, or black against white, must inevitably end in atomic flames consuming imperialists as well as anti-imperialists.

Hate never lets itself be contained. It explodes and strikes where it hurts the most. It is not possible to teach black to hate white and to expect that black will not hate black. If Africa wants friendship between tribe and tribe, between black and black, between neighbouring African nations, Africa must also work for the unity of black, brown, white and yellow.

And perhaps it is history's design that those who have suffered much should now show an extra measure of forgiveness and generosity. Africans must change the West, not hate it. Revenge is not the message today's uncivilized world needs.

Africans cannot and must not be patient. They need to be passionate for something far more than anti-imperialism or anti-white-ism.

There are problems in Africa which have nothing to do with the white man or his past rule.

Discontent in Sudan

Take the Sudan, for instance, where I recently spent three days. With an area of nearly one million square miles it is Africa's largest country. Its size, in fact, equals nine-tenths of India and one-quarter of Europe.

Nearly a third of the country's thirteen million people live in the South. The North is Arabic in speech, Muslim in religion and Arabized in culture. Many in the South, and most of the influential ones, are Christians.

The Southerners are in active discontent. They hate what they feel is Northern domination and especially the Northern officers and soldiers engaged in subduing them. Many want secession.

The Northerners are resolved to keep the territory intact. They feel the strong passions in the South are unjustified.

This wound across the Sudan must be healed. Not just the Sudan but the whole continent is at stake. If the wound grows deeper and there is a vivisection, the stage will be set for a hate-filled

confrontation between Africans and Arabs, between the Northern part of Africa and the black continent and between Muslims and Christians which could destroy many years of African freedom.

On the other hand, an inspired solution for the Sudan can prepare the ground for a meaningful unity of the whole continent. The goal of African unity will be nearer, and Africa will have a lesson that all other continents need.

In a significant speech the other day, the Chief Justice of Nigeria, Mr. Ademola, said, "In other times and places men united with one another and founded countries. In Africa, we have inherited countries and now have to create unity."

What Will Africa Say?

Audacious planning is the theme at the "Aim for Africa" Demonstration for Moral Re-Armament I am attending in Nairobi. Over 1,000 Africans, mainly students, are here, living, meeting and forging their strategy in Kenyatta College, formerly the RAF base. They are from many countries.

The conference chairman is Andrew Peppetta, a young South African teacher. This is what the initiators of the Conference state:

"Freedom is not free. We have to sacrifice to pay for liberty.

"Violence is outmoded. A new society can be created without resorting to force or dictatorship.

"Wealth comes from work. Development aid is no substitute for the hard work that is the only guarantee of progress.

"Unity comes from change. Only a common aim and new motives in men will make resolutions a practical reality.

"Prosperity need not lead to decadence. Free men must decide the disciplines that will guide them and their nations."

Africa's potential wealth is stunning. I don't mean the gold, diamonds, oil, and hidden minerals. I mean the richness contained in more than 200 million African men, women and children. Each has energy waiting to be used, talents waiting to be developed, needs waiting to be met.

The world is anxious to see the new type of African and to discover what he wants to say.

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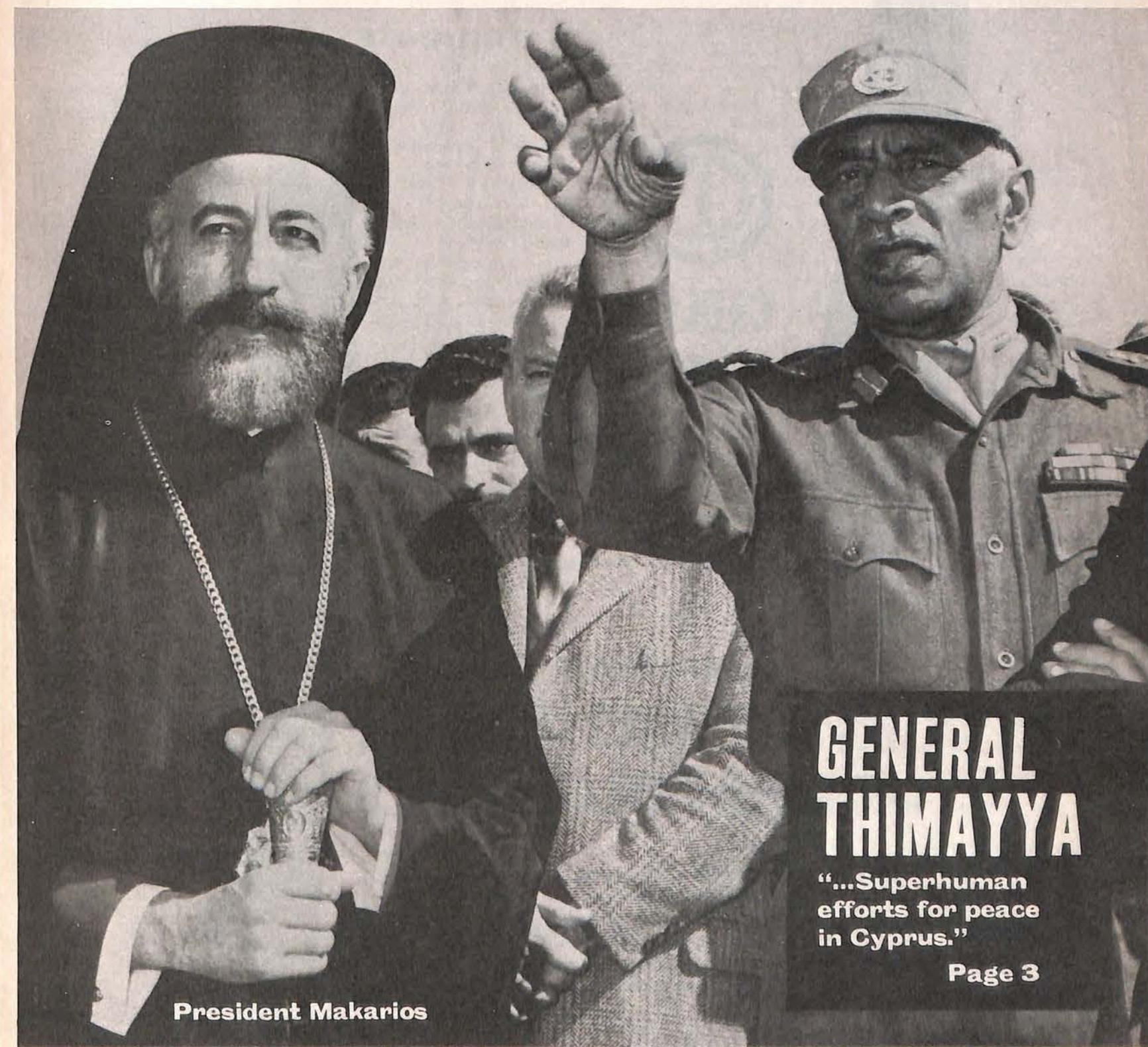
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"...Superhuman efforts for peace in Cyprus."

Page 3

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Under the Lens

BEHIND CHINA'S BUILD-UP