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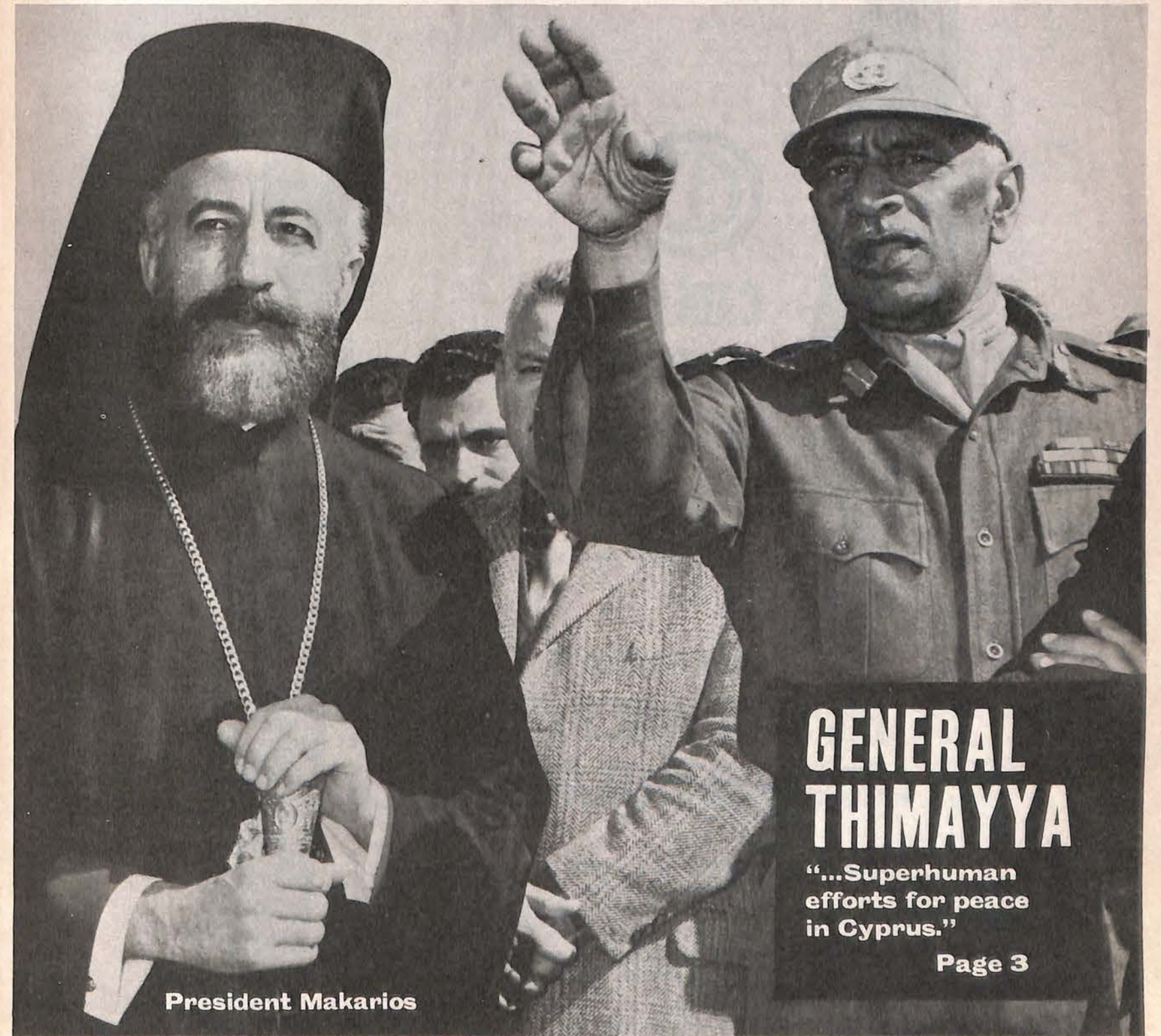
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HIMMAT

25P

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



President Makarios

GENERAL THIMAYYA

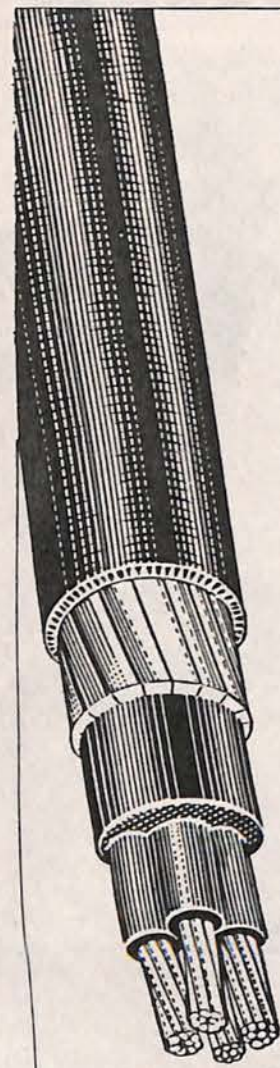
"...Superhuman efforts for peace in Cyprus."

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Friday
 December 24
 1965

Under the Lens

BEHIND CHINA'S BUILD-UP

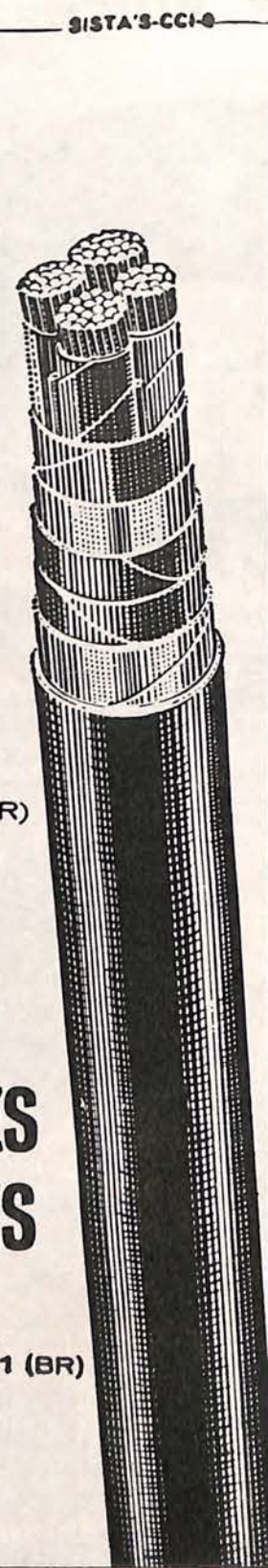


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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice WEEKLY Bombay Friday, December 24, 1965 Vol. 2 No. 8

Soldier Statesman

WITH THE PASSING of General K. S. Thimayya, India has lost a soldier statesman and the world a figure of great standing. He died in action commanding the United Nations Force in Cyprus. In a tribute describing his assignment in that strife-torn land, the Foreign Minister of Turkey, Mr. Ihsan Sobri Caglayanil, said that the General had made a superhuman effort to keep the peace. As a measure of his achievement, the Cypriot Foreign Minister, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, declared he had won "the esteem and gratitude of the entire people of Cyprus".

General Thimayya had a distinguished record as a fighting soldier. He won distinction at the fierce battles in the Arakan during World War II when he commanded a brigade. As a representative of the Indian Army he took part at the formal Japanese surrender at Singapore in 1945. In the Kashmir campaign of 1948, he confounded the "it can't be done" critics by using armoured vehicles to attack strongly held positions at an altitude of 11,000 feet. In 1957 he was appointed Chief of the Army Staff.

It was as Chairman of the Five Neutral Nation Repatriation Commission in Korea that he earned an international reputation. His firm, tactful handling of the situation prevented Communist pressures on the free choice of repatriation of prisoners.

To whatever tasks he undertook he brought drive, discipline and decision that inspired confidence and got things done. At the same time he had a humanity in all his relations with people. His personality reached all ranks who recognized in him a great leader and a true friend. In a fitting way the present Chief of Army Staff, General J. N. Chaudhuri, described him as "a fine soldier, a gay companion and a man who loved his country".

Perhaps his greatest quality was that he held to his convictions, even when they were far from popular. He was bold and outspoken in what he believed to be right. Such was the spirit of this soldier of whom the nation can be justly proud.

Disaster Course?

NO EFFORT of speech and attitude has been spared by the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan to ensure that the talks they have agreed to at Tashkent under Soviet auspices will fail.

President Ayub Khan has laid down preconditions for a settlement which he must have known would not be helpful for the right atmosphere for negotiations. Mr. Shastri, for his part, has reiterated that the problem of Kashmir has been settled forever and that it is not negotiable. Obviously then, there is no point to the parleys, and both parties have agreed to talk only to keep the favour of Kosygin, Brezhnev and company.

From the point of view of India, it is strange

that even the Prime Minister should constantly deny that there is any political dispute, when we have accepted the resolution of the United Nations of September 20 *in toto*. This specifically lays down that negotiations on the political problems between India and Pakistan shall take place once the basis for stabilization of the cease-fire has been laid down and withdrawals to positions existing prior to August 5 had taken place. At no stage during the deliberations of the Security Council was there even the slightest suggestion that the position was otherwise.

An unfortunate and reprehensible aspect of the Pakistani attitude is the implied threat of force if they do not get what they want. Fruitful negotiations cannot take place under duress. If one party holds out threat of force, the other naturally talks of counter-force. This is a disastrous course.

Both nations, apart from what they regard as the vindication of their national honour, must now face the honest truth—that a number of inhibiting factors plus the pressure of international opinion forced a cease-fire. Both of them owe it to the continent of Asia to explore seriously yet again how all the outstanding problems between the two countries can be resolved. Premature public utterances and statements of our case which do not conform to our international commitments can only inflame public opinion and prevent a lasting solution.

Prime Minister Shastri should go to Tashkent for a genuine exploration of the possibilities of understanding with our neighbouring country. It is the statesmanlike thing to do. However difficult it may seem now, in the long run it will also turn out to be the most politically profitable policy.

Dump the Dunk

INTO NEWSPAPER OFFICES there daily flows a river of "dunk"—official handouts that journalists heartily despise but happily utilize as a source of news. For sheer quantity the Government of India Press Information Bureau gets the gold medal.

The official text of the Prime Minister's speech in Parliament on his Tashkent visit is erratically typed and patchily printed on miserable paper. As if to hide in shame its place of origin, there is no letterhead. It is a typical specimen of Government of India dunk. It is obvious that those who produced it have no enthusiasm for their job.

These offerings on the altar of public relations are dispatched by the PIB to the waiting world's press. Do journalists give them a second look? We will present a better image of India to the world when PIB presents a better image of itself. Why shouldn't the Department practise standards normal in any well-run business—if it wants to stay in business? PIB's business is India. It should set a standard for the nation, and for the world. Unless it does it might as well save the taxpayers' money.

Briefly Speaking ...

Truth is the right you deny and the wrong you justify.

PETER HOWARD 1908-1965

Multiplying Reformers

STRANGE REFORMS in India's over-staffed administration are being attempted in New Delhi. The Administrative Reforms Commission, even before it has been formally appointed, has asked the Government for the following staff: 9 joint secretaries, 28 deputy secretaries and 243 clerks and Class IV staff. In addition, the Commission has asked for a fleet of 40 staff cars!

We obviously need now an Additional Reforms Commission to reform the Administrative Reforms Commission. How many staff cars they would require is not known.

Whitewash

ENGLISH COMEDIAN Spike Milligan was stopped by a policeman after driving across a white "halt" line at

a London road junction. When charged before the Court, Milligan's defence was: "This policeman was hiding behind a bush with a bucket of whitewash. As I approached he sprang out and painted the white line in front of me."

The Bench was not amused.
Fine: £5.

Cure or Ignore

THE UNION COMMERCE MINISTER, Mr. Manubhai Shah, returned to a favourite theme when he told a press conference in Dhanbad that corruption in public life was less prevalent in India than in other countries. Of all the countries in the world corruption was least prevalent in India, he said. Perhaps he had not read the 3-column headline in the *Hindustan Times* of the day before: "Speedy Action Against Corrupt Staff Planned".

Surely it is more important to get on with the job of curing corruption than trying to prove that it isn't there.

Speak Out

THE MADRAS MINISTER for Industries, Mr. R. Venkatraman, seems to have the right idea. Speaking in Madras last week, he stressed the need for the development of a strong and effective public opinion in India, like the one in Britain which turned out of office a Chamberlain after the Munich appeasement and an Eden after the Suez debacle.

"How can you develop healthy public opinion in a country where healthy thoughts do not find publicity?" he asked his audience.

Perhaps Mr. Venkatraman could persuade his Honourable Chief Minister to think along the same lines, instead of talking about taking strong action against those who have the courage to speak their minds publicly, even though it may not always coincide with what the Chief Minister thinks.

Electronic "Tortoise"

AN OXFORD physics graduate has invented a 10-inch-long electronic "tortoise" which obeys a whistle, avoids obstacles and learns from ex-

perience. When its creator, 22-year-old John Sandercock, whistles, it pauses; when it meets an obstacle, it backs off and makes a detour. It can also learn to associate the whistle with the proximity of an obstacle and take avoiding action before hitting it.

"Its process of learning is much the same as in an animal," says the inventor. "After all, the whole thing is only an electronic analogue of a brain function."

The "tortoise" sounds more human than some people we know who never seem to learn from experience.

"A Great Servant"

FOUR HUNDRED people at a Moral Re-Armament assembly in London this week heard British MP Patrick Wolrige-Gordon pay warm praise to the late General K. S. Thimayya who died last week in Cyprus. Mr. Wolrige-Gordon had recently visited the General, India's former Army Chief and UN Commander in Cyprus. He hailed the "enormous job" he was doing.

"The UN, as all things in life, depends upon the character of the men who serve them and in General Thimayya the UN and the whole world had a very great servant," said the Scottish MP.

Associated with Mr. Wolrige-Gordon in MRA's tribute were Air Vice Marshal Nigel Blair Oliphant and Air Vice Marshal Eric Maitland.

Diplomatic Break

ACCORDING to a recent report of the US Federal Aviation Agency, air travellers need anything up to five days to get back to normal after long distance flights through different time zones. The Agency said that people tested after such flights showed psychological disruption and confusion for up to 24 hours and abnormal body functions for three to five days. The State Department is reported to be considering ordering its diplomats 24 hours' break after such flights before beginning important negotiations abroad.

Could the Agency please advise New Delhi of some remedy for those who show "psychological disruption and confusion" even before they take off for negotiations with foreign Governments?

Tug of War for Africa

From R. M. Lala in Nairobi

A smart young African in a blue blazer stood up in the journalism class of the All-African Demonstration at Kenyatta College, Nairobi. "Today the OAU deadline has expired. Why is it, Sir, that only two out of 36 OAU countries have broken diplomatic relations with Britain?"

Why indeed?

Since then, seven more nations have joined and the list on Monday reads: Tanzania, Ghana, UAR, Sudan, Algeria, Mali, Mauritania, Guinea and Congo (Brazzaville).

Assistant US Secretary of State for Africa Mr. Mennen Williams thinks that Britain's failure to halt minority rule in Rhodesia may not only mean the exit of non-white members from the Commonwealth but also the "downfall of responsible friendly African governments and their replacement by radical elements".

African governments are not unaware of this risk but expect to steer their countries safely through the crisis. With the exception of a few like Ghana, the others don't want to stir the pot too much. In Kampala, Uganda, two days before the demonstration outside the UK High Commission, a high-ranking MP was approached to take part. He was told the Government was fully behind it and ministers would address the rally. When the time for the demonstration came, not only did the Government refuse permission but the police had to open fire injuring two youths.

Opinion Swings

There is a growing appreciation that the 12-day ultimatum to Britain was "ridiculously short"; that Mr. Wilson has his own difficulties at home and that in fact Britain has taken certain costly steps. In an editorial "Think Again" the *East African Standard* says last week:

"Measures applied by the British Government, though they do not come up to expectations, go far beyond those applied by any other state, and to Britain's considerable loss. Only four OAU members—Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria and Libya—have taken all the necessary legislative and administra-

tive powers to ban trade with Rhodesia. The energies of African leaders might be better applied to securing total compliance with the call for economic sanctions than in causing unnecessary embarrassment for Britain which, alone or through the UN, is competent to deal with the Rhodesian crisis."

Britain's aid, grants and trade coupled with her teachers, technicians and administrators, give her a considerable lever on the nine Commonwealth countries in Africa.

Britain's total aid and grants last year to African Commonwealth countries amounted to £60,904,000. Sixty per cent of their external trade is with Britain. Britain would certainly suffer from a diplomatic break but the shoe may pinch harder on the other foot.

Nkrumah's Ambition

Tanzania's break with Britain is all very gentlemanly and one might say in the tradition of the old school tie, with hopes of resumption of links in due course.

Ghana, on the other hand, is different. President Nkrumah's creditworthiness is already at a low ebb in the financial world, and he has had to turn recently to Britain to fish him out. One would have thought it would make him wise. But not so. His stock in the African world is even lower. Observers here feel that his dashing statement to call on member

states of the OAU to break links with all colonial or former colonial powers can be prompted only by his desire to bolster his own sagging reputation.

There is, however, some concern that his ambitions could plunge the continent into a holocaust if he does try to whip up an African armed force of volunteers for Rhodesia. Nkrumah's dream to be the first President of the United States of Africa, they fear, may produce the nightmare of a race-war for the continent.

Nigeria's Lead

It is a tribute to the maturity of African statesmanship that in no part of East Africa is there evidence of anti-white feeling. President Nyerere has forestalled possible trouble when, announcing the break with Britain, he added:

"If there were to be even one person among us who used this time as an excuse to indulge in racialism directed against white people residing here, that would be a betrayal of our country and the cause we fight for."

Nigeria is once again giving a constructive lead to the continent. Her Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Balewa, plans to visit all African Commonwealth countries and hold their conference in Lagos on January 10. He has already returned with "great hopes" after meeting Mr. Wilson.

This quiet educationist, now Prime Minister of the largest African State, might well have to educate both the Wilson Government and the African states on a way out short of violence.

CHALTA HAI ...



"I regret to say that due to the foreign exchange position your trip abroad to seek foreign exchange has been cancelled."

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HIMMAT, December 24, 1965

China's military strength and strategy—India's counter plan

Prime Minister Shastri has often in recent weeks at press interviews and public meetings expressed concern at the Chinese build-up on the borders.

It is known now that they are in the process of reoccupying the 20 kilometre de-militarized zone established under the terms of their own unilateral declaration of cease-fire and withdrawal after the conflict of October-November 1962. India has, for fear of giving a lever to the Chinese to attack once again, accepted this forcible and arbitrary occupation of territory by China.

Though there has been no attempt or preparation for large-scale invasion, it is obvious that China has adopted an aggressive stance against India and reactivated the whole border. Skirmishes, shootings and intrusions have become more common. We are in danger of minor incidents once again escalating into a larger border war.

Missiles and A-Bombs

Mr. Robert McNamara, US Defence Secretary, at the Paris meeting of NATO ten days ago has revealed that by 1967 China will have medium-range ballistic missiles which can threaten any city or industrial complex within a 500-mile radius of Lhasa and that she will have by 1975 operational inter-continental ballistic missiles. Also by 1968 she would have a neat stockpile of atomic bombs.

The military strength of Red China is an unknown quantity and is a baffling question for military strategists. It is known that she has three million men in service, supported by 20 million men in the reserves—the so-called "organized militia". The Chinese Army has 2.5 million men, and the Navy and Air Force have 250,000 men each.

Her armament and war industries are developing fast. It is reported that new industries have sprung up, capable of manufacturing tanks, submarines, artillery and planes, including supersonic aircraft.

The Chinese Air Force has 3,000 planes, mostly MiG 15s and MiG 17s. She can manufacture both these planes. She will soon be manufac-

turing the supersonic MiG 21s as well.

As a major world power her Navy is comparatively weak. She has 400 ships of various kinds, including one cruiser, four destroyers and between 30 and 40 submarines. No one knows the position regarding fuel supply and whether they have enough communication and supply facilities (trucks, oil, easy manufacture of parts and replacements, etc.) to fight a prolonged war.

The possibilities are that even if she can fight a prolonged war, she will not wish to do so as she does not want to jeopardize her growth and development as a strong power.

Faith in Revolution

The provocative actions on the Indian border could not have been intended as preliminary moves for a major attack on this country. Among the factors motivating Chinese policy at present are the following:

1. Faith in the revolutionary process and the concept of unending struggle as a means of furthering it and extending Communist power. Fomenting trouble and keeping up a fight under all circumstances is part of the Chinese Communist ethos.

2. Fear of revisionism in the sense that the younger generation of post-revolution Communists will become bourgeois, want comfort and be content with the goal of higher material standards. This fear has led present-day leaders of Communism to extreme demands for purity of doctrine, absurd impositions on all sectors of activity in the name of supremacy of ideology and the most exacting sacrifices on the citizens of the state and the struggling Communist Parties of the under-developed countries of the world.

3. Identification of the national aims of China—modernization of that country and the restoration to her of imperial influence across the continent with all her original territory restored—with the theory of inevitable extension of the area of control of Communist ideology.

4. Hatred of the United States as the principal power that holds in

Under the Lens



by **R. VAITHESWARAN**

check China's expansionism and a calculated policy of spreading guerrilla struggles and fomenting civil war, so as to increase United States involvement and weaken her by piecemeal wars fought on many fronts (the latest moves seek to start guerrilla war in Thailand and Malaysian Sarawak).

5. The need to defeat the development, growth and unity of India so as to destroy the potential of India as a rival political centre of gravity in Asia.

6. The necessity to achieve expansion in South-East Asia and undermine India without weakening her own military potential and endangering the prospects of her rapid growth. This is best achieved by the strategy of "wars of national liberation" whereby non-Chinese like the North Vietnamese fight in furtherance of China's objectives or inflammable issues like self-determination are used to foment mutually weakening wars such as between India and Pakistan over Kashmir.

Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri has recently argued in a press interview that both the military threat from China and the Chinese strategy to

Continued on page 13

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HIMMAT, December 24, 1965

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

De Gaulle's Next Round

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Geneva

Nobody has reported yet the reaction of President de Gaulle as he saw the first round election results coming in and making it increasingly clear that the French people had refused to give him the massive vote of confidence which he had asked of them.

And nobody has reported either how he took the oceans of advice which newspapermen, political leaders, friends and enemies from inside and outside France showered on him during the days after the election. The only thing that came out of the Elysee palace after the publication of the results was the short announcement that the General would participate in the run-off vote.

De Gaulle seems to have made basic errors of judgment during his election campaign. In his television speech of November, he said to the French people that they had to choose between him and chaos. Saying such a thing after seven years in power was an admission of defeat and all the opposition candidates were quick in pointing this out to the electorate. De Gaulle, not unlike Churchill, had assumed that the people would be eternally grateful for a big leader who had led the country out of a period of serious crisis. And not unlike the British people after the war, the French felt that the crisis was over and that maybe a slightly less dramatic leader would be more adequate to solve the more down to earth issues of today.

If the "take me or chaos" argument might have worked in the overseas territories where de Gaulle's prestige brought him up to 95 per cent of the votes, it worked against him in France itself where the people felt

obviously that the Gaullist era would soon come to an end anyway.

The French humorous journal *Le Canard enchaîne* published a cartoon after the elections showing a big de Gaulle arriving at the Arc de Triomphe and coming out smaller at the other end.

The commentators and politicians who expect that de Gaulle because of a disappointing election result will be more easy to live with and that he will cut down his plans and his demands, will come in for a rude shock. De Gaulle knows that he has not much time at his disposal. The result of the first vote makes the election next year of an anti-Gaullist parliament look even more certain.

So he will even speed up his efforts to put his domestic and foreign plans into practice and to train his successors to pursue his line after he has stepped down. Though re-elected with only a small majority in the second round, de Gaulle remains the factor in Europe both East and West will have to reckon with.



de Gaulle

The Man with the 50 Million Dollar Budget

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Los Angeles

The Vietnam War has focussed attention on the US Secretary of Defence, the second most important man in America. In the highly accelerated, ultra complex world of automation many find the pace of events and pressure of quick decision too much.

One of the most demanding jobs in the world today is that of US Secretary of Defence. Since the position was created in 1948, eight

men have held the post. Most of these men resigned from the job dejected and embittered. One,

Continued on next page

The week in Asia

DJAKARTA—Indonesia called for a direct exchange of views with Singapore on relations between the two countries.

PNOM PENH—A brief clash between units of the Thai and Cambodian armies was reported on the border.

RANGOON—General Ne Win, Chairman of the ruling Revolutionary Council, told his Party that the economy was in grave condition, particularly the distribution of goods. Total nationalization had not been intended from the start but had been forced on the authorities by circumstances, he said.

PNOM PENH — Prince Sihanouk authorized the International Control Commission to check all convoys from the port of Sihanoukville for arms and ammunition in the face of American charges that arms were reaching the Viet Cong through that port.

SAIGON—Twenty-two members of a Viet Cong platoon surrendered to American paratroops sixty miles northeast of the capital.

DJAKARTA—President Sukarno announced devaluation of the rupiah and sale of state vehicles to meet the severe economic crisis. Rupiahs had been selling for up to 40,000 to the dollar.

GANGTOK — Thirty Chinese were killed in clashes with Indian troops after some 300 Chinese intruded well into north Sikkim. Indian casualties were light.

DJAKARTA—Foreign Minister Subandrio has been relieved of his post as Deputy Commander of Supreme Operations Command (KOTI). Defence Minister Nasution replaces him.

RAWALPINDI—Pakistan will purchase \$5,840,000 worth of wheat from the United States this year.

DJAKARTA—More than 1,000 Communists have been killed in clashes with other groups in Bali in recent weeks.

KATHMANDU—Nepal's deputy chief of intelligence has been dismissed, reportedly for espionage activities.

SAIGON—American bombers attacked an industrial complex serving Hanoi and the port of Haiphong, coming closer than ever to the North Vietnamese capital. One power plant attacked provides for 15 per cent of the country's consumption of electricity.

CHITTAGONG—Some 17,000 people are reported to have been killed when a cyclonic storm inundated a chain of off-shore islands and scores of villages in great tidal waves.

PEKING—Reports are circulating of large-scale rioting in Sinkiang between local residents and Chinese settlers. 150 officials of the Communist Party are said to have been killed.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

James Forestal, leapt to his death from a hospital window. Only Robert McNamara has conquered the job.

McNamara at 49 is one of the most powerful men in the world. This power has made him not only the centre of attention, but of concern. People want to know what makes him tick. They ask is he the prototype of the modern computer-minded man, the kind of man needed to run multi-complex governments?

This super accountant and former president of the Ford Motor Company is both respected and feared by his compatriots. With chilling efficiency McNamara has extended his influence way beyond the Department of Defence to Commerce, Trade, Foreign Affairs and almost every phase of national life.

He is criticized and praised for

his unbelievable self-confidence, his torrent of unflinching facts and figures under intense Congressional cross-examination.

The Defence Department's \$50 million budget, its 2,700,000 men and women in the Armed Services, another million in the Reserve, 6,700,000 people employed in defence industries, plus the fact that over half the nation's total resource and development effort is supported by the Defence programme, makes running this empire almost beyond human endurance and comprehension.

Questions often asked are: "Is this the type of man required for the future?" "Must men work so hard and relentlessly?" McNamara's drive and stubborn determination has left little leeway for political padding, economic kick-backs, personal favours. There has been little tolerance of departmental bickering and personality clashes. And

for this, much resentment and jealousy has built up in many men.

Critics charge that a strong man may cut down on waste, but at the same time he "stifles initiative and imagination" in others. There needs to be "more room for experimentation and mistake", they say. So much power and potential progress cannot be limited to the "width of one man's mind". On the other side, the charge is made that the indecisiveness and irresponsibility of capable men who should give a lead inevitably forces one man into the position of having to make all the decisions.

Whatever be the answer to the questions and charges made in reaction to the "machine-like" personality of McNamara, he has established a precedent of hard work, single-minded commitment and disciplined concentration to detail that has become a standard for this modern day. It has also awakened the search for qualities of character both moral and mental needed in today's and tomorrow's leaders.

Aborigines Find a Champion

FROM JOHN WILLIAMS

Melbourne

The direct descendant of one of Australia's pioneers recently took a pioneering step to put right Australia's treatment of her original inhabitants, the aborigine people.

The first W. C. Wentworth was one of three men who crossed the mountain range west of Sydney in 1813, ending for the early colonists 25 years of isolation on the coastal plain. His great-grandson, another W. C. Wentworth, is one of the best-known members of the Government back-bench in Parliament.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Mr. Wentworth is noted for his readiness to take a stand on principle even if it conflicts with his Party's policy. His views are usually held to be right-wing, but he looks on himself as a radical.

The Commonwealth Government, in a referendum scheduled for next year which deals with the census, had planned to delete a paragraph stating that "aboriginal natives shall not be counted" in the population of Australia. This provision was included in the Constitution in 1897 not through lack of humanity but because the aborigines, a nomadic people, were reckoned impossible to count.

At the time of the federation of the different States at least one did not wish to include aborigines in their Commonwealth voters, as this would have obliged them to pay more towards the cost of federation.

Mr. Wentworth has seized on the chance of the referendum to propose two other amendments to the Constitution. He suggests rewriting one paragraph so that it gives the Commonwealth power to make laws specifically for "the advancement of the aboriginal natives of the Com-

monwealth of Australia", not just as at present for "the people of any race, other than the aboriginal race in any State, for whom it is deemed necessary to make special laws". He also wishes to include a direct provision against any discrimination because of colour.

The individual States have had the power to make laws for the aborigines, but since the Commonwealth controls taxation, little has been done for them. There has been greatly increased comment recently on how to raise the education and welfare levels of the aborigines—variously estimated at between 50,000 and 400,000 in number. No compensation has yet been given the aborigines for their original tribal lands.

Mr. Wentworth's suggestions have aroused widespread attention. The *Canberra Times*, the capital morning paper, devoted three articles in a week to the Labour Party's spokesman's comments—which were in favour of his political opponent's ideas.

Australians do not wish to practise discrimination, and there is much debate on how the anomalies of the past can be ended. It is still in doubt whether the Government will accept their back-bencher's ideas. But the issue will cause many to think.

Ceylon Student Riot Well Prepared

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Colombo

The one-man commission appointed by the Government to investigate the worst student riot on Peradeniya campus for many years won't have an easy task. Though nobody was killed, 110 students and police were injured, two critically.

It appears to have been a well prepared and highly organized affair. When a small detachment of police arrived hearing there was some trouble, they found a large body of students which quickly swelled to 2,000 waiting for them. They were armed with buckets of water to douse tear-gas shells and attacked the police with insults, then with stones. When reinforcements came, the police, finding tear-gas ineffective, fired in the direction of the crowd and then made a baton-charge.

One thing is certain: the students' demands were out of all proportion to the violence of their riot. Such

things as freedom to affiliate with outside organizations, freedom to issue press statements, representation on the Board of Residence and Discipline and a canteen for non-residentials are not worthy of risking human lives for.

The students did not find the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Nicholas Attygalle, easy to deal with and certainly not to sway. He is a very determined man with a will of his own. One view being strongly canvassed here is that the whole riot was planned by the Communists and their friends to discredit and oust Sir Nicholas and

Continued on page 12

The week in India

BOMBAY—Union Food Minister Subramaniam flew to Washington to negotiate future food-grain aid under PL 480 and discuss assistance to increase agricultural production.

BANGALORE—India will lose between Rs. 80 and 100 crores this year in foreign exchange export earnings from agriculture exports due to crop failures, Union Commerce Minister Shah announced.

NEW DELHI—The Government will transfer all distribution of cement to the Cement Manufacturers' Association from January 1 removing all government control on the price and distribution of cement. The Association claims this action will enable them to double the present output of 10 million tons yearly in five years.

IMPHAL—Two major clashes were reported between army and police units and Naga underground fighters.

NEW DELHI—The Left-wing Marxist Communist Party is facing grave dissension over its attitude towards China as a result of Chinese participation in the abortive Indonesian coup and the recent anti-Nasser plot in Egypt.

SHILLONG—160 Mizo tribesmen are reported to have re-entered India from East Pakistan with arms. They are members of the Mizo National Front that has greatly stepped up its recruitment and training of volunteer fighters for a separate Mizo state.

CALCUTTA—The Opposition walked out of the Bengal Assembly in protest against the Calcutta University Bill which it charged was usurping university autonomy.

BOMBAY—Nearly 10,000 employees of the Maharashtra Government were served retrenchment notices following a central Government directive to cut staff by 7 per cent.

LUCKNOW—The University was closed down following student demonstrations against alleged misuse of hostel funds.

CALCUTTA—Nearly 1,000 Pakistani nationals were traded at a border check-post for an equal number of Indian nationals interned in East Pakistan.

NEW DELHI—British Guiana will ship 43 tons of rice to India as a famine relief gift.

MADRAS—The Madras High Court dismissed 73 habeas corpus petitions challenging the legality of holding Left Communists in prison under the Defence of India rules.

CHANDIGARH—The Punjab Government rearrested almost all the 48 Left Communists recently released from jail by order of the Punjab High Court.

NEW DELHI—Soviet Premier Kosygin will be invited to lay the foundation stone for the new Soviet-aided Bokaro steel plant.



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

instal a man nearer their own heart. Certainly the Vice-Chancellor, who was away from the campus in Colombo at the time when the riot occurred (his house was partly set on fire), is a strong anti-Communist. He agreed to four of the students' twelve demands, but resisted the others.

University authorities confirm the strength of the Communists and their friends on the campus. The Minister

The week

CHINESE FIND URANIUM

HONG KONG—Uranium has been found in the Man-Ling Mountains in southern China, according to a former technician of the Peking Institute of Chemical Industry who escaped recently to Hong Kong. Three mines were producing 2,500 tons of uranium ore daily, he said. This was partly processed in China and partly in Czechoslovakia, where half the processed uranium was kept in payment. According to the former technician, experts from Russia and other Communist countries had come to inspect or work in the mines.

Examination of the fallout from Chinese atomic explosions revealed that they used uranium-235 instead of the more cheaply-produced plutonium. This tends to confirm that

of Education has also stated that he wants to clear out the cells operating there, among the staff as well as the students. He believes they were put there largely by the last Government. It is disquieting to learn that young monks were among those in the crowd who appear to have favoured the rioters.

While a firm hand may be needed, many feel that a more progressive and imaginative approach is needed by the authorities to win the students to a constructive, nation-building attitude.

elsewhere

the Chinese have found uranium, as making it would exhaust almost all their electrical power.

AFRICAN STATES CUT

SALISBURY — Nine African states have severed diplomatic relations with Britain so far following the resolution by 36 OAU nations to take this step if Britain failed to crush the Rhodesian rebellion by December 15. They included Tanzania, Ghana, Congo (Brazzaville) and the UAR. In New York UK Prime Minister Harold Wilson appealed for time to let sanctions work. From Salisbury came reports that Britain's stringent economic measures (banning virtually all trade, seizing Rhodesia's financial reserves, oil embargo) would begin to bite after Christmas and cause a financial crisis by March

or April. Mr. Smith, the rebel Prime Minister, warned that if unemployment hit Rhodesia the 500,000 foreign African workers and their families would have to leave. In Tanzania it was reported that exiled Rhodesians would be trained in sabotage and guerrilla warfare.

TRY MRA—NAIROBI MAYOR

NAIROBI—Those considering military and political action over Rhodesia should employ Moral Re-Armament as well, said the Mayor of Nairobi, Alderman Charles Rubia, at a reception for delegates to the MRA "Aim for Africa" Conference here. "More than ever there is need for MRA in Africa," he said. Thanking him, Conference Chairman Andrew Peppetta of South Africa said his country's leaders had viewed Kenya cynically after independence, predicting chaos. Now they were watching its progress and stability, saying, "If Kenya can conduct its affairs in this way, maybe we can do what she is doing."

PORT SAID TO BE "FREE"

CAIRO—Port Said, at the south end of the Suez Canal, is to become a free trade zone, announced Deputy Premier M. K. Hatem recently. Asian, European and North American firms have offered to build factories there. India has offered to build a plant to pack tea for European distribution. More travellers pass through Port Said than any other port. The UAR Government believes it will become the most important free trade zone in the world.

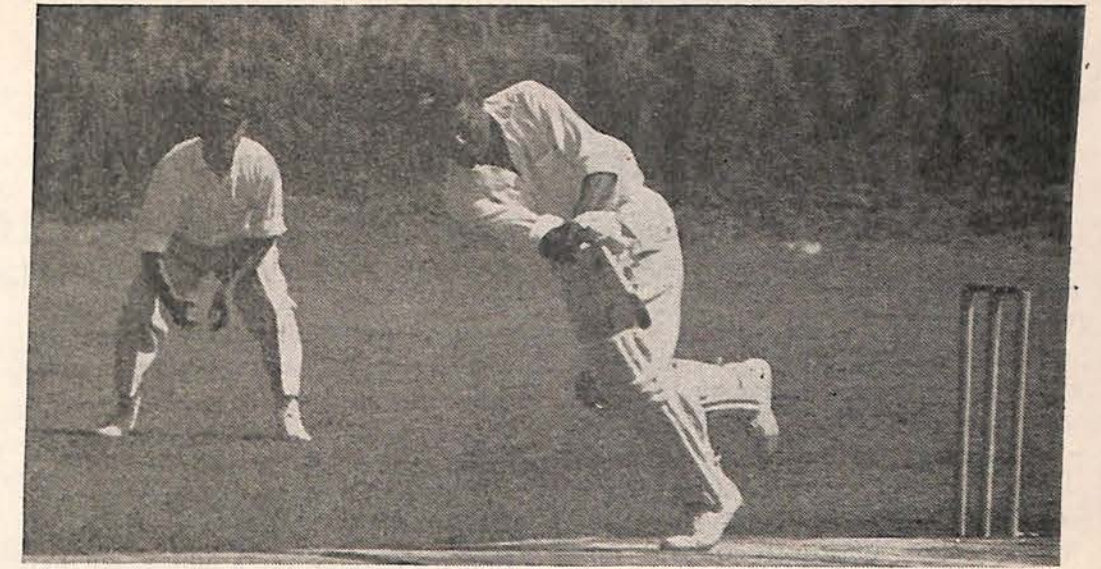
CHINA'S MISSILE SUBS

LONDON—China has two ballistic missile submarines in her underwater fleet of 30, reports the new edition of "Jane's Fighting Ships", standard work of reference on the world's navies. The missile-carrying submarines are of 2,350-ton displacement and have a surface cruising range of 22,700 miles—ample for missions into the Indian Ocean. The sea route from Canton through the Malacca Straits to Colombo is just over 3,000. Russia has 35 nuclear submarines and 390 conventionally-powered. The US Navy will have 100 nuclear submarines by 1970, including 41 armed with Polaris missiles.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

ONE-RUN WIN

NAIROBI—A team led by West Indies Cricket Vice-Captain, Conrad Hunte, scored a one-run victory over the Indian High Commissioner's XI here last Saturday. Hunte and all his team were attending the MRA "Aim for Africa" Conference. They included the Cambridge opening batsman Keith McAdam and T. C. "Dickie" Dodds, former opening batsman for Essex. Our photo shows Hunte driving a ball away from Mr. Prem Bhatia, the Indian High Commissioner. Final score: Bhatia's XI: 216 for 8 declared; Hunte's XI 217 for 7. The winning run was scored off the last ball.



UNDER THE LENS—from page 7

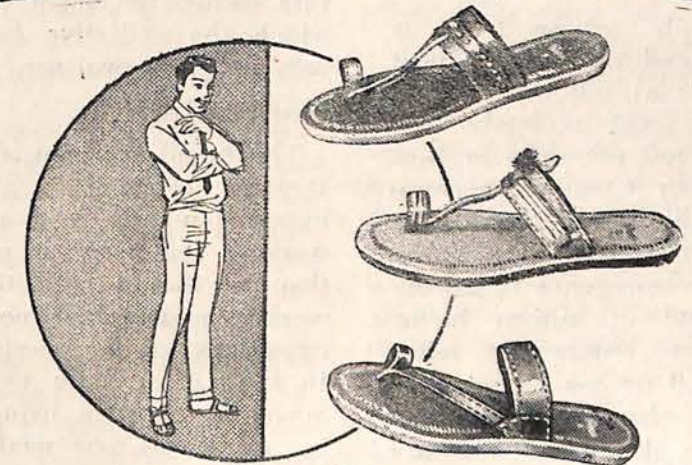
isolate India from African and Asian countries were reasons "why India does not want to abandon its policy of avoiding alliances with the United States or any other country". He added, "A strong and independent India is probably the best guarantor of stability in South Asia, rather than an India allied to the US."

The latter statement is true. Few would also question the fact that against the advantages afforded by US alliance, India would have to consider the dangers of displeasure and opposition of the USSR, evoked by such a pact.

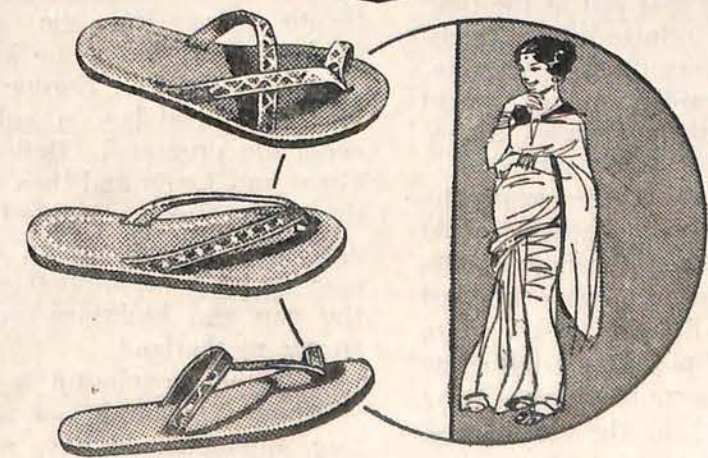
The only worthwhile counter-strategy in the race to become modern Asian powers is therefore to strengthen policies that will build friendships and strengthen bonds, and abandon all aspects of policy that embroil us in dispensable conflicts. We cannot allow ourselves to be distracted from the major task of building a strong, united and independent nation.

In practice this means the extension of Mr. Shastri's policy of further winning our neighbours. We need to make an honest and honourable attempt to resolve our disputes with all our neighbours, including Ceylon, Burma and Pakistan, in the larger interests of peace in Asia, however difficult it may seem. At the moment it is the only statesmanlike policy that can save us from the strategy of China and enable us to play our rightful part in Asia.

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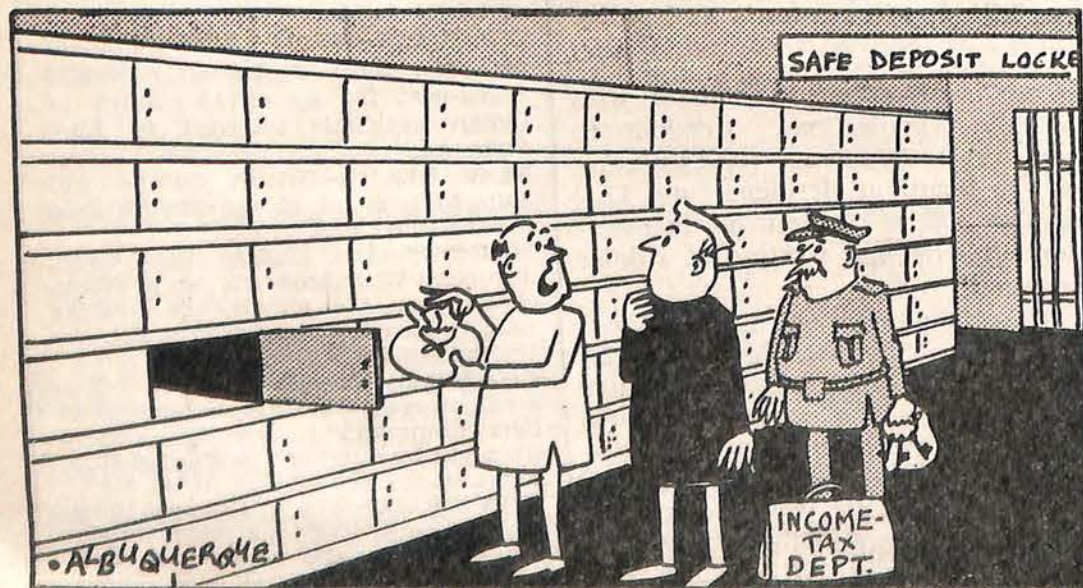


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Is Ivan a Capitalist After All?

The Institute of Economic Affairs has just published a fascinating new paper-back,* by Margaret Miller. Dr. Miller writes with authority. She has made a life-long study of Russia's economy and has visited the country eight times, including this year.

Her chief conclusion, strangely, is reached on the third page of the first chapter. It is a significant commentary for all starry-eyed materialists of Left or Right who believe still that a change of system alone will ensure a change in human behaviour.

The paragraph whose truth is amply documented through the next 250 pages reads as follows:

"Perhaps the most intractable obstacle encountered not only in Russia but in other Communist countries is man himself. Despite the idealistic hopes aroused by the Revolution of the emergence of an entirely new kind of human being, Communist man remains in many respects much as he has always been in Russia and elsewhere, inconsistent, wayward, stubbornly resistant to official pressure, averse to change, addicted to self-interest. It is by no means far-fetched to read into the current reforms governmental recognition of this truth and an endeavour to reshape the economy so as to take account of it."

Paradox

It is a paradox that just at the time when Russia is reintroducing traditional capitalist incentives some countries of the non-Communist world are subjecting their peoples to increasing doses of state control.

Dr. Miller writes with sympathy for the Soviet Union. Most of what she says has been published in official Soviet sources over the last twelve months. But she is bound to say that theft, pilferage, deliberate falsification of accounts have always been widespread in the Soviet economy

*The Rise of the Russian Consumer, by MARGARET MILLER, Polar Book, 7s 6d.

despite incessant state propaganda to treat state property with as much care as they would their own. "This lesson has not been absorbed by the mass of the population," the author claims.

A remarkable statistic on agricultural production is documented. "In spite of the severe discouragement of private markets by collectivization over thirty years ago, about half the meat and milk, nearly all the eggs, and much of the fruit and vegetables consumed by the Russian population still come from the private sector, the small private plots which the collective farmers cultivate for their own use."

Contradiction

The broad common conclusions of Western economists about Soviet living standards is that the Soviet worker's real wage is probably less than half that of the British or French worker, and at best no more than one-quarter of the American worker's. In fact, it is made clear that the Soviet standard of living in general has made only very modest advances since 1928.

The reasons advanced for the harshness of Stalinism are more fundamental than simply blaming every ill on the "cult lichnosti" (cult of personality). The author believes that Russia has been haunted by the fear of "economic backwardness" ever since she emerged in the fourteenth century from the "long night of the Tartar domination into renewed contact with a Europe that had far outstripped her in cultural and economic progress". Both Peter the Great and Lenin and then Stalin had driven the Russian people far beyond any Western conception of endurance in their determination to lessen the gap and build an economically strong motherland.

A further conclusion is somewhat startling: "Revolution or no Revolution, Russia would have moved forward and fulfilled the natural desire of a great country to develop her human and material resources to the

utmost. That it has been done in Stalin's way explains much about the nature of the 1962 reforms."

Interestingly enough, it is claimed that ideological work in Russia is still patchy and often ineffective. A survey carried out by the Ideological Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in a town in the Leningrad region described flourishing industry, schools and cultural institutions, high education, many radio sets and a large sale of books. But the sale of spirits was higher than in any other part of the province, there was far more crime and hooliganism than elsewhere, showing that ideological work had lacked a practical basis and had failed to influence people's behaviour.

One of the reasons for the new pressures inside Russia is that the Government, in order to achieve their new aims and targets, have had to raise the levels of education high. These new highly-trained scientists and technicians, computer and automation experts, cannot be kept in doctrinal blinkers. "They are demanding a climate of opinion in which they can freely exercise their skills."

Evasion

One reason for the rugged individualism and stubbornness of the peasants is that for centuries they have carried the economic load. They have had to carry out policies they have not understood. They have perforce developed a deep-rooted suspicion of authority, and a "high degree of skill in the arts of evasion and self-defence, as well as a strong resentment of the inferior position allotted to them".

The new men coming into office are demanding less centralized control, more freedom for creative effort, a more flexible economy and the opportunity for techniques of decision-making which truthfully reflect economic facts rather than following a dogmatic line.

The author concludes, "For the world as a whole the emergence from the darkness of subservience of a people as talented, profoundly patriotic and deeply pacific as are the Russians, may well rank as one of the most significant and beneficent events of the twentieth century."

G.S.W.

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

"We Need Dynamic Leaders"

SAYS NIGERIAN CHIEF'S GRANDSON

HIS GRANDFATHER was a Chief, the natural ruler of the village of Aguleri, 15 miles from Onitsha, in Nigeria's Eastern Region. His father is a post office technician. John Nchekubwe, 19 years old, is the eldest of six children and a student at the Federal School of Science in Lagos. "I just couldn't live without my books," says John.

A Government grant allows him £14.10.0d. (Rs. 190) a month. Tuition is free. But the allowance has to cover books, clothes and lodging at a student hostel. Four of the students at his college are sons of Indian families in Nigeria. Among the staff are teachers from India, Britain and Australia.

Nigeria gives free primary education. It is therefore possible for most families to send their children for elementary education. Three-fifths of the children of the country, John believes, are being educated.

What do you think about educational prospects in Nigeria?

"We have too many graduates in the arts and not enough doctors and technicians. Last year doctors employed by the Government received just over £700. This was recently raised to just over £900. Graduates returning to Nigeria with law or arts degrees get jobs in the four-figure bracket straight away. This is creating a wrong set of values."

What about the recent political storm in the Western Region?

"There has been violence and looting on the streets which has come mainly from the young unemployed and those in the lower income groups. The students are not effectively involved in national politics. We have not reached the stage of being active in national affairs. Although sometimes students make a lot of noise and trouble for their own 'rights'."

If the present crisis is unsolved what will happen to Nigeria?

"I am afraid the future looks very gloomy. It pains me to see all the work that has been done to create

a country like this going to pieces. We can see the break-up and disintegration of the Federation. It is nearer than many will admit."

If the situation is resolved and the country moves ahead?

"Nigeria would take its rightful place in the leadership of the African continent. History has given us two choices—to live straight and carry forward the whole of Africa or to accept defeat and drag the whole continent down with us."

"Our Prime Minister speaks of the Nigerian experiment of all religions, classes, ethnic groups, backgrounds living together as one nation. If we succeed we will demonstrate to the whole of Africa and perhaps the world that these differences do not count. What does count is the character of our people."

Look at Rhodesia

What do the students think about the Commonwealth?

"It seems to us that the bonds that hold the Commonwealth together are breaking. Look at Rhodesia; India and Pakistan. We are getting less and less interested in a Commonwealth that has no meaning. Some think it is the last relic of imperialism and the sooner it breaks up the better."

...and the United Nations?

"We think America and Russia dominate the UN. In the same way that the Commonwealth seems to demand its members become "yes-men" for British policy so we are being asked to go along either with the USA or the USSR in the United Nations. Unfortunately, in spite of their ideals both organizations are not dynamic enough, or objective enough, to settle crucial issues. In fact, we wonder if they are being stage-managed by the Big Powers."

What would you do to improve them?

"They afford humanity the forum to air our differences. But they must



John Nchekubwe, Eastern Nigeria

become effective in settling these differences. There is no alternative but to find the way to make them work. This must be done quickly."

How do you think the OAU can do better?

"We Africans feel responsible for the OAU because it is ours. It is basically African. It affords us protection from exploitation from East or West. There is the hope of a united Africa growing from the OAU that could be a force for what is right in the community of nations."

Evidently this is not happening in certain parts of Nigeria right now. How then can it be so in the world?

"There you have me! These problems of jealousy, hatred, ambition and petty rivalries must be tackled before Africa can have an effective voice in the modern world. Our leaders need to grasp the great possibilities that lie ahead—especially for our generation. Youth is becoming disappointed and disillusioned. We want dynamic, sincere leadership which will give us the unity and the progress that is so far eluding us."

What will you do about it?

"Some students think the answer is to take power for themselves."

Would this be a solution?

John paused, smiled and said: "Unless these issues of corruption and immorality are nipped in the bud there will be no difference whatsoever. We youth do in our little way what some of the leaders are doing on a national scale. That's Nigeria. The nation will continue to suffer until the youth find a new purpose."

V. J.

LETTERS

NATURE AT WAR

SIR: Natural enemies like flood, famine and drought are as formidable as poverty, ignorance and disease. We have been concentrating our energies and resources on expelling the latter. This year's severe drought in six of our States has, however, made us alive to the urgent necessity of waging a fierce battle against the wild forces of nature. Two remedies are flood control and afforestation.

(i) Taming of our turbulent rivers in the north is an indispensable task. This could be done by lengthening and broadening the river beds. Dredging of channels and digging of canals for storage of water from the inundating rivers would not only eliminate the ever present threat of floods but also reduce the panic of occasional droughts.

(ii) Growth of forests in this country is long overdue. Some of our constructive enthusiasts tried hard to encourage it. Many of us ridiculed their zeal. Though their efforts were desultory, haphazard and fruitless, their goals were undoubtedly noble.

Although flood control and afforestation will not give us a magic cure for droughts, yet they would certainly strengthen our capacity to meet the ruthless challenges of nature. All that is needed is a comprehensive vision, a tenacious resolve, a strong will and a vigorous endeavour.

SURESH R. ARANAKE *

Satara

* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner.

FREE SPEECH

SIR: Please accept my heartfelt and sincere congratulations for your daring article "Danger to Free Speech". It is very encouraging to a person who was anxious to see at least one soul out of 480 million speak the facts and the truth, since in the name of truth and honesty, only untruth and dishonesty and false pride are in existence in the present society. You will be doing a great service to this nation and the younger generation if you keep up the tempo of your article.

V.P.K. PANIS MUDALIAR

Poona 4

PREACHERS ALL

SIR: Our country has the great weakness of preaching something and practising the opposite. Our beloved Prime Minister says that we should conserve foreign exchange. Immediately we see 15 delegations going to foreign lands, to preach about India's policy on Kashmir and we are told the members of the delegations don't even know the places of their visit, their geographical importance, etc. To go to foreign lands, the best thing is to become a government official.

It would have been more worthwhile if this exchange was used to import fertilizers!

K. ANANTHANARAYANAN

Madras 4

ROAD PLAN

SIR: Rashness, inconsideration, and faults attributable to character are not inconspicuous throughout the country with vehicle drivers, but vast improvement would result from attention to the following rules:—

1. No right hand driving (especially in two lane highways) and no overtaking on the left.
2. No backing into a main road.
3. Correct positioning when turning, especially when turning to the right off a main road.
4. All vehicles, especially buses, to stop close to the left hand curb. No double parking.
5. Roads to be maintained in good repair. (Pot-holes invariably make drivers swerve to avoid them without consideration of overtaking or oncoming traffic.)
6. At night all cars, lorries and buses to have two front side and two rear (red) lights in working order. All motorcyclists and cyclists to have one of each.

Roads, after all, are for the use of cars. All roads should have pavements free from obstructions, to minimize jay-walking.

I do not agree with conferring on ordinary citizens the right to become the administrators of law. If the police force will not or cannot enforce the law then the answer is to replace, train or enlarge the force.

M. PAINE

Bombay 1

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

TRAFFIC BUSYBODIES

SIR: HIMMAT's suggestion that public-spirited citizens should be empowered to report on defaulting motorists is anti-democratic and totalitarian.

India needs fewer busybodies, not more. Such appointments are bound to lead to abuses of power and more corruption only. Surely there are enough people on the roads who will take the responsibilities of driving seriously, and the existing police force is quite capable of dealing with the breaches that are committed.

M. SHAH

Bombay 1

THREE-PRONGED ATTACK

SIR: It is alarming to learn from the 41st report of the Public Accounts Committee presented to the Lok Sabha that as many as 17,556 tonnes of foodgrains were shown as damaged in the accounts of Government godowns in 1963.

Rightly did the Committee record that "it was scandalous to allow the public exchequer to suffer a huge loss by continuing a system in which the contractors exploited and the officers connived".

Indeed, the food problem will never be satisfactorily solved in spite of all plans and dams, while 18-20 per cent of the total food production is allowed to be eaten away by insects and pests and six rodents are permitted to consume the food of one man.

It is indeed a shame that even after 18 years of independence we have not been able to stand on our own feet on the food front, though more than 70 per cent of our population is engaged in the occupation of agriculture.

There is only one solution to the problem and that lies in launching a three-pronged attack—that of increasing production to the maximum possible extent, changing the food habits of the millions, and conserving and protecting every grain in every possible manner by every possible step.

TALWAR M.M.

Bombay 3

This was a life

ALFRED THE GREAT

849—901

ALFRED'S England was plundered by foreign invaders who glorified war, seized half the country and threatened slavery, genocide and exploitation on the rest. Alfred led the liberation struggle and founded the English nation.

Fifth son of the King of Wessex in southern England, Alfred succeeded to the throne when he was 22. That year he fought nine pitched battles with the Viking invaders.

Five years of peace followed. Alfred used the time to rearm. A chain of strategic bases were built. The army was reorganized so that half the local militia were always available for field service.

In 878 came the crisis. Striking by land and sea the Vikings surprised Alfred and overran Wessex. He withdrew to Athelney, a swamp-protected command post in England's far west. From here he conducted guerrilla operations; then, concentrating all the patriotic forces at a secret rendezvous, struck back. At Ethandun, in Wiltshire, the Vikings were crushed.

There was a 12-day peace conference. Instead of executing the Viking leaders—a policy that would have perpetuated race-war in the torn land—Alfred impressed on them the superiority of a way of life that valued human dignity. The Viking general received Christian baptism. He and his men did not become saints overnight; but they settled in eastern England where they integrated, in course of time, with their neighbours.

To prevent further Viking landings, Alfred built a fleet of faster, heavier warships—earning the title of a founder of the English navy.

Inheriting a near-illiterate kingdom, Alfred started schools to educate future leaders. He himself translated historical, religious and scientific classics from Latin into English—thus making available to his people the best thinking of the day. To make best use of his own time, Alfred invented a candle-clock, dividing the day into sections.

Alfred differed from some modern "liberators" in that he fought, but did not hate, his enemies. He tried, effectively, to civilize and make them friends. Nor did he leave lukewarm followers. His son Edward, thanks to Alfred's care for education and sane home life (Alfred married only one wife and had five children), carried on and completed his work of uniting the country.

Alfred, who was troubled most of his life by ill-health, died aged 51. He is the only king the English call "Great".

Q and A

Q—India has asked the UK and the US not to interfere with the Kashmir question. How then is India right in opposing the proposed Anglo-US base in the Indian Ocean?

K. RAGHUVVEER, Hyderabad 7

A—We never seem to equate the "interference" of others in our affairs with our "advice" to others about their business! This is not only an Indian quirk. It is human nature. It shows up in families just as much as between nations. What is needed is the genuine wish to help the other person or the other nation make the right decision themselves, rather than tell them what to do. In a shrinking world armed with nuclear bombs, we have to learn to shrink our points of view and enlarge our willingness to consider what is best for all. By throwing overboard a bit of our pride this can be achieved faster than we imagine.

Q—On whom should our Prime Minister rely more—senior civil servants or cabinet ministers?

N. C. VEERACHARI, Hyderabad 4

A—This is rather like asking whether one would prefer to have a left foot or a right foot. Both are desirable even if not indispensable. He is a very unwise Prime Minister who does not make the most use of his best civil servants. Frequently they have much more experience of the workings of their particular department than has the minister who, in many cases, does not spend many years with the same portfolio. In our present government set-up the minister is basically responsible for policy and the civil servant for executing it. But the line can never be drawn as sharply as that in practice because the political branch must inevitably be

advised by the permanent officials. The rejection of such advice, of course, often leads to great friction and resentment though it may often remain smothered. The mark of a good Prime Minister is the ability to draw the best from his cabinet and civil service, to shape an administration where all feel that their convictions are seriously considered and, above all, where each is able to say what he honestly feels no matter how unpopular it may be with the political, vote-conscious, party-led elements in Government.

Q—How do you describe a man who betrays his country?

JAMEEL AHAMED, Sagar

A—Not all betrayers are those who can be convicted in a court of law for treason. Peter Howard once wrote that "bystanders today are betrayers". He meant that those of us who stood on the sidelines only watching—sometimes encouraging, but usually criticizing those who are giving their best to change the world's drift away from hate and division—were traitors. To refuse to do what we know is right for the sake of comfort, popularity or reward is the best description of betrayal. Everyone of us knows where we stand in this regard.

ANY QUESTIONS?

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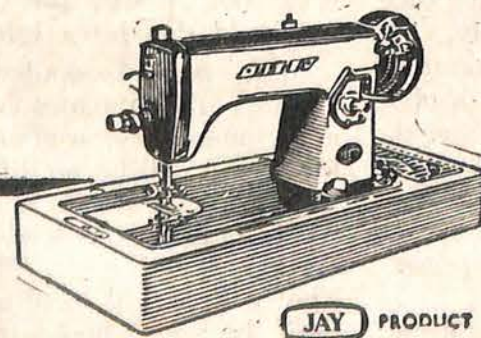
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Indians in East Africa

By Rajmohan Gandhi

Nairobi

THE EIGHT LIONS were thirty feet from our Volkswagen, staring dully at a fresh lot of visitors to the Nairobi Game Park. Suddenly there was a stir—a pig had appeared about 100 yards away. Two princesses of the jungle stood up, took a good look at their quarry and marched forward to position themselves on its either side. The desperate animal found a hole and hid himself. The lionesses waited, knowing that he would soon emerge panting, and that they would tear him apart in seconds.

It is common in East Africa, where a minority of whites and browns live among blacks, for each race to hold that it is the hunted pig. The white man, still performing vital tasks, is insecure and fears revenge. The brown man is afraid that his wealth will be taken from him. The black man is not satisfied with what freedom is brought and is jealous that superior training still enables whites and browns to maintain affluence and influence.

Yet the Kenyan spirit is different. Mzee (old man) Jomo Kenyatta's remarkable and shrewd leadership is the reason.

Many Laps to Go

I don't believe his unusual statesmanship has many comparisons. Detained for years by the British and suffering much in the freedom struggle which had its violent as well as peaceful turns, he has come out as a leader free of bias and hate. All races are impressed by him. A skilled, practical diplomat representing a major Asian country told me he had asked the President how and why he pursued the policy of Harambee, "let's pull together".

"Hatred solves no problem and is wrong," replied Kenyatta. The frank, unsophisticated reply surprised the diplomat.

Kenyatta's straightforward wisdom is responsible for much of Kenya's health and vigour. He is, of course, aware that there are many laps to go.

There are 180,000 Asians in Kenya. They had to decide by December 12 whether they would choose Kenyan citizenship. About 70,000 opted, including those who were automatic citizens, being

born in Kenya to a Kenya-born father or mother. Most of the remaining 110,000 would like to stay on in Kenya. They don't know whether they will be allowed to. Some of them have money in London or Switzerland. Many have land or securities in India.

It is significant how many have taken British rather than Indian citizenship.

I neither condemn nor applaud their decision. Each person, I am sure, had a unique situation which he alone could best judge. Yet it is interesting that some who once were loud in opposing the white man's rule now prefer it.

"Certainly, We'll Try"

Asians in Kenya have played an important role. They have multiplied trade and brought goods and services to remote areas. It is said that there is not a modern building in Kenya in erecting which Kutch masons or Sikh carpenters did not have a part. In the judiciary and in the administrative services Indians have fulfilled necessary duties.

They have also done well by themselves. Thrifty Gujaratis and resourceful Punjabis have not come out badly as a result of their involvement with Africa.

I am struck by their enterprise and initiative. Their shops are neat and smart. Service is efficient and courteous. "Certainly, we'll try" rather than "No, can't be done" seems to be their motto. I tried not to compare conditions with those in Bombay but failed.

It is not that people in Bombay are different from Nairobi Indians. More likely than not they are brothers or cousins. It is, I believe, the freedom from vexatious and endless curbs and constraints that makes business robust in Kenya.

I am sure it is necessary for black, brown and white to work in partnership. For some in Kenya the temptation has been to unite two races against a third. That is a suicidal game. Some Indians, for instance, had hoped that their aiding the African struggle against the white man with money, thought and energy would win the black man's friendship. It has not worked out that way. Today the Indian is resented. Yet Indians pledged to Moral Re-Armament

and prepared to use their time and wealth for remaking Africa are wanted and needed.

There is a popular and dangerous myth that deserves to be exploded. It is that the white man is responsible for the division between brown and black and for the divisions among Indians and Africans.

Simple honesty, I submit, will reveal the absurdity of this notion. Were Africans united before the European stepped on this continent? No. Were Indians and Africans united? No.

The white man, in fact, reduced Indian and African divisions. Before he came contact between different Indian regions was mainly confined to princely families at the top, when they exchanged sisters or daughters in marriage, or to soldiers, who exchanged blows in war. Communications and the system of university education that came from the West brought Indians closer together.

The myth is dangerous because today's divisions among Indians and Africans are real and costly. To cling to the theory that it is all the white man's fault means the divisions will not be removed.

Jerk to Conscience

Division is the inevitable result when we are self-absorbed and put ourselves, our caste, our language, or our tribe first. Others may use our divisions but they can never create them. Nor is it only an outsider who uses division. Many an Indian or African politician happily exploits division to entrench himself in power or to get there. Nothing short of the revolution of Moral Re-Armament can deal with the root cause.

The black man may need the brown man and the white man. There is no question that white and brown need him. The African continues to disturb man's conscience when his brain has invented excuses for deadening it to almost any kind of selfishness and indulgence. Allegedly brilliant Western and Asian intellectuals may denounce almost every virtue, but they still insist the black man's rights be upheld.

The African can use this hook in amoral man's drugged conscience to jerk it back to life.

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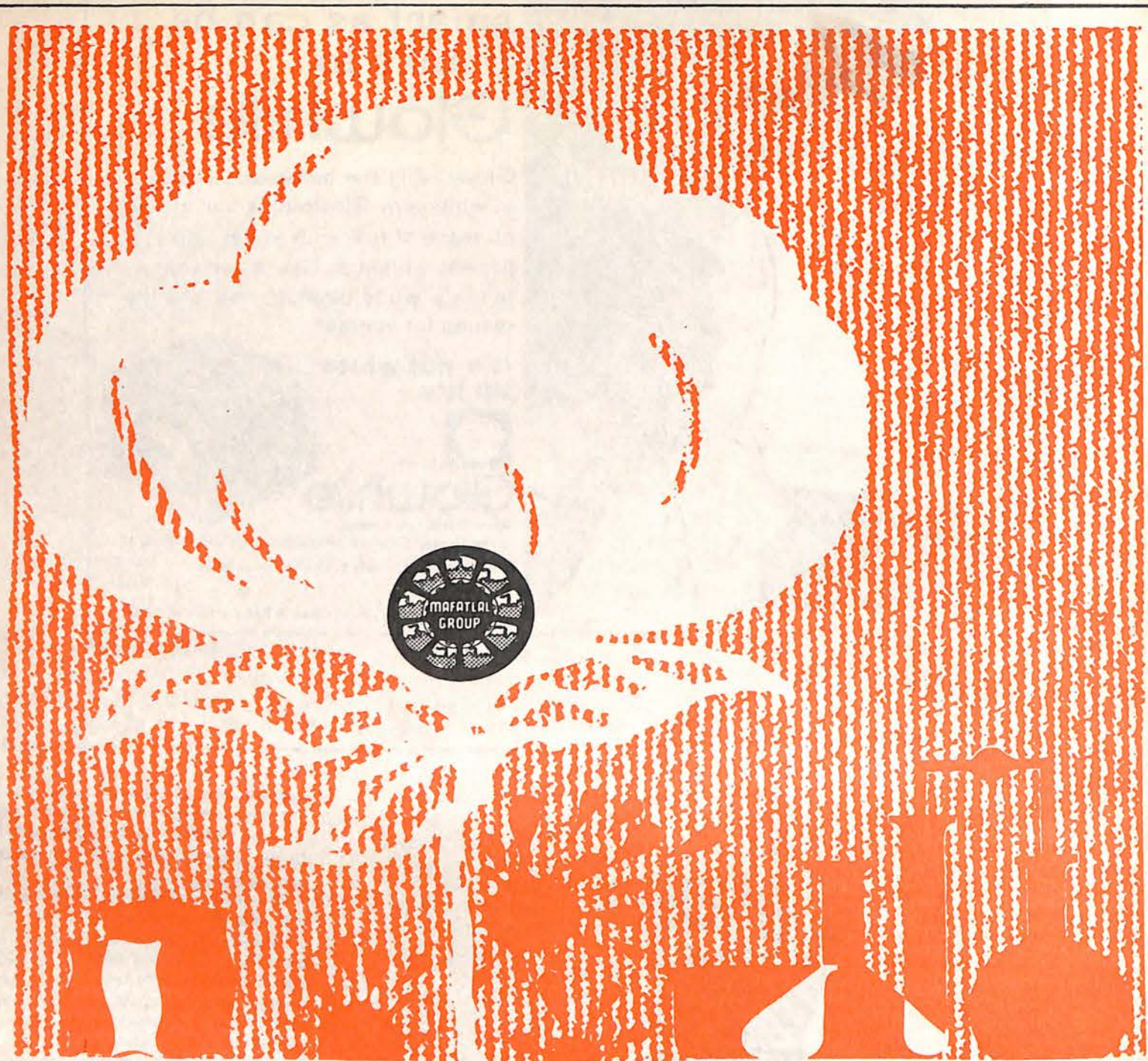
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