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Asia's new voice WEEKLY

PALKHIVALA
ON THE
BUDGET

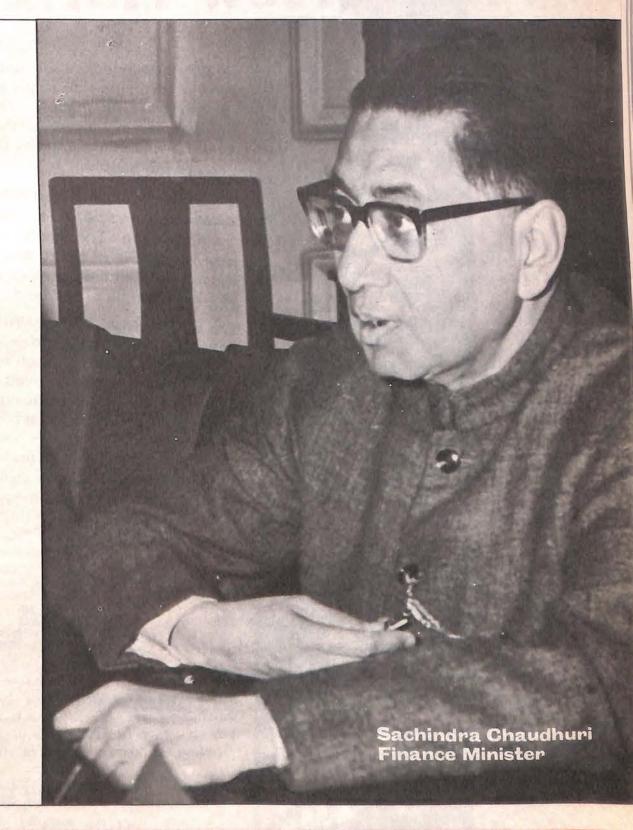
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After failure on all fronts

OUR ECONOMIC FREEDOM IS IN DANGER

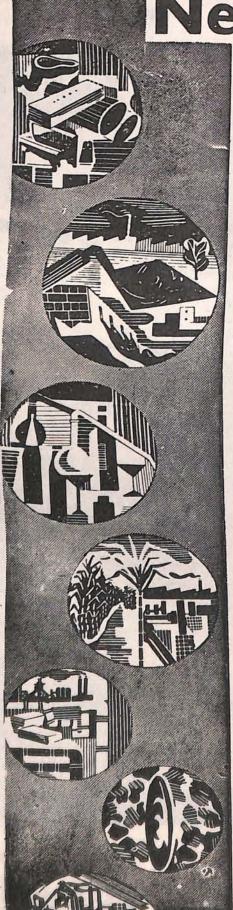
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Friday March 4 1966

Rajmohan Gandhi
GHANA WITHOUT NKRUMAH

New Horizons



In pre-Independence era, India had plans and programmes for social and economic betterment of the people. But there was a fundamental weakness—the weakness of their belonging more to the Government than to the people.

Independence came, and with it a new awakening, and people's plans, for the people. by the people. The results were tangible—more and more of better and cheaper things; a better way of life for more and yet more people of our land.

have been constantly endeavouring to produce more and more of such goods that contribute towards improved living standards of our people. We are doing this not only since Independence but almost for a quarter of a century. The task is not so easy. Yet we are going ahead, undauntedly, in the hope of seeing a brighter tomorrow.... a new dawn....along the new horizons.



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, March 4, 1966 Vol. 2 No. 18

New Isolationism

A POLICEMAN'S LOT is not a happy one.

Both President de Gaulle's decision to take France out of NATO and the 400 million pounds British defence cuts announced last week reveal a reluctance by these powers to share America's role of world policeman, and in particular the task of containing Communist China.

Justifying his decision, the French President said that since NATO was formed the US had been involved in wars in Korea, Vietnam and other places where no European interests were at stake. Continued membership could involve France, as America's NATO ally, in such wars "even against her will".

Debate over the British defence cuts, which involve abandonment of the Aden base, reduction of Far Eastern forces once Indonesia's "Crush Malaysia" policy ends, and eventual withdrawal from Singapore, may be cut short by campaigning for the general election on March 31. But critics, including Navy Minister Mayhew who resigned on the issue, have argued that British servicemen are now being asked to undertake risky East of Suez responsibilities with inadequate support.

Mayhew, whose views influential men, both Labour and Conservative, share, told Parliament, "It is doubtful if any white nation, either alone or with others, would be able to carry out an effective peacekeeping role East of Suez in the '70s." Britain, he said, should not commit herself, even in alliance with the US, to the containment of China.

It is ironic that while America shoulders increasingly the burden of world peacekeeper, France and Britain should choose withdrawal into a new isolationism. Isolationism did not save the US from intervention in two world wars, nor did disarmament deter Hitler. Freedom is not free; its price has no ceiling; nor can it be defended on the cheap.

Winning First Round

THE PRIME MINISTER'S assurance that the Government will examine soon the demand for abrogation of the Defence of India Rules will be appreciated by the public.

It is to the credit of former Attorney-General Mr. M. C. Setalvad, the legal profession and our independent judiciary that India is again on the eve of obtaining total freedom guaranteed under the Constitution. For under the DIR citizens have no right of appeal even for a writ of Habeas Corpus.

Last June Mr. Setalvad launched his campaign: "The Executive has taken advantage of China's aggression to constitute itself into what may be called a Constitutional Dictatorship." He accused the Government of "using its dictatorial powers in the discharge of the ordinary functions of Government like preventing traders from hoarding commodities or preventing threatened strikes and so forth".

The battle of Mr. Setalvad was strengthened by a judgement of the Supreme Court which on February 16 warned against the tendency on the part of the Government to detain persons in a "cavalier manner" without trial and directed the release of a Kerala kerosene dealer arrested under the DIR. "This was a case in which the powers conferred on the appropriate authority have in our opinion been abused," said the judgement. Three former Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, leading jurists, lawyers, vice-chancellors, journalists have since taken up the cudgels. Even a former Law Minister has joined in.

Under the DIR not only were State Governments jailing people without trial (e.g. A. G. Noorani) but were arrogant enough not even to ascribe any reason when queried. Such supreme powers need only to be waved before the Press (e.g. "Swarajya" publisher's case) in order to cow down effective opposition from editors.

The assurances given for the limited use of the DIR by the Home Minister, especially his assurances to editors and publishers, welcome as they are, are insufficient. Only the total abrogation of the DIR will satisfy Indian public opinion.

The sooner the Government yields, the better.
The real emergency is on our economic front.

Pandering

Next Month Chi-Chi, bourgeois lady panda from London Zoo, flies to Russia to "marry" An-An, her captive comrade counterpart in Moscow. Does this unprecedented move presage some dramatic thaw in the Cold War? The Kremlin is clear. Soviet interest is solely scientific. The progeny, if any, must remain with mother in the decadent West. Contaminated by its bourgeois connections it may never return to the land of its revolutionary fatherhood.

Nevertheless, this fresh example of Soviet revisionism may evoke thunderbolts from Peking, perhaps a fiery condemnation in the *People's Daily*. For pandas, of course, are Chinese. Coexistence is one thing, but marriage is another.

The 235 lb. Chi-Chi (the name means "naughty little girl"—ugh!) was born nine years ago in Szechuan in north China. She was once barred entry to the US because of the land of her origins. But pandas can't be choosers. Outside the Chinese bloc, she and An-An are the only giant pandas in captivity.

Briefly Speaking ...

Never measure the height of a mountain, until you have reached the top.
Then you see how low it was.

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD

Performers

Headlines:

FIST FIGHTS IN WEST BENGAL LEGISLATURE Feb. 22 FISTICUFFS IN RAJASTHAN VIDHAN SABHA Feb. 27

In Bengal last week an Opposition member snatched the budget from the hands of the State Finance Minister.

In Rajasthan, as soon as the Governor rose to read his opening address at the budget session, 11 opposition members, Communist, SSP and PSP were on their feet demanding they should be heard. Even though ejected after a scuffle they broke into the House and prevented the Governor's address.

If legislators behave like circus performers it is no wonder their ser-



"I can't wait 18 years, so I'm making my own,"

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.



mons go flat on our people and students particularly. It is about time their constituents made it clear that such behaviour at public expense will not fetch votes in the elections.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly could not transact business for four days due to misbehaviour of some of the opposition. MLA's draw a substantial allowance from the public exchequer for each day they sit. Should it not be cut—for services not rendered?

Constable Jumbo

A children's competition for novel ideas was launched by the BBC television. Eight year-old William Hill of Norwich suggested there should be a police elephant. He wrote:

"The police elephant is much better than a police horse. He can make arrests with his trunk and also squirt water to put out fires. He can also carry a small cell for people he has arrested and two water tanks (for squirting presumably.) As an elephant never forgets, he will remember any trouble-maker when he makes trouble another time."

As we are self-reliant in Elephants, maybe we should post one outside some of our legislatures.

Undaunted Savarkar

In VEER SAVARKAR'S death at 83, India loses one of the giants of yester-

year. A colourful and forceful personality his exploits stirred the imagination of freedom fighters. His dramatic escape through the porthole of a British ship in Marseilles will be long remembered.

Savarkar passionately loved his country. He was a revolutionary reformer and litterateur. He had an amazing memory. Confined in the Andamans jail for over 10 years, he was not supplied with any paper or pen. He wrote poetry when inspired on the jail wall with the help of a nail or a thorn and committed it to memory. And so he enriched Marathi poetry.

Pressmen Salute Howard

On the eve of the first death anniversary of Mr. Peter Howard, British author, journalist and world leader of MRA, the hall of the British Institute of Journalists in London was crowded with foreign and UK journalists who had come in his honour to see a documentary, "Man to Match the Hour", as well as a new feature film of Mr. Howard's play "Mr. Brown Comes Down the Hill". Foreign correspondents who attended included representatives of the *Pravda* and the *Economic Gazette* of Moscow.

R. M. L.

R. A. KHEDGIKAR-A Tribute BY S. S. MIRAJKAR

Mr. R. A. Khedgikar, who passed away last Friday, was a pioneer of the Indian Labour movement. Returning from Moscow in 1956 he attended the World Conference of Moral Re-Armament in Caux, Switzerland. He fought for world labour to grasp the need for Moral Re-Armament in building a new society.

At Himmar's request, one of his oldest comrades, Mr. S. S. Mirajkar, wrote the following appreciation. Mr. Mirajkar is President of the All-India Trade Union Congress and is a cofounder of the Communist Party of India.—Ed.

I have known Comrade R. A. Khedgikar for over 45 years. He was then a Railway employee and was one of the leaders of the GIP Railwaymen's Union (now Central Railway). Later he became its President for several years and led its struggles and strikes.

Khedgikar was Treasurer of the AITUC for several years. Later he joined the Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

Khedgikar was also a member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly where he zealously guarded the interests of the working class. He attended the ILO Conference held in the year 1947 in Paris along with N. M. Joshi and myself. There again he stood for the Indian workers' interests. He had a knack of understanding other people's point of view, which was a great boon for the maintenance of unity among labour ranks.

In Khedgikar I have lost a personal friend and the Indian working class a valiant fighter. In the annals of the Indian working class Khedgikar will find a very high place as its great champion and zealous fighter.

Sachin Chaudhuri Doesn't Believe In Stars

By R. M. Lala

Two months ago when Mr. Sachin Chaudhuri was speedily appointed as Finance Minister, most people asked "Who is he?" "Is he to the Left or Right?" "Will he be able to pull India out of the economic mess she is in?"

The recent Budget shows, as Mr. Palkhivala says elsewhere on this page, that the Finance Minister is not motivated by ideological considerations. In an interview the other day, the Finance Minister said, "There is no Right and Left in economics—the only imperative is a harmony between the public sector and the private which enables the nation to increase its production and property. Equality of distribution is an excellent principle to work for; but let us first add to our production, our pool of resources."

Sixty-three year-old Sachin Chaudhuri knows the world of business and industry. An Adviser on the Board of Company Law, he has run at least a couple of businesses. He has twice served on the Indian delegation to the UN and if he had not been chosen for Finance, the portfolio he would have liked most would have been Foreign Affairs. Did he expect to be appointed by Mr. Shastri? He knows he was being tipped

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for the Law Ministership, but Finance came as a welcome surprise.

Sachin Chaudhuri had the distinction of being in three Governments in his first four weeks of office. He came in at the tail end of the Shastri regime, continued in Mr. Nanda's interim Government and returned in Mrs. Gandhi's Government.

In an interview with INFA, Mr. Chaudhuri was asked whether he believed in astrology, the science in which some Ministers seem to put considerable faith. "I know enough of this 'science' not to put my faith in it," he said with a laugh, and continued, "Why should I? I believe in God, I believe in free will. To perform as conscientiously as one might the duties allotted to one is enough. The stars and planets—why in truth

should they bother with the destiny of so insignificant a creature in the universe as man?"

After winning a scholarship to Presidency College, Mr. Chaudhuri went to Cambridge, won honours in Moral Sciences in 1923, and was called to the Bar from Lincoln's Inn in 1925.

Within eight weeks of office he has produced a Budget which may not satisfy everyone, but will at least give to the people of India the security that at the helm of its economic affairs is a man who knows his business, has no blinkers and will be a realistic Finance Minister. The true test of Mr. Chaudhuri will be whether he can galvanize the nation and bring out her spirit of discipline and sacrifice in peace as in war.

PALKHIVALA on the BUDGET

HIMMAT invited the comments of Mr. N. A. Palkhivala on Finance Minister Chaudhuri's first budget presented to Parliament last Monday. Mr. Palkhivala, one of the leading tax authorities in the country, is author of "The Highest Taxed Nation in the World" and co-author of a standard work on income-tax.—Ed.

This year's Budget is bound to evoke mixed reactions.

First, its distinguishing feature is that none of the imposts has been motivated by ideological considerations. No taxes have been levied at the whim, fancy or humour of the Finance Minister. On the contrary, the taxes so levied in the past like the Expendituretax and the tax on bonus shares have been abolished.

Secondly, some crying injustices, like the savage rates of gift-tax, have been redressed. The gift-tax rates have been, quite rightly, brought in line with Estate Duty rates.

But it is the third feature, viz. increased taxation, which is bound to affect adversely the investment climate. Companies and individuals alike will pay about 10% more tax than before.

The individual's tax in respect of his earned income would go up to 82%, and in respect of his unearned income up to 90%. The burden becomes all the heavier in view of the fact that the Annuity Deposit Scheme has been retained in respect of individuals with

income above Rs. 25,000. Such taxation can hardly leave any room for saving or investment.



"This thing is becoming such a success we thought we'd..."

Hungry, Angry Bengal

From Ajit Das in Calcutta

Hungry, angry young Bengal is

The young men of Basirhat, Habra, Bengaon and several other towns girdling Greater Calcutta area, are now being taken to task by every wise man of the east for drifting to violence for pressing their demands for a little more food and a few drops of kerosene oil.

To School Unfed

The twelve year old Nurul Amin who died in the Swarupnagar police firing on February 17 had come to the school that day without any food. His grandmother, a beggar woman. had promised him a bite in the evening if he behaved like a good boy in spending a foodless day at the school and returned without any complaint against anybody. Nurul Amin's Head Master has written to confirm this in a letter to a Calcutta daily. The police bullet that cut short hungry Amin's life also spared his grandmother the embarrassment that would have been hers, if Nurul returned. Because she certainly could not afford to buy rice at Rs. 2.50 per kilo in the open black market of Swarupnagar covered by a system of "modified" rationing that offers an unsteady supply of small quantities of rice or wheat after weeks of wait. At the same time cordoning seals off such deficit areas

have compound interests!

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are exported to countries all over the world.

from food available in neighbouring surplus centres eager to sell, but which are not allowed to sell except to government procurement agents.

West Bengal Chief Minister Prafulla Chandra Sen has been congratulated on several occasions for the foresight to see the food shortage and introduce statutory rationing well ahead of all other states in India. Those who congratulated him mistook the picture of metropolitan Calcutta as the image of West Bengal. While total rationing has undoubtedly made available to every Calcutta citizen his or her marginal needs of foodgrains, the rest of West Bengal has suffered from unpardonable neglect.

They have not been given any fixed regular weekly quota on the Calcutta scale, and have also been denied local purchase of food grains from a free competitive market based on reasonably free movement of foodgrains in unrationed or irregularly rationed areas.

No Looting

It was against this policy of distribution of foodgrains, perpetuating a black market and fantastically high prices at which the very rich and black marketeers only can buy some rice or wheat, that the students raised their voice. Theirs were not food riots, because they looted no shop, molested not even a blackmarketeer. They were demanding a better system of distribution with the lifting of cordons and lowering prices to within the reach of their parents.

In the State Legislative Assembly, members engaged in a scuffle on February 21 and came to blows on February 22.

On the same day, thousands of school teachers came out into the streets in a silent procession demanding better wages.

Doles Under Duress

Two days earlier the college and university teachers took out a similar procession protesting against the refusal of the Union Minister for Education, Mr. M. C. Chagla, to introduce, at Union Government expense, a new high scale of salaries for college teachers that the University Grants Commission has recommended. But as the professors announced a boycott of the university examinations unless their demands were fulfilled, the State Government came forward with an offer of an additional monthly allowance of Rs. 50 for every lecturer.

The big question mark all over West Bengal and the country today is: Why are doles distributed only under duress and pledges left unfulfilled till the zero hour?

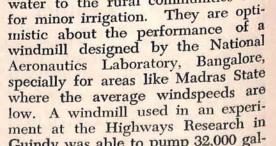
Windmills for India

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

One may be surprised to hear that windmills are still used in this atomic age. But the engineers at the Highways Research Station at Madras have proved that they can be used to supplement the modern atomic power stations in harnessing energy for development.

Indian engineers are advocating the use of windmills to bring drinking water to the rural communities and Guindy was able to pump 32,000 gallons of water per day on an average, enough to meet the drinking water

The windmill only costs Rs. 4,000 to instal. The cost would be much less if production was on a mass scale.



needs of 3,000 persons.

A warning to our leaders — a danger signal to the nation

The facts presented by the Finance Minister's Pre-Budget Economic Survey are a grim commentary on the situation that we face today and a foreboding of worse to come.

Our agricultural policy over the past 18 years has been a total failure. Food production this year will be 15 per cent lower than last year and our deficit will be 12 to 15 million tons. Instead of the anticipated rise of 30 per cent in the index of agricultural production over the Third Plan period (1960-61 to 1965-66) there has been not only no increase but an actual decline. Even if we take average production over the five-year period (including good and bad years) there has only been an increase of 12.2 per cent in food production over five years.

This huge gap between intention and achievement is visible on every other front as well-in industry and in foreign trade. Foreign trade is particularly relevant for our present crisis because, despite a great deal of talk and expense on export promotion, we have failed miserably. Our exports have not increased at all in 1964-65 and so, even though we have utilized Rs. 105 crores more of aid in 1964-65 than in 1963-64, our reserves have fallen to the lowest point ever.

We are actually on the verge of financial bankruptcy, and we can meet our debt obligations only by further credits from the same parties.

SAY THAT AGAIN...

"We can build our country only by work and not by shouting slogans."

PRESIDENT RADHAKRISHNAN

"Any meeting or conference where I have to speak or listen is like a drab class for me. I want to get out of it."

VICE-PRESIDENT ZAKIR HUSAIN

"In the wake of the Tashkent Declaration, it is necessary that we build our economic relations with Pakistan on an expansive basis... It is part of statesmanship not to harp on past grievances and nurse old wrongs but to remember common interests and the welfare of the peoples."

G. L. MEHTA

The cumulative effect of failure in agriculture and the reluctance to impose sacrifices on ourselves in order to export more and balance our foreign payments, is the foreign exchange crisis which cannot be alleviated even by such grants of aid and credit as are likely to be forthcoming in the next months.

Himalayan Failure

Our national income, which increased only by 2.2 per cent on an average over the last 5 years, will this year show a decline. Our Government has, however, continued to multiply money in circulation and refused to economize on expenditure. That this country should have a negative growth rate despite unprecedented levels of investment and quantities of foreign aid unmatched hitherto shows a Himalayan failure of responsibility on the part of Government and the Congress Party.

Without minimizing the task of Government over an indifferent population who live, work and consume oblivious of the needs of the nation, and without ignoring the occasional bright patches of enterprise, efficiency and achievement in some States, it is necessary to put the main blame for our present state on our leaders-big and small-who have ruled over us continually for 18 years.

The bill has not been paid for vast sums of Government money channeled into private pockets, inefficiency covered up by corruption, political patronage protecting the undeserving and the sheer laziness and love of comfort that is content to procrastinate a job for years and years.

Even in the midst of this crisis, the political leadership is reluctant to govern effectively, impose its authority against sectional interests and cut and prune the colossal power over vast sums of money and thousands of jobs that it has created to perpetuate itself in power. Again and again committees on administrative reform have suggested cuts in civil expenditure and more efficient utilization of Government money. Experts have called for economy and the end of deficit financing.

The rate of growth of our nondevelopment expenditure, excluding Under the Lens by R. VAITHESWARAN

defence expenditure, in the past years has been 379 per cent. Political authority, while paying lip service to these recommendations, has been reluctant to incur the temporary unpopularity which efficient, incorruptible policy would create.

As a nation we are at the end of our tether. We are now totally dependent on foreign powers and their aid to get us out of this mess.

Despite declarations that we will accept aid only consistent with our self-respect, our excessive need is making us dependent on undesirable pressures from foreign powers. No one in the public really knows to what extent we are subject to such pressures from the United States of America and the Soviet Union. There is, however, no doubt that we have not only been subject to such pressures but largely yielded to them.

The Lewis Letter

It is understandable that foreign lovernments want to safeguard the ecurity of their investments in India by imposing conditions. The letter of Mr. John P. Lewis, Minister Director, US Agency for International Development, to Mr. Boothalingam, Secretary to the Department of Economic Affairs, in negotiating the \$50 million fertilizer loan, reveals such a justifiable concern. To this extent any assurance given by the Government of India regarding effective utilization of aid is welcome.

But the assurance asked for by the US Government through Mr. John Lewis and granted by the Indian Government through the Economic Affairs Secretary goes beyond any such need. When Mr. Lewis demands, as he does in his letter, that the Government of India should commit itself to the private sector in the fertilizer industry and in addition demands certain specific guarantees about a private US company

Continued on page 16



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Bitter Past Shadows Aden's Future

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

Britain has proposed a constitution for "the United Republic of South Arabia". Aden is the suggested capital for the embryonic state to which the Colonial Office has promised independence by 1968. The British High Commissioner, Sir Richard Turnbull, also lifted an 11-year ban on two nationalist leaders and continued his efforts to find candidates for the South Arabian Federal Council, the colony's legislative body.

The proposals were released at a press conference given by Sheikh Ali Atif al-Kaladi, Federal Minister of Health and acting Minister of Information. The Sheikh underlined the fact that the proposals were only suggestions: "No one is bound by them in any way. It is for those concerned to accept, amend or reject them."

Mr. Abdel-Qawee Mackawee, who was dismissed as Chief Minister when the High Commissioner assumed direct power last September, denounced the proposals as a "British conspiracy to impose a forged constitution on the people of the South". Mr. Abdullah al-Asnag, of the Front for Liberation of South Yemen, said the proposals were "farcical". His organization further threatened death to anyone accepting appointment to a

seat on the Federal Council.

While the proposals made by the Federal Government may seem fair enough to a detached observer, there is little "detachment" among those actually called on to decide. The involved parties are speaking two different political languages. Britain continues to talk in terms of "federation". The SAL continues to insist on a "united sovereign state". The more revolutionary Front for the Liberation of South Yemen has quite a different viewpoint. But to all nationalist tendencies "federation" has usually meant a system of "puppet" sheikhs with Britain pulling the strings. The decade and more of violence, unwise policies, bitterness and frustration has caused a gulf which must be bridged before common sense can prevail.

Austria: 'Der Proporz' in Danger

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Vienna

Austria was known in post-war Europe as one of the countries with stable government. The reason was rather simple.

The two basic traditional forces, the Socialists and the Catholic Conservatives, each command between one third and one half of the votes. The division between these two camps had led to a bitter civil war in the 'thirties and to the subsequent take-over by Hitler.

After the war, Austria's independence was restored but under the occupation by Russia, America, Britain and France it seemed essential to have a united government. The custom of having a Socialist Federal President and an Austrian Peoples Party (Catholic Conservatives) Chancellor was then formed. All the

posts in the Government were distributed more or less equally. But already in the first years after the war, this distribution of posts—called "Der Proporz"—went to further extremes every year. In the administration a "black" assistant had to be assigned to every "red" official and vice versa. The same became the rule in the Government radio, the television, all nationalized industries (60 per cent of industry is state-owned) and, of course, in police and

While in the beginning, a government and administration backed by Continued on next page

The week in Asia

ADEN — Britain has told the South Arabian Federal Government it will give up its Aden base by the end of 1968. Britain has promised independence to South Arabia that year.

TOKYO — Riot police drove 1500 students from Waseda University office building where they were staging a sit-down strike against increased fees.

ANKARA — Turkey signed a 77 million dollar agreement with French and Italian firms to build the Keban dam and hydro-electric station on the Euphrates. The project is expected to create a new industrial region in eastern Turkey as well as irrigating large areas.

ADEN — The President of the Aden Trade Union Congress, A. H. Quadi, was killed by an unknown assassin.

* * * *

KATHMANDU — Nepal Government decided to close three of its four trade agencies in Tibet.

COLOMBO — Ceylon Acting Prime Minister J. R. Jayawardene said that there was substantial truth in press reports that a coup by young army officers and Marxists had been forestalled by the Government.

DJAKARTA — Fifty thousand students demonstrated outside President Sukarno's palace against his dropping of the Army leader, General Nasution, from his Government.

DAMASCUS—A Baathist, Arab nationalist, military junta seized power in Syria. Army units outside the capital were reported to oppose the takeover. This was Syria's fifteenth coup since 1949.

COLOMBO — Following disturbances in Ceylon University last December the Government proposed changes in university administration including the abolition of vice-chancellorships, formation of student councils and establishment of a Bhuddist bhikku university.

SAIGON — Prime Minister Ky added civilian experts to his Government to help deal with South Vietnam's war problems including care for refugees numbering an estimated one million.

TOKYO — Japan's exports rose 26.7 per cent last year, stated the Finance Ministry. This was the second successive year in which Japan's exports grew over 20 per cent.

LAHORE — Indian and Pakistani forces completed withdrawals from areas occupied in each other's territory.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

nearly 90 per cent of the electorate was a great asset, and the top leaders of both parties who had suffered in National Socialist concentration camps genuinely felt the need of working together, this feeling became weaker every month as the vears went by. Cabinet meetings more and more became gatherings of two groups trying to double-cross each other. Mistrust between people and Government grew.

March Election

In the last two years, after a sensational boom even more spectacular than the German "miracle". Austria's economy started to slow down. The division of Europe into two economic camps threatened the boom even more seriously. Austria, as a neutral nation, did not join the Common Market at the beginning although it has much closer trade relations with these nations. During the last years there have been negotiations between Vienna and Brussels to allow Austria to find some way to work with the Common Market, but it seems that

the USSR will do everything possible to stop such an arrangement.

That the same group of men should sit around the Cabinet table after the March 6 elections, but with different motives, would seem to be the wish of the electorate before this crucial election.

'People Change' Says Socialist Minister

FROM GORDON WISE

London

At 7.45 pm precisely the Minister for Economic Affairs made a brisk entry into the gymnasium of the Junior School in his constituency of Mickleover, Belper.

Labour Party stalwarts, no longer cloth-capped but dressed with sobriety and solidity, waited on subadult-sized chairs from class rooms for the tots. Indistinguishable by dress, a sprinkling of Conservatives showed their colours at question time. There were no bearded interjectors.

George Brown had an impressive grasp of his subject, the Government's record over the past year, with particular reference to his own charge,

the economy. The trouble with the nation's economic situation, he said, is that "it weakens our capacity to influence other people", meaning foreign affairs and defence. He came back to this theme later when dealing with Britain's role abroad, that the nation needed to put her affairs in order if she were to play her right-

He said that the Government's aim was "to make Britain into a major influence in the world. The fact that you are no longer a great power-as in Palmerston's gunboat days-need not mean you are not a major influence."

Aircraft for India?

African affairs were aired. Several anxious references to Rhodesia reflected public concern. One woman wanted to cut off aid to one African leader "because of his objectionable policies". Brown went on to point out "people change"-and pointed to the instance of President Kenyatta of Kenya, "one of the wise, stable men of Africa".

I asked a question about India: "In view of the threat of famine, partly due to internal distribution

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

difficulties, could Britain help India by initiating an air-lift in country areas to get the grain distributed from the rail-heads to the needy villages which were often inaccessible. We did this for Berlin. Could there be some kind of Commonwealth consortium?"

The Minister was sympathetic, but in light of Britain's own economic plight doubted that the country had the means to do much. He said that he had seen something of the need himself when he was in India for

Mr. Shastri's funeral. "The trouble is," he said, "it is hard enough keeping an air-lift going to Zambia even by using resources outside the Commonwealth."

Nevertheless it is your correspondent's belief that with Washington budgeting now for a further 2,000 helicopters for Vietnam, a plane ideally suited for a rural-relief operation, then surely Britain and the Commonwealth can set the ball rolling in this direction? Others could join-depending of course on whether the Indian Government would welcome such assistance.

China's Trade Rivals Japan

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Tokyo

Six hundred Japanese manufacturers took part in the Chinese Trade Fair in Canton last October. But this is not surprising when one considers that the official stand of the Japanese Government on the matter of trade with mainland China is to do nothing to restrict it so long as it is private trade of small volume, is not supported by official banks, and does not involve strategic material.

On the principle of separating trade from politics Japan maintains economic ties with mainland China but not diplomatic ties. Japan's diplomatic ties are with the Nationalist Gov. Chou - price

pei. It is possi-



ernment in Tai- peace 50,000 million dollars.

ble that Peking will make payment of reparations a precondition for the opening of diplomatic relations. Premier Chou En-lai has mentioned several times that the price of a peace treaty between Tokyo and Peking is the payment by Japan of US \$50,000 million for war damages and compensation. Meanwhile Japan stresses coexistence with Communist China, strengthening of the United Nations, and the economic development of Asia

In volume of exports Japan stands sixth in the world. The area of exports is divided roughly into three regions. Thirty per cent go to the United States, 30 per cent go to Europe and the rest to South-east Asia. But rivalry between Japanese and Communist Chinese commodities is

becoming very noticeable in Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Burma and Ceylon. Important items among Communist Chinese exports are cotton cloth, cotton fabrics, raw silk, steel materials, sewing-machines, bicycles and transistor radio sets.

During the last three years Communist China has increased rapidly its trade with Asia, Africa and Latin America. Japanese Foreign Ministry sources estimate that the excess of exports over imports in Communist China's South-east Asia trade (which amounted to \$390 million in 1964) reached around \$500 million in 1965.

Chinese aid to Afro-Asian countries is also increasing. Until 1963 China was offering aid at the annual average rate of \$50 million, but this was expanded five-fold in 1964. And now that China has finished repaying all her debts to the Soviet Union (amounting to 1,400 million new roubles) at the end of last month, her ability to aid foreign countries will be increasingly strengthened.

With such events as the Sino-Soviet confrontation and the Third Five-Year Plan of Communist China, Japan's Foreign Ministry surmises that Communist China's economic penetration in South-east Asia will be intensified. Next year the first World Fair to be held in Asia will take place in Osaka, Japan. Prime Minister Sato said recently, "I intend

Continued on next page

The week in India

CALCUTTA - West Bengal MLAs fought each other in the Legislature following Opposition protests against Government handling of the food situation. Legislative business was held up several days. Calcutta educational institutions were closed for a week after violent food demonstrations.

* * * AGRA - Dacoits murdered 16 people in Ayara village because two villagers had given evidence against their gang.

NEW DELHI - Naga leader Isak Swo told the press following talks with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, "We do not want to be part of India. Any status which does not confer sovereignty on us would not be acceptable." Mrs. Gandhi told Parliament, "Our stand is very clear, that Nagaland is a part of India."

* * *

* * * NEW DELHI - A big Lok Sabha majority endorsed the Tashkent Agreement. SSP and Jan Sangh members walked out to register disagreement.

NAGPUR - King Mahendra and Queen Ratna of Nepal began a tenday private visit. His Majesty is on a shooting expedition.

* * *

AURANGABAD - Congress High Command was reported to have decided on a December election in Goa to settle its future status. Voters would be able to choose either merger with Maharashtra or the status

AHMEDABAD - Shortage of drinking water will affect 1,841 Gujarat villages shortly, according to the State Government.

* * * NEW DELHI - India's trade deficit rose to Rs. 575 crores last year, according to an official report. Exports fell Rs. 2.3 crores and imports rose Rs. 48 crores.

BOMBAY - The Communist-led Girni Kamgar Union began an indefinite strike of textile workers. Their claims included an Rs. 25 increase in wages and Government take-over of closed mills.

NEW DELHI - Hungary offered India an Rs. 25 crores loan following a nine-day visit by the Hungarian Premier, Gyula Kallai. * * *

DAHANU ROAD - Five were killed and 22 hurt when the Gujarat Mail and two goods trains collided.

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to welcome Communist China if it wishes to participate in it."

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Because of this rivalry between Japanese and Communist Chinese commodities in South-east Asia, the Japanese Foreign Ministry has decided to send a mission for negotiation and investigation. It is also plan-ning missions to the United States, Central America, the Soviet Union, the European Common Market and

Diem's Niece Thanks President Johnson

What does the youth of South Vietnam feel about the Honolulu Conference and their country's future? Miss Truong Thu-Anh, niece of the late President Diem of Vietnam, writing in TOMORROW'S AMERICAN, says:

Honolulu, in the calm of the Pacific, was the conference ground where statesmen and generals met to find a quick way to peace that so many long for. They emerged from the conference with a determination to step up the war effort and also work out a "Social Revolution". Both are much needed in Vietnam today. And I thank President Johnson for his promises.

We need to defend our country from aggression, wherever it comes from. For this, Americans and Vietnamese are all-out; they are giving their utmost to win this war.

War in Vietnam has lasted a generation and has taken nearly all our best, most promising young men. If war should drag on, Vietnam will have to depend on men whose judgment is only exercised in dealing with the emergencies that war brings, men who are unaccustomed to those farsighted decisions that affect future generations. What is needed now is to pay attention to the generation that will inherit the country and administer it once peace is obtained. Realistic people under-stand how much hard work, discipline, sweat and patience are necessary to build the foundations of strong government.

West's Opportunity

Young Vietnamese, like youth all over the world, are full of energy, passion and ambition to make a name for themselves. This is the opportunity of the West-both the soldier on the battlefield and government emissaries-to train this generation how to work with their hands so as to develop the land, to think with their heads how best they can serve their country, and to love it whether in war or peace.

As this begins to happen, this generation will blossom into manhood and our problems will begin to be solved.

-The week elsewhere-

FRANCE TO QUIT NATO

PARIS-President de Gaulle announced that France would leave NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Alliance) on April 4, 1969. Addressing his first press conference since his re-election last December, he called the Atlantic Treaty (formed in 1949) unrealistie in present conditions. "Because of developments in the Eastern bloc," he said, "the West is not threatened today as it was when an American protectorate was established over Europe under cover of NATO."

The US, de Gaulle stated, had become involved in wars in Korea, Cuba and Vietnam which could involve Europe as America's NATO partner "even if she did not want it". This would apply to France too

if American bases on French soil remained much longer.

France would reduce her NATO commitments so as to cause least inconvenience to her allies, said the French President. Then she would make new treaties with them to ensure co-operation in the immediate future and in the event of war.

UK CUTS DEFENCE

LONDON-Navy Defence Minister Christopher Mayhew resigned from the Labour Government over cuts in Britain's armed services announced last week. Mayhew, whose resignation was accompanied by that of the First Sea Lord, Admiral Sir David Luce (the professional head of the Royal Navy), said the Government was making the mistake of "asking

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

our Service men to do too much with too little". Britain, he said, must either pay for stronger forces or reduce its commitments.

Describing Britain's East of Suez role as expensive and risky, Mayhew continued: "It is doubtful if any white nation, either alone or with others, would be able to carry out an effective peacekeeping role East of Suez in the 70s. National and racial feelings may prove too strong.

"In particular we should not commit ourselves to the containment of China on this narrow basis. Western military power can do little to ensure political containment, while the military containment of China in alliance with the US has very grave implications and calls for much wider public discussion than it has had."

The immediate cause of Mayhew's and Admiral Luce's resignations was the decision, announced in the "Defence Review" published last week, to build no more aircraft carriers for the Royal Navy.

LEE DEFENDS BASE

SINGAPORE-Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew said Britain's military base on the island was "necessary for Singapore's survival and wellbeing". He said the base could not be used aggressively, but for defence of small countries like Singapore.

SUDAN'S NEW POLICY

KHARTOUM-Ahmed el Mahdi, Sudan Minister of the Interior, told 10,000 South Sudanese, "We admit our previous faults, and I am here today representing a strong new Government, fully determined to realize stability and execute development plans." African South Sudanese have

been in revolt against the Arab North. El Mahdi said that while his Government intended to stamp out the rebellion, "our new policy is to develop the South".

NEW AFRICAN STATE

LONDON - Bechuanaland, British Protectorate in Southern Africa, will become the independent Republic of Botswanaland on September 30. The present Prime Minister, Dr. Seretse Khama, will be executive President.

NKRUMAH OUSTED

ACCRA-The Army seized power in Ghana and named a National Liberation Council to run the country. Acera Radio announced the dismissal of all ministers and the reinstatement of Maj. Gen. J. A. Ankrah as Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief. The Presidential guard resisted attacking troops fiercely. President Nkrumah was out of the country on a mission to Peking at the time.

RUSSIA'S NEW PLAN

MOSCOW-Russia's new Five Year Plan published last week, promised more food, cars and TV sets for the Soviet people. It called for a 40-43 per cent increase in consumer goods including a four-fold increase in car production, two-fold in TV sets and three-fold in refrigerators. It proposed a 25 per cent increase in agricultural production.

'STEALING COUNTRY'S SOUL'

LONDON-"They thought I would be a puppet but I am not. Or if I am I'm a puppet that hits back," declared Valeriy Tarsis, Russian writer put in a lunatic asylum by the Soviet Government for his criticism of Communism and last month, astonishingly, allowed to travel to Britain to lecture in Leicester University.

"It was then, before I got to the asylum, in a transit place on the first night after my arrest, when I saw all these people, so crowded that there was no place to lie down, that I realized that our rulers were not Communists but just Fascist bandits," Tarsis told the London Sunday Times in an interview.

"That night I promised myself that I would tell the truth, that it would be worthwhile even if I was killed . . . The present regime is stealing my country, stealing its soul. It cannot

"I know that the Russian people will not go on accepting the persecution of the last 40 years. And what makes me especially happy is that many youth will not accept it."

INDIA'S FRIEND

LONDON-A fighting friend of India was saluted this week when Dr. David Watson MBE was laid to rest near London.

Dr. Watson spent 12 years working for Moral Re-Arament in India, Burma and Ceylon.

Earlier, during World War II, as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Medical Corps, he served with the 14th Army in India and Burma.

He returned to India after the war when Dr. Buchman brought on MRA force at the invitation of eighteen national leaders, among them Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda in whose home Dr. Watson stayed.

On his death India's High Commissioner in London, Dr. Jivraj

Mehta, sent his respects.

"He lives," cabled Rajmohan Gandhi and a group of friends "royally in heaven and as a proud memory in thousands of grateful Indian and Asian hearts and an ever present challenge to the conscience of our leaders."



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George Fernandes:

One Strike-200 Settlements

With increasing fascination, I listened to the story of a man who has emerged from the obscurity and poverty of early years to become famous as the leader of more than 500,000 workers throughout the country, a man who has crammed the passion of dozens of men into his 36 years, has never ceased fighting for things in which he believes.

George Fernandes, who wanted to become a priest once, has lived many lives. He has known hunger, hopeless poverty, unemployment, pavement-life and merciless beating by the police. Yet, despite these different lives which have helped shape his present life, he remains, at heart, the 18-year old crusading editor of a magazine called Yuvak, and the 20year old trade union "leader" who had learnt the first lesson of trade union work by organizing the hotel and transport workers of his hometown, Mangalore, under the guidance of the late trade union leader, Demello, whose wholehearted devotee he still is.

For Every Section

Today George Fernandes controls labour of Bombay city's transport, gas, water-supply, fire services, hospitals, hotel and hospital workers, defence docks. And now is moving into textiles.

People feel you strike too readily? "For every strike I conduct I sign 200 settlements nobody knows about. I'll submit myself for a public inquiry to prove this is true."

Do you realize how inconvenienced the public is when you strike the bus transport or the gas workers?

"My fight has never been for one section but for the community. I know that when I paralyse bus services, gas workers are handicapped and when gas workers strike other sections I'm interested in are inconvenienced. But my fight is for every section of society.

"Our unions are not just other trade unions. They have become the

trailblazers—a new militant trade union movement in the country. They have lifted trade union action from the morass of small strikes and a lot of litigation in Industrial Courts



and in the Supreme Court to the grand spectacle of mass agitation and massive struggles....At the end of each day I have the satisfaction that 12 families or more are better off than they were before."

Which is the most unforgettable incident of your life?

"When I was successful in getting a Government Wage Committee to fix a minimum wage of Rs. 75 for a hotel worker in Bombay. Thus I repayed the debt I owed to hotel workers of my home town, who had sent me to Bombay at their own expense. They wanted me to become a lawyer so that I could defend them and plead their causes in future. But I let them down, not because I wanted to, but because Bombay was very cruel to me in the beginning."

Cruel? How?

"I had no money. I wanted a job, any job, very badly. Without the job I could neither live nor study. Employment eluded me for months. And the nights of these terrible months I spent sleeping on the various footpaths of Bombay. Throughout the day I used to wander aim-

lessly, subsisting merely on chana (grams) and municipal water. This experience changed my life and way of thinking."

His voice was charged with conviction when he said: "Looking back at my yesterdays for a few moments I can see that even today I am what I was, when I was very young with all the emotions peculiar to me intact. In me, these emotions are stronger than in the average man. Perhaps it is so because I have not lived an average life. I have been up to my neck in fight for as long as I can remember."

What plans do you have for the future?

He was enthusiastic and boyish as he said, "I'd like to give a new infusion of blood to the work I have been doing. I count myself fortunate in having a band of devoted and sincere associates. Had it not been for them I would not have dreamt of launching two major ventures. One is a Training Institute for trade union workers and leaders near Bombay where they can have sessions for bus-drivers, textile workers, hotel keepers, etc. We want them to get training not only in trade unionism but to equip them to do their jobs better. The other project is a Labour Bank which will have an initial capital of five lakhs. I would like to see it as one of the best banks in the country, and HIMMAT one of its early customers."

H. M. S.



"Your money or your ration card."

LETTERS

TALKING OF TRACTORS

DEAR EDITOR: Mr. Chimanbhai Patel, while speaking during the food debate before the Subjects Committee of the Congress at Nehru Nagar on February 11, 1966, revealed that of the 40,000 tractors in the country, 20,000 are out of order and that there are no servicing facilities even!

On the other hand, it is now confirmed that 23 tractors-part of 2,000 tractors to be supplied to India by the Soviet Union-arrived in Bombay by the "Jalaganga" from the Black Sea port of Odessa on February 12.

At this time, when 20,000 of the total 40,000 tractors in the country are not even in working condition, it is not known why we entered into another deal for purchase of 2,000 more tractors, 1,000 at least of which will soon go out of order due to want of oil and or spare

Would it not be in the fitness of things if we start in our country with foreign collaboration and help (no matter from whatsoever quarter they come), a factory manufacturing spare parts for our idle tractors so that we have not to enter into fresh deals for new tractors? And if we cannot even supply sufficient crude oil to our farmers, why talk of mechanization of agriculture at all?

M. M. TALWAR* Bombay 3. o This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

HIMMAT announces a prize of Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be brief and exclusive to HIMMAT.

A NAGA WRITER

DEAR EDITOR: Allow me as a Naga to thank you for your editorial "Valuable Link" in which you have treated the Nagas with great fairness and generosity.

Mr. B. P. Chaliha is right when he says that the problem is basically one of a "crisis of confidence". And you are right when you say, "in the wider Asian context Nagas will need India". It is this perspective that we now on our part need very urgently to rise up to accept. Then there will be hope of a fresh initiative coming from the Naga side in the future talks.

I. NIKETU, New Delhi

FRITTERING AWAY TIME

DEAR EDITOR: Mrs. Indira Gandhi's lead to women in general, by becoming India's Prime Minister, is of symbolic significance. Just as she has agreed to lead the country politically, so other women can lead the country in other

What India needs most urgently at the present moment is sincere and dedicated social service. In this field, I believe women are not pulling their weight adequately. There are thousands of women in India who are well placed in life, either through marriage or otherwise, who could very easily give a few hours every day to social work of some kind. Instead of doing so, they appear

PETER HOWARD'S CARTOON STRIP FOR HIMMAT

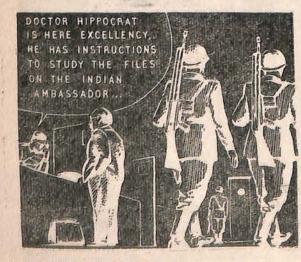
Himmat has pleasure in announcing first publication in a weekly strip-form of Peter Howard's gripping drama

THE DICTATOR'S SLIPPERS

Starts March 18

Cartoon Strip by Norman Blackburn

With kind permission of Mrs. Peter Howard and Moral Re-armament.



The Dictator Adamant is ill.

Only Dr. Hyprocrat has access to

Has Adamant made his will?

Which Comrade will step into his shoes?

VIEWPOINT

COMPETITION -

* Where I can begin to change India.

Closing date: March 18

** Should India's Taxes Be Cut by Half?

Closing date: April 1

Prizes: Rs. 25, Rs. 15

Send entries of 500 words or less to:

Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1.

to be content in frittering away their time in idle gossip in one of the more expensive cafes or restaurants, particularly after their husbands leave for their offices. How much better would it be if they could volunteer their services to some well-established social service organization.

In Calcutta, for instance, a frail Yugoslav nun, Mother Teresa, has been waging an uphill battle for many years against numerous problems that afflict the poor and neglected in this city. There is surely no area in this country where social workers would ever be redundant.

(MRS.) GLORIA SINHA, Calcutta 16

UNDER THE LENS-from page 7 unwarranted dictation of policy which patriotic Indians will oppose.

I am not an advocate of the public sector for its own sake. I believe the criteria for the continuance of the public and private sectors are efficiency and public welfare. But what kind of enterprise we should promote in India is a matter for Indians to decide and cannot be a subject of negotiation with a foreign power.

That the Government of India should so tamely accept such humiliating conditions is not only a reflection on its dire straits but a significant indication that our freedom and sovereignty are in danger from bigger powers who are prepared to insure us against the consequences of our own inefficiency, wastefulness and corruption only at the price of our own freedom.

Here lies the warning to our leaders and a danger to the whole nation. If we do not put our own house in order by voluntary acts of self-sacrifice, other people who claim to do the job better than we do will subvert our freedom.

This was a life. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE 1811 - 1896

"UNCLE TOM'S CABIN" was said to be the biggest single factor in precipitating the American Civil War, which brought an end to slavery in America.

It was written by an ordinary woman named Harriet Beecher Stowe. She was the daughter of a wellknown protestant clergyman, a temperance preacher. Her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, championed both anti-slavery and women's suffrage. She had seen anti-slavery riots in Cincinnati, Ohio, and had helped escaped slaves and heard about the hardships they had been through.

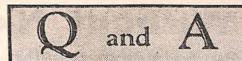
In order to supplement the family income, Mrs. Beecher Stowe had, from time to time, written short stories. But her sister-in-law, recognizing her capacity for good writing, urged her to expose for the whole country the wrongs of slavery. Her children later told how she had committed herself to this task, saying firmly, "I will write something."

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" was intended to be a few brief sketches and was sold to an obscure paper, "New Era", for \$300 to be serialized. However the story expanded and became 40 sketches, although the editor did not pay more as it grew longer. While she wrote the episodes week by week, Harriet Beecher Stowe continued to run her home, cook and look after a very lively family. Often she became exhausted when household cares mounted and the deadlines for her serial were pressing.

A publisher who was to bring out the story in book form was appalled by its length and begged the author to end it. But her eager public wanted more. The publisher tried to get the Stowes to put up half the capital needed, but they could not afford it and settled for a 10 per cent royalty. However, in spite of the fact that there was no advance publicity, the book sold in large numbers and the author's royalties for the first four months were \$10,300. The most that Mrs. Stowe had hoped for was enough for a new silk dress.

The book was translated into many languages. It was dramatized and became popular not only in America but on the London stage also. It was attacked by those whose interests it threatened, both in the North as well as in the South. Newspapers across the country took sides over it.

Harriet Beecher Stowe claimed for her famous novel that "the Lord Himself wrote it", and history has given it a place amongst the literature that has advanced civilization.



Q - Has HIMMAT ever met in "On the Spot" any Harijan who is bewildered and crestfallen?

A - HIMMAT does not choose "On the Spot" personalities on the basis of caste or creed, but on intrinsic human interest. Incidentally there are quite a few Brahmins who are about as crestfallen and bewildered!

Q-How will you make a distinction between a Russian Communist, Chinese Communist, Cuban Communist, and Indian Communist either Right or Left? A. B. KHOT, Satara

A - Every Communist believes in the existence of the class struggle. Communism is basically anti-God, though it

may permit the observance of religious

Russian Communists realized that the class war, followed to its logical conclusion, may now result in an atomic war. Hence Khrushchev preached coexistence and competition between the capitalist and Communist systems to paint the world Red without a major

To the Chinese Communists a world war is welcome. Mao Tse-tung has said that he is willing to sacrifice 300 million lives in an atomic war to Communize the world. He advocates violent action in every country. The great theory of Chinese Communism is that Communism can move from the villages to the cities and that the less advanced nations will engulf the more advanced

Cuban Communists adopted their tactics from Chinese Communists and had an agrarian base. Although Cuba has clashed with Chinese Communists recently, Cubans train revolutionaries

in use of weapons and send them out to Latin America and elsewhere.

Division in world Communism has resulted in the Indian Communist Party also being split. The Right Communists believe in collaborating with the ruling Congress Party where it suits them and even hope to capture it from within. The Left Communists believe in the need for a more militant struggle and agree with certain programmes of Chinese Communists. It is conceivable that the gulf between the two Indian Communist parties may narrow down as the elections approach. The basic aim of all the Communist Parties today remains world Communization. It is conceivable that one of these Communist Parties may give a new aim by taking Communism to the next step beyond a narrow class concept.

ANY QUESTIONS? SEND THEM TO Q & A, HIMMAT.

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I. R. M. Lala, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

March 1, 1966.

(Sgd.) R. M. LALA

AN IDEAL COOKING MEDIUM





Ghana Without Nkrumah

THERE ARE greater rejoicings in Ghana at Nkrumah's ouster than when freedom from British rule

The suppressed spirit of Ghana's common people has found liberty

Yet they and the Army would commit a grave blunder if they thought the job was over. It has barely begun.

Ghana now has an unparalleled opportunity. She is in the centre of the stage. The world is in the audience. The brief, brisk opening scene of Nkrumah's overthrow is over. What is coming next?

Will Ghana show efficiency, unity and teamwork? Or will her new rulers concentrate merely on settling old scores, taking revenge and righting their personal grievances? The world wistfully, cautiously hopes for the former.

If the curtain were now to open on a body of purposeful, hardworking Ghanaians freed of selfcentredness and self-advancement, the world's hurrals would be accompanied by hope and gratitude.

Hope, because the world is now asking to be convinced about the future of Africa. Some have already prophesied democracy's death in that continent. They assert with finality that "one man one vote" in black Africa leads inevitably to "no man any vote".

I believe that can be proved wrong. Ghana's men and women are the ones to do that. Their vigour and grace can pour out in a flood and erase the ugly drawings of despair.

False God

When freedom first came to Ghana, wise and realistic men who loved Africa and knew Africans, believed that, given the right leadership, Ghana would not only develop to an impressive size and shape, but would also have something new to teach the world.

But Ghana was not given right leadership. She was given a false religion, Nkrumahism, and a phoney god, Kwame Nkrumah.

Stamps bore the new god's image, his face shone on coins, his skyscraping statues confronted Chanaians at many a turning.

By Rajmohan Gandhi

Streets, squares and buildings were named after him.

Schools, including Christian schools, were obliged to sing praises of the Osagyefo-"redeemer and saviour"-Kwame Nkrumah.

First opponents and then friends and colleagues were bribed or bullied, jailed or exiled. Some were executed.

Soon Ghanaians, Africans and ordinary people everywhere felt that vanity could be spelt K-w-a-m-e and conceit began with an "N" and ended with a "h".

Key to Resurgence

The false prophet has been found out, but true pioneers are now needed who will give the lie to the defeatist doctors who have pronounced African freedom dead.

And when I say that the world is at its seat-edge for the next act to unfold in Ghana, I mean all its sections - Western, non-aligned and Communist. A resurgent, dynamic and united Ghana will arrest and educate Moscow and Peking just as much as Washington, London and Tokyo, New Delhi, Rawalpindi and Djakarta.

Ghana's new leaders will find the key in Moral Re-Armament. Many of them have known about it, in spite of Nkrumah. Some have experienced its power in changing their lives and in curing lethargy, irresponsibility and hate.

The moment has come for them to seize it boldly and apply it swiftly and extensively.

To this end they will want to work in partnership with people and leaders in the rest of Africa.

In men like Kenyatta of Kenya they will find, I believe, understanding and support if they go after the revolutionary programme of Moral Re-Armament.

Men who now hold Ghana's destiny in their hands should remember that only a year ago nine Kenya Ministers declared: "The philosophy and practice of Moral Re-Armament, applied on a nat-tional scale, has contributed decisively to our stability and pro-

This last decade's bitter lesson in Asia and Africa has been that

many of the nationalist leaders have cared less for their people than did their former white masters. So many of them have built themselves up while remaining indifferent to the common man's hopes and longings.

In their great leap upward their nations have taken a great leap backward.

And the hundreds of millions who people these lands have waited long enough.

India neither wants nor needs a military coup. But she surely, urgently requires an overhaul, a revolutionary change in the way our leaders treat our people.

And by leaders I don't merely mean political or party leaders, though their role is important. I mean also leaders in industry and business, principals, vice-chancellors, teachers, lawyers, doctors, trade union leaders, grandparents and parents.

DIR Easing Welcomed

The proposed relaxation in the Defence of India Rules will be welcomed by all. It has been due for some time.

With this relaxation, will there be a truer concern in our leaders for the practical needs and pro-blems of our people? Even at this late stage, if they were to practice and proclaim Moral Re-Armament they could gain the confidence of a population that is rapidly losing faith in the leadership.

India's people, of course, will never allow a one-party state or a one-man rule. They want, as the Ghanaians want, a true democracy and a true Socialism-a society where each cares for all and all care for each. A society where we honour everyone, bhangi or brahmin, party boss or junior clerk, but fear no one. A society where we end licking the boot of the man above us on the ladder to power and kicking the face of the man below us.

Will Ghana's new leaders teach us in India how to achieve this deeper transformation?

The relief of Ghana's citizens will be short-lived without Moral Re-Armament. With Moral Re-Arment relief can expand to renaissance.

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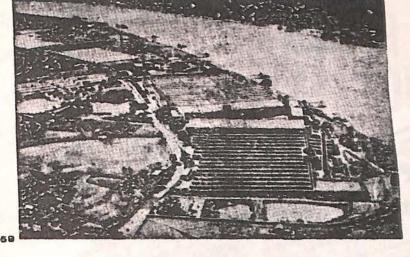
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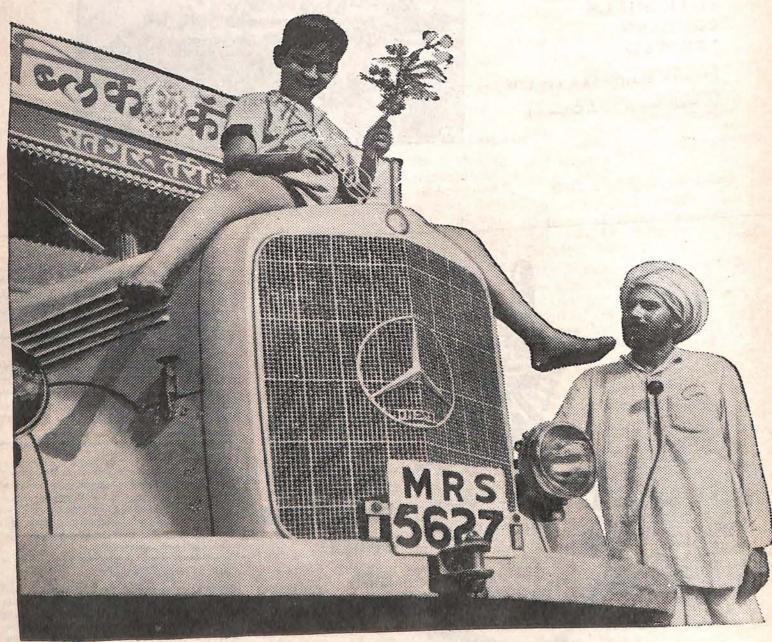


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