

JAMSHEDPUR STEELMEN WIN SHRAM VIR NATIONAL AWARDS

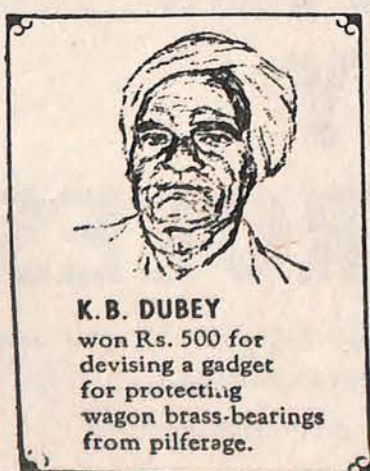
In March 1966, the Government of India held the first ceremony to honour the country's new heroes—technicians and industrial workers—with *Shram Vir* National Awards. These awards will be made every year in recognition of suggestions leading to higher production at less cost.

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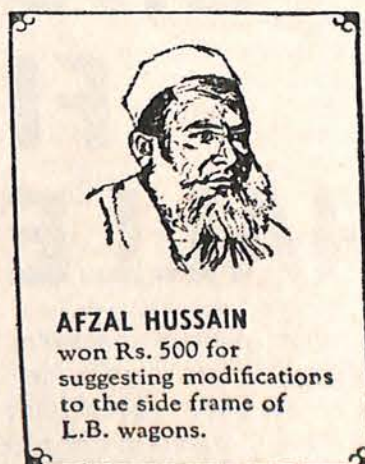
TATA STEEL



K.B. DUBEY
won Rs. 500 for
devising a gadget
for protecting
wagon brass-bearings
from pilferage.



BALWANT SINGH
won Rs. 500 for
suggesting modifications
to top coolers of
open hearth furnaces.



AFZAL HUSSAIN
won Rs. 500 for
suggesting modifications
to the side frame of
L.B. wagons.

The Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited

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R.C. BHAKAT
won top award of
Rs. 2,000 for suggesting
modifications to the
New Floor Charger
in the Plate Mill.



M.M. MAZUMDAR
won top award of
Rs. 2,000 for suggesting
use of basic bricks in
door arches of
open hearth furnaces.

HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

VOL 2 NO 40

Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY AUGUST 5 1966

R. Vaitheswaran

ANDHRA STRUGGLE FOR POWER



Chief Minister Reddy



Union Minister
Sanjeeva Reddy

ENGLAND WINS FOOTBALL CUP

Special from
Dickie Dodds

Rajmohan
Gandhi

KAMARAJ IS WRONG

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.

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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice WEEKLY

Bombay Friday August 5 1966

No Confidence in Whom?

SUPERSENSITIVE about its own sense of dignity and privilege, the Indian Parliament is capable of creating undignified scenes within its own precincts. Having enacted in the previous week the most shocking incidents in our Parliamentary history, the Opposition launched its no-confidence motion.

In 1963 the first no-confidence motion was tabled against the Nehru Government after 16 years of undisputed rule. It was world news. Now it has become a feature of every session. In 18 months Mr. Shastri had to face three.

No-confidence motions keep the Government on its toes. But unwittingly they also consolidate the otherwise divided ranks of the Treasury Benches. Some Congress members also look gleeful when their leaders and policies are flailed. Many would have uttered the same words were they willing to risk their election tickets.

Professor Hiren Mukerjee's no-confidence motion last Monday highlights the division within the ranks of the Opposition, even more than Congress. The Communists attack Government's Vietnam policy as being soft on America; the Swatantra that it is not strongly enough behind the USA. The Communists say that our economic policy is a surrender to Washington; Swatantra that it is Moscow-oriented.

Whilst the Opposition vigorously attacks from Left and Right, the solid phalanx of Congress sits confident in its over-powering majority that can muster with ease 350 votes to the Opposition's 60.

Indian democracy owes a great deal to the vigour and undaunted courage of its Opposition. Many would like to see it stronger. But to win more seats in the next elections it will have to arouse public confidence in its own behaviour rather than solely depend on its no-confidence motions.

Siberian Thaw

BEFORE THE LAST WAR, Russia resisted Japanese expansion on the mainland of Asia. Now the Japanese are to return—at the invitation of the Russians. Following negotiations in Tokyo between Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko and Japanese leaders, Japan is to help Russia develop Siberia—the first time an Asian country has offered development aid to a Western one.

The Tokyo talks were not all agreement. Gromyko refused to discuss the return of the Kurile Isles, off northern Japan, seized by Russia in 1945. The Japanese declined to walk the Moscow line on Vietnam. But Japan and Russia have a common interest in the containment of China, to whom Siberia, land of few people and great natural resources, presents an attractive target.

Nasser Knows How

WHILE SOME MAY CONTEST President Nasser's views on Middle East politics, no one can deny that he knows how to run the 100 mile-long Suez Canal. On July 26 he celebrated the tenth anniversary of its nationalization.

Three months after Nasser took over, British and French forces invaded the Canal Zone. UN intervention led to a cease-fire in December 1956. Nasser surprised his antagonists by paying quite fair compensation to shareholders. He then proceeded to make the Canal a very paying proposition for Egypt. Profits have trebled since 1955.

Nasser's dilemma now is how to meet the challenge of the new breed of super tankers which can carry vast quantities of oil round the Cape more cheaply. His only answer is to modernize and deepen. At £8 million per foot this will be a formidable bill.

But Nasser confounded the cynics once and he may do it again before the centenary of de Lesseps' great enterprise is celebrated in 1969.

Sweet and Sour

*Never, I ween, did swimmer,
In such an evil case,
Struggle through such a raging flood
Safe to the landing place.*

LORD MACAULAY

WITH HEAD ABOBBING, Chairman Mao was pictured in the world press last week floating down the Yangtse in what can only be described as the swiftest water marathon of all time. Not since Leander swam the Hellespont has there been a feat to match it.

At 72, the great Mao—buoyed up no doubt by his own "thoughts"—struck what the New China News Agency called "a heavy blow to imperialism".

And they deserve it. With wicked, black hearts the "imperialists" have been misleading the world into believing the Great Gardener (whose thousand flowers bloomed like poison ivy) was ailing, senile or even dead. But with a few kicks from his powerful legs, Mao snapped his fingers in the face of the many-headed hydra of "imperialist revisionism".

Nine miles in 65 minutes! The President of the World Federation of Long Distance Swimmers, Mr. Carlos Larriera, immediately cabled Chairman Mao, inviting him to their swimming contest on August 13 in Quebec. Chairman Mao stands a good chance—the best time for 10 miles so far is 4 hours 35 minutes.

Typical of the nation-wide enthusiasm for Mao's sporting effort was the aquatic demonstration of Nieh Chang-hsin of the Hangkow Power Plant.

According to Radio Peking: "He was so excited at the sight of Chairman Mao that he forgot he himself was swimming. Raising both arms, he shouted, 'Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao!' He stood upright and sank, drinking a few mouthfuls of water, which, however, he found to be of a particularly sweet taste."

But, of course, anyone who has tasted the Yangtse knows that it can be both sweet and sour.

Briefly Speaking ...

Among a people generally corrupt, liberty cannot long exist.

EDMUND BURKE, 1729-1797

Little Tyrants

AN OVER-ENTHUSIASTIC MP in the Rajya Sabha said he had told the Congress Party not to give an election ticket to anyone who had more than four children.

How clever.

The late Prime Minister Shastri would have been eliminated from the political scene had that rule been followed. Chief Minister Nijalingappa of Mysore with his happy family of nine would be, perforce, out of politics too.

Common Sense

I HAVE HEARD SO much about Goa's merger or statehood. The most sensible word came from a Maharashtra farmer in the village of Hatwe, about 30 miles from Poona.

A friend of mine asked where he thought Goa should belong—with Maharashtra, Mysore or be a separate state?

The farmer said he had not heard about the issue. When the recent history of Goa was explained to him, including the fact that it was under Portuguese rule for 450 years, the farmer got confused and asked, "But whatever happens, will Goa remain in India?"

"Yes." Relieved, he smiled and replied, "Then it is all right."

CHALTA HAI...



"Dad, what about that other sack in the garage?"

Horse Sense

AN MLA of Rajasthan recently disclosed that some horses of the Maharaja of Alwar often amble into the classrooms of the Degree College at Alwar. The building is said to be the private property of the Maharaja whose grooms let loose horses graze in the College compound.

If Caligula could make a Roman horse a consul, surely an Indian horse at least deserves a degree.

Ingenious

NINETEEN-YEAR-OLD Joseph Clement Karam of Beirut was arrested in the examination hall for having a radio receiver hidden in a bandage on his head. He was receiving answers to examination questions. The transmitting set was in a building a short distance from the examination hall. One accomplice was sending answers to French Literature and another to Arabic Literature.

"Revolution" in Kashmir

THE LONDON Times carries a report from Srinagar that "a new movement has begun in Srinagar which though professedly non-political, could in time take the form of 'Kashmir for the Kashmiris'". It is referring to the Kashmir Cultural Society started by the journalist Premnath Bazaz. Mr. Bazaz is quoted as saying that the problems facing Kashmiris could not be solved by India or Pakistan, but by the Kashmiris themselves. He has called for a "mental revolution" like that which Kashmir saw in 300 BC when Buddhism came and again in the 13th century when Islam came.

Mr. Bazaz says his aim is to evolve a free, democratic and tolerant society that will revive the glory of Kashmiri culture.

Best Customer

US AGRICULTURE SECRETARY, Orville Freeman, on return to the USA from an Indian visit, announced that five years ago India took one eighth of the American wheat crop. Last year it was one fifth and this year one fourth. If Mr. Freeman is not careful the American farmers will be doing little else but growing wheat while the Indians are eating it.

Small Industries

MYSORE STATE is the most advanced in small-scale industries.

The Manager of a leading bank in Mysore with several branches told me over 95 per cent of small-scale industries were concentrated in four or five towns of Mysore.

That seems a pity because one object of small scale industries is to provide employment for our villages.

Milky Way

THE WORLD'S BIGGEST cow-lift has just taken place from the island of Jersey off the French coast to Coventry in England. Thirty-eight cows were conveyed by air due to the seamen's strike. As can be well imagined it was otherwise an uneventful flight.

Anything is Possible

IN AMERICA a Life Extension Society has been launched, with a membership of 600, to prolong existence as far as possible. At death, instead of being burned or buried, its members will be frozen. When someone discovers a cure for what they died from, they will be thawed out and bought back to life. The "deep freeze" is estimated to cost a modest Rs. 2000 per annum per corpus. An advertisement published by the Society proclaims: "Freeze at Death, Revive at Future (We Hope)."

"Urbs Prima"

I HAVE JUST RETURNED after an 1800-mile journey to Bangalore and the South. The worst roads I encountered were on my arrival in the city of Bombay—"The First City of India".

R.M.L.

People on the Go read HIMMAT Weekly

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BOOKS

Sheorey Recreates "QUIT INDIA"

By R. M. Lala

Twenty-four years ago on August 8 Mahatma Gandhi told the British rulers: "Quit India." And his people: "Do or Die."

In the early hours of next morning, he, Nehru, Patel, Azad and other leaders were arrested and taken by train to Poona or Ahmednagar Fort. But the cry "Quit India" was echoed by millions of voices across the land. Schoolboys risked death lowering the Union Jack. Women faced bullets. A nation left leaderless often found its own expression in violence. Police stations were burnt, telegraph lines cut, trains derailed. The British rulers then emeshed in a world war cracked down heavily.

Dangerous Days

In his novel *The Volcano* Gandhi-Award winner Anant Gopal Sheorey has recaptured those anxious, dangerous yet proud days through the life of an Indian family—a widowed mother, her son Abhay and newly-wed wife Vijanta.

Abhay was a research scholar. Like thousands of his generation he smarted under foreign rule and yearned for his country's freedom. He was present at that Congress Session at Bombay when Gandhi gave the ultimatum. He returned enthused to his home-town Nagpur evading the police, carrying vital leaflets of instructions to his area.

Fugitive Abhay, hears of a village incensed at police cruelty, planning to raid the police station. He rushes and pleads for non-violence. He is told: "Gandhi has ordered—do or die. You look to the dying part and we will do."

Accused of inciting this mob, a reward is declared for Abhay's arrest. Hunted, he renews his faith at a place of pilgrimage. Finally, he risks hunger and capture in a determined bid to see his mother and wife.

Sheorey (pronounced Shevade) is a skilled craftsman. Each chapter is perfectly rounded off. He draws his characters sharply and swiftly—the uncouth police inspector Baburam; the Indian magistrate whose soul is in

torment as he tries for murder a man whose only crime, he knows, is to fight for his country.

Effusive though Sheorey is in his worship of personalities, he is sensitive about the deeper human relationships. Modern writers of romantic love may learn a thing or two from Sheorey's masterly presentation of the hero and his wife.

Though Gandhi himself hardly features, his spirit strides the book. It is fitting that Sheorey, a votary of his principles, should have received the Award named after him, an honour he shares with Vinoba Bhave and Kaka Kalelkar. A distinguished Hindi novelist, Sheorey has translated his own book "Jwalamukhi" (The Volcano) for an American publisher. The National Book Trust has already translated it in 14 major

On your toes

OUR BUSY CONGRESSMEN

I must confess that the burden of public affairs on our overworked Ministers often weighs heavily upon me—even if not upon them.

While most of us are sitting around enjoying our leisure hours free from the cares of the world they have to rush around from morning to night—one party after another, gracing charity premieres of the latest show, presenting awards to film stars, receiving deputations bearing cheques for their favourite fund, dashing to the airport to receive some visiting Minister, preparing for the next trip overseas or chasing up a licence for some loyal constituent.

For those with important portfolios it leaves precious little time at the office for moving files out of the "IN" tray into the "PENDING" tray. This gives many of them a frustrated feeling that they are just not doing for humanity all they should. They punish themselves with remorse.

One can imagine some of the preoccupations of our busy Minister for Housing, Printing Presses, Fisheries, Small Savings and Tourism, Shri Homi J. H. Taleyarkhan, as he put aside his important business the



Gandhi-Award winner Sheorey

Indian languages, and the Government will bring it out in Braille.

A couple of phrases are repeated; a couple of incidents could have better been left out. But these points are nothing compared to the majesty of the theme or the dimension of its architecture. It could be made into a superb film—and it needs to be.

Those unborn in those eventful days will put down the book, grateful for the martyrs who made freedom possible, sad perhaps at where India has fallen today and some of them at least inspired to make this country great again.

other morning to address a seminar of the Maharashtra State and Indian Productivity Year Committee.

The meeting started punctually with its inauguration by Governor P. V. Chelian. Our busy Minister, with so much to attend to (including Housing, Printing Presses, Fisheries, Small Savings and Tourism), was understandably late. In fact he arrived, though he did not appear to realize it, just as the meeting was concluding.

Being listed to speak, the sponsors of the occasion graciously gave him the microphone. He began with an apology, hardly necessary when one realizes how busy he is, and concluded with the remark: "Now let us have the benefit of hearing the Governor."

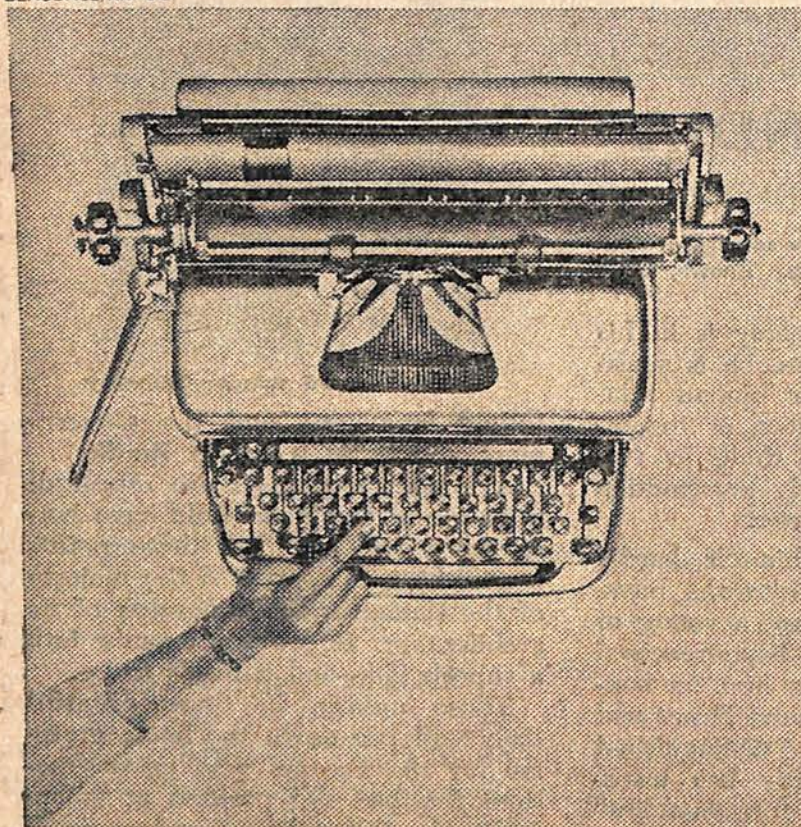
The audience quietly rose from their seats, each one collecting his papers. As the Governor moved off he was heard to mutter, "I have already delivered my speech."

Alongside the press report of this wonderful display of ministerial pomposity was the story of Echo, a talking Indian Myna Bird, who screeched "Shut up" at Queen Mother Elizabeth the other day in London when she asked to hear him "talk" at an exhibition she visited.

Echo was at the wrong meeting.

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Report from Andhra—power struggle behind Congress split

The Congress Party in Andhra Pradesh is the latest instance of another major division in the organization. The Chief Minister of the State, Sri Brahmananda Reddy, has declared war on the "czardom" of Sri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation in the Central Cabinet and former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. Till the present crisis, Sri Sanjeeva Reddy wielded almost absolute authority over the State party machine.

The Congress Party in the State is split right down the middle, cutting across the traditional political rivalries based on caste and region.

The growing differences between the two men erupted into open conflict just over a month ago, ostensibly over the selection of candidates for the Legislative Council of Andhra Pradesh. The Chief Minister, with the majority of the Pradesh Congress Committee on his side, refused to revise his list to accommodate the demand for representation of the rival group of the Education Minister, Sri A. C. Subba Reddy. Sri Sanjeeva Reddy supported Sri Subba Reddy's claims, perhaps fearing that the growing influence and prestige of the Chief Minister might undermine his own base in the State.

The Congress High Command stood by the Chief Minister and Sri Sanjeeva Reddy suffered his first defeat. Apprehending further isolation, Sri Sanjeeva Reddy hastened to make up with his long-time political rival and enemy, Sri Sanjeeviah, also a former Chief Minister of the State as well as a former President of the Indian National Congress. As Sri Sanjeeviah has had the support of

the powerful minority group of Congressmen belonging to the *Kamma* caste, the Sanjeeviah|Sanjeeva Reddy axis has apparently broken the traditional pattern of Reddy|Kamma rivalry in Andhra politics.

The struggle is at present focussed on the election of one member to the Pradesh Election Committee by the provincial Congress Committee in early August. The outcome will determine whether one or the other group will have a majority in the election committee. This in turn will determine the selection of candidates for the general election and set the pattern for the subsequent struggle for leadership of the Legislature Party.

Two years ago Sri Brahmananda Reddy was the unanimous choice of the Congress Party when Sri Sanjeeva Reddy resigned from his position as Chief Minister of the State after a Supreme Court judgement which upheld the charge of political bias brought against him. The two men were very close together and, in fact, Sri Brahmananda Reddy was the choice of Sri Sanjeeva Reddy.

Personal rivalries

I talked with leaders of both groups in an attempt to understand the causes of the rift between the two men who were very close to each other not long ago. The conflict is partly a personal struggle for power. Almost the only reason Sri Subba Reddy fights against his leader is that he aspires to the latter's position. Sri Subba Reddy's supporters are a "heterogeneous lot", said the Chief Minister, "each with his or her own aspiration".

There is no doubt that the Chief Minister, fearing Sri Subba Reddy's claim to the *gadi* in a future contest for leadership, steadily built up his own position with the Congress machine in the districts. He thus threatened not only Sri Subba Reddy's own base but also Sri Sanjeeva Reddy's control. The latter saw "red" when the Chief Minister proved his strength on the issue of nominations to the Council.

An important problem of national leadership is focussed herein. Over the years since independence leadership at the top has moved from men of intrinsic ability who commanded a national audience to men whose

Under
the
Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

claim to leadership rested on their control over a regional political machine. Congress President Kamaraj is a national leader by virtue of his monopolistic control over Tamilnad. Shri Morarji Desai, former Finance Minister, is a political force in spite of the Kamaraj Plan which unceremoniously put him out of office because of his political strength in Gujarat.

Shri Chavan goes chauvinist over Belgaum and Goa in order to strengthen his base in Maharashtra. Sri Sanjeeva Reddy's strength at the Centre is a result of his control of the Congress Party in Andhra. His national leadership is threatened if his strength at the State level is questioned.

I asked Sri Brahmananda Reddy if he felt that conflict was inherent if Central and State leaders aspired to control the same State machine. His reply was, "Not necessarily." He had in mind the amicable relations existing between Kamaraj and Sri Bhaktavatsalam, Chief Minister of Madras, as well as between Shri Chavan, the Defence Minister, and local leadership of Maharashtra. It is, however, clear that a capable and strong Party man at the Centre is likely to clash with the Chief Minister in the home State with similar qualities.

"Interference" charge

"Interference" was a word one heard often from the supporters of Sri Brahmananda Reddy. They charged that the Central Minister was jealous of the latter's success and would not leave the State alone under the stewardship of his successor. At least one dissident Minister conceded that there was an attempt from Delhi to direct or control even administrative decisions such as placing and transfer of civil servants in the State. Sri Brahmananda Reddy must have resented the unspoken demand of the Andhra leaders in

Continued on page 13

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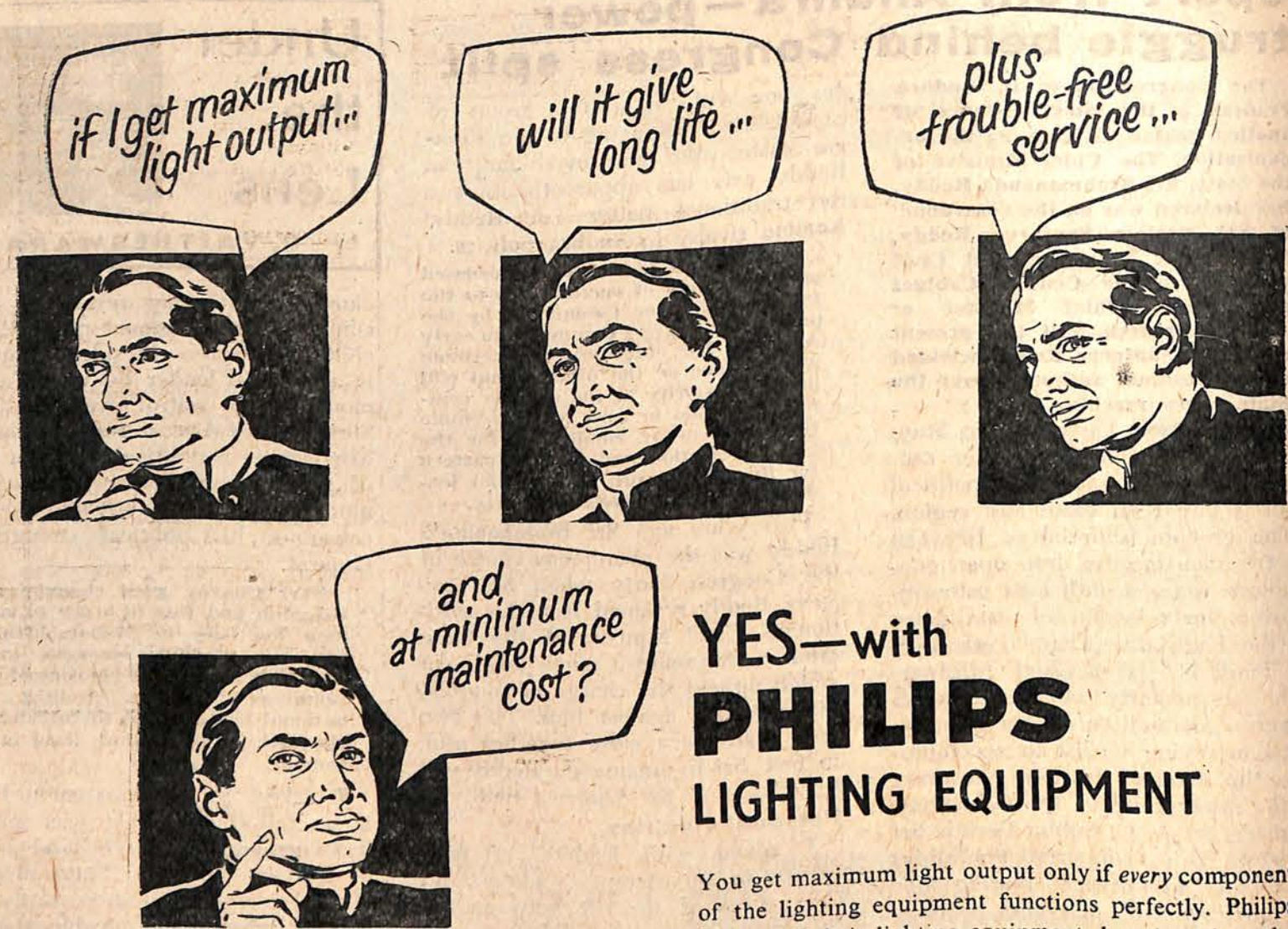
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Will Wilson Survive?

FROM GORDON WISE

London

Blizzards in midsummer are rare, even for Britain's changeable climate. But "economic blizzard" is not too strong a term to apply to Britain's financial state today. Many say that it is the most severe economic crisis since 1931, when the great Depression enveloped these islands.

For the Prime Minister it is his most severe test so far. The drastic measures which he outlined to a subdued nation are expected to have the effect of cutting the national income by three per cent, when coupled with previous Government policies. The cutting of £500 million from the annual level of demand, ruthlessly pruning what the average Britisher is spending on himself, can be expected to lead to a rise of unemployment up to half a million.

Though Mr. Wilson insists that the Government is not seeking unemployment, but the "redeployment of labour", every worker is apprehensive, understandably.

The crux of the problem is that Britain is spending more on herself than she is producing in terms of wealth to pay for this indulgence.

After incessant appeals to produce more, to modernize methods and to sacrifice, the Prime Minister has resorted to the classic methods of "deflationary cuts", for which he and his friends have so roundly condemned the Tories so often.

For a Socialist Prime Minister deliberately to introduce proposals which will increase unemployment, in an effort to reduce the pressure for wage increases and personal consumption, is as large a helping of humble pie as was ever placed before a political party.

Loyal Labour men are confused; the Left is seething. After a ninety-minute question-and-answer session with the Parliamentary Labour Party in the House of Commons, Mr. Wilson found himself confronted by forty-five "rebel" Left-wing MPs, including ex-Minister Frank Cousins.

The Economist even discusses the possibility of a revolt of the Left of such proportions as to make Mr. Wilson's leadership untenable. There is also talk of an all-party Government. This is strange coming so soon after Labour's smashing electoral victory of a hundred seats, but is an indication of the severity of the situation.

Whatever is being written, there is no likely alternative leader for Labour in sight. And all but the over-

Continued on next page

The week in Asia

DJAKARTA—A high Government source said President Sukarno's statement that "confrontation" with Malaysia is continuing would have no effect—it was an expression of his own opinion.

COLOMBO—Sunil Hewage, accused of complicity in the recent coup plot against the Ceylon Government, surrendered to the authorities. He is a former employee of Tass, the Soviet news agency.

BANGKOK—Thai Interior Minister Charusathien said a Communist plot to murder the Thai Prime Minister had been uncovered.

TOKYO—Japan granted India credit worth 40 million US dollars as emergency aid.

SAIGON—US planes for the first time bombed the demilitarized zone between North and South Vietnam. A division of North Vietnam troops is reported to have moved South through the zone recently.

TOKYO—Japan and Russia agreed to hold periodical consultations, following talks here between Japanese Prime Minister Sato and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. Japan also agreed to co-operate with Russia in the development of Siberia.

RANGOON—General Ne Win, Chairman of the Burmese Revolutionary Council, left for London where he is to have medical treatment.

SAIGON—The Unified Church of South Vietnam called on its followers not to burn themselves in protest suicides against the military regime.

SEOUL—Over 60,000 people have been made homeless and 59 have died in floods in South Korea.

BEIRUT—The Iraq Government has offered an amnesty to Kurdish rebels who have been fighting for five years. The Kurds have accepted the Government's peace plan which gives them a measure of autonomy.

KATHMANDU—Delegations from China and Russia attended Nepal's second Youth Festival, held in honour of King Mahendra's 47th birthday.

SAIGON—Chemicals lethal to plants were sprayed over 59,000 acres of Viet Cong-controlled crops in the first six months of this year, reported US officials.



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biased concede that Mr. Wilson has shown creditable courage in imposing this strict curtailment of national self-indulgence.

Strangely enough, though the pro-

Why Tito Sacked Police Boss

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Ljubljana

In spite of his 74 years, President Tito seems to be the only East European chief of state, beside the new Rumanian leader Nicolai Ceausescu, whose actions always make headline news and who, while still remaining a convinced Communist, never stops trying out ways and methods to increase the stature and prosperity of his country.

His latest action—the elimination from power of his No. 2-man and secret police chief Rankovic and of the whole group of men loyal to him—caused a sensation all over Yugoslavia. When Tito dropped Vice-President Djilas a few years ago because of the critical books he had written and published outside his

blem is pressing, the amount of increase needed to balance Britain's budget and equalize her balance of payments, is marginal. A Conservative spokesman told me that five per cent improvement would do the trick.

country, everybody was astonished and some were pleased. But Djilas was an intellectual and, although his name was never forgotten, nobody would have described Tito's action then as sensational.

But the fall of Rankovic has astonished and shaken the whole country as he represented three of the

strongest elements holding up any reform in Yugoslavia. He represented the former "partisans" of the last war who had moved into top positions in administration and economy, not because of their capacity but because of their loyalty to Tito during the war. He represented the Serbs who occupied many more positions and absorbed much more of the national income than corresponded to their 41 per cent of the national population. He also represented the old guard of Yugoslav Communists who in spite of being anti-Russian did not want to turn over power to the younger generation.

Of course, many Yugoslavs were hoping that the fall of Rankovic would also mean an end to the absolute power of the secret police he had controlled ever since the war. Agents from that police had penetrated into every organization and administration.

Tito's Wife Spied On

During the last years, many Yugoslavs had not been able to refrain from a cynical smile when Western observers were praising the liberalization of the Yugoslav regime while they, the Yugoslavs, knew that the power and police apparatus was still all-powerful and intact.

Tito was finally fed up when it was discovered that secret microphones had been installed even in his own wife's bedroom and in the residences of all top leaders of government and party. Everybody waits now with keen and personal interest to see if Tito will dare to use this opportunity to break the power of the secret police and to put new men in charge of security, both in the Centre and in the provinces.

But even if Tito might not have felt personally threatened by Rankovic and his men, sooner or later he would have been forced to move against him because he stood in the way of all the reforms the Yugoslav President wants still to carry through in his life time.

These reforms have been initiated on all levels of national life. It is important to realize, however, that the aging Marshal has not the slightest intention of moving away from Communism. He is only determined to make the Yugoslav brand of Communism the most effective, productive and possibly also most democratic of all the brands offered today.

Kenya Press Hits Chinese "Friendship"

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

The People's Republic of China has formally protested to the Kenya Government accusing several of its Ministers of subjecting the People's Republic to "slander, vilification, and grave provocation".

The Note states that three Ministers had openly opposed China for interfering in Kenya's internal affairs, while two others had made anti-China outbursts. The Note adds that the Chinese Government has never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries and that it "avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Republic of Kenya the assurances of its highest consideration".

Contrary to the demands of protocol and diplomatic etiquette, the Note was then circulated to members of the public and broadcast over Radio Peking. However, it was not handed to the Kenya Press. Both the *East African Standard* and the *Daily Nation* printed strong editorials on the subject the day after the Note was made available in Parliament.

Under the heading "Chinese Crackers" the editor of the "Standard" wrote that the Note accused several Ministers of anti-Chinese outbursts. "Despite similar recurrent efforts this newspaper was not named, a pity. So named it would have been in good company. The best way for the Chinese and anybody else to avoid getting their fingers burnt, is not to play with fire."

The *Daily Nation* in its editorial entitled "Chinese Style Friendship", began, "Friendship, like other vague terms, has lost its real meaning, especially when it comes from the mouths of Chinese diplomats.

"The Chinese Foreign Minister comes to Africa and urges the masses to rise against their popularly

elected Governments and this is said in the name of 'friendship'.

"When a Chinese diplomat goes round the country bribing people and doing political organization on behalf of certain anti-Government individuals, this again is done in the name of 'friendship'.

"Literature vilifying the leaders of this country is distributed both openly and secretly within Kenya—and this in the name of 'friendship'.

"Then the Chinese quietly choose a site for their embassy next door to some of the country's military installations in Nairobi and this again in the name of 'friendship'.

"This of course, is not friendship, it is subversion and interference with the country's internal affairs."

In an earlier editorial called, "Kenya's Way of Life", the *Nation* said, "We have chosen our own way of life and we detest Communism and atheism. We will resist attempts to impose foreign systems based on ethnocentric premises or narrow ideologies.

"This country should now re-examine its relations with China and Russia."

Kenya enjoys a press which is outspoken, free to criticize the Government or to point out some of the dangers confronting this newly independent state. Perhaps more than any other country on this continent the press has been able to follow the dictum "The truth shall make you free".

The week elsewhere

NEW CHINESE A-BASE

HONG KONG—Communist China is constructing a second atomic base at Ching Hai Lake, say observers here. Under Army control, it will concentrate, it is believed, on making the H-bomb. The new base is 200 miles north of Lanchow, till now China's nuclear centre. Intelligence sources estimate that within three

years China will have stockpiled over 100 A-bombs—plus perhaps H-bombs.

CHANNEL TUNNEL OK

LONDON—The British and French Governments have decided, subject to certain conditions, that a tunnel should be built under the 22-mile Straits of Dover between the two countries. Plans for a Channel Tun-

Continued on next page

The week in India

VARANASI—Banaras Hindu University closed indefinitely following student demonstrations backing their union's demands. University authorities blamed "some unruly students and outside elements".

KOHIMA—Naga underground leaders agreed to continue talks with Mrs. Gandhi and appealed to all Nagas to maintain peace. The new talks are reported to be arranged for the second week of August.

BOMBAY—Maharashtra Chief Minister Naik said he would meet Mysore Chief Minister Nijalingappa in Bangalore on August 7 to discuss the boundary dispute between the two States.

LUCKNOW—Uttar Pradesh State Government decided to grant increased dearness allowance to State employees with Rs. 300 or less a month basic salary. The employees ended their 11-day strike.

KOTTAYAM—President Radhakrishnan, here for jubilee celebrations of Malayalam Manorama, warned India: "Our greatest enemies are within and not outside the country." United action alone could repel the forces of disintegration.

COIMBATORE—Sarvodaya leader Jayaprakash Narayan said he would meet Sheikh Abdullah this week at Kodaikanal where the Kashmir leader is detained.

NEW DELHI—Seven leftist parties, including Left and Right Communists, said they had agreed to make electoral adjustments to avoid competing against each other at the general election.

AGARTALA—Pakistan has set up centres in East Pakistan to train Mizo and Naga rebels, according to reports here.

NEW DELHI—Opposition MPs forced both Houses of Parliament to adjourn by obstructionist tactics as they tried to get the UP strike situation discussed.

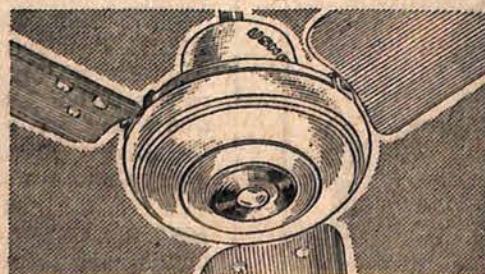
NEW DELHI—India has started assembling Soviet MiG-21 fighter planes at Nasik, Minister of Defence Production A. M. Thomas told Parliament. Other MiG plants are to be built at Koraput and Hyderabad.

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nel were first proposed over 150 years ago. In 1878 work began but was discontinued when a British general declared the tunnel might be used for a French invasion.

SUDAN'S YOUNGEST PM

KHARTOUM—Sayed Sadiq El Mahdi, President of the Umma Party, became Prime Minister of the Sudan following the defeat of his predecessor, Mr. M. A. Mahgoub, also of the Umma Party, in a parliamentary

censure motion. El Mahdi, aged 30, is Sudan's youngest prime minister. He is grandson of the founder of modern Sudan.

HANOI TROOPS IN LAOS

VIENTIANE—The Hanoi Government has sent a further 60,000 troops and workers into Laos to keep the Ho Chi Minh Trail open. 12,000 North Vietnamese troops were there already. North Vietnam now has about 25,000 combat troops in Laos and 45,000 workers engaged in road-building or moving supplies. These figures have been estimated from air photos and reconnaissance by the Royal Laotian Army.

WORLD FAMINE UNLESS...

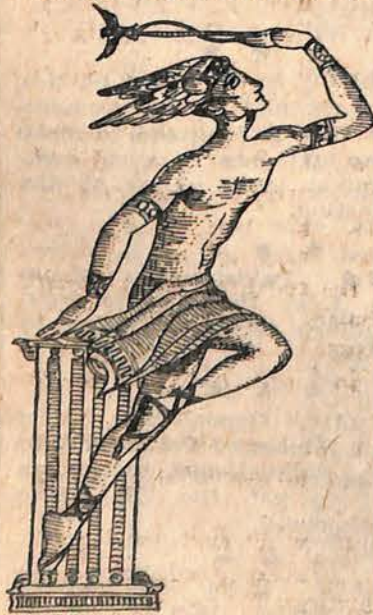
GENEVA—Warning of world famine by 1985, unless action was taken now to avert it, was given by US Ambassador to the UN Goldberg recently. By that year the world's food shortage would be bigger than the entire food exporting capacity of all the world's grain producing countries, he said. The only solution was for the food-importing countries to give increased production priority.

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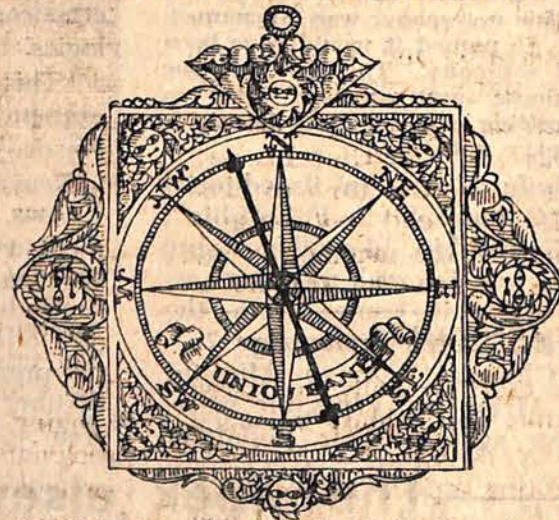
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ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

Goan fisherman's life—prayer, work and liquor

DONA PAULO is the fashionable seaside resort outside Panjim. There, too, is the residence of Goa's Chief Minister Bandodkar and next to it is a typical Goan fishing village.

Fifty-three-year-old Anton Nunes is the leader of the village. At times he walks into the home of his neighbour the Chief Minister with any difficulties he has. Anton is like a father to the 150 families of his village.

He was standing outside one of his boat-huts and all he had on was a *lungi*. Around his neck was a chain with a cross. His face was sensitive in spite of the beating of the sun and the waves.

Anton is a simple man. His life revolves very much around his family. He had intense concern about his son whom he had trained as a mechanic and is eager to get him a job.

"I have worked long enough now. I would like to retire and let my children look after me. I have been fishing ever since I can remember."

How much do you earn per month?
Anton was lost. He tried his best to calculate and from time to time would shake his head, not because he was scared of the income tax but he had never taken the trouble to

count. To him income depended on the expeditions he undertook.

"Sometimes the whole village participates in the fishing, even the women and children. We have three co-operative societies. In my society are twenty fishermen. We work hard at the nets but we often require, for a big catch, all hands in the village and sometimes we hire others from outside. If we can earn Rs. 1000 from the catch the first Rs. 400 is divided between the twenty of us. The other Rs. 400 between the various hands from the village and outside who help us. And the other Rs. 200 goes in—liquor."

Is there much change since India liberated Goa?

"Yes, the cost of food has gone up. And drink too?"



Anton Nunes

he could not do his work.

Do you have fights in your village?

deprive his opponents of such powers.

The crisis has deepened as a result. "The Chief Minister was wrong in changing portfolios. He has thus precipitated a crisis," said the mild-mannered Sri P.V.G. Raju, Cultural Affairs Minister. "My budget is only 60 lakhs," lamented another Minister.

Such is the stuff of the "high politics" of our country at this time. When the concentrated attention of Government ought to be on insuring easy supplies of essentials like food-grains and kerosene, restraining high prices and holding down Government expenditure, money, time and a great deal of effort is wasted on the futile politics of personal power.



Nunes and son go fishing.

"Not normally. Sometimes after a drink."

Do you pray before you go out to sea?

"Certainly."

Do you feel that you are a part of Hindustan—having lived under Portuguese rule all these years?

He raised his hands to his breast and said, "Of course. Hindustan is our mother."

Do you want merger with Maharashtra?

He lifted his hands from his breast, waved them feverishly and said, "No, no, no. We don't."

He spoke of his son who had studied up to the 8th standard in a night school. He was very proud of him. We spoke about weddings. He said it was costly to get married. His son's wedding could cost him Rs. 500 for he had to feed and give drinks to his whole village. But his daughter's could cost him as much as Rs. 4000.

Where do you get all this money?

"I borrow it from my friends. Sometimes I mortgage the jewellery of my family." He was not too worried about the interest and appeared to get what he required from friends and neighbours rather than from money lenders.

Do you find any change in the government?

"Not much. If they do things properly they can do something worthwhile."

I asked him what fish he caught. He replied, "Mainly bangara, mackerel and sardines."

Do you usually have a good catch?

"There is a proverb in Konkani: The fish is in the sea but foolish men stand on the land to guess how much there is."

R. M. LALA

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The Incredible Ho—III

By John McCook Roots

HO POSSESSES both charm and dedication. Jawaharlal Nehru found him "extraordinarily likeable and friendly". The American Army officer mentioned above recalls him fondly as an "awfully sweet guy". A French Naval Commander who brought him back to Indo-China in his warship in 1946, described him after 31 days at sea together as "an intelligent and very charming man who is also a passionate idealist entirely devoted to his cause."

With the charm clearly goes a capacity for ruthlessness when Party interests prescribe it. While Ho was negotiating with the French in Paris in 1946—"embracing us affectionately before every session," reported one French delegate—his aide, General Giap was liquidating Vietnam's non-Communist leadership at home by methods as savage as those of the Viet Cong today. One favoured device was "crab fishing", which consisted of tying the victims together and throwing them into the Mekong.

Recent eye-witnesses contradict recurrent reports of Ho's illness or senility (for two decades Paris had periodically circulated the rumour that he was dead). Indeed Ho, who is just de Gaulle's age, must apparently still be reckoned not only to lead North Vietnam but, like his French contemporary in France, to be North Vietnam.

Intransigent

It is also probably safe to assume that he is still much as orientalist Paul Mus found him twenty years ago: "An intransigent and incorruptible revolutionary."

Like the Americans with Castro, Frenchmen were long reluctant to believe that Ho was a Communist. And indeed Communism has been by no means his only driving passion. Considering the history of the past eighty years since the French came to Vietnam, it was inevitable that nationalism and race should also have played a primary role in his life.

"The hatred of the Annamites for the French," writes Harold Isaacs, now of the Centre for International Studies at MIT and an eye-witness in Indo-China during French rule, "was a living, leaping thing in the

land. Whole generations had been infected with the poison of an enforced inferiority haunting every step of their lives from cradle to grave."

Ho himself speaks with quiet intensity of the white rulers who would refer contemptuously to his people as "les jaunes" ("the yellow ones"). "I hate them", he told Isaacs. "We all hate them with a hatred that must be inconceivable to you, for you have not known what it is to live as a slave under a foreign master."

It was nationalism that first drove Ho to Communism. His remarks at the decisive Christmas debate of the Socialist Party of France in 1920

In the last of three articles, China expert John McCook Roots describes the life and character of the little-known leader of North Vietnam.

contained this passage: "I don't understand a thing about strategy, tactics, and all the other big words you use. But I understand very well one single thing. The Third International (Communist) concerns itself a great deal with the colonial question. Its delegates promise to help the oppressed colonial peoples to regain liberty and independence. The adherents of the Second International (Socialist) have not said a word about the fate of the colonial areas." That same week he became a Founding Member of the French Communist Party.

From then on, until he emerged as Chief of State of Communist North Vietnam, Ho's life was the intense and exhausting one of a roving catalyst for Asian and world Communism. "Pursued, imprisoned, fleeing, organizing," reported a bemused French historian, "ceaselessly making plans, recruiting adherents, training the uncommitted, calming the hot heads, scheming, liquidating."

The Englishman James Cameron, who talked with Ho last December in Hanoi, found him frail but seemingly indestructible. "I'm a cheerful fellow," quipped the victor of Dien Bien Phu as American bombs straddled his little country. "I've been a revolutionary so long I'm obliged to be optimistic."

It is instructive to ponder the influence of this frail but indomitable revolutionary on the mighty United

States. To say that he and his embattled countrymen have produced in millions of Americans a mood of self-examination would be to say too much too soon. But widespread questing for some new dimension of struggle there certainly is.

"America," writes the Pulitzer Prize-winning correspondent Malcolm Browne, "will have to pick up a new kind of bat to stay in the game." With this most discerning observers would agree, including the great majority of Americans who believe with President Johnson that their country must at all costs stay in the game. The question is, what type of bat? "A knowledge of human engineering," suggests the veteran *New York Times* commentator Cyrus Sulzberger, just back from Asia. Concentration on "the vital ideological aspect of the insurgency problem," says Vietnam specialist Bernard Fall.

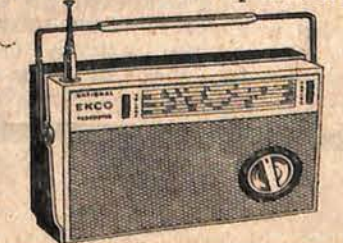
Most daring of all proposals is that put forward by Robert Shaplen, who devotes a chapter in his book to what he calls "Ho Chi Minh—The Untried Gamble". In it he attempts to show that during the period of flux just after the War, Ho was open to the possibility of a positive alternative to Communism, and Shaplen takes his country—and France—to task for not supplying it.

Conceivably, he intimates, if Americans were to "reformulate our own revolutionary inheritance", and live it out while standing firm militarily the job might even yet be done.

To predict success in such a venture would surely be too bold. But not so bold, perhaps, to anyone who knows Ho Chi Minh, as automatically to predict failure.

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LETTERS

US IN VIETNAM

Your article "In it to win it" (HIMMAT, July 8), expressed the first reasonable attitude towards Vietnam in India. Up till now it has always been slogans and shouting "America Quit" or "Stop Aggression". But the stakes in Vietnam are much higher than mere "aggression". It is a question of whether China will stay out or China will grab. It is a bigger war—a war between Chinese Communism and free democracy.

After India's bitter experience of 1962, after Tibet, any sensible person should know that China has to be stopped at all costs. If India wants America to leave Vietnam then she must step in and provide a check to China herself—not militarily but ideologically.

What is wrong with American policy in Vietnam is, I think, that America is fighting a principle (Communism) with guns. A principle can be countered only with another principle. Americans and all of us democrats the world over need to go into the South Vietnamese villages and convince the people there that our way of life is better than the Communists' way of life. To do this we will have to give them what they need most—security, a better standard of living (economically and educationally), something to believe in and a future to look forward to.

RATNA SEN*

Calcutta 19

* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner
"DOWRY" INSTITUTIONS

The reported recommendation to the Universities of the "Workshop of Principals", held at Bangalore recently, that merit should be the sole criterion for admission into colleges, deserves attention.

Today we have three types of colleges. First there are the university colleges where merit is the criterion for admission. The fees charged are uniform. Secondly, there are private colleges where merit is taken into consideration but the applicant has to pay fees which are almost double the fees charged in a corresponding university college. Though the private colleges charge special fees like "Building Fund"

merit is given its due importance. To the third category belong the much dreaded capitation colleges, where a student's merit is not considered and mediocrity is given importance.

In these colleges, poor brilliant students cannot secure admission because they cannot afford to pay the capitation fees whereas rich mediocre students secure admission because they can pay the "special fees". These colleges founded on the most unprincipled lines show discrimination in admission.

The universities would do well to ban such "dowry" institutions.

M. SHATRUGNA

Hyderabad

KARNATAK VICE-CHANCELLOR REPLIES

My attention has been drawn to an article: "Maharashtra-Mysore—What Men on the Spot Say" published in the issue of your paper of July 8. It has been stated therein that when local citizens approached the Karnatak University for permission to start a college, the Vice-Chancellor demanded a deposit of Rs. 5 lakhs before recognition was granted. "They did not want our college to come up," he alleges, "because the Kannadigas wanted their own college here."

This is a misstatement of facts to say the least. The position is that the Karnatak University has a rule that before a college is allowed to be affiliated to this university, it should deposit Rs. 4 lakhs in a bank, the interest on which should be utilized for meeting the recurring expenditure of the college. This is a rule which is applicable to all the new colleges. This rule was made by us as many other universities have done, to enable the affiliated colleges to run on sound lines without any sort of financial worries.

When Mr. Shah approached the Vice-Chancellor with the proposal of starting a college in Nipani, the rule was pointed out to him but he was also informed that a lesser amount of deposit—say a lakh or two—could be accepted to begin with, for granting affiliation, as done in the case of other colleges. Later on, nothing was heard from this gentleman. This rule has been used by some Maharashtrians as an argument against this university. In this part of the country, even the poorest colleges deposit the minimum of Rs. 1 lakh with the univer-

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

sity to start with and there was no reason why rich people like Mr. Shah could not come forward with a similar deposit if they were serious about starting a college at all in Nipani. In any case, this being purely an educational problem, there is no reason why some politicians of Maharashtra should attribute it to the lack of sympathy on our part to the proposed college in Nipani. In their anxiety to adduce all sorts of arguments against Karnatik, some politicians of Maharashtra have unnecessarily involved the Karnatak University in this controversy which is purely of political nature.

D. C. PAVATE, Vice-Chancellor,
Karnatak University

Dharwar

NATIONAL DISINTEGRATION

General K. M. Cariappa deserves congratulation and commendation for his timely article entitled "Declare Moratorium on Linguistic Feuds."

If this ancient land has to be lifted out of this morass there should not merely be a moratorium on, but the very liquidation of, the dissipating and fissiparous tendencies in our leaders and their followers.

S. PARAMESWARAN

Calcutta 29

VIEWPOINT

COMPETITION

* What is needed to get the Railways efficient and back on the track?

Closing date: August 19

** Is shooting man into space "sheer lunacy"?

Closing date: September 2

Prizes: Rs. 25, Rs. 15

Send entries of 500 words or less to: Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1.

This was a life

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

1706—1790

WHEN LEADERS of the 13 American colonies met in 1787 to frame a constitution, wrangles between big and small states threatened the unity built in the fight for independence.

The oldest delegate, Ben Franklin, broke the deadlock. During the war with Britain, he reminded them, they had often prayed for God's help. "Do we imagine we no longer need his assistance?"

"The longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid?"

His speech calmed tempers. Proposing the unanimous acceptance of the Constitution, even though there were parts he himself disagreed with, Franklin told a characteristic story of "a certain French lady, who in a dispute with her sister said: 'But I meet with nobody but myself that is always right.'" The Constitution was accepted.

Born in Boston, Massachusetts, Franklin was apprenticed to the oldest of his ten brothers, a printer. At 17, he ran away to Philadelphia, where he started his own press, edited the Philadelphia Gazette and published Poor Richard's Almanac, whose homely wisdom has become part of the English-speaking heritage. Perhaps his best-known saying is:

"Early to bed and early to rise
Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise."

Franklin obeyed his own precept, rising at 5 every morning to seek an answer to the question, "What good shall I do this day." Another of his sayings, which politicians might note, was: "Well done is better than well said."

In 1730 Franklin married and in 1748 retired from his prosperous business to devote himself to public affairs and science. His research into electricity won him a fellowship of the Royal Society in London and recognition as one of the leading scientists of the day.

As the war for independence drew near, Franklin represented the colonies in London where he argued their case before the House of Commons. In Paris he made an alliance with France whose help was decisive in defeating the British. He stayed in Paris as Ambassador of independent America till 1785.

In extreme old age Franklin led a movement to abolish slavery, and died working for the good of his countrymen to the last.

Queen's Men Turn Up Trumps

From Dickie Dodds in London

WHAT A WORLD CUP football competition! It had everything. After eliminating rounds played over the past two years, 16 countries from all over the world converged on England with their supporters to fight it out. There were yawns, there were boos, there were tumultuous cheers. There was the highest excitement.

The favourites and holders of the Cup, Brazil, who had not been beaten for two years, were eliminated in the first round. The underdogs, North Korea, reached the quarter finals and astonished everyone by scoring three goals against the much-fancied Portuguese before being beaten 5-3. It was in this game that Eusebio went a long way to establishing himself as the best player in the world today.

Then at one point in the competition it is fair to say everyone was sick of football—not of the game, but of the way it was being played. Night after night on the television screen there was the spectacle of players deliberately fouling the man who had just beaten them. As the referees got tough and men were sent off, there were charges and counter-charges. Governments even began to get involved.

Soccer Rearmed

Then we had one of the games of the century. England played Portugal in the semi-final. There were only about six free kicks in the whole game. Each side played with all the fire, fight and tremendous skill that they had. Next day the London Daily Telegraph called it, "A game open enough and fair enough to morally rearms soccer after the seedy events of past weeks."

This set the stage for the final between England and West Germany, and what a setting! Ninety thousand cheering, banner-waving fans in the stadium and 400 million watching on television. England and Germany, rivals in sterner battles on other fields, now fighting it out in a friendly competition in the football arena.

The Queen of England arrived and as the national anthems were played her head was held high and there was a proud look on her face as she surveyed her men. One imagined it

was thus the first Elizabeth had looked as she faced her men before they set out against the Armada.

Little did she or any of us who saw the match realize what a dish was going to be set before the Queen and us. After a hard game, with only 30 seconds to go, England were leading 2-1. The television commentators were already talking of England, the new world champions. Then a free kick to Germany, a scramble in front of the goal and the ball was in the back of the net, and the whistle went for time.

The Real Winner

Would England fold up under the blow of being cheated of victory just as it seemed in her grasp, or would she fight? As it happened both sides fought. In extra time England got two goals and as the final whistle went there was no doubt they were worthy champions. But as England's manager said in his final word after the game, "Germany are a great side and they played well. It is unfortunate there had to be a loser."

There wasn't. The real winner after this final was the game of football.

NEW GOALS FOR BRITAIN

British Member of Parliament Patrick Wolrige-Gordon told 400 delegates to an MRA Conference at Tarporley, Cheshire, "If every Britisher did his work as well as the English footballers did in the World Cup our crisis would be at an end. Not everyone can be a skilled footballer but everyone can do their work with the enthusiasm and determination which our players showed."

Wolrige-Gordon, who represents Aberdeenshire East in the House of Commons, added, "Abolish every British base abroad and you will still be no nearer dealing with the basic illness of Britain. Financial and economic measures alone will never overcome the crisis because it is a moral one. The economy of the country depends on the character of the nation and the greatness of the nation's aims."

The Conference theme was: "Get Going for a Great Britain, a United Kingdom and a world rebuilt".

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Mr. Kamaraj Is Wrong

By Rajmohan Gandhi

THAT MAN OF FEW WORDS, Mr. Kamaraj, has spoken some too many in the Soviet Union.

His reputation for political shrewdness is, of course, justified. An aspect of this sagacity has been his patient tongue, backed by sharp eyes and ears.

This reputation must surely be considered marred by some of his more effusive pronouncements in the land of the Kremlin.

I take the strongest possible exception to his statements that "Lenin's social revolution was a beacon light for all underdeveloped and downtrodden people" and "The Soviet revolution inspired, undoubtedly, India in its struggle for freedom."

In addition to his preference for listening to talking, Mr. Kamaraj is credited with a strong memory. There is hardly a Congress worker in any Madras town or village, one is told, he does not recognize.

Therefore it is astonishing that Mr. Kamaraj should have become so hazy about the launching of the Indian freedom struggle.

Does he really wish to be reminded that Indian men and women began their quest for liberty from foreign rule somewhat before Lenin thought of destroying the Czarist regime and many years before he succeeded in doing so?

India's Freedom Pioneers

Indians who first envisioned a free and democratic country drew on the ideas and experience of our own past as well as of other countries. The American, French, Italian, Irish and Japanese struggles for freedom or national integration undoubtedly challenged and encouraged our country. One of the most powerful influences of all was from Britain—from many there who fought for the rights of man.

It is no criticism of Russia to say that India's freedom pioneers were not raised on the milk of Russian experience.

Tilak, whose death anniversary was celebrated earlier this week, owed nothing to Soviet inspiration. Even Gandhi, a comparative newcomer in the battle, had got going before Lenin's revolution (in the old days it was known as Lenin's coup). And when Gandhi heard about the nature of Russia's new Bolshevik regime, he expressed his

wholehearted dislike for it and started working to prevent a similar system taking hold in India.

No, it is hard to believe that Mr. Kamaraj actually forgot his facts. More likely he was simply carried away by the warmth and scale of the welcome given him.

Yet leaders of his influence are expected not to be thus overwhelmed. Gratitude for what is being done for us nationally or individually is necessary and proper. But to lose one's sense of perspective and yield to the temptation of uttering words that would please ears immediately around one can be dangerous.

Say it in India

And of all the rulers of nations, the Soviet leaders are least likely to be moved by expressions that could be construed—or misconstrued—as words of dishonest flattery. They have not forgotten (Mr. Kamaraj may have) that their reference books in schools and colleges described Gandhi as an abettor of imperialism until, for the sake of Indo-Soviet friendship, the sentences were removed.

And if Mr. Kamaraj really believes that Lenin's example is the one to be followed, he should have the courage to say so more openly and in India. If he does, most Congressmen will feel that his place belongs in another party.

In any case, it is up to Congressmen now to ask for an explanation and retraction.

In the absence of a repudiation, his statement will quite properly and naturally be regarded by Communists as a cue for similar action here. Is that what Congress is committed to?

Lenin obviously was a brilliant tactician, a superb organizer, a subtle planner and a man dedicated to his aims. But he lived and died preaching the doctrine of class war, hate and violence. All the scientific and military achievements of the Soviet Union cannot wipe away that fact. And precisely because of that, men like Gandhi treated Lenin's revolution more as a flame of hate than a beacon light. They worked hard to remove the causes that created that flame, not to spread it.

Our Government's stated policy is to prevent the accumulation of excessive wealth by individuals. I

think this to be a sound aim. I am not sure it has been achieved. I feel equally strongly that it should be our aim to prevent excessive class hate or caste hate being accumulated in the hearts of our people. And there is a difference. A rich man who changes can use his wealth for all. A hate-filled man cannot—or should not—distribute his hate.

Even at this stage, Mr. Kamaraj's friends should help him to understand the real message of Gandhi. For Mr. Kamaraj still speaks of Gandhi as his leader—at least in India.

In Gandhi's view, Socialism is not shown by the austerity of your dress or by your dislike of the so-called upper class or upper caste. In fact class and caste hate make you an exploiter, even though you might have thought yourself one of the exploited. In the just India of his dreams, the quality of a man's heart was more important than the texture of his cloth, and neither a silken nor a coarse weave could take the place of a hate-free heart.

India cannot and will not stand for Leninism abroad and for khadi-cloaked Leninism inside the country. And the sooner Congress as well as non-Congress leaders make this plain to Mr. Kamaraj, the better.

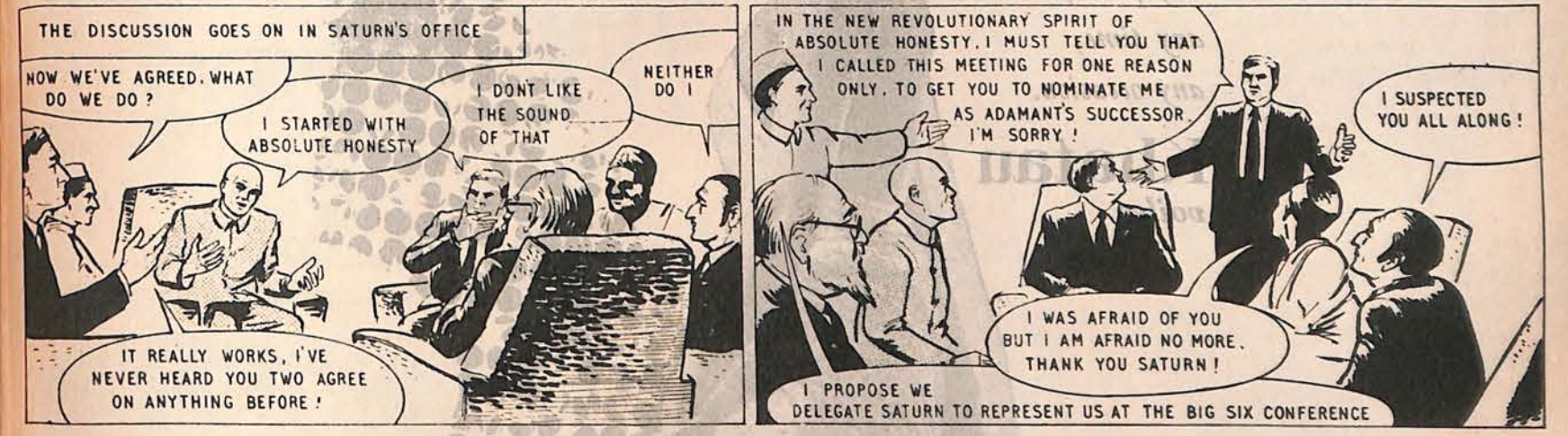
Courage Respected

We do stand for friendship with the Soviet Union as we do for friendship with all nations that wish to stay in peace with us. If Lenin is our beacon light, then all except a few nations should be our enemies. And a worthwhile relationship with the Soviet Union will be based on our own inner strength and on the honest realism of our leaders, as well as on an intelligent network of friendships with all nations.

Through the last five decades, the Communists have used, despised and finally jettisoned men who think they can use Communism for individual or national ends. They will respect, even as they oppose, those who normally, naturally and fearlessly assert their belief in a revolutionary method superior to class war, more powerful than hate and longer-lasting than violence. I

THE DICTATORS SLIPPERS by PETER HOWARD

Episode 2!



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WHY DID

DESAI

ARREST

YAGNIK

&

MEHTA ?

Page 5



**Hitendra Desai
Chief Minister of Gujarat**

**Democratic intelligentsia must become
militant contenders for power** Page 7