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# HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

VOL 2 NO 44

Asia's New Voice

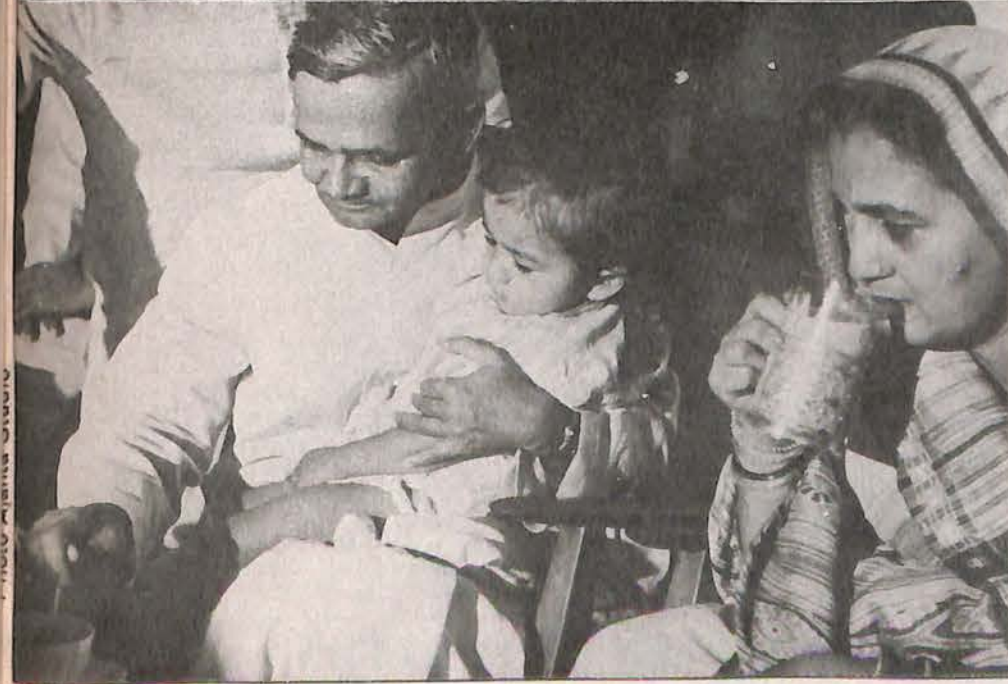
FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 2 1966



Mrs. Kamalabai Ajmera, a Congress MLC, being forcibly prevented from proceeding by pickets at Churchgate Station

## SHOULD HOME MINISTER DESAI RESIGN? see page 5

Page 15

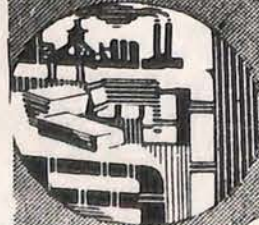


## LALITADEVI SPEAKS TO HIMMAT ON LIFE WITH SHASTRIJI

## Rajmohan Gandhi on GEORGE FERNANDES' NEXT STEP



# 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.

We of DALMIA ENTERPRISES 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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## DALMIA ENTERPRISES.

IN THE NATION'S SERVICE

H. O. : 4, SCINDIA HOUSE, NEW DELHI

# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday September 2 1966

## Strike A Flint

FROM PARLIAMENT to the picket-lines the nation is being confused. Exposures are vital, yet when a people's faith in democracy is shaken, who is attempting to engender faith in its values? No political party is giving that lead, however ably some of them may deal with specific issues.

The time has come when circumstances compel each Indian to strike a flint in the darkness, and take the time and trouble to think what his part is in making freedom survive. Men can learn to have a faith that will create the right revolution and spread it fast enough. If not, there will be a revolution of chaos. Men need no longer be blackmailed by past mistakes or by their birth or by their wealth, nor need they bow their heads to fraudulent labels of adulterated ideologies or to out-moded battle-cries.

A total determination to rescue India, a restless search for like-minded people and a basic political programme are not impossible objectives. With the right leadership, the tone and tenor of our public life can be changed speedily and drastically. The prime essential is men who put the nation first.

## No Traffic To London

SMALL HEADLINES on a day dominated by other news informed India that her Prime Minister would not be making the trip to London for this month's Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

Mrs. Gandhi's decision was in part, perhaps, the sequel to Mr. Harold Wilson's to postpone his visit to India. Both Prime Ministers' choice reflects their overwhelming pre-occupation with domestic political difficulties and economic crisis. Nevertheless both decisions are to be regretted for the Commonwealth still offers a multi-racial alternative in a world split by blocs based on class and colour-war.

President Ayub, like Mrs. Gandhi, is sending his Foreign Minister to the London Conference in his place. Thus neither of the most populous countries of the Commonwealth will be represented by their leaders.

Mrs. Gandhi has said she aims to follow the policies of Pandit Nehru. Nehru led India into the Commonwealth because he believed she had a role to play among nations through it. Mrs. Gandhi has already visited the USA, USSR, UAR and Yugoslavia since she became Prime Minister. It is a pity she cannot spare a few days to attend this Commonwealth council, with its wider African, Far Eastern and West Indian interests, in which her father took a distinguished part.

## Save These Writers

AN AFP REPORT datelined Geneva states:

The two Soviet writers, Andre Sinyavsky and Yuri Daniel, are in rapidly failing health as a result of conditions in a labour camp where they have been for the past six months imprisoned for their writings, said Mr. Marc Slonin, the Russian-American writer.

Mr. Slonin said absolutely reliable sources in Moscow reported that the two men, imprisoned near Potma, east of Moscow, complained of being constantly hungry.

Mr. Daniel is very weak and Mr. Sinyavsky's body is covered with boils. A Moscow court sentenced the two in February to seven years hard labour.

Could some of those foreign writers who are invited to Moscow and get feted and feasted arrange to visit the labour camp and check these facts?

In spite of the glories of Soviet rule Mr. Kamaraj sings, India may not be all that backward. In our country, murderers are sentenced to seven years—not writers.

Nobel prize-winner Boris Pasternak of "Zhivago" fame was hounded by the Soviet state-pack-of-writers. Six years after his death, a Writers' Union official who joined in his witch-hunt in 1957-58, now acclaims Pasternak as one of the greatest Soviet writers. Another scribe has discovered that "the mainspring of Pasternak's faith in man lies in the humanity of the ideals of the (Bolshevik) revolution".

Pasternak died a broken man in 1960. Save these two writers before it is too late.

## Red Means Go

THOSE DRIVERS who hold an antipathy to red lights will no doubt cheer the latest manifestation of "Mao's thought". The great thinker's followers are at last trying to apply his thoughts to Peking traffic.

A *Reuter* report describes the enthusiastic efforts of a squad of "Red Guards"—teenage ideologists bent on enforcing China's tough new drive for purifying the Party. The young "revolutionaries" plastered Peking walls with posters declaring that RED was the colour of revolution and therefore should be used to signal traffic to move forward rather than the customary GREEN.

What a splendid solution to traffic jams! Law breakers who overshoot red lights would become, overnight, law-abiding promoters of the "new cultural revolution".

Another fine proletarian gesture of the "Red Guards" is their scheme for emancipating rickshaw wallahs. Posters appearing outside pedicab depots advise that cycle rickshaws can still be hired but, in future, the passenger should peddle himself while the driver sits in the passenger seat. It doesn't make clear, however, who pays whom.

All in all we feel that, considering the mounting chaos of city traffic, any scheme is worth trying. But we are still scratching our heads wondering why no one ever thought of such obvious solutions before the wily old Mao.



## Briefly Speaking...

What is a cynic? A man who knows the price of everything and the value of nothing.

OSCAR WILDE, 1856-1900

### Speed in Education

THE EDUCATION MINISTRY proudly announced that as a result of reducing its staff and other measures of economy, it would effect a saving of Rs. 2 crores a year. As I see the working of Mr. Chagla's Ministry, there may be scope for some more of it.

The highest advisory body on technical education is the All-India Council of Technical Education. Its seventeenth meeting was held on February 4, 1965. The draft minutes of the meeting were sent to the members by the Education Ministry on March 3, 1966. To crown the achievement, the minutes carried a covering letter reference number F.1-11/64-T2 which was headed in capital letters:

#### IMMEDIATE

If this is any indicate of the pace of our technical education, heaven help us.

### Lack of Teachers

"VACANCIES FOR TEACHERS existing throughout the country at the moment are more than the unemployed graduates in the country," says a release put out by the National Stu-

### CHALTA HAI...



"When I informed you that the project was completed months ahead of schedule, I meant the model was."

dent Press Council. It says that in the Telengana area of Andhra 10,000 teachers are needed immediately. At the same time fewer students have been taking courses of teacher's training. Low pay, and the "attached social status", are given as reasons for the failure to attract good students.

### Replacing the Best

IT IS A STRANGE attitude which leads BOAC to spend vast sums on advertising the VC 10 jet as "the most comfortable airliner in the world—triumphantly swift, silent, serene" and then shop across the Atlantic for American jets to expand its fleet. Granted, it may have found that operating costs and certain details of range and capacity do not compete with American aircraft. But surely with Britain in a desperate bid to save foreign exchange and its economy and also to refurbish its image abroad as a modern, go-ahead power, one would expect her national airline to support her national product. If BOAC doesn't fly British it is not likely that other nations will buy British.

### Privileges at Home

THERE WAS A RUMPUS in Parliament last week when an MP raised the uncomfortable question of his colleagues leasing out the flats allotted to them by the Government.

Flats are a privilege given to the MPs by the nation. Is giving them out "a breach of privilege"?

The other day I rang up the official residence of a well-known leader whose party specializes in charging the Speaker and everybody else with breach of privilege. The phone rang. A voice at the other end said, "He does not stay here." "But where can I reach him?" "I don't know," and he put down the receiver.

I suppose it's an interpretation of "socialism" to allow that—each according to his need.

### TV for Crime

TOKYO POLICE have contraptions that the Indian police, bothered with bandhs, could well envy. Tokyo

police have placed TV cameras at strategic points above street level to watch demonstrations, shady characters and traffic. Pictures are transmitted to the nearby police stations. Close-ups can be obtained by the camera's zoom lens.

### Progress by Statue

SOME DAY some aspiring Minister of State, Deputy Minister or even a local politician should write a book on "How I Raised Myself by Raising Statues" or "How I Wormed My Way to Power". In Madras they have erected a statue to Mr. Kamaraj in his lifetime.

Mysore is not to be out-done. Deputy Minister for Sericulture ("silkworm breeding"), Shri Dayanand Sagar has announced that "a larger than life-size bronze statue" of the Chief Minister Nijalingappa will be erected on some suitable site in Bangalore.

Shri Sagar, announcing this at a meeting, is reported to have said that the Mysore Chief Minister deserves to be commemorated as a heroic soldier for freedom, a champion of Karnataka, a great leader of men, an inspirer of the Bangalore University, etc. etc. etc.

Such a huge bronze statue will cost the earth. Perhaps funds will be raised after the immediate exigency of the elections is over.

R.M.L.

### Now in Madras

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## SHOULD HOME MINISTER DESAI RESIGN ?

By Our Special Correspondent

"To rule," says Spanish author Ortega y Gasset, "is not so much a question of a heavy hand as of a firm seat."

Last week on Wednesday and Thursday, the Home Minister of Maharashtra appeared to have abdicated his seat. In the bustling cosmopolitan city of Bombay, pickets from upcountry Maharashtra with a sprinkling of Bombayites, completely dislocated traffic in the central Fort area, turned back lawyers, clerks, workers, stenographers and students who wanted to attend to their work and studies. The police, strictly instructed not to interfere or assist the public in any way, stood by—helpless.

The *Ghera Dalo* was to protest against the tardy action of the Maharashtra Government in getting certain areas of Mysore merged with this State. Instead it became a siege of the business, professional and academic community and residents of Fort and Marine Drive areas.

### Consul Manhandled

Among the hundreds of citizens manhandled or turned back by the pickets were:

The Consul-General for France, M. Gerard Bricq, who had a rough time with volunteers and was not assured of police protection when he wanted to collect his assistant.

An office-goer at Churchgate was severely beaten on the head with an umbrella and when a press photographer, William Couto, tried to take a picture of the assault, they turned on him, tore his shirt, damaged his camera case, snatched away his gold chain and even tried to remove his wrist watch.

A 70-year-old man in a long coat and a black cap, who hardly seemed to comprehend what was going on, managed to stagger through a picket-line near Brabourne Stadium. When he was seen on the other side of the line, ruffians charged at him, lifted him on the other side.

And all this happened with a strong posse of policemen standing around, watching.

There were hardly 5000 demonstrators and had the Home Minister given the green signal, they could all have been peacefully removed in

vans and the traffic cleared. When police carted away quite a number on Marine Drive to clear the way for the Ministers (the only place they were cleared), there was no resistance.

The Home Minister shirked his responsibility to protect the life and honour of the citizens and had the impertinence to say that the demonstration was completely peaceful and that the credit for this went to the organizers and the volunteers.

There is reason to believe that the Home Minister and some of his colleagues wanted the success of this demonstration for political purposes. On the following day, there was the *Bombay Bandh*.

The *Bombay Bandh* was organized by a combination of the Communist and the Samyukta Socialist Parties. The declared purpose was to protest against rising prices, but the convenors were clear it had everything

to do with politics. The Congress INTUC and the Praja Socialist HMS Trade Unions urged their members not to respond to the political strike. The Chief Minister, the Home Minister and the Labour Minister urged people to go to work and assured them of Government support. The Home Minister gave this solemn assurance in his broadcast on Monday, August 22.

On the basis of this assurance, arrangements were made, for example, for the buses to run. By midnight of the strike-day, 1500 drivers and conductors reported at the depots. They were assured by authorities of canteen arrangements. No arrangements were made. They could have taken out 500 buses. Hardly 20 plied. The staff were prisoners in their depots for 24 hours.

Other assurances given to the President of the Bombay Congress, P. G.

Continued on page 8

## On your toes

### POLICE OBSERVE BANDHS

Law collapsed in Bombay for two days last week while assorted demonstrators curbed the freedom of ordinary citizens. Their boast: to bring pressure on the Government. Their achievement: bringing pressure on millions of already harassed citizens. This was their real objective.

Every democrat upholds the right to demonstrate if legitimate grievances are being ignored. But the organizers of Bombay's bandhs demonstrate more against the people than against the blatant ineptitude of Government. When this happens anarchy is nigh and its authors forfeit the sympathy of the common people.

Yet the most serious aspect of last week's strife was the impotence of the police. The Chief Minister promised protection, but Home Minister Desai's police retreated in the face of intimidation and thuggery.

Wednesday saw 1000s of demonstrators imported from rural areas into Bombay (paid for by whom?) to carry out a "Sachivalaya Bandh" protesting against the Maharashtra Government's unwillingness to seize immediately the Marathi-speaking areas of Mysore. They failed to close the Sachivalaya but succeeded in closing large areas of the city's normal life. For the first time in history High Court Judges were prevented from getting to Court. Students

were roughed up trying to get to college. Shops closed their shutters for protection. Thousands of pedestrians were refused thoroughfare in the streets by out-of-town mercenaries. As one onlooker commented: "Shivaji and Tilak would disown them."

Several times police officers in the Churchgate area urged the gathering crowd of pedestrians to advance and brave the pickets. Each time they were repulsed. Finally, when some protested, the superintendent on duty ordered six inspectors with side arms and a score of lathi-armed constables to escort them. What happened? In the face of barely 100 picketers linked arm in arm across the road the police about-turned and retreated faster than the pedestrians!

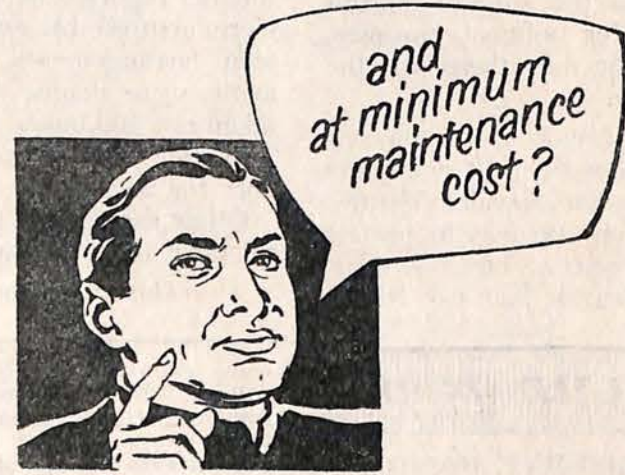
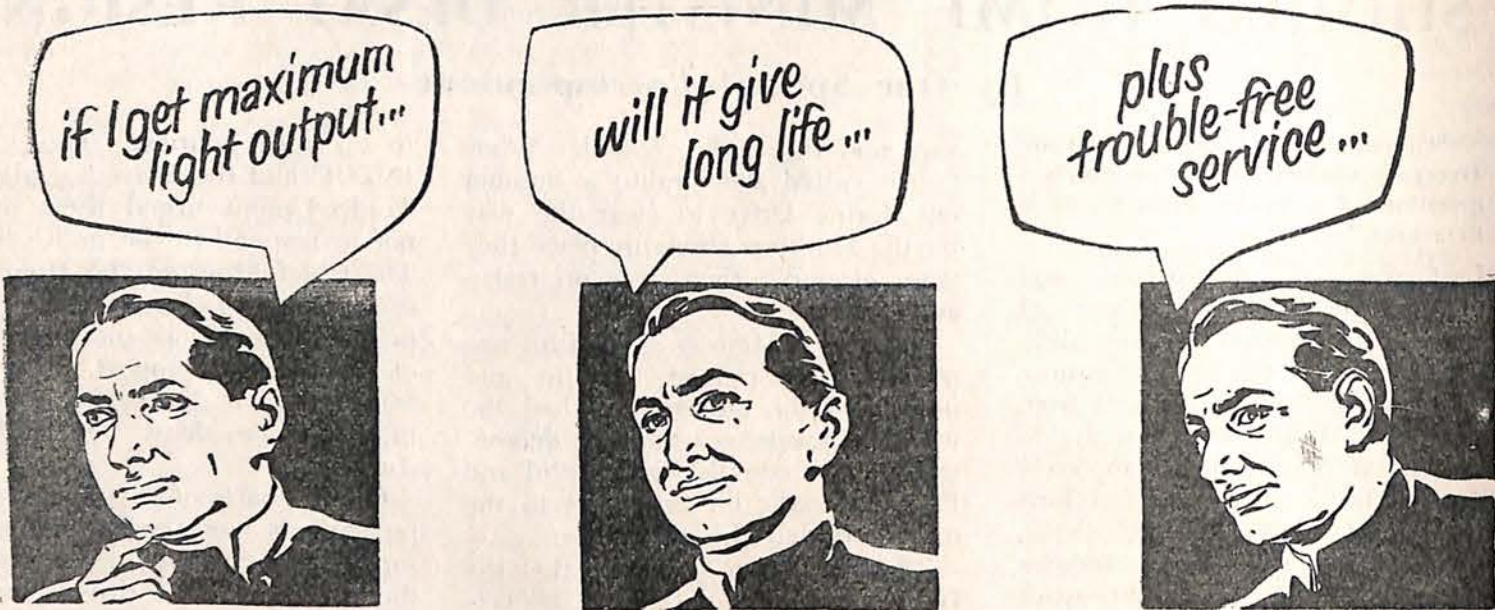
Thursday saw even worse mob rule and intimidation. A daily paper, for lack of requested police protection, had to close.

S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Railways, said on arrival in Bombay later that "nothing like a Government existed on those two days". Now 19 Government legislators including two members of the State Cabinet have resigned protesting their Government's failure to protect the people.

Will the Home Minister and the Police Commissioner resign also? They need to realize that the freedom of this nation, won at such a price, will not be sold out by the people to herds of anarchists.

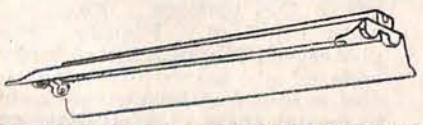
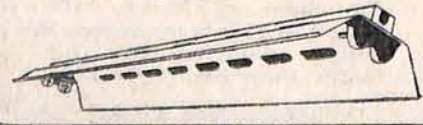
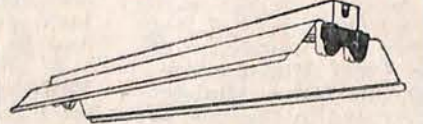
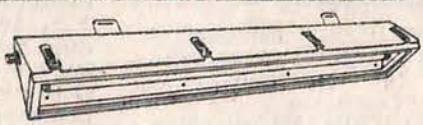

FREEBOOTER



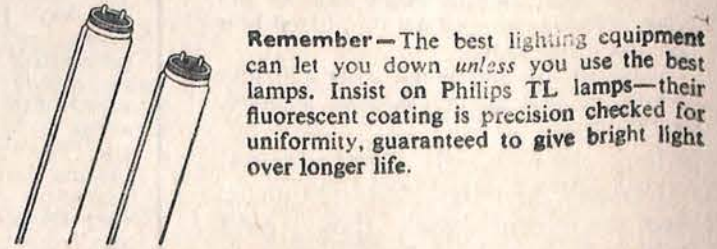


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## Corruption — civil servants are responsible as well as politicians

In recent weeks, much political corruption at the highest levels has been brought to light. It is clear that politicians have used their power of decision to strengthen party coffers and enrich themselves and their supporters. The manner in which firms like Aminchand Pyarelal and Jayanti Shipping continued to receive licences, government orders and large credits, despite revealed misdemeanours, is evidence of powerful protection inside the Congress Party for the corrupters and the corrupted.

An interesting aspect of these disclosures is the extent to which the higher cadres of the Civil Service have been involved in the decisions which have benefitted the corrupters. The civil servant has been revealed for what he often is in present-day India—the conscious or unconscious abetter of the politicians' design to benefit the privileged "insiders" at the expense of the citizen.

Much attention has indeed justifiably been paid to the corrupting influence of political democracy on the civil servant. The civil servants have also encouraged the popular picture of the honest, harassed civil servant who is helpless before the wrong demands of the politicians.

Thus the politician has had very few defenders while his failings have

### SAY THAT AGAIN...

*Can we make our language crisp and short? Quite often half my time goes in cutting out unnecessary words from letters and papers put up to me.*  
PRIME MINISTER MRS. GANDHI

*We have no claim to make nor will we entertain any claim regarding our borders with other states... We will be cheating the people if, instead of attending to their needs, we divert their attention and drag them into these inconsequential disputes.*

R. VENKATARAMAN  
Madras Minister of Industries

*Education has gone to the dogs because of the interference of small-time politicians in the States.*

DR. L. M. SINGHVI, MP  
Independent

been dilated upon *ad nauseam* by the corrupting businessman who benefits by it and the cowardly, self-seeking civil servant who has surrendered his "professional integrity" for what he calls his "security".

### Special Interests

But a politician need not be corrupt in order to plead for special interests. It is in the nature of democracy that he represents a narrower interest than the nation. At the minimum he depends for his office on the votes he can get and the influential groups who control these votes. His primary interest is the retention of control over the area of his power. The Congressman does it by the power he has to confer favours because the administration is controlled by his party. The opposition does it by exploiting agitational issues—political, economic or linguistic. The democratic politician has to represent a parochial interest. In this respect, he is no different from a trade-union leader who justifies the narrower claims of workers even when it is manifestly against the interest of the country. A few great ones among both categories grow out of their smaller loyalties to real defence of the interests of the nation.

The administrator, subordinate though he is to the politicians, cannot surrender his right to take an over-all view. He has to choose what is right for the whole rather than for the part, even if it hurts the powerful representative of the sectional interest.

To a certain extent, the politician's approach must necessarily differ from that of the civil servant. To cite only one example, the medium of examination of the UPSC has to be decided by the Congress Party not only in terms of the technical feasibility of holding it in one or another language but also keeping in mind the agitational potential released by a policy favouring English or Hindi at the expense of regional languages. It obviously cannot favour a course that will undercut its political base. The administrator's view or the educationist's will be determined by other factors. In the conflict of approach in such cases, the civil servant has to submit to political policy unless it is a matter of conscience.



In general, the Indian civil servant has accepted political dictation of policy without murmur or protest. It is right that this should be so for a democratic political system cannot survive if the administrative service wishes to become the political master as well.

But is the civil servant free from blame when he weakly submits to the pressure which engineers or prevents transfer of a particular government servant, demands special favours or concessions for a particular group or caste, or forces illegal action against rival parties or groups or castes?

### "Alliance of Convenience"

It would seem that civil servants are prone to use the caste or other predilections and compulsions of their political bosses to their own advantage. Many of them have chosen "an alliance of convenience" with the ruling party as much for individual aggrandisement as the politicians'. If as a caste, the bureaucracy is more restrained, it is because the risks they run in indulging in malpractices are also greater.

The civil servants are actually in a strong position to prevent undue interference or undesirable pressures on administration if they are united. That they have meekly acquiesced in the corrupt practices such as are being constantly brought to light is evidence of a moral crisis among the enlightened Civil Service which they share with the less sophisticated citizenry.

A civil servant with many years of credit told me that he blamed his own class for the deterioration in the country. If officers had stood up against the unjust pressures of MLAs and MPs and Zilla Parishad Presidents, he said, they could have saved this nation from the present state of almost universal inefficiency and widespread corruption.

I refuse to believe that an honest

Continued on page 20



# VERDICT!

This week **HIMMAT**

**HONOURS** Attorney-General C. K. Daphtary for his strong appeal to judges and advocates to co-operate in curbing interference by the Executive with the affairs of the judiciary.

**IMPEACHES** Maharashtra Home Minister Desai for the refusal of Bombay Police to give protection during last week's demonstrations to women, judges, journalists and diplomats who called for it in the face of intimidation and obstruction by Sampoorna Maharashtra Samiti pickets. (See page 5).

**CHEERS** Bombay's port and dock workers who remained on the job and kept the grain moving during last week's Bombay Bandh.

**OVERHAULS** Mr. S. M. Joshi, Sanyukta Socialist Party Chairman, for his bombastic threat that if Maharashtra did not get "justice" in its dispute with Mysore "we will see that the Sachivalaya is permanently paralysed".

**UPHOLDS** Mrs. Indira Gandhi's contention that the real test of the Fourth Plan was not the aid obtained but the quantum of production achieved.

**CONGRATULATES** Socialist MP Dr. Lohia for his honest admission that progress towards Socialism in India was very slow compared to the United States.

**APPROVES** Finance Minister Sachin Chaudhuri's assurance in the Lok Sabha that India would repay on time all foreign loans which now amount to Rs. 6507 crores.

**WELCOMES** the Indonesian Ministry of Information report that President Sukarno would soon go abroad on sick leave.

**SYMPATHIZES** with the battered Shanghai schoolteacher who said, "I have done nothing terribly wrong or right. All I can do now is to attend political meetings regularly and try to find out what the revolution really means."

**MINISTER DESAI**—from page 5  
Kher, were flagrantly disregarded although the Home Minister had made the promises in the presence of the top civil and police officials. Mr. Kher says:

"The complete collapse of law and order in the Fort area on August 24 and in Greater Bombay on August 25 has compelled us (16 MLAs) to tender our resignations of the membership of the Maharashtra legislature.

"The Government failed to create a sense of confidence and a sense of security amongst the peaceful and law-abiding citizens of Bombay who had to suffer destruction and humiliation at the hands of the protagonists of 'Ghera Dalo' and Bombay 'Bandh'—moves which constitute part and parcel of a nationwide agitation to paralyze law and order, to subvert democracy and to create anarchy, chaos and lawlessness."

One of the two Cabinet Ministers who has resigned told HIMMAT:

"Hitler and Mussolini came to power through such methods. And the same thing could happen here."

Mr. S. A. Dange, Chairman of the Communist Party of India (Right Wing) and one of the leading lights of the Bombay bandh, declared at a mass meeting that the bandh was "a full dress rehearsal of the future revolution that was to come to India".

These threats and forecasts have followed the policies of Mr. Desai, the Home Minister. Instead of tackling the resignation of MLAs in Bombay, he mustered the support of Maharashtra MPs who were not even present in Bombay on the days of these events, and they passed a resolution supporting Mr. Desai.

The issue is not whether Bombay's public is for or against the Mysore border demonstration. The issue certainly is not that one section wanted force to be used against the working classes. The issue is that, if some men have the right to demonstrate, others have an equal right of free movement without being man-handled or intimidated. The question now is whether this city can once again be held to ransom while an effete Government looks on.

Thousands stayed at home on Thursday because they were intimidated and there is no assurance that they will not be intimidated again when attending election meet-

ings or when going to the polling booths.

True to the cosmopolitan character of the city, the 18 legislators include all communities and language groups. The MLAs who have resigned and the BPC Executive have now called for a probe by a one-man commission into the law and order situation on August 24 and 25.

Mr. Desai has lost the confidence of 18 out of 21 MLAs of Greater Bombay, in addition to that of a substantial section of its people. The honourable course for him is to resign.



"Dad, a man called this morning and asked if we had any black money. I told him No and showed him all the purple money you keep in the basement."

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HIMMAT, September 2, 1966

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### "Black Power" Violence Hits US

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Los Angeles

"Black Power" has become the cry of a Negro extremist element in America. Departing from the non-violent creed of the civil rights leaders of a few years ago, an inflammable sect of young Negroes are attempting to grab hold of racial frustrations and bitterness and to use them as a weapon to capture control of the up-to-now reputable civil rights movement.

"When you talk of Black Power, you talk of bringing this country to its knees," shouts the anarchist-like leader of SNICK (the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) Stokely Carmichael. "When you talk of Black Power," he continues, "you talk of building a movement that will smash everything Western civilization has created."

A group of Congressmen led by Robert Sweeney, a Democrat Representative from Ohio, denounced Mr. Carmichael for advocating the "undermining of the policies of the Government". Carmichael's speech was made in the wake of race riots that erupted in the city of Cleveland, Ohio.

Continuing racial violence has stirred up a wide range of public protest. Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey declared recently in Washington, D.C., that "racial demonstrations have gotten out of hand" and that a cooling-off period was needed. "People are sick and tired of violence and disorder," he said. "We have laws in the country which must be obeyed."

The House of Representatives added an anti-riot amendment to the Civil Rights Bill of 1966. It makes it a federal crime to travel in interstate commerce to incite riot or violent civil disobedience. Possible

Communist and extremist influence and infiltration of the civil rights movement is being investigated. The proliferating racial violence is unquestionably hurting the Negro civil rights cause, states a Negro leader.

In Detroit, Michigan, Negro violence has been followed by acts of white violence. Michigan Governor Romney announced that there can be "no private power, black or white, based on force". The entire Detroit police force of 4,300 men has been working overtime in the last months and specially trained riot squads have gone into action against repeated outbreaks of racial violence.

In Chicago, Illinois, Negro marches into white neighbourhoods have stirred up further violence. The Roman Catholic Archbishop, an advocate of civil rights for Negroes, called on the Negro leaders to suspend their marches to avoid "serious injuries and loss of life". The Negro leader, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, rejected the Archbishop's appeal and scheduled more marches.

In New York City stirred-up racial feelings have brought on mob action and gun fights.

The Government, State and Federal, disturbed by the politically-incited racial storm, is preparing to take firm measures of control in what was once a noble cause.

### Red Factions Shame Hiroshima Dead

FROM FUJIKO HARA

Tokyo

Twenty-one years ago, in August, the first A-bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.

Three different Ban-the-Bomb rallies have been held this year in the city. They are *Gensuikin*, (Japan Congress Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs), *Gensuikyo*, (Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydro-

gen Bombs) and *Kakkin*, (National Council for Peace and Against Nuclear Arms) sponsored by the Socialist Party and *Sohyo* (Trade Union body), the Communist Party and the

Continued on next page

HIMMAT, September 2, 1966

## The week in Asia

**KUALA LUMPUR**—Malaysian Premier Tunku Abdul Rahman said in Parliament that he had no intention of holding a referendum to decide whether Sabah and Sarawak wanted to remain in Malaysia. Their wish to stay with Malaysia "had never been in doubt".

**DJARKARTA**—Students demanded that President Sukarno explain his statement that diplomatic relations with Malaysia would only be resumed after a referendum in Sarawak and Sabah. The Indonesian Information Ministry announced that Sukarno would go abroad soon on sick leave.

**SAIGON**—The heaviest air raids so far on North Vietnam were carried out last week when US planes hit missile sites, oil dumps and roads. US troops in Vietnam now number over 300,000.

**ADEN**—The South Arabian Federation has closed its border and banned all trade with the Yemen after the latter failed to stop propaganda attacks on the Federation.

**PHNOM PENH**—Cambodian Head of State Prince Sihanouk is reported to be negotiating the Cambodian-Vietnam border with the Viet Cong after failure to reach agreement with the Saigon Government.

**DIA LOC**—General Westmoreland, US Commander in Vietnam, has appointed a board to revise precautions against accidental bombing of civilians. This follows a number of deaths through accidental bombing.

**CAIRO**—Seven members of the Muslim Brotherhood have been sentenced to death for plotting to assassinate President Nasser and other UAR leaders. 25 others were sentenced to life imprisonment.

**PEKING**—Hundreds of Chinese students shouting anti-Soviet slogans demonstrated outside the Soviet Embassy in Peking and attempted to prevent the Soviet Charge d'Affaires from driving to the airport to see off a recent Zambian mission to Peking.

**BEIRUT**—Lebanon, Syria and Jordan closed their borders with Iraq after an outbreak of cholera in Iraq.

**BANGKOK**—The US is to pay for expansion of five military bases in northern Thailand which play a key role in the US air war against North Vietnam and Communist forces in Laos.



FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Liberal Democratic Party respectively.

Much to the disappointment of the victims of the bomb who hoped that the peace loving peoples of the world could work together in banning nuclear arms and promoting peace, the occasion has come to be misused by leftists and propagandists who play it up to increase their spheres of power against other parties or countries.

When the first Anti-Atom-Bomb conference was founded twelve years

ago, the Japanese people welcomed it whole-heartedly but they were to discover very soon the various forces working for their interests. In 1963, the Socialists and *Sohyo* walked out of the Communist-monopolized *Gensuikyo* and formed their own organisation, *Gensuikin*.

*Gensuikyo* had become a platform for Chou En-lai and the Chinese Communists to outbid Russian Communists and obtain more power in Asia. The Japanese Communist Party which today is struggling to follow an "independent line" then was a tool of the Chinese Communists and with the split between Soviet Russia

and Communist China becoming more acute, the situation became uncontrollable.

When the Chinese exploded their first A-bomb it brought about a peculiar situation. The Japanese learned that *Gensuikyo* was against "imperialist bombs" but for Chinese "bombs for peace". The anti-bomb rally became the question of banning who rather than banning the bomb.

The Soviets had pulled out of the *Gensuikyo* and joined the Socialist-sponsored *Gensuikin*. This year as the annual rallies were to open, the Communist *Gensuikyo* held a preliminary session which ended up in a deadlock over admission of representatives from the Soviet-affiliated "World Democratic Youth League."

**Peking-Moscow Rivalries**

Meanwhile Moscow announced that they would send their 11-man delegation to the Socialist-affiliated *Gensuikin* and the Communist *Gensuikyo*. The pro-Peking delegates opposed the above-mentioned case violently while some of the Japanese Communists who are currently undergoing an ideological adjustment preferred a compromise, "to admit under the condition that they will not attend the Socialist-sponsored meeting". The Government had rejected the entry of Liu Ning-Yi, Red China's head of the delegation, to the twelfth rally of the *Gensuikyo* on political grounds whereupon the Chinese refused to send any one.

**Meaningless Rallies**

The session ran into a two-day deadlock that seemed to forecast the shadows of trouble. Chou En-lai sent his annual message calling the Soviets "imperialists" who "should not be allowed to join the international joint front against US imperialism". The response varied. Most Japanese delegates seemed uncertain whether to approve or disregard it.

Those most disappointed at this shameful situation are the families and friends of those who perished from the blasts of the A-bombs. On this anniversary they preferred to pray quietly for the peace of the souls of the dead rather than attend the meaningless rallies. It is well to realize that "peace" does not come by shouting impressive slogans and then splitting up amongst each other, but rather by people accepting their mistakes and starting fresh.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

**Ceylon's Stay-at-Home Workers**

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Colombo

A recently conducted private survey has revealed an absenteeism rate of 20 per cent to 70 per cent in the country. Leading the race of stragglers is the Colombo Municipal Council with 70 per cent. Government offices are only missing a mere 20 per cent to 30 per cent of their staffs. Teachers are among the worst offenders. One estimate sets the national average at 45 per cent stay-at-homes.

Many of these are able to produce medical certificates to prove that they were "ill". While some may be genuine, it is common knowledge that most are obtained for a few rupees. Ayurvedic practitioners especially are known to sell their services in this way.

Equally important is how much work is done by those who do come to office, field or shop? In many cases 3-4 hours a day is considered a good output. Pride of work or loyalty to the institution one works for is little known.

Unless this attitude is combatted, the best-laid schemes of government cannot bear fruit. For instance, on the land. Half the arable land of this country is not cultivated. And

this in spite of a large army of unemployed.

The Government is aiming to settle 25,000 educated youth on the land and they are paying them to do it, at least until the land produces crops. This is a laudable scheme, but there is much scepticism as to whether these youth will actually stay and work. In other cases they have secretly applied for city jobs and have migrated when they got them. Manual labour is still something demeaning for the average educated Ceylonese.

The *Ceylon Daily News* comments editorially: "If Ceylon is to lift herself out of the economic morass she is now in, she can only do so by a massive national effort."

**The week elsewhere**

**HAIR STYLE MAO-STYLE**

**PEKING**—Since the "Cultural Revolution" began, foreign diplomats have become virtual prisoners in the Chinese capital. All their moves are watched and travel outside Peking curbed. Bands of teenagers organized as "Red Guards for the Cultural Revolution" have been renaming Peking streets and shops and ordering people to change foreign hair-styles and clothes.

**PROPAGANDA PLAYS**

**BANGKOK**—In a drive against Communist jungle fighters in Southern Thailand, security forces arrested seven members of an itinerant shadow-play troupe who used their plays to spread propaganda in the villages.

**ODINGA'S SECRETARY HELD**

**NAIROBI**—Security forces arrested an American-born Negro woman who was personal secretary to Mr. Oginga Odinga, the former Vice President and pro-Communist leader. She is

Mrs. Caroline Okelo-Odongo, 30, wife of an MP and official of Odinga's Kenya People's Union. Seven KPU officials have been arrested recently under new laws against subversion.

**VULNERABLE JETS**

**WASHINGTON**—The US Air Force is recalling Skyraiders, piston-engined bombers first built in 1945, for service in the Vietnam war, it is reported. Modern jets with their complicated equipment have proved highly vulnerable to ground fire, a single hit often bringing them down. The US is trying to get back Skyraiders used by South Vietnam and is said to be considering reopening production in America.

**900 DOCTORS QUIT UK**

**LONDON**—Britain's state hospital system is breaking down due to lack of staff, say doctors here. Cuts in services were foreshadowed in a recent directive by Health Minister Robinson. Because of shortages, many hospital staff work a hundred-

Continued on page 14

**The week in India**

**TRIVANDRUM**—Trivandrum District Congress Committee invited V. K. Krishna Menon to contest the Trivandrum Lok Sabha seat after his rejection by the North Bombay Congress.

**CALCUTTA**—Police arrested a film producer and four others on charges of printing fake currency. They seized 200,000 counterfeit Rs. 1000 notes.

**BOMBAY**—India is to import 95,000 tons of petroleum products from the USSR following an agreement signed here by Indian Oil Corporation.

**NEW DELHI**—Congress President Kamaraj met US Ambassador Bowles to finalize details of his coming trip to America.

**SRINAGAR**—The Dalai Lama arrived in Ladakh last week on a three-day visit to Tibetan Buddhists after a long delay by the Centre.

**NEW DELHI**—External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh will represent Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi at next month's Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London.

**RAJKOT**—Income Tax officials found Rs. 5,000,000 black money during an investigation into land transactions, it was reported here.

**NEW DELHI**—Congress President Kamaraj said Goans will decide whether Goa remains independent or joins Maharashtra at the polls during the next elections.

**BOMBAY**—Normal activity was disrupted two days running during demonstrations backing Maharashtra in the Mysore border dispute and a general strike in protest against high prices and Government policies. An estimated 1.1 million took part in the *bandh* which was organized by leftist unions and parties.

**NEW DELHI**—The creation of the new states of Punjab and Haryana has been delayed one month by the Centre until November 1.

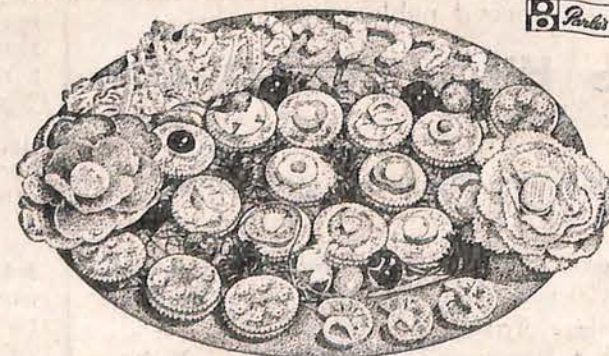
**PATNA**—Over one million people were affected in North Bihar by severe floods.

**DARJEELING**—Tea garden workers of North Bengal went on strike to press wage demands. Police lathi-charged workers who surrounded an estate manager's bungalow.



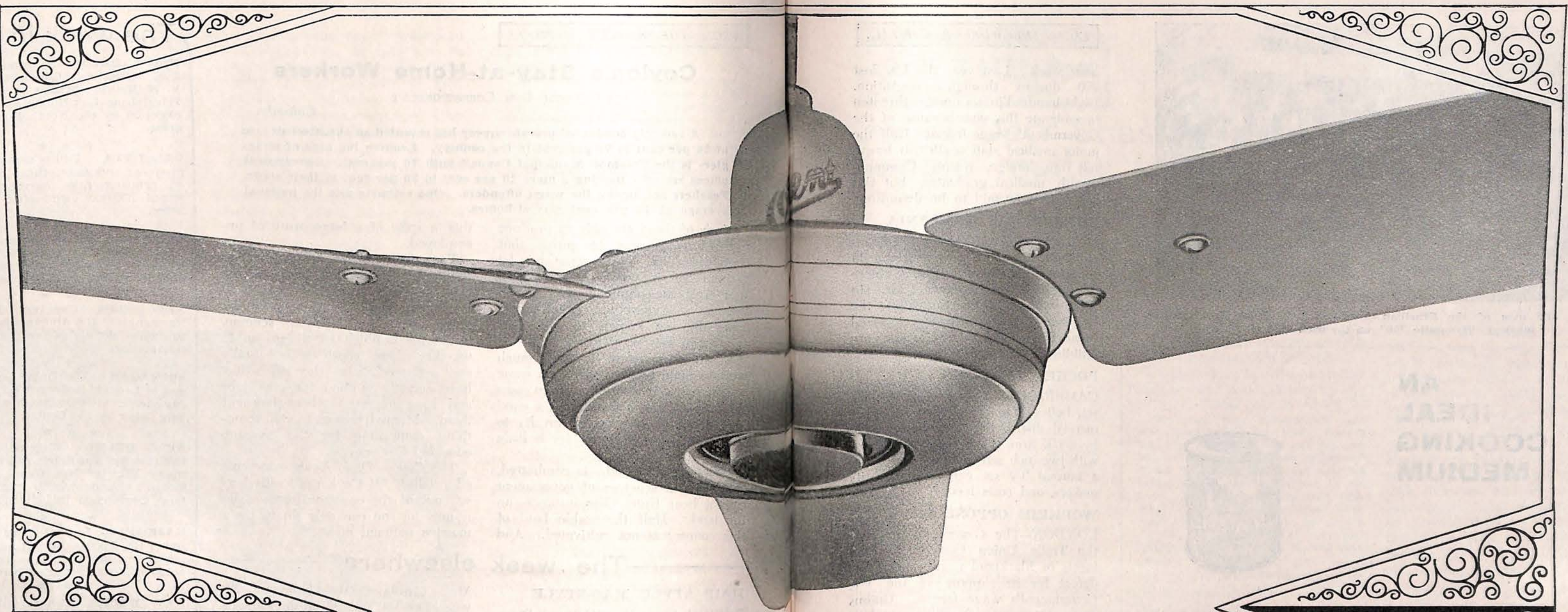
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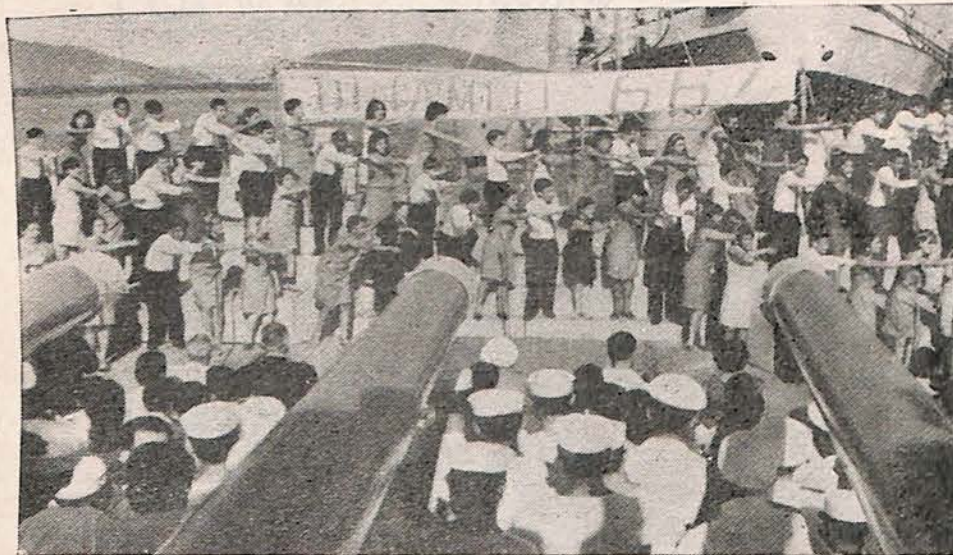


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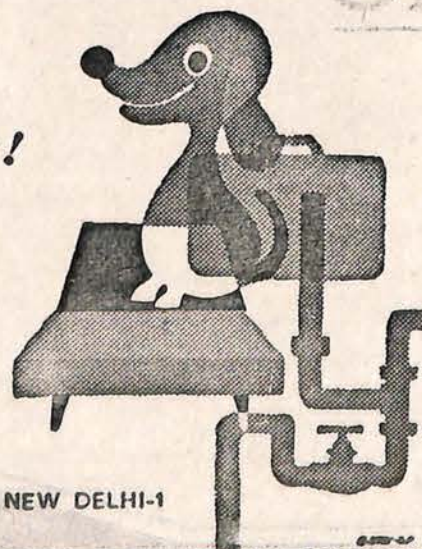


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**FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS**

hour week. Last year the UK lost 900 doctors through emigration. Eight hundred junior doctors threaten to emigrate this year because of the Government's wage freeze. Half the junior medical staff in British hospitals are foreign, mainly Commonwealth, medical graduates, but this supply is now said to be dwindling.

**CHINESE AID TANZANIA**

**DAR ES SALAAM**—About 200 Chinese technicians are now working in Tanzania, according to the Chinese Ambassador to Tanzania, Mr. Ho Ying, who recently inspected the Rs. 8 million transmitter for external broadcasts which the Chinese are building near Dar Es Salaam.

**POCKET TV**

**CAMBRIDGE**—A pocket-sized TV set, believed to be the first for commercial distribution, has been made by a UK firm. The transistorized set with two-inch screen can do anything a normal TV set can do, claim its makers, and costs less.

**WORKERS OPPOSE GOVT.**

**LONDON**—The General Council of the Trade Union Congress, which meets in Blackpool next week, faces defeat for its support of the UK Government's wage freeze. Unions representing over 3 million workers oppose the Labour Government's policy.

**GULF OIL RUSH**

**ABU DHABI**—An oil rush to this Persian Gulf sheikhdom is reported following the fall of Sheikh Shakbut. The oil income of over 25 million pounds a year is expected to grow to 100 million pounds within a few years.

**"CHANGE PAST EVILS"**

**SEOUL**—Receiving the cast of *Sing-Out Korea* on the eve of their tour of South Korean army camps, Prime Minister Chung Il Kwon said, "Korea must show an answer to the Communist countries through our new ideas and actions. We must change the evils of the past through a new quality in our lives." The musical was produced at a recent Moral Re-Armament conference attended by students from 107 universities and high schools.

**ON THE Spot**

HIMMAT meets the people

**Lalita Devi Shastri —  
people matter to her**

"MY HUSBAND, who spent most of his life working among the masses, and particularly in villages, had made service to the people his life-mission. He is no more, but his everlasting memory and ideals, and the good wishes and co-operation of the people are there to sustain me to carry out his noble work. Through Seva Niketan, I will be serving the cause to which my husband devoted his entire life," said the First Lady of yesteryear, Smt. Lalita Shastri, to HIMMAT recently in Bombay.

Though restrained and gentle, she was overwhelmed with emotion when she first referred to her late husband, and our Prime Minister Shri Lalbahadur.

**Born in Village**

Asked to elaborate the programme of Seva Niketan, she said, "Seva Niketan would work for rural uplift, and the funds collected for it would be utilized for constructive activities in villages. For instance, it would open sewing classes in villages, so that rural women would be able to supplement their income regularly. It will also open workers' centres, schools, and technical and agricultural institutions.

Her love and concern for the villages is real and natural, since she herself was born in a village, and thinks that the march of India would be incomplete if our villages were neglected.

It is only when you look back at Lalita's life as a whole that it becomes possible to trace out the steps of her transition from a simple village girl to a woman of deep purpose and infinite compassion.

The one consistent theme running through her character is her regard for and understanding of other people as human beings, not this class or that class.

A couple who presented a radio to her for Seva Niketan had a six-month-old child with them who ap-

peared rather nervous. Lalitaji took the uneasy child from her mother, and put it at ease in seconds by petting it lovingly. "Our children are our most valuable asset. We must let them learn all they want to and let them grow up as healthy, straight and responsible citizens. Shastriji always desired that children of our country should visit foreign countries and thus broaden their horizons."

She paused to recall an anecdote about her son, Ashok, when he was four to five years old.

"He was very mischievous and often used to tell lies also. Once I told him, 'For every lie told by you, you would lose one tooth of yours.' Ashok suddenly remembered that his father had recently lost two of his teeth. He exclaimed: 'In that case Pitaji (Father) must have told two lies.' This incident taught me an important lesson; that you can't fool children; they are more honest than adults."

She recalled with obvious glee two incidents from her own childhood.

"As a child, I used to go daily to a Shiva temple which was quite far from my home. One day, I stole the idol of Shiva and brought it home to avoid this daily journey.

**Prophecy Fulfilled**

"When I was of marriageable age, an astrologer predicted after seeing my horoscope that my would-be husband would have both "Rajdanda" (punishment by Government) and "Rajbhag" (luxurious life offered by Government). My friends used to tease me: "Lalita, your husband would probably be a thief or cheat, else how would he be punished by Government." I was hurt at these taunts and would reply: "In such a case I would never show my face."

During the freedom movement when Shastriji went to jail many times, her spirit sustained the patriotism of Shastriji.

"For a man who has dedicated himself to the country, tranquility on the home front is very important.

I never let him worry about home problems during all those years of stress and hardships. And any fear I may have had for his safety and well-being were never displayed by me to him. To achieve this, I had on occasion even to 'cheat' him."

"Really?"

"Yes. Once, when Shastriji was in jail, I became very weak. Doctors advised me to take at least four glasses of milk daily. But what little milk we had was not even sufficient for the children. Shastriji however, was adamant that I must take four glasses of milk daily and took such a promise from me. I kept the promise by taking four very small glasses of milk so that the rest of the milk could be given to the children."

Talking of children, she said, "All the children in my home receive equal treatment from me, whether they be our children or the children of our servants. When a child sees that he is being given an inferior treatment, he becomes jealous and hate-filled. Once, I accompanied Shastriji to a foreign country with my children. We could not get enough milk there for our requirements as many guests used to come. So we all stopped drinking milk. On returning to Delhi, Anil, my son, said, 'At last we have come back to the place where we can have milk!'"

She agreed with me when I said that India has got sufficient land, resources and manpower to grow enough food for herself. The things which are lacking are—determination, hard work and sincerity.

Smt. Lalita Devi Shastri is also a poetess and has written a number of poems on God and India. An anthology of her poems—"ARCHANA"—has recently been published.

**HARIMOHAN SHARMA**

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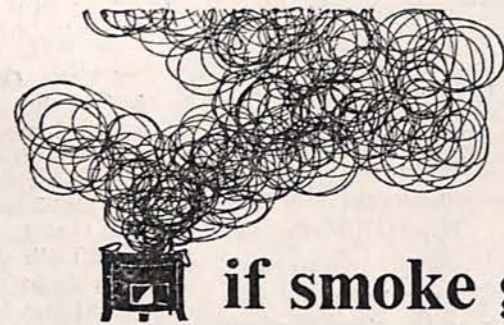
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CASKG-17

## What to do with UP's Student Failures?

From S. K. Rau in Lucknow

**EVERY** year nearly thirty per cent of students fail in the degree classes of the universities in this State. The practice has been to admit all the failed students once again and invariably they get preference. New admissions are regulated on the basis of the number of failed students to be admitted, although the college and university authorities are not bound to do so.

What was being done for humanitarian considerations for years assumed the proportion of an inherent right when the heads of educational institutions started "regulating" the admission of failed students giving preference to the new bright boys seeking admission. The failed students said they must all be admitted without any consideration.

When the number of students seeking admission increased out of all proportion to the seats available, this problem came to the forefront and an open clash ensued with the failed students. As the proportion of failures increase, the number of new admissions has to be reduced shutting out a large number of brilliant boys for no fault of their own. But the other students in the colleges started making common cause with failed students and thus strikes were launched in Lucknow, Allahabad and other centres of UP.

### Nowhere to Go

There is also the other side of the medal. The failed students contend, "If our own colleges don't admit us, where can we go? No other college will admit a failed student." The only alternative before them is to discontinue education.

The peculiar system of examinations in UP complicates the situation. The university holds two examinations for degree classes, the first and the final year, under the two-year degree course. This system does not allow a candidate to appear privately for the examination. If he fails in the first year, known as Part I, he has necessarily to study in the same class and pass the examination to qualify himself for the next year

known as Part II. Whereas in the case of universities which have a three year degree course, the final examination is conducted only at the end of third year and therefore if the candidate fails he can appear privately without being a burden on the college. But UP insists on retaining the old Intermediate with a two-year degree course later and also conducting a university examination at the end of each year.

Another peculiar feature of education in UP is there is a terrific rush for B.Sc. courses, particularly in Biology. Parents insist on their children taking B.Sc. course whether they have aptitude for it or not. Pressure is brought on heads of educational institutions through ministers, officers and legislators and industrialists. And this results in many failures.

The problem now boils down to this. Either you admit all failed stu-

dents or face the consequence of a strike which often results in smashing the college furniture, assaulting the principal and all sorts of humiliations. Neither the Government nor parents or the public bother about this.

An eminent educationist of UP told the present writer, "There are only two ways of tackling this problem. The one is: allow a free hand to principals to admit students according to merit, in which case failures will be kept to minimum posing no problem; and secondly, the State should fall in line with other states and switch over to three-year degree courses with one examination at the end of third year. Allow the failed students to appear privately. Let them study in tutorial institutions. The presence of failed students is like a drop of poison in a cup of milk."

## THE CASHLESS SOCIETY

by Mathew Manson

I HAD HEARD of the Affluent Society and I'd read about the Great Society and the Classless Society. But it was only last week in a chat with a banker I learned that the Cashless Society was on its way.

He was telling me that a Management Consultant firm in New York had just made a survey which revealed that America will be a Cashless Society within the next decade. They say that Europe could follow suit five or ten years later.

Payments by cash and cheque are fast disappearing. About 55 per cent of wages in West Germany are credited to payee accounts. In France banks frequently debit customers' accounts automatically to cover payments of gas, electricity and other routine bills.

### SIX MILLION CREDIT CARDS

In America there are six million credit card holders, already revealing that America is beginning to do without hard cash. Last year a young secretary was sent out by the Bank of America to try and survive for a month solely by using the Bank's credit card. She managed very well, excepting that she could not use parking meters or slot machines, and had to live mostly in motels. Another big bank has linked its com-

puter with a retail shoe chain in Wilmington and aims to debit customers' accounts directly and immediately for purchases made from the chain.

It is predicted that all Americans will carry credit cards. These could be processed at a shop or elsewhere through electronic equipment linked to the bank's computer. Or they could merely record electronically the holder's assets and be debited whenever he makes a purchase.

### ELIMINATE PAPER WORK

The immense advantage of all this would be the elimination of the mountains of paper work associated with payments by cash or cheque which, under the present system, take 60 per cent of the time of most banks.

One big snag in the forward march of the Cashless Society revolution is how to deal electronically with the crook and the forger. That one has the experts baffled for the moment.

I came away from my banker friend musing on the amazing ingenuity of modern man. But I concluded that there was an even more important credit card than that issued by any bank, that every last man and woman on earth had simply got to carry, if mankind is to survive. It is a character credit card.



## LETTERS

### ROLE OF INTELLIGENTSIA

How I wish Sri R. Vaitheswaran's article (HIMMAT, August 12) could be reproduced in all our major dailies and weeklies! But that will not happen in the India of today where the press has become at best an industry run for profit and at worst a docile partner in the running of the Government.

Some people tell me that the very fact that individuals like Kripalani, Jayaprakash and Rajaji and journals like Mysindia, Swarajya and HIMMAT are able to say the things they want to boldly is itself evidence of the success of democracy here!

I agree India has not become so bad as some of our neighbours have, but I have a shrewd suspicion that there is also a psychology traceable to Communist thinking behind allowing these protests to be made.

India is a vast, heterogeneous mass of land and men, so even the worst oppressors cannot make people suffer everything in silence. In fact one of the ways of continuing oppressive and inefficient government successfully is to permit people to talk as they like and ventilate their grievances and thus get some relief and mental satisfaction.

Bertrand Russell lists one of the aims of education as not merely to impart information but to impart intelligence also, that is to say allow scope for the free play of intelligent and honest differences of opinion in evolving an agreed ultimate policy on any issue.

It is a sad reflection that none of our major dailies has ever led their readers and that is the reason why most of our people do not read the editorials at all. They know that they are not worth reading. Of course now and then some bold and forthright editorials appear in some papers but very soon you will notice the change in tone which looks like canvassing for official thinking.

## VIEWPOINT

### COMPETITION

\* Should school textbooks be nationalized?

Closing date: September 16

\*\* Should Congress resign three months before the election?

Closing date: September 30

Prizes: Rs. 25, Rs. 15

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

But why blame the editorial writers only? It is a sad truth that dignity, detachment and discernment have become virtues unknown in the Republic of India. Many of us have to agree with Vaitheswaran when, in effect, he lays the responsibility for this sorry state of affairs squarely on the shoulders of our intellectuals. We have lost the faith and energy to search for truth and stand by our own convictions. We feel helpless—just helpless—in the face of the "masses", forgetting the fact that we also form part of the "masses".

We have no reason to be like that. All this stems from our own selfishness. We don't want to risk personal discomfort. Sacrifice we are not prepared to make, sacrifice of not more comforts but of that pride which comes out of one's upbringing and manners which separate one from the people around one. External courtesies and formal relations are given more importance than warmth of feeling and a sense of belonging to each other. Our intellectuals lack generosity of understanding. We do not want to share sorrow and happiness with the rest of the people around us.

Sri Vaitheswaran's call in this context comes really like a challenge to our intelligentsia; men and women of serious intent and purposeful activity cannot ignore this call of true patriotism.

K. VEDAMURTHY\*

Bangalore 2

\*This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

### END UTOPIANISM

That our planners visualize unmeasured prosperity for India by 2000 AD is welcome news. But what of today? Let us face realities. It is taking undue advantage of the abundant endurance power of our masses to ask them to suffer more and more just in the fond hope or pious wish of living in greater comfort years from now. They cannot wait endlessly and will not.

What is required is not merely that the size of the Fourth Plan outlay be reduced but that Utopian, unrealistic planning be done away with, now and forever.

D. R. MOHAN RAJ

Hyderabad

### LET STUDENTS STUDY

The political atmosphere in our country today is surcharged with tension, unrest and violence. While this is nothing surprising when the elections are round the corner, yet it is most unfortunate that our students are made the pawns of the so-called "politicians" who put their own interest above the nation's interest.

This misguided political fervour catches the fancy of the students and the result is utter disregard of their prime aim—education and career.

Self-styled leaders of the masses, will you please be considerate enough to release the student community from your clutches in the interest of the nation, so that they may be allowed to achieve

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

their prime aim of getting themselves properly educated.

R. NARAYANAN

Calcutta 1

### AID AND MR. NANDA

I am a regular reader of your courageous paper, which I share with some friends. Congratulations on your new feature "Verdict".

Mr. Nanda is reported to have said: "We are aiding under-developed countries ten times more than what we are getting from foreign countries." Is that so? What would he have to reply if the USA, Russia and others were to say: "If it is true that you can afford to aid under-developed countries ten times more than what we are giving you, then why should you go on asking help from us?"

J. A. KAI

Varanasi 2

### KRIPALANI SPEECH

HIMMAT has done a great service to the country by publishing Acharya Kripalani's speech in the Lok Sabha. Mr. Kripalani has reflected the aspirations of the people in a befitting and well-judged manner.

We see Chief Ministers acting as in olden days, "Maharajas" over the questions of adjustment of borders, sharing of river water, etc. Their behaviour, carefree acts and talks, often reveal that they are not interested in the country's welfare and unity as a whole, but are only interested in consolidating their power. This is a dangerous portent in a thriving democracy and it should be nipped in the bud.

P. V. V. RAJAN

Calcutta 1

### COLLEGE CENTENARY

St. Xavier's College, Bombay, is fast approaching its Centenary which will be celebrated in 1968-69.

With a view to associating as many former students of the College as possible with the celebrations, a Committee has been formed to devise ways and means to reach the thousands of Exavierites scattered all over the world and to maintain an Alumni Register that will serve a very useful purpose for the occasion.

We solicit the privilege of your readers' column to appeal to everyone who has passed through the portals of St. Xavier's College to send us his/her name and address to enable the Committee to include them in the Alumni Register so that they can be kept informed of the Centenary celebrations and projects in due course. All letters may please be addressed to the Centenary Celebrations Committee, St. Xavier's College, Bombay 1.

REV. E. D'CRUZ, S.J.  
Principal

Bombay 1

## WHAT MAKES THE COMPLETE MAN?

by Mrs Peter Howard

A FRIEND OF OURS came over the other day, a French naval officer. As he left the doorstep, he said, "Your husband was the most complete man I ever met." I began to think: "What makes a complete man?"

The complete man first of all needs faith. With faith he is free—free from

*"I lived for 32 years with a man who lived that commandment, 'No greater love hath a man than to lay down his life for his friends'. And his friends were the whole of humanity," says Mrs. Peter Howard, Wimbledon Doubles Tennis star, whose late husband was world leader of Moral Re-Armament. In this article Mrs. Howard enumerates the qualities that make an integrated personality.*  
—ED.

fear, from ambition and from temper. With fear he is unfree.

Euripides said, "A slave is he who cannot speak his thoughts." When a man speaks his thoughts and is absolutely honest, he is free. This is true for parents, when they are honest with their children. The complete man speaks his thoughts, whether he is going to please the hearer or not. He also has a vision of what the hearer can become.

The complete man has had to suffer. Millions have had to leave home and country in this age. It has meant pain and suffering. They know what it means. But suffering can also mean going through physical pain in youth. My husband did with his leg. He had to wear boots at school and people made fun of anyone not dressed like everybody else. Or it can be losing a loved one or being rejected by those closest to us.

Then a man can feel pain because thousands go to bed hungry every night and he wants to do something about it. I never once heard, in these last years, my husband saying, "I couldn't care less."

In youth sometimes pain comes through defeat. As I went onto the Wimbledon Centre Court, I always

looked at Kipling's two lines engraved above the door. They are:

"If you can meet with triumph or disaster

And treat those two imposters just the same."

I sometimes recall what hurt me most in my youth. I didn't learn from it because I got bitter. When a person gets bitter over pain, then he or she does not learn and does not grow. It was when my mother told me, when I was twelve, that she hadn't wanted children. Pain is a part of man, like death. The complete man is a man who can take pain, keep his heart open and go on and not give up.

The world is full of people with enormous egos and extreme vanity. Young people see through that very quickly.

There are also people who through pride cannot take corrective. Someone says something sharp to them, and they shut that person out. "If you don't praise me, then you are my enemy," is their attitude. Of course it is false, because often a man's best friends are those who are straight with him. Churchill once said to his Cabinet, "You are afraid

to eat your words. I have eaten a great many of mine in my time, and on the whole I have found them a most wholesome diet."

Frank Buchman had the same approach and was always ready to risk relationships and was prepared to lose people's friendship. That is the only way to cure vanity in people.\*

### Learns from Mistakes

People love to nurse their pride. There was a Prime Minister who did much for his country. But he lost the election. My husband and I were in a room where he was the day before the election. He was so sure he was going to win. Then, when he lost, he said, "Well, if I can't be number one, I am going." And he has never been back to his country. The complete man learns from his mistakes. If a man never admits he makes mistakes, how can he ever learn?

Lord Beaverbrook was ready to learn to his dying day. In the last week of his life, at his birthday banquet in London, attended by the

*Continued on next page*

\* See Chapter VIII of the book **Frank Buchman's Secret**. Bhavan University Series, Rs. 2.00.

A wartime picture of Mr. and Mrs. Peter Howard with their children, Philip (left), Anthony and Anne.





## COMPLETE MAN—*from page 19*

leading men of Britain, he said, "This is my final word. It is time for me to become an apprentice once more. I have not settled in which direction, but somewhere, sometime soon." Beaverbrook was a genius, and that was a humble thing to say. No man can reach his fullest stature unless he has honest people close to him and is prepared to take straight talk from them. It is important in marriage to be straight, so the marriage is built on a rock. People remain immature if they can't take honest criticism.

The complete man is a man of compassion. He spends himself for others, sometimes unto death, without counting the cost. He loves someone enough to want them to be different.

### World Aim

A complete man has a complete aim. In this age it is to remake the world. A man is meant to have a high calling, and nothing and no one can take it from him. St. Paul said, "This one thing I do." There is a long line of men, who saw the abscence in their generation and were determined they would cure it whatever it cost. They went ahead and did it.

As young people in France, we worshipped our intelligence. We were very proud of it and we made fun of the English across the Channel. But by the time of the war and Dunkirk, I was over on the English side of the Channel. I saw what happened. I was not so sure about my intelligence and I was happy to be in a place where there was this strength of character, this greatness of spirit. So I have come to see that I may have a very great intelligence, but in a time of crisis, it is more important to depend on character.

The complete man knows he doesn't know, and he is prepared to follow God's thread through life and beyond. He has a continually renewed imagination and enthusiasm. He never speaks down to children or to anyone. My husband enjoyed things all through his life. He often used to say about children, "You must give without asking for anything back from the very young." He was aware, when he went into a room, of what was going on, who was in need, who to go towards. He would never take it personally if someone cold-shouldered him. He knew there was some point where they were challenged.

Frank Buchman told us to read men like a book. That takes hard work, thought and experience. There are people I know who come into a room—I am like that by nature—who do not know what people are thinking or feeling. It is very important for a complete man to know what is going on in the other person and to be able to help them.

### Trains Others

The complete man trains ten men to do the job better than himself. He wants nothing from anyone and is able to give his utmost to everyone. Which great Prime Minister today has trained ten younger men to take on from him? I know one Prime Minister who got rid of his greatest rival by sending him to another country.

There is no value in attempting to become a complete person for the sake of it. A man must take on the world for its sake—because of the suffering, the hungry, the lost, the lonely.

I lived for thirty-two years with a man who lived that commandment: "No greater love hath man than to lay down his life for his friends." And his friends were the whole of humanity. And his reward is the everlasting glory. Our task is to carry on together and we will.

## UNDER THE LENS—*from page 7*

officer cannot survive any more in administration. Evidence proves the contrary. There are many honest hard-working civil servants who have even done well in the present set up. Some of these latter say that though the initial pressures for corruption are great, persistent integrity wins the appreciation even of the dishonest. I am tempted to think that the dishonesty of the politicians, true as it often is, is equally the scapegoat for the corruption of a lot of others.

### Core of Intelligentsia

It may well be that the failure of the civil servant who could have stood as a rock of honesty in an ocean of materialism, may be greater than that of the rootless political rulers who have emerged in post-independent India. The Civil Service has a tradition to live by which with all its undemocratic aloofness and casteism, set great store by its integrity and all-India character. They still form the core of the Indian intelligentsia and are therefore, despite their necessary aloofness from party politics, vitally responsible for the future of the country.

There is great need therefore for a Civil Service that will reassert its claim to freedom of decision within the limits of the predetermined political policy as firmly as the politicians stress their right to intervene on behalf of special interests because we live in a democracy. Before this can be achieved however, civil servants must safeguard themselves from the consequences of their own disunity.

A united, independent Civil Service, with a restored reputation for integrity, efficiency and fair play can yet save this nation from the chaos that may overwhelm it if the disintegrating tendencies gain greater ascendancy.

## This was a life

### BENJAMIN DISRAELI

1804—1881

ROARS OF LAUGHTER echoed through the House of Commons as a young MP struggled to make himself heard. Finally he gave up. "I will sit down now, but the time will come when you will hear me." Thus ended Benjamin Disraeli's maiden speech.

Born the son of a Jewish man of letters on December 21, 1804, he became a Christian in 1817 after his father broke with the synagogue. Following several attempts at other professions, he took to literature with more success, and in 1837 he entered Parliament.

Despite his unimpressive start, Disraeli soon became one of the most effective speakers in the House. It was not until 1852, when he became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the Conservatives in the Commons, that he gained high office.

From 1860 onwards the Parliament was dominated by two men, Disraeli and his arch-opponent, William Gladstone. Between 1868 and 1885 these two men held office alternately. Disraeli had to use all his wit and debating skill.

"As I sat opposite the Treasury Benches, the Ministers reminded me of those marine landscapes, not very unusual on the coast of South America. You behold a range of exhausted volcanoes. Not a flame on a single pallid crest. But the situation is still dangerous. There are occasional earthquakes and ever and anon the dark rumbling of the sea." So spoke Disraeli of the Gladstone Ministry of 1869-74.

Though he was a Tory, Disraeli was an exponent of social reform, which he carried over the heads of many "diehard" Conservatives. After one bout of social legislation, Alex MacDonald, a miners' leader, said of Disraeli's government, "The Conservative Party has done more for the working class in five years than the Liberals did in 50." Disraeli also became a close friend of Queen Victoria and did much to re-establish the prestige of the monarchy.

Perhaps some of Disraeli's greatest achievements were in the field of foreign affairs. As a young man he travelled in Turkey, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and this gave him an insight into the potentialities of the area and Asia which no other statesman had at that time. As a result he purchased Suez Canal shares in 1875 and established for Britain a vital link with Africa and Asia.

He was one of the few statesmen ever to outbluff Bismarck, the German Chancellor, and at the Berlin Conference of 1878 averted war between Russia and Turkey.

K.C.B.

## BOOKS

### PLANNING FOR INDIA

A collection by Forum for Free Enterprise.

Edited by M. R. Pai, (Popular Prakashan, Rs. 10.)

MR. PAI HAS DONE a service to students of Indian economic affairs by bringing together lectures to the Forum delivered by eminent authorities over an eight-year period. To read them together gives a certain badly needed perspective on India's economic development. Later events add weight to the critical comment of some of the lecturers in the light of subsequent happenings and especially the decision to devalue the rupee. Much of the criticism of the Plans has been proved sound.

### STAGNATION THEORIES

Students of economics who are brought up in this country on "the vicious circle of poverty and stagnation" theories of Ragnar Nurkse and Gunnar Myrdal, should study Professor Bauer's well-argued critique for a more balanced view of economic development.

Included in the collections are some outstanding lectures, such as "Prune the Second Plan" by Professor B. R.

### WINSTON CHURCHILL:

*The Struggle for Survival*

By Lord Moran, (Constable, London. Pp 829. Price 63 s.)

Lord Moran's book has a value of its own. It does refer to the handicaps of Churchill as an old man. But that is done in such a way that any one who does not forget the inevitable weaknesses that men will have naturally in their old age, will not think any the less highly of Churchill because of this book. In fact the valiant effort he makes to be in the mainstream of life, his devotion to the honour and glory of his country, and his loyalties, will only make one admire him the more.

### FINEST YEARS AT 66

Moran begins his story with 1940, when in spite of his sixty-six years, Churchill was entering on his finest years. The magnificent struggle for the country's survival, which he led, the way he got the United States to make common cause with Britain, the day-to-day work with the great leaders, driving all effort in one direction in spite of all the differences of opinion—these his personal physician is able to give more realistically than any one else.

The years after the war, and especially those after Churchill had to give up active leadership, were really very trying for him. Lord Moran refers to the old age of Attlee and of others and explains that they were better able to

Shenoy, "The Third Five Year Plan—Its Premises Examined" by Dr. A. Krishnaswamy, "Resources for the Third Plan" and "Profits in a Planned Economy" by Mr. M. A. Master.

### ALMOST PROPHEPIC

Comments such as the following have proved almost prophetic. "If we must solve the foreign exchange problem we have got to reduce the size of the Plan to eliminate over-investment. We must restrict the volume of money supplied to the needs of production. The unrealistic value of the rupee must be corrected." (Professor Shenoy p. 82-83).

"I have already indicated the need for adopting a policy for agriculture so that we might divert land to the production of articles for export. In addition we will have to concentrate on measures of special assistance for promoting traditional exports which is a fallacy to suggest that our traditional exports do not have a future." (Dr. A. Krishnaswamy p. 94).

### FINEST CRITIQUES

One of the finest critiques I have read of any of our plans is that on "Resources for the Third Plan" by Mr. M. A. Master.

The value of the collection is marred by the propaganda element, perhaps inevitable, of some of the lecturers. There are also a lot of errors of printing which should have been avoidable. R. V.

bear their old age because once they were retired they did not worry about public affairs. For example the debate about capital punishment excited Churchill considerably, while Attlee took it with indifference. To Churchill the concerns of his country were always alive. But old age kept him in the back line. Even reading and painting give little relish, and no wonder he often said that there was nothing else to do than to die.

### GREAT PERSONS

Lord Moran has wisely closed his account five years before the death of Churchill, since those last years were merely years of apathy and indifference, and hence of little interest to the world at large. The years dealt with, on the other hand, are of interest and value to the reader because though the author gives the personal physician's knowledge of Churchill's life, the book is much more than that as it touches on many of the great events and persons that Churchill had to deal with one way or another.

P.L.S.

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# The Bombay Resignations

By Rajmohan Gandhi

THERE IS something profoundly inadequate about the Bombay resignations. Three Ministers and 18 legislators of Maharashtra State Assembly have resigned at what they regard as the failure of the Maharashtra Government to enable Bombay citizens to go about their daily work during the recent two days of organized agitation.

The question in the minds of many Bombay citizens is what were these representatives who have now resigned doing during the weeks and months before "the bandhs" to avert them? Washing their hands of the whole affair is easy and self-righteous.

## Weak Leadership

What Mr. and Mrs. Citizen feel in Bombay is the absence of a dynamic, hope-giving leadership that is bolder and more persistent than the leadership of agitation that is now freely available. Such affirmative leadership is something that the resigning leaders of Bombay city have completely failed to provide.

Bombay's average man would like to know what the message of Mr. Shantilal Shah and Mr. Homi Talyarkhan to the millhand, clerk, transport worker and dockworker is. Do they in their leadership, in their vision for the future, in the commitment of their living demonstrate a hope that things will change? I think not. Undoubtedly many a Bombay man merely acquiesced in the hold-up of activity. He did not thunderously welcome it. He was not presented with a plausible or inspired alternative.

## Substantial Achievement

It is true that the Government of Maharashtra should have done more to support and protect those eager to work on those two days and enable them to go about their business. But they were facing an explosive situation and the absence of major violence during the 48 hours was in my opinion a substantial achievement.

But the whole affair was hardly one that rocketed anyone to national leadership or boosted the world's confidence in India or the

Indian people's trust in their leadership.

## Fernandes' Triumph

Looked at from one angle, George Fernandes secured a triumph. A great majority of workers joined the strike and the almost cent per cent withdrawal of buses and taxis from Bombay streets successfully paralyzed most of the city's business. Fernandes is one of the few new men who have seized the national microphone since freedom. With relentless and shrewd hard work he has become Bombay's number one labour leader. His writ runs, and like any legendary industrial tycoon, he is regularly bringing more units under his influence.

George has supplied the Indian labour movement with the modern practical and resolute touch. If his ambitions are great, so is his passion for his country.

## Destiny's Hand

I don't have the privilege of knowing him well. But I have a feeling that there is in George's heart and mind a call to attempt something more demanding and difficult than he has tackled so far. Destiny's hand is on this man's shoulder. He has a toughness of spirit and ceaselessness of purpose that are utterly essential in anyone who wishes to lead this country. He has a zeal for the common man and for the satisfaction of his material needs as strong as anyone else has.

But there is an element still lacking, a factor which could transform him from a powerful sectional leader into a servant and leader to all the Indian people. He has proddings in his spirit to take on a battle bigger than he is waging today. What he decides to do with these claims on his life will have considerable influence on the Bombay, Maharashtra and India of the immediate future.

George has moulded the weapon of strike and agitation into one of unprecedented effectiveness. His greater work may be to forge and perfect the instrument of construction and unity.

However much he leads and takes part in it, I have a feeling that George, inside of him, dislikes class war. One gets the impression that his heart is against it and that his rational mind is alive to its dangers for the masses of our country.

Tragic and costly it would be if George were to shed an iota of his burning conviction for India's workers. There is not much immediate danger of this happening. But glorious would be the day when George's passion uplifts him to a battle for a deeper revolution in the aims and motives of all men of all classes.

## Father to India

George may not realize it, but his job may be to learn how to be a strong, wise, loving father to the Indian people. For India surely needs a father like that. There is a strange atmosphere in the country now of insecurity. Nobody knows who is in charge, who is accountable, who will deliver the goods, who to run to.

Our problems are far too massive and complex for one man to deal with them. But it is in George to decide to become one of a group that takes on the task.

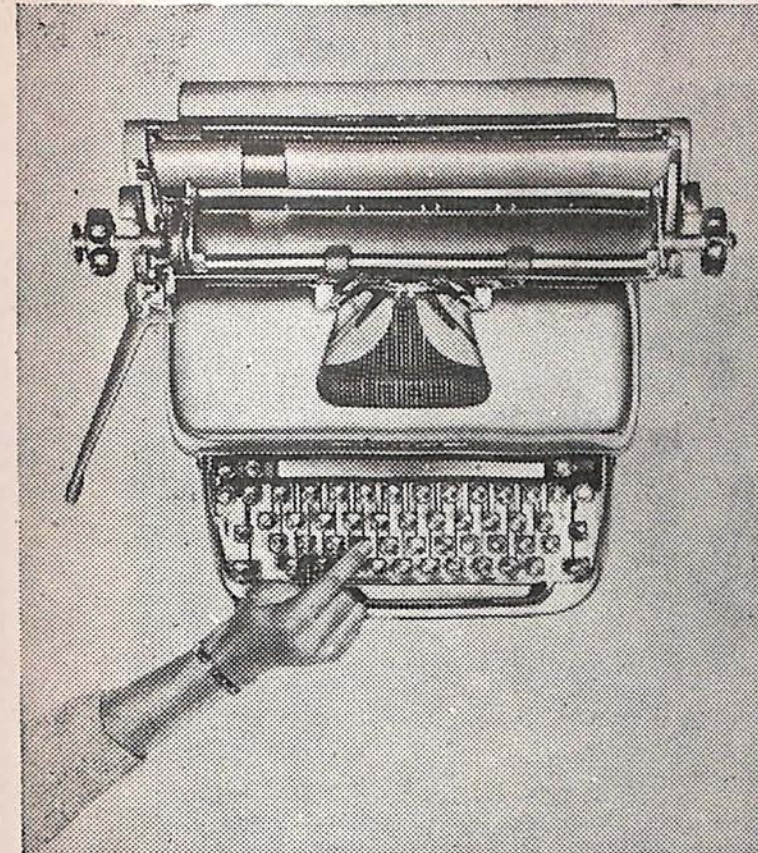
We cannot go on with the present situation of drifting from crisis to crisis. This usual and precarious state of affairs where we border on anarchy but do not quite fall into it will not last.

## End Drift

If the present leaders of India do not move from their method of mere reaction to political events—as Bombay leaders have done—and do not learn what statesmanship is, a whole new crop of leaders has got to emerge and assume leadership. They have to proclaim the truth as they see it with prophet voices. They have to strengthen the unity among themselves. They have to develop and solidify their link with the masses.

All this is more than wishful thinking. It can happen.

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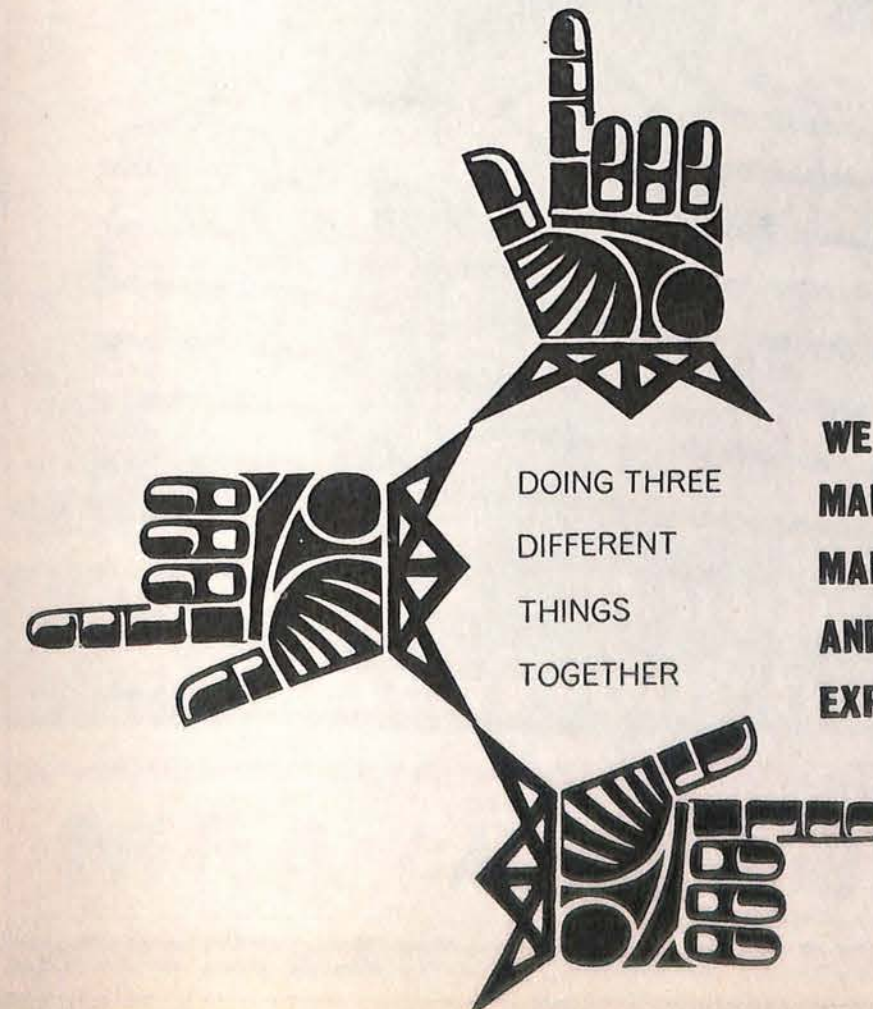
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## Who 'Kidnapped' them?



Miss Janaki Varadhan (22)



Miss Usha Chandiram (18½)

### Madras Police charged with 'Wrongful Arrests'

Page 5

## MRA CASE REPORT FROM MADRAS