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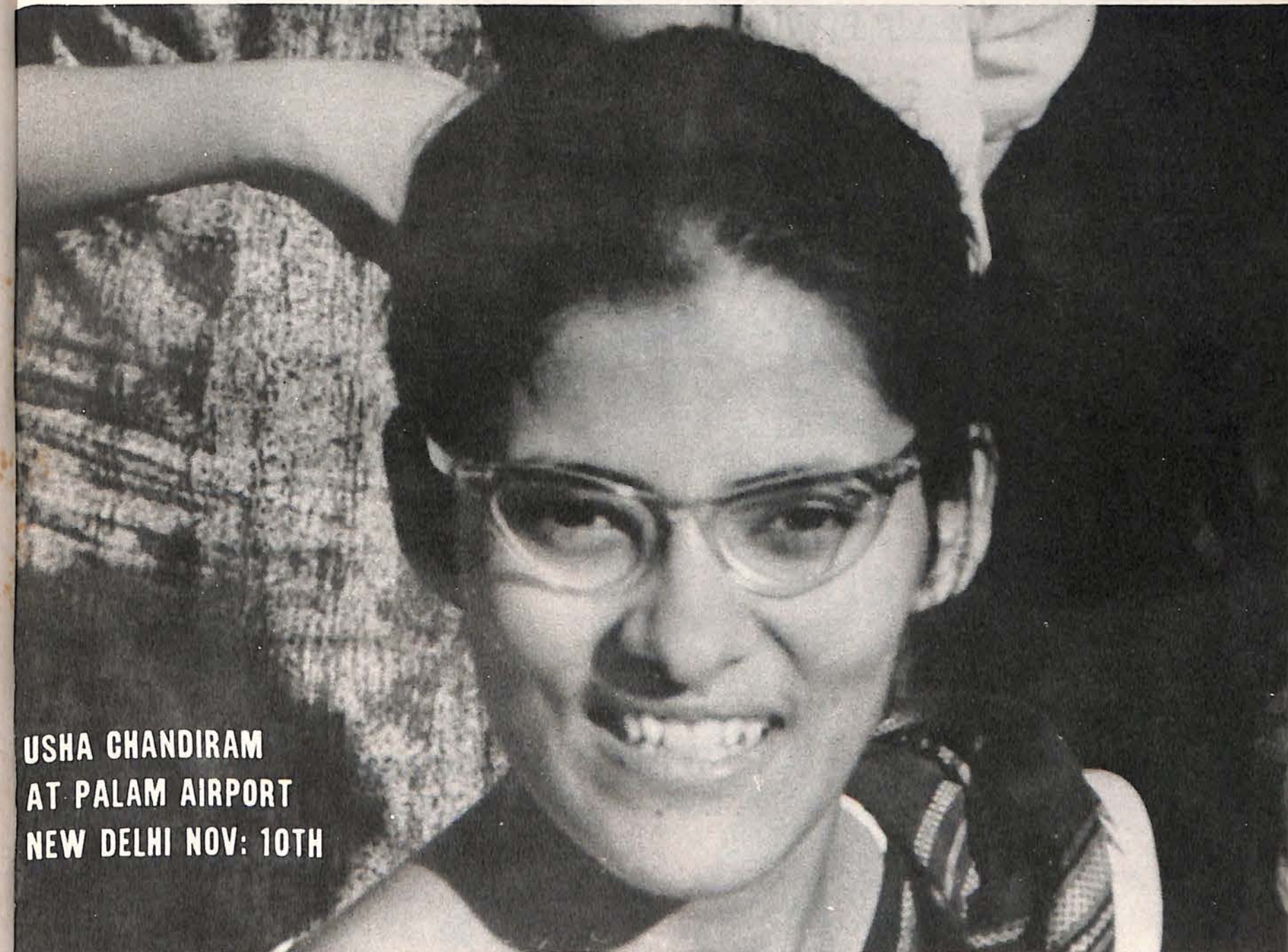
HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

VOL 3 NO 3

Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 18 1966



USHA CHANDIRAM
AT PALAM AIRPORT
NEW DELHI NOV: 10TH

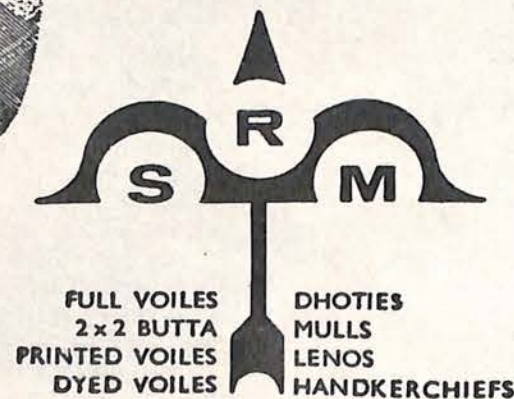
USHA "I have taken on a job for life"

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NANDA UNCONVINCING
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WHO IS RUNNING INDIA?
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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice WEEKLY

Bombay Friday November 18 1966

Africa Has A Future

IT IS WHEN things go wrong, as they have with the recent session of the OAU, that we need a vision for that continent of the future, Africa. The conflict between Guinea and Ghana over the detention of the Guinean delegation to the Addis Ababa conference, seems to have coloured the whole session.

President Nasser left with almost the entire UAR delegation a day before scheduled. President Nyerere felt that the hand of Britain and France was invisible but present in the deliberations of the African nations. General Ankrah of Ghana was more on the button when he said that Guinea "sought to arrogate to itself (the right) to determine who should rule Ghana".

Flogging Britain and France at this point will not help Africa though of course they should be told whenever there is evidence, to keep their hands off. The truth is that some heads of states in Africa (as in other continents) are happy to be non-aligned between Moscow and Washington, but are all for interference in the affairs of neighbouring nations.

President Sekou Toure's appointment of Nkrumah as alternative President of Guinea could only be termed as an attempt to provoke Ghana. Senior leaders of the African continent like President Nasser, Emperor Selassie and President Kenyatta will do well to advise their friends against interference in others' affairs.

It is cheap to sit back and say about Africa, "See, they cannot govern," or "They are not united". Those who have been to Africa know there is vitality, character, in the coming leadership of Africa that could help her to civilize the world. It is the task of men of all races now in Africa to encourage this sound leadership and make Africa great.

Inviting Trouble

PANDEMIONUM PREVAILED in Delhi last week. To blame the demonstrators for all the confusion is easy. As regrettable as the sad happenings on the streets of Delhi, is the way the leadership handled the subsequent events.

In Delhi a 48 hour curfew was clamped down. A few hours later it was unexpectedly lifted. Within 24 hours the Ministers of Finance and Commerce were told—and the public was informed—that they were to be dropped. (See page 19). Then they were asked to stay on. The nation witnessed the undignified sight of the Prime Minister taking decisions and withdrawing them in haste and panic. How can she now expect the Finance and Commerce Ministers to function when they are fully

aware that they lack the Prime Minister's confidence? What authority will they carry in their own administration and in the country?

The machinery of the government, already grinding painfully but slowly, may at this rate, soon come to a halt. The two ministers in charge of our economic life cannot under the circumstances take decisions to energeise the economy.

The main sufferers of this confusion are the ordinary people of India who are hounded by rising prices. Hopefully some may wait till a new team comes after the elections. But, frustrated, not all will wait till they cast their votes in the ballot box next February. The way this country is governed invites agitation.

The ordinary man in the large cities of India and even in the hamlets is asking the question, "If the Prime Minister and the Home Minister are not running India then who is?" On Page 5 HIMMAT attempts to answer their question.

After Erhard

MANY OUTSIDE GERMANY are surprised at the ouster this week from power of Chancellor Erhard. Could it be that even the best of economic planning, for which Erhard is renowned, is but a limited basis for political stability and national development?

Erhard's achievement has been little short of phenomenal. When he became head of the economy of the Anglo-American zones of occupation after the war, he faced a situation very like India today—famine, poverty, unemployment, economic stagnation. He acted with a decisiveness others would do well to learn from. With one stroke of the pen, he abolished all controls. His "Free Market Economy" gave Germans the maximum outlet for their initiative. This helped make practical Chancellor Adenauer's passionately-held belief in Germany's new role in Europe and the world.

At the beginning of 1962 Dr. Erhard said, "What we need is a new ideology, a new declaration of faith which makes the values of the free world convincing also for those who do not live in the free developed democracies."

The full flowering of the German economic miracle will only come about on this basis. We are confident that the new West German Chancellor will do much to give practical form to Germany's growing role and hope that he will visit India in the near future.

Hair-Raising Exports

WE ARE IMPRESSED—one might even say our scalp tingles with pride—to read the press report: "India will for the first time export processed human hair wigs worth about Rs. 170 million over a period of seven years to the USA."

Reports that the wigs will be marketed under the trade name "HAIR-INDIA", however, have not yet been confirmed.

What a shrewd move this reveals itself to be when one contemplates the remarkable genetic effects which Indian wigs might exert on American minds over a period of several generations.

Briefly speaking...

True democracy cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the centre. It has to be worked from below by the people of every village.

MAHATMA GANDHI

Mysterious March

SANTIAGO IS ON the alert. There is a mysterious march of mice from the mountains. Column after column is heading for the capital of Chile. They are descending from their breeding grounds in the foothills of the Andes, 20 miles south of the city, and the vanguard, last heard, is within 20 miles of Santiago. Nobody quite knows why the mice are coming.

I wonder what would happen if, instead of Sadhus and students taking turns demonstrating outside the capital, the mice of India—there are over a thousand million of them—

suddenly decided to descend on Delhi? "Delhi chalo" they would squeak, then march down Parliament Street, surround Parliament and demand that men call off their stupid demonstrations and concentrate on growing more food as they—the mice—need it.

Marine Mammoth

WHILE EVERYONE IS talking of giants of the future that will fly in the air carrying 500 to 700 people, few notice the momentous advance in shipbuilding. Japan will be launching in a few weeks the world's largest ship, the *Idemitsu Maru*.

The giant is 1122 ft. long and is theoretically capable of accommodating 100,000 men standing on the upper deck alone. It only requires 32 people to run this tanker. But the *Idemitsu Maru* is unlikely to hold the title for long as six new tankers of 276,000 tons are under construction and docks are being constructed which will hold future vessels of up to 400,000 tons—one ship equalling the entire tonnage of some smaller countries.

Check Your Temper

THERE IS AN INDIAN PROVERB "chor kotwal ko dante" (the robber rebukes the policeman). In Staffordshire, outside a petrol pump two thieves were helping themselves to petrol while the owner was not looking. The proprietor, Mr. Mosley, ran out and attacked their car. The thieves ran away, stopped a passing police car and surrendered.

Now Mr. Mosley has been fined £5 for maliciously damaging the thieves' car to the tune of £ 102. The thieves had to pay only £5 fine.

Servants of the People!

THERE WILL BE TROUBLE for the Congress from an unexpected source this time. In their anxiety to get new blood into the Party—which they should—scores of Congress MPs and MLAs are being denied tickets for the next elections. What are these sitting MPs and MLAs to do? It is

easy to say that they should do a job of work like anybody else, but many of them have never known any profession. A survey shows that out of 373 Congress MPs, 226 have politics as their full-time occupation.

There is a scheme in most states to compensate those who have suffered a loss due to their patriotic activities in the freedom struggle. It will be a more ticklish job accommodating the MPs and MLAs. They may resort to solving their rehabilitation problems by opposing the official Congress candidates.

Heavy-Weight

AN EXPENSIVE CUSTOMER moved into the Federal gaol in Lewisburg, USA. When Sylvan Scolnik moved in, a wall between two cells had to be broken to accommodate him. Forty-six stone Scolnik was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for defrauding creditors Rs. 44 lakhs.

An average prisoner costs Rs. 43 a day to feed. Sylvan is estimated to cost Uncle Sam Rs. 240 per day, an average Indian's income for 8 months.

What Really Counts

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN addressing the Bihar Relief Committee, concluded his speech with the following words that are relevant for all national endeavour: "When a people is faced with the very issue of survival, be it on account of invasion, internal weakness, natural calamity, nothing ultimately counts except character. What happens to us in Bihar, depends upon whether this calamity brings out the best in us or the worst. Let me hope that we shall not be found wanting."

Dr. Zhivago

THE BRITISH PRODUCER David Lean has been in Delhi this month to request that the censor's scissors be sparingly used on his film *Dr. Zhivago* before its release through MGM. The Ministry of Information has given sympathetic hearing to him, reports NAFEN. The Soviet Union has earlier taken strong objection to the release of this film in India, and ultimately the Prime Minister had to view and pass it.

R.M.L.

WHO IS RUNNING INDIA?

by R. M. Lala

The Prime Minister cannot reshuffle her own Cabinet as she wishes. She is made to back-pedal on her decisions.

The Home Minister (till last week), Mr. Nanda, claims that he was made to feel he had "no say in making decisions at the policy making level". Nor, he moaned, had he the authority to transfer his own secretary who was hampering him.

If the Prime Minister and the Home Minister do not appear to run India, then it is time to ask who is.

Is it someone from outside the Cabinet?

Is it the Congress President?

Is it the so-called "Syndicate" of Party bosses?

Is it the newly emerged "Inner Cabinet", consisting of Planning Minister Asoka Mehta, and Food Minister Subramaniam, which meets at the Prime Minister's house over breakfast?

Is it the Congress Working Committee that decides on ticklish issues leaving the Government to rubber stamp?

Is it the Congress Parliamentary Party which shook Mr. Nanda on



P.M. Indira Gandhi

Monday for happenings in Delhi?

Is it forces of disruption? Rioters? Students? Labour? or big business?

Or is it a foreign power or two?

Who is running India?

There was a time when the world knew that Jawaharlal Nehru ran India. He was the fountain-head of authority and power. He exercised his position firmly from 1947 to 1958. As he aged there was a visible weakening of his grip. Atulya Ghosh, chief of the Bengal Congress, who has been for long in the corridors of power, told a foreign journalist some months ago: "During the last six or seven years the country was allowed to drift."

Yet, Nehru remained ruler of India till five months before his death, when

he suffered from the stroke at Bhubaneswar early January 1964. The "era of unifocal centre of power ended". Michael Brecher in his latest book, "Succession in India" (Oxford University Press) relates that after they put Nehru on the plane to Delhi from Bhubaneswar, Kamaraj who had been appointed Congress President a short while back, Lal Bahadur Shastri, who was out of the Cabinet, and Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy flew down to Madras together. They knew the Prime Minister could never again rule as he did. It was during this trip that the decision was taken to urge the reappointment of Shastri into the Cabinet.

The so-called "Syndicate," a vital force in running the country, came to birth on that plane ride.

Shastri was designated a Minister without portfolio to look after the work the Prime Minister may assign to him. On Nehru's death Kamaraj and friends revived the Syndicate and with the system of consensus, Shastri was unanimously elected Prime Minister and Kamaraj became the King-maker.



Once Prime Minister, Shastri asserted his right to appoint his Cabinet. An old Party hand, he needed no help. But he knew his capacity to rule the country depended on his harmony with Kamaraj and until the last he maintained the right relationship with him.

Continued on next page

On your toes

WHERE DO WE STAND?

China has rejected India's protest against recent intrusions into Bhutan. But was it merely another rejection or the chilly gust of storms to come?

Prime Minister Chou En-lai's visits to Delhi are not too distant a memory. Nehru's embrace of Chou appeared on front pages across the world's press.

Friendship seemed implicit in Chou's statement that "China fully recognized India's special relations with Sikkim and Bhutan". Or so Nehru imagined.

The history that followed is well known. But not so well known, perhaps, is the warning of Mao Tse-tung. In "Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" he wrote:

"In defeating China in war, the imperialist powers have taken away many Chinese dependent states and a part of its territories. Japan took Korea, Taiwan and the Ryuku Islands, the Pescadores Island and Port Arthur; England seized Burma, Bhutan, Nepal and Hong Kong; France occupied Annam and even an insignificant country like Portugal took Macao."

Bhutan's links with Tibet, as one would imagine, go far back into history. For several centuries the rulers of this mountain fastness acknowledged the spiritual supre-

macy of Lhasa. But despite Imperial China's efforts to make this synonymous with temporal supremacy, the Bhutanese kept the Dragon at bay.

In 1910 the British Indian Government offered Bhutan a treaty under which it assumed responsibility for the conduct of Bhutan's foreign affairs—including those with China. A similar arrangement was perpetuated in the 1949 treaty signed by independent India with Bhutan.

Since then, of course, we have seen Tibet fall under Peking's suzerainty. Considering that Bhutan is only 180 kilometres from Lhasa, while she is all of 1100 kilometres from New Delhi, it is not surprising that Peking still plans for the absorption of Bhutan.

While India's treaty with Bhutan covers foreign affairs it does not (though many think so) pledge military defence.

Where does New Delhi stand in this matter? Mrs. Gandhi has said that India would go to Bhutan's defence if she asked for help when attacked. This assurance is welcome. But at what point do increasing border penetrations become an attack? We need to be clear now for there may come a point where there is no time for debate.

It is with practical situations like this that our foreign policy must first cope rather than with the more remote crises involving other nations and on which we so often pronounce.

FREEBOOTER

CHALTA HAI...



"He's taking away the files of the resignations that we nearly had to use."

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LADY HAMILTON

VERDICT!

This week **HIMMAT**

DEPRECATES the undermining of democratic principles through the build up of pressure to have Mr. Krishna Menon accepted as parliamentary candidate for North Bombay (East) constituency against the wishes of the BPCC.

★

HAILS the World Medical Association's stand against abortion at its 20th General Assembly held in Manila this week.

★

CONGRATULATES Mysore's Chief Minister Mr. S. Nijalingappa on his proposal that each state should set apart ten square miles where useless and uneconomic cattle should be left to be tended by Sadhus and financed by patrons.

★

IS SHOCKED BY the derailment of the special military train in North Bengal with the serious loss of life.

★

REGRETS that for the first time in five years the state owned Hindustan Machine Tools did not declare a profit.

★

SALUTES the three Delhi University students who were awarded Asoka Chakra (Class III) for Gallantry. Satish Sood, Kripal Singh Dhingra and Arun Kumar had at great personal risk overpowered a criminal on February 14.

★

SUPPORTS MP Era Sezhiyan's suggestion that no ministers should make official tours of the electorate on the eve of elections.

★

IS STUNNED by Andhra Chief Minister's claim that his state did not mean to use "any pressure" to achieve a fifth steel plant in Vizag and **ASKS** the Chief Minister why was he shuttling between Hyderabad and Delhi on that occasion.

Who is Running India?

Continued

At the same time Shastri was aware of his limitations and the growth in the power of the party machine. He tended to keep his discussions on policy matters mainly within a small group of civil servants led by L. K. Jha and A. N. Jha—his Secretary and Foreign Secretary respectively. There was a steady erosion of the Centre's authority during Shastri's lifetime. More power was devolving on the State Chief Ministers. The tone of Shastri's letters to Chief Ministers on matters like the food policy is an indication of power moving to the regional Chiefs. It needed his emergence as a war hero, in the last four months of his rule, for immense power and authority once again to centre around the Prime Minister.

With the passing of Shastri, had a strong personality like Morarji Desai been selected for Prime Ministership or elected, the party may not have been as strong as it is today and the Chief Ministers may have been more restrained.

Both the Syndicate and the Chief Ministers were aware of this factor when they threw their weight behind Indira Gandhi. She received a mandate, not of the people, but of the caucus of the Party in Parliament and the Chief Ministers who swung their state votes.

For the office of the Prime Minister to re-capture sufficient power and authority will need a combination of historical circumstances like external threat, visible internal crisis, or the emergence of a dynamic personality in the office of the Prime Minister. Until such time as this happens, the party bosses who command block votes will run the country, in some ways though not in all ways. Party bosses though not in office have considerable power over policy decisions. They enjoy power without responsibility. In their minds, the party and the Government are one, a concept dangerous to the effective functioning of democracy.

The Congress Party has within its amorphous body men with various views. There are the extreme Right while at the other end of the political spectrum are the upholders of Communist society like Mr. Krishna Menon. Inbuilt checks and balances prevent any one group from running away with the party machine. At the

heart of this machine is Mr. Kamaraj who balances the pulls and counter-pulls. The result is we have a Government saddled with all the brakes but without the drive of an engine.

The Syndicate when it is united is decisive as it was when it engineered the election of two Prime Ministers. Other groups too have their corners of influence and the game of power pressure continues. Some of the groups are:

1. *The Syndicate*—Originally consisted of Mr. Kamaraj, Mr. S. K. Patil, Mr. Atulya Ghosh, Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy and Mr. Nijalingappa. In this group Atulya and Patil are close to business interests.

2. *The Regional Groups*—Make themselves felt for specific purposes as the Andhra MPs did recently for a steel plant for Andhra. Maharashtra's block of 56 MP's is probably the most powerful and united single group. It is the source of Chavan's strength. Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy usually chooses to speak for the Southern States as he did last week to the Prime Minister.

3. *The Morarji Group*—Morarji Desai stood against Indira Gandhi for Prime Ministership and against the combined might of almost all Chief Ministers and Party bosses, carried away 169 votes last January. Even since then he commands considerable support within the party. A top-ranking political leader told HIMMAT: "If Kamaraj is no longer President I reckon his power will wane. But Morarji has retained his, without holding any office the last three years".

4. Krishna Menon, Malaviya and the Left group of the Congress.

In a democracy, power ultimately revolves around the people. But in a country like India, where only one Party has an all-India machinery for winning at the polls and where the hold of personalities is so strong, power has devolved on a group of individuals, none of whom are supreme and each of whom have their special spheres of influence.

But Congress bosses are mistaken if they think that they alone are running the country. For the Civil Service has woven quite a few circles around them.

To be continued next week

"MY PARENTS LET ME GO"

Writes Usha Chandiram in a letter to The Editor, HIMMAT

SINCE SO MUCH has appeared in the press about me, I want the chance to clarify.

On Wednesday, November 9, my parents let me go. That day I rejoined the force of Moral Re-Armament.

I am darned grateful to God that what I kept praying for was actually happening. I want to thank Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi for what he did.

It has come to my notice that the Madras Police Commissioner informed the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras, that on September 2, I made a statement to the police that I had joined MRA being "misled and deceived". *I said no such thing.* In fact, I made no statement of any kind save the following, "I am above 18 years of age and I want to do social work for my country through MRA out of my own free will". This statement I gave in writing.

I have read in the papers that during the recent High Court proceedings in Bangalore the legitimacy of my letter dated September 24th to three ladies, friends of mine working with MRA, was attacked before the Court.

The learned judges of Mysore High Court, referring to this letter in their judgement, also spoke of taking "into account a not wholly improbable possibility of someone else having put these ideas to her". It may interest the general public to know that *the letter was thought of and written by me and that any suggestion to the contrary is incorrect.*

The problem of student violence has been dissected by many wise people. As a young person myself may I point out that it would be wrong to blame young people alone? I believe violence is outdated but it is no good for a hypocritical older generation to say to the youth "be patient and go slow". When the younger and older generation leave each other free to be guided by God then unitedly we will solve this country's problems.

Can't we have the guts to fight against forces that are out to destroy our nation's freedom? These forces are not without power. *If today the freedom of individuals can be snatched away, tomorrow it could be the nation's freedom.*

But I feel most strongly about those who know what is right but who, confused by compromise and preoccupied about comfort and security, do not care.

As for myself I want to use my life, working with MRA, to fight to keep India's freedom, or restore it if it is lost. Thank you HIMMAT for your *himmat*.

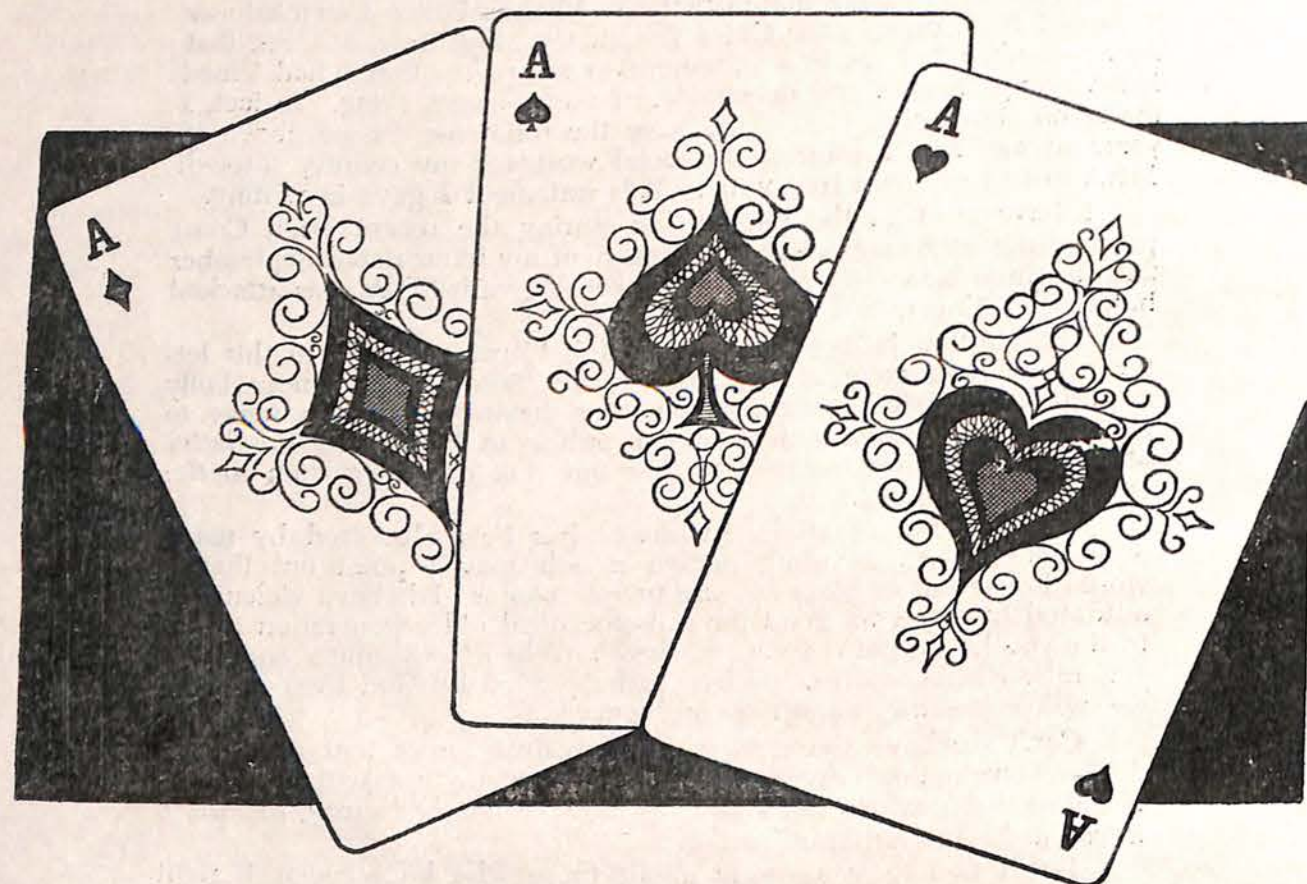
USHA CHANDIRAM

NEW DELHI



Miss Chandiram greeting her friends on arrival at New Delhi.

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SEKAI/DP-1

Further steps in Foreign Policy: India's place as Asian power

India is an Asian power. She occupies a central position in the Indian Ocean area. Geographically, we are only on the fringes of the Pacific Ocean area. But our strategic command of the Indian Ocean area makes it essential for India to win her way into the increasingly important Pacific region.

Our interest as an Asian power lies not only in friendship with the Arab world to the west, and the Soviet colossus to the north, but with the Far East, China, Japan and Australia in the east as well.

End of an epoch

At various times in our long history, India has had important but comparatively brief contacts with the East. In contrast, our links with the Arab world have been regular, long and permanent. European conquest did not alter this basic pattern, though the Western, and particularly European, orientation of our outlook and policy was broadened, deepened and extended as a consequence.

The distinguished historian and diplomat, the late Mr. K. M. Panikkar, pointed out in his important study "Asian and Western Dominance" that "the Vasco da Gama

epoch" of history (from 1498 when Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut on the west coast of India) ended with 1945, with the emergence of independent Asia. From now on, European supremacy over world affairs as well as the controlling interest of European power over Asia, was at an end.

The new epoch, characterised by the rise of many independent Asian nations, also witnessed the emergence of the Soviet Union as a continental colossus in the affairs of Asia and the Pacific. The United States which gradually expanded her influence in the Pacific and China before the first World War, and fought a second World War to maintain it, re-established her primary position in the region, though this fact was long obscured by the US preoccupation with the demands of European security against the threat of Soviet expansionism.

With the rise of Communist China as a united and strong modern power, the growth of Japan into a technological giant, the reorientation of Australian economic and military policy towards the USA and the South-east Asian and Far Eastern regions, the primacy of the Pacific region in the world is an obvious fact.

Potential power unit

Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines naturally belong to the region. Given political stability and a measure of dignity, they have the potential together to be one of the major power units of the world.

From Korea to New Zealand, and Singapore to Los Angeles, there is also a growing awareness of the importance of the Pacific region as well as a refreshing sense of belonging to a very important power grouping in the world.

Politically and culturally, the vast majority of the peoples belonging to the Asian segment of the region, have been profoundly influenced by China. At various times in their history, they had also acknowledged the hegemony of China in the area. Modern China also continues to take

Under
the
Lens



by **R. VAITHESWARAN**

her hegemony in the region for granted. Despite the current wave of anti-Chinese sentiment in countries like Indonesia and the Philippines, in the long-term there will necessarily be an accommodation of Chinese interest in the region, without detriment to the independence of the smaller Asian powers.

The anti-Communism of any of the Asian powers will not stand in the way of such an accommodation provided Communist China abandons the aggressive policy of ideological expansionism and reverts to a policy of genuine co-existence.

Leaning to pragmatism

Reports from Communist China suggest that a substantial section of the Chinese Communist Party leadership are in favour of a more pragmatic, accommodating foreign policy. Though for the time being these people are overshadowed by Mao, time is on their side. As long as the firm military posture of the United States denies to the ideologists of expansionism in China the benefit of territorial or other gains, there is hope that the realism of the more moderate Chinese leaders will ultimately prevail.

Both American and Soviet policy appears to be aimed at strengthening the hands of the "negotiationists" in the Chinese Communist Party. They act as if they have knowledge of a trend in the Chinese Government which forms an end to their present isolation and a gradual restoration of relations with the Soviet Union, India, Japan and even the United States.

Certainly the long term objective of US policy in the Pacific region envisages an end to the present state of armed truce with China and restoration of some basis for a more amicable relationship with that country.

China, in the not distant future, will therefore pull greater weight

Continued on page 14

SAY THAT AGAIN...

A dynamic package programme aimed at removing bottlenecks in the shape of under feeding and under nourishment is the need of the hour.

VICE PRESIDENT DR. ZAKIR HUSAIN

The former non-aligned have hardly anyone left to non-align with.

TIME MAGAZINE

The present Soviet leaders...are restoring capitalism in the socialist world.

CHINESE PREMIER, CHOU EN-LAI

I feel so free, so light.

FORMER HOME MINISTER,
G. L. NANDA

if I get maximum light output...



will it give long life...



plus trouble-free service...



and at minimum maintenance cost?



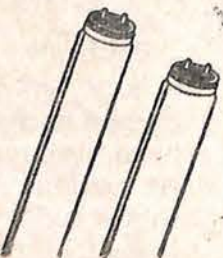
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Italian Socialists Merge From Our European Correspondent

When the Italian Socialist Party split eighteen years ago, two powerful men took their followers on two opposite political roads. Giuseppe Saragat, the leader of the newly formed Social-Democrat Party chose the rising sun as his emblem, opted strongly for the Atlantic Alliance and the Socialist International and joined the Christian Democrats in forming a coalition government. Pietro Nenni, however, made an alliance with the Communists. His emblem remained the hammer and sickle and his partisans formed together with the Communists the strongest Italian trade-union organisation, the CGIL.

On October 30, 1966, after a relatively short time of actual negotiations, both parties were united again. Both parties had held separate congresses on the day before and then voted almost unanimously to accept the proposal of reunification.



President Saragat—architect of party unity.

The man who can be called the architect of this reunification is without any doubt Italy's President, Giuseppe Saragat. During all these years, when his party was in the government and Nenni's party, in the opposition, was winning many more votes than his, Saragat never gave up hope to lead his former comrades back into democratic government again. He always kept a door open for them, and when, after the last parliamentary election the Christian Democrats had to find new partners to establish a governable majority, Saragat pushed with all his might for the "opening to the left" which brought the left-wing Socialists into the government.

When the speeches were made at the reunification congress, it became clear how much water Nenni has had to pour into his red-tinged wine. Speaking as Deputy Prime Minister and as head of the new party, he said that the Socialists would cooperate with the other parties in the coalition till 1968 "as long as it is necessary for the general progress of the nation". He also said, "It would be useless to seek in Karl Marx an answer to the problems of today."

Nobody at this point gives the Socialists too much chance to become the biggest political power in Italy. With their combined 95 seats in parliament (which correspond to about six million votes in the last elections) they are still some way behind the Christian Democrats (260 seats; 11.7 million votes) and the Communists (165 seats; 7.7 million votes) but they will be a considerable force to reckon with.

Obviously, neither the Christian Democrats nor the Communists rejoice too much in the growth of their new rival. The Christian Democrats are afraid the Socialists might get tired of their alliance with them and then will turn to the Communists to build a "popular front" government. And the Communists, who are going through a difficult phase, as they are losing members and are obliged to close down one of their papers after the other because of financial difficulties, are afraid that some of their customers may well give their vote to the Socialists next time.

As long as President Saragat keeps his benevolent eye on government and party, the democratic forces in Italy will have nothing to fear from the new developments.

The week in Asia

BANGKOK—The Thai Cabinet has banned the export of rice until the domestic price has stabilised.

SAIGON—Seven hundred and fifty-eight Viet Cong troops have been killed in what appears to be the biggest American victory of the war, fought near the Cambodian border 65 miles north west of Saigon.

KATHMANDU—Student mobs which had stormed the main gate of the central secretariat here were dispersed by a police lathi-charge. The students demanded the dismissal of the Deputy Inspector of Police for alleged malpractices.

DJAKARTA—President Sukarno threatened to take "counter-action" after General Suharto asked the President to condemn the Indonesian Communist Party and its part in last year's abortive coup.

PEKING—Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung reviewed a motorised parade of over one million Red Guards in a recent mass rally.

RIYADH—The American commitment to defend Saudi Arabia was not invoked over the air raid of UAR planes on the Saudi Arabian town of Najran because, according to the US State Department the attack "appeared to be an error".

KUALA LUMPUR—Malayan Deputy Premier Tun Abdul Razak has warned that the banned Malayan Communist Party is planning "a terrorist campaign similar to the Malaysian Emergency".

PEKING—East European diplomats walked out of a meeting here celebrating the centenary of Sun Yat Sen's birth when Chinese Premier Chou En-lai accused Soviet leadership of betraying Lenin and the October revolution.

SAIGON—Three of the South Vietnamese Cabinet Ministers who resigned last month over a regional dispute will return to the Government, Premier Ky told a meeting of the advisory People's Army Council. Three other ministers who resigned will not rejoin the Cabinet.

TOKYO—Japan will offer economic aid of up to \$180 million over a 9-year period to the Soviet Union to develop Russia's natural gas resources at Sakhalin.

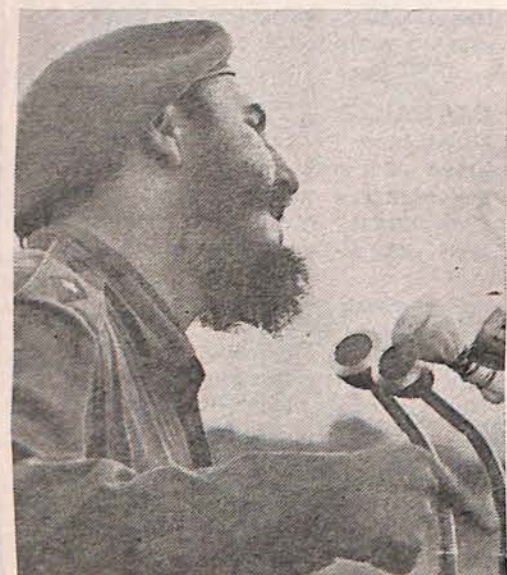
Guerrilla Activities in Latin America

By PETER ORGLMEISTER

Sao Paulo

It was Fidel Castro's vision that the Andes should become the Sierra Maestra of South America. In the Sierra Maestra, the eastern region of Cuba, he trained his liberation army and from there he launched the final assault against the dictatorship of Batista.

The Andes mountains reach from the Caribbean Sea 4400 miles south. They are over 200 miles wide with an average height of 13,000 feet. But as in the last years several of the countries in the Andes reported Com-



Fidel Castro, Dictator of Cuba, gives the Havana crowds another of his Marathon speeches.

munist guerrilla activities, it became clear that the height and wildness of these mountains created serious problems not only for the attacking army, but for the guerrillas themselves.

In 1964 the Argentine police discovered guerrilla training camps in the north-west region and started to combat them. The men receiving training were mostly students enlisted in Buenos Aires and transported there with false papers in a well-functioning organization. When the police moved in, the guerrillas and their Cuban trainers had to escape to the higher mountain regions, which were so uninhabitable that they could not remain there for long. They had either to dissolve or surrender.

In Peru the guerrillas tried to mobilize the original Indian population to support them in their fight against land owners and police. But these mountain Indians, descendants of the Incas, had lived in such a state of

resignation and detachment from Western civilization that even the Communists were not able to arouse and enlist them. So when the Army moved in, the Communist leaders, partly of Cuban nationality, could not resist.

In the valleys of Colombia when the Army started to fight the bandits, many of them turned to Fidel Castro for help, which he gladly gave. "Tiro Fijo" ("Sure Shot") and his men are still in constant combat with the forces of order. A "National Liberation Army" of hardly more than 100 men is also operating close to the Venezuela border. City-terrorism in Venezuela, which has cost many lives, has been suppressed to a great extent. But the "Liberation Army" still occasionally fights in the countryside.

In Brazil, subversive activity has increased in the last three years. The training grounds are in the jungle areas of the Matto Grosso. Few arm depots and abandoned camps have been found there in the last weeks.

But in spite of all these guerrilla activities and training, it still seems a long way to go for Fidel Castro's dream to be realized. Observing how close countries like Brazil and Chile have been to a Communist take-over, through political manoeuvres, these guerrilla activities remain for the moment of secondary importance.

Holt Pleased with Manila Conference

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Canberra

The Prime Minister, Mr. Holt, returned from the seven-nation summit conference in Manila well pleased with its outcome and more confident than ever about his Government's policies.

In his report to Parliament he described the talks as historic and said they were the most successful he had attended or was ever likely to.

The whole world was involved in the outcome of the Manila talks, he said, and then went on to attack the "indifference" of many Western nations to the Vietnam war.

Mr. Holt reminded the House of Representatives that, "Australia is not engaged in Vietnam to roll back the frontiers of Communism, but to prevent the frontiers of Communism rolling back down through South-east Asia."

The question was not one of seeking further military assistance from other countries. But it was important to secure wider acceptance of the allies' limited but essential objectives and to widen the economic effort both now and after the fighting stopped.

Mr. Holt added that the Government of Air Vice-Marshal Ky wanted to forge in South Vietnam a social

revolution of hope and progress, based on honesty, efficiency and social justice.

Australia must always see the conflict in Vietnam as a battleground for the human values of freedom and dignity.

Apart from the impact the conference has had from being Asian initiated, it has, as pointed out by diplomatic observers, also made clear the determination of South Vietnam and its allies to negotiate only through North Vietnam and not directly with the Vietcong.

In recent months, through the UN and elsewhere Communist countries have been making a concerted effort to have the Vietcong recognised as a direct negotiating party to support their claim that the Vietnam struggle is really a civil war.

They have been seeking to gloss over the clear evidence of aggression from the North and that fact that Hanoi armed and continues to supply the Vietcong.

The week elsewhere

KOREAN TENSION GROWS

PANMJOM, Korea—The recent stepping-up of North Korean raids across the demilitarized zone, killing 24 South Korean soldiers since October 15, has sparked off the most serious situation since the armistice was signed 13 years ago. In one incident six Americans and one South Korean were killed in an ambush. The commander of the UN force, US General Bonesteel, sent a strongly worded protest to the North Korean Premier, Kim Il Sung, to which he received a total denial.

SEA WAR ESCALATES

SAIGON—An increase in naval warfare is expected in the Vietnam war following the recent duel between two US destroyers and a North Vietnamese shore battery. American reports say that the shore battery opened fire first and then one of the destroyers returned fire, silencing the battery without any casualties itself.

The fact that the ships were only on routine patrol duty and not on a mission to rescue a downed pilot has started speculation that the navy may now make greater contact with the Communist shore installations and could be used instead of aircraft for bombarding heavily defended coastal targets. The navy could do this task quickly, efficiently, at low risk, reduce loss in the air and allow for the diversion of aircraft onto other targets.

WEST AFRICAN FEUD

LAGOS—The long standing feud between Guinea and Ghana has flared up again with Ghana's seizure of 19 Guinean diplomats and students on an American airliner during a stopover in Accra. Ghana's reason for their detention is that it claims 100 of its citizens are being held against their wishes in Guinea. Despite action by the OAU, the future of the 100 Ghanaians in Guinea is still unresolved.

The week in India

CALCUTTA—Arrangements for a Leftist alliance against Congress in West Bengal failed after three months of negotiations. The deadlock over the distribution of seats between the Left and Right Communists caused the failure.

BOMBAY—Prabhudutt Brahmachari, leader of the anti cow-slaughter agitation, will go on a hunger strike with a number of others from November 20 in an effort to force the Union Parliament to ban the killing of cows.

CALCUTTA—The State monopoly on bus services ended with the commencement of a private service of 300 buses here. The Calcutta State Transport Authority is allegedly losing Rs. 30,000 per day as a result of evasion of fares.

KOHIMA—The underground "Naga Parliament" has allowed for the continuation of talks with the Union Government but stresses that they still demand complete sovereignty over their lands.

NEW DELHI—Union Commerce Minister Manubhai Shah admitted that exports had dropped since devaluation but said it was too early to judge the effectiveness of measures taken since the devaluation of the rupee.

NEW DELHI—India has sent a strong note of protest to the Peking Government concerning two intrusions by Chinese troops into Sikkim last month.

NEW DELHI—The Jan Sangh leader, Balraj Madhok, was arrested along with a number of other Jan Sangh and RSS members for a breach of the peace in connection with the recent Delhi riots.

CALCUTTA—Fourteen army personnel were killed and 33 were injured when an army train bound for Assam was derailed in North Bengal. Some fishplates are missing and it is believed that the train was sabotaged.

NEW DELHI—Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan has taken over the Home Portfolio following G. L. Nanda's resignation, while Foreign Affairs Minister, Swaran Singh, assumed the Defence Portfolio and Education Minister Chagla becomes Foreign Affairs Minister. The Education portfolio is taken over by F. A. Ahmed.

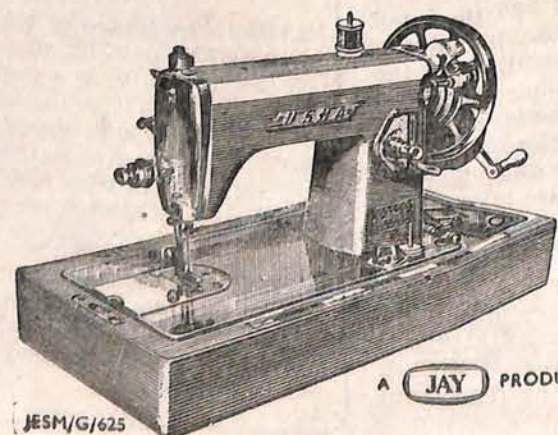


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India, an Asian Power

—from page 9

both as an Asian and a Pacific power. India must take into account in her foreign policy the growing importance of the Pacific region and the possibility ultimately of a Soviet-US-Chinese settlement which recognizes each others' rights in the area without necessarily encroaching substantially on the independence of lesser powers.

Such an arrangement may not be against India's interest, though if the present isolation of India from the politics of the region continues, we will be adversely affected in our trade relations. Our international stature will suffer corresponding to the reduction of our influence in the area.

To overcome antipathy

Though a settlement between China and other Far Eastern powers is only a matter of time, India as a major power in South Asia can always bid for a position of some influence with our South-east Asian neighbours and Far Eastern powers. But this needs a special effort where even cultural affinity and historic associations can be an aid to present understanding as in the case of Cambodia, Thailand and Indonesia. Where culturally and linguistically, nations are more closely allied to China, we have to overcome many prejudices and much antipathy.

Unfortunately, a reluctance to be too closely associated with so-called "pro-American" or "anti-Communist" nations has prevented India from pursuing a more active Far Eastern policy. Thus, despite a reported decision to open a mission in Seoul, Korea, two years ago, we continue to be unrepresented in that country which, under the regime of President Park Chung Hee, has become an important meeting place of the nations of the Pacific region. Our relations with the Philippines are inhibited by our prejudice against her close relationship with the United States.

We similarly tend to dismiss the Manila Conference as an American-managed show to unify support for US action in Vietnam. We completely overlook the positive co-operation that is growing in the Pacific region, of which the Manila conference is a

symbol. Even if we disagree with the Vietnamese policy of those Asian powers that support US action in Vietnam, we are foolish to show such scant respect for a considerable body of responsible Asian opinion. For fear of associating ourselves with one body of opinion on Vietnam, we need not deny ourselves our role as an Asian power and isolate ourselves from those Asian nations with whom we happen to disagree at the moment.

I was very conscious of the remoteness of India when I was in Korea. Though we have developed economic relations with Japan, we are culturally and psychologically quite distinct from the Far Eastern peoples. When I shared my concern on this matter with a group of Japanese leaders in Tokyo, a Japanese General, a former chief of staff of the Self-Defence Forces, replied, "That is right. You are remote from this part of Asia. If I may say so, India looks too much towards Europe."

Right or wrong, the Japanese General was articulating a sentiment that may be more widely prevalent about us in East Asia. What is certainly true is that *the sentiment of being Asian burns far more brightly in the Far Eastern peoples than it does in us Indians*. For many centuries, we have been self-sufficient people cut off from our continent by the mountains and oceans. The Himalayas had their good as well as their ill effects for India. If we are to claim our rightful place and role in Asia, we have to grow up psychologically as well as politically and accept the sentiment as well as the burden and responsibility of being Asian.

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viewpoint *First Prize*

Where Should Cure For Student Unrest Begin?

by Ivan Sassoon, Calcutta 14

I HEARD THIS, FIRST-HAND, from a student: "We are not meant to lead; we are at that stage where we must learn to follow. But what (or who) is there to follow? Our leaders are being led by us because we feel as students, that we can do the leading better!"

This is a sad commentary on the poor quality Indian leadership. Our leaders gave us independence; they have yet to give us freedom. Independence we generally get 'from' something; freedom we must have 'for' something; but 'For what?' Certainly not for all that is happening in our educational life.

Try as hard as we can to blame the students for all the unrest, we must put first things first. I believe that the cure for student unrest must begin with the authorities first. Then the students will change. I write this as a teacher, who is a part of what is termed 'authorities'.

There is a pyramid of authorities; the governments (state and central), parents, and teachers. Government includes all those who are in any way officially connected with education. The powers that be are no example to our youth. What is happening on the streets as part of student unrest, happens without fail in our Parliament and state assemblies.

Besides, I feel that governmental devil-may-care attitude is shown in the poor funds allocated to education. Somewhere in between a part of the money drains off in wrong directions.

The authority of parents has been very submissively delegated to their children. If education is a three-legged stool, discipline is one of those legs. Many parents, in many homes, have abdicated their authority in favour of their children.

Finally, the third point of the authority pyramid is the teacher. Teachers seem to have lost all ideals.

Teaching has become an undignified tussle for bread and butter.

The cure must be applied to the authorities at the top. The Government must match action with words, parents must re-instate themselves as symbols of discipline, and the teacher must become a model of greatness.

* * *

Second Prize

Streamline Education

by M. B. PRANESH, Bangalore 19.

THE CURE for student unrest must begin with a readjustment of the educational system where it affects the student. The present system is largely wasteful both of national money and students' time. *It is still a mystery for one and all, how a study of organic chemistry will help in filling ledgers*. This wastage of graduates should be stopped by declaring that a degree is not essential for

COMPETITION

* What should India do for South-East Asia?

Closing date: November 25

** Is a woman's place in the home?

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clerical jobs. Mass education should stop at the matriculation level. Colleges should only be for the interested, while more technical courses for various trades should be opened, to absorb young men of varied interests.

After restricting student numbers to those of the really interested, educational courses should be made to require more attention from the students. At present, the student is called upon the work only during the crucial two months before the examinations. The rest of the year is his to be spent as desired. Keeping a person thus unoccupied during the most energetic part of his life, is bound to result in dangerous diversionary activities.

The final cure for student unrest lies in making students realise that their primary job is to study, every other cause being secondary to it.

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Letters

A Rhodesian Writes:

"I Don't Find Your Comments Easy to Take..."

I don't always find your comments on our country easy to take and I do think in many ways the situation here in the context of the rest of Africa is sometimes misunderstood by those who do not have access to adequate information.

For all the harsh things said about him, Ian Smith is, I think, a man of integrity who genuinely wants to find the

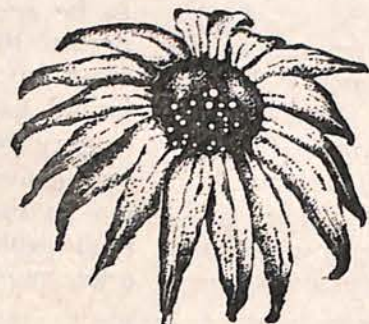
best solution to the problems that face us. He does genuinely want to see the advancement of the more backward members of our community but he quite understandably fears that the wrong timing for say a "one-man-one-vote" move may well lead to the division, disruption and bloody chaos we have seen north of us in Ghana, Nigeria, the Congo and elsewhere. How to ensure responsible

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SHOULD HAPPINESS FADE OUT AS BABIES ARRIVE?



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leaders will arise from the African people as well as the Asian community and equally responsible leaders from the white races who are mature enough to know that colour is NOT the problem. That is the supreme task of men and women committed to change this continent. And thank God HIMMAT plays its distinctive part in that training, helping us to see the ideological battle in the right perspective and not get obsessed with our own affairs.

GRAHAM MCCOLL

Salisbury, Rhodesia

BLIND TO ISSUES

Congratulations on HIMMAT'S second anniversary! As a German I am especially keen to read HIMMAT. We want to know what India thinks and what is truly happening in Asia.

My own family have suffered under two dictatorships. We have lost everything we owned. Many of my relatives were killed. My father tells me that long before the triumph of these dictatorships, the best people in the nation were paralysed. They passionately held on to their own careers or way of life, so they could not see the big issues at stake. That was in the 1920's and 1930's. I am therefore interested in your Editor-in-Chief's recent fight for justice.

FULVIA SPOERRI

Bad Godesberg, Germany

ELECTION A FARCE

In the coming election, as in the past, nearly a dozen and a half parties are standing for election. Even if Congress secures 30 per cent of the votes, the remaining 70 per cent will be secured by the 15 or more parties which will work out about four to five per cent for each party. Now if all the oppositionists are fighting for the welfare of the masses, the natural question arises, why can't all these parties join together and form one party?

H. P. BROACHA

Bombay-7

NANDA'S FUTURE

Our nation is passing through a grave situation these days. Mr. Nanda has expressed his future plans. He had said, "The country needs a non-violent revolution—a deep moral, economic and political change...", and he wants to devote his service to the above said purpose. I suggest to Mr. Nanda, through your column, to join the force of MRA and fight with the youth of our nation who also wants a non-violent revolution.

B. P. NAGARAJ

Bangalore-4

INTELLIGENT CANDOUR

I am very happy to learn that HIMMAT is two years old. The intelligent candour of HIMMAT has attracted in so short a time a wide readership and I read your issues avidly.

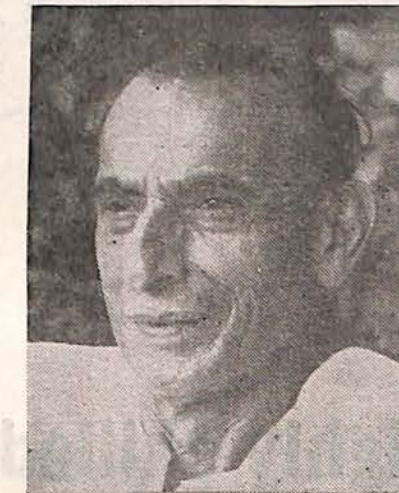
R. NARAYANAN

Calcutta-1

HIMMAT, November 18, 1966

ON THE Spot

"I CLIMBED A COCONUT-TREE FOR GANDHI" Says ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI



If there is anybody who comes near to being the Father of the Lok Sabha, it is Acharya J. B. Kripalani. Of all the living associates of Gandhi he probably knew him the longest. Kripalani is faithful to him and because of that, he sits in the Opposition. I've seen his frail figure rise, point at the Congress benches and thunder: "I love the Congress more than any of you on the opposite benches." And many on the Congress benches know that "Dada", as he is fondly called, is speaking the truth.

Kripalani met Gandhi way back in 1915 at a party in Calcutta. "I wanted to see this curious man, as I had heard of his achievements in South Africa." Gandhi was yet to make his mark on India. Sometime later, Gandhi wired Kripalani that he would stop at Muzzafarpur en route to Champaran, Bihar. Kripalani was then Professor of History at the Government College. "It was an extraordinary thing for a Government servant in those days to harbour a man like me," Gandhi wrote later. "The professor downstairs," chuckles Kripalani, "was so frightened, he packed his bags and ran away."

Talking at his cottage at Canning Road, New Delhi, recently, Kripalani relived those days. When he got the wire of Gandhi's arrival, he told his students about the guest. They were so enthusiastic to meet this rebel, they insisted on coming to the station late at night and urged Kripalani to receive him with an aarti (auspicious ceremony). The aarti required a coconut and there were no coconuts in town. There were some on a nearby tree. "So I climbed the coconut tree and pulled down a couple of coconuts."

But how did you manage to climb?

"I was pretty supple in those days."

Gandhi moved on to Champaran to spearhead the peasant agitation against the landlord planters of indigo. The name of Champaran and

Gandhi echoed through the land. The Collector ordered him to leave in 24 hours. "I am not leaving," was Gandhi's prompt reply. India knew then that a new force had come on the national scene.

"Kripalani," wrote Gandhi in his autobiography, "could not but cast his lot with us.... He was my gatekeeper in chief. For the time-being he made it the aim of his life to save me from darshan-seekers (visitors). He warded off people calling to his aid, now his unflinching humour, now his non-violent threats. At nightfall he would take up his occupation as a teacher and regale his companions with his historical studies and observations and quicken any timid visitor into bravery."

What was Gandhi's impact on you? I asked.

"I had to change all my opinions, to re-read history in the light of non-violence. There is no greater courtesy in a man than to be non-violent."

Jeewan Kripalani was one of ten children. His father was an executive officer of a sub-division in Sind. "I had to revolt against everything," recalls Kripalani. And his record of revolt is impressive. He quarrelled with the principal of Wilson College where he had studied and because of his political views could not stay long in any institution as a teacher.

He felt at home in Fergusson College, Poona, where he had more freedom to express himself.

At what age did you become politically conscious?

"In college I loved to enjoy myself. It was the time of the plague in Bombay. I would inquire how many plague deaths had taken place the previous day so that we might have a college holiday! Then one day, I picked up a paper called *New India* edited by Bipen Chandra Pal. I read it. It convinced me that the presence of Britishers in India was a sin that had to be got rid of."

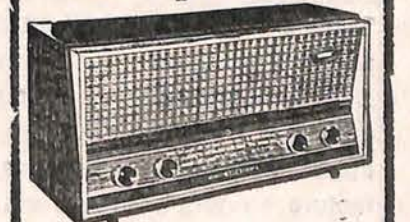
His father was a Government servant and wanted no such views from his son. Frequently they clashed. Kripalani taught in some schools in Sind but "I wanted no wrangling with my father, so I took the post in faraway Bihar. Father was a Persian scholar and lived up to 85."

In 1918, Pandit Malaviya wrote and asked Gandhi for the help of a young man in his project of the Benares Hindu University. Gandhi recommended Kripalani.

"In 1920 came non-co-operation and I left the university, and 25 students left with me. We started an ashram for village work." A year or two later a school with national ideals was started to continue the education of

Continued on page 20

A Star performer



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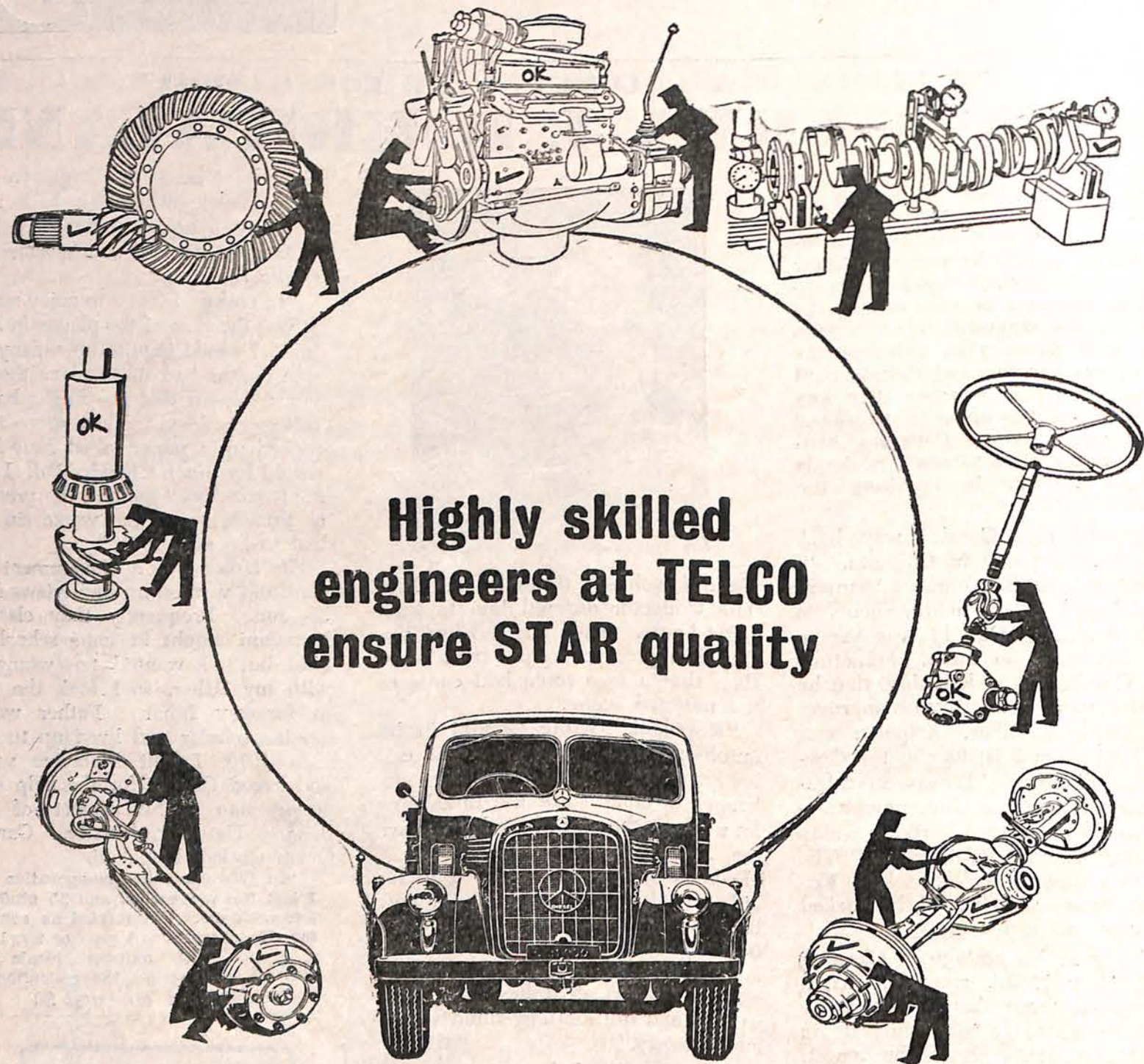
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The Nation

How did Patil Lose to Chavan?

A few days ago S. K. Patil was confident of stepping into the Home Ministry after the elections. But there is many a slip between the cup and the lip. Patil opened his mouth too soon. He saw in the events of November 7th an opportunity to expedite the departure of Mr. Nanda and attacked Mr. Nanda within the Cabinet for his handling of the anti-cow-slaughter agitations. Atulya Ghosh, another member of the "syndicate", joined from outside the Cabinet in trying to oust Nanda. Atulya and Patil got bracketed with "vested interests". To have appointed Patil would have meant that the Prime Minister was a party to ousting Nanda. By Tuesday, November 8th, the Prime Minister moved speedily and offered the Home Ministership to Mr. Y. B. Chavan.

Patil was initially confident that Chavan would be objected to by other interests. "Andhra will not accept him because of the water dispute. Gujarat for linguistic reasons and Mysore for the border dispute", he hoped. Frontally Patil did not attempt to undercut Chavan because if he did it could have affected his election chances and voters in Bombay would have said that it was Patil, a Maharashtrian, who prevented another Maharashtrian in his rise to office.

By Wednesday November 10, Patil withdrew from the contest. Another member of the syndicate took on the battle at this point. Sanjeeva Reddy kicked up a rumpus that the South Indian states were getting a raw deal, that all the important

offices went to people from other parts, and that Chavan, being a party to the Maharashtra-Mysore dispute would be unacceptable to Mysore if he was appointed to the vital office of Home Minister. Chavan tactfully assured Mysore that any important decision he would take as Home Minister on matters relating to the Mysore case with Maharashtra, would be with the knowledge and approval of the Prime Minister. By Friday November 11 Patil had left the Capital as he knew he was out of the running, spent a couple of days in Bombay giving his usual homilies and on Sunday took off for Calcutta. Chavan's appointment as Home Minister was announced on Sunday night.



Y. B. Chavan



S. K. Patil

Why PM wanted Shah-Sachin Out?

The move of the Prime Minister for a major reshuffle of the Commerce and Finance Ministries was frustrated last week. The Prime Minister has staked her reputation on the issue of devaluation which she undertook against the advice of Congress President Kamaraj. After devaluation subsidies for exports were stopped,

Commerce Minister Manubhai Shah was in a flap because he found that exports, far from being stimulated by devaluation, were falling. He canvassed carefully with all the Cabinet and won most of them to his side. He finally persuaded Asoka Mehta that if export subsidies were

not reinstated there would not be sufficient exports to help his Fourth Plan.

In a Cabinet meeting later, Finance Minister Sachin Chaudhri was the only one who objected to an export subsidy and within a couple of

Continued on next page

Election Winds

by ANTENNA

Bengal Left Front Fails

Last Saturday, West Bengal's Congress boss Atulya Ghosh breathed a sigh of relief. The United Left Front of 13 parties that threatened to oust the Congress collapsed.



Atulya Ghosh

Attempts by senior Communist leaders failed to reconcile the two Communist Parties in Bengal. Left Communists who have greater strength in Bengal

found the Right Communists demanding six out of nine Parliamentary seats in Calcutta. "To concede them would be to make a present of these seats to the Congress. We were willing to concede one seat in Calcutta to Prof. Hiren Mukerjee who is leader of their group in the Lok Sabha, but their claims for six seats in Calcutta is fantastic," a Left Communist leader told Antenna.

Left Communist circles ascribe the firmness of the Right Communists to the "strong links between the Right Congress and the Bangala Congress. The root of this link," they say, "lies in the family ties of Ajoy Mukerjee, Bangala Congress chief, whose brother, Vishwanath Mukerjee, is a leading Right Communist of Bengal. A united Left could lick the Congress; now we expect 50 to 60 seats."

Kamaraj and Menon

Kamaraj is committed to Krishna Menon's candidature from North Bombay. A few weeks back Kamaraj sent one of his aides to S. K. Patil to open the subject of giving Menon the North Bombay East seat. Patil reacted extremely sharply and no doubt the reaction has reached Kamaraj. Before this event Patil felt strengthened because the Prime Minister had told him that she was "not interested in Krishna Menon." Now the Prime Minister is reported to have appealed for Krishna Menon.

Obviously Krishna Menon checked with Kamaraj before filling in his election form and got his okay.

months of devaluation the export subsidy was reintroduced. Since then relations have been strained between Commerce Minister Manubhai and Finance Minister Sachin.

At a meeting of the National Development Council last August where the Finance Minister should have initiated proceedings, Mr. Asoka Mehta led the discussions. Mr. Chaudhri is reported to have kept completely silent and at the end of the meeting Mr. Mehta is said to have turned to Mr. Chaudhri and asked if he had anything to say. Mr. Chaudhri is reported to have replied that it was Mr. Mehta's plan and as far as he was concerned he was not sure the resources could be raised for a plan of that size. Since then comparative export figures for 1965 and 1966 have been published. The figures are as follows:

	1965	1966
June	\$ 143.19 million	\$ 100.39 million
July	\$ 130 million	\$ 102.22 million
August	\$ 141.77 million	\$ 142.93 million

In other words devaluation has failed to deliver the goods and the Prime Minister is keen to initiate a

fresh stimulus into our economic policy. The less polite say she is looking for scapegoats. But her desire to set the economy right is genuine and she cannot implement her original plan because of the intense pressure exerted by Atulya Ghosh, virtually forbidding Mr. Chaudhri's exit. Mr. Kamaraj was against either of them being pushed out at this stage.

Mrs. Pandit once called the Shastri Government a "prisoner of indecision". The Indira Government is a prisoner of party pulls.

KRIPALANI—from page 17

young men who had left studies unfinished. Kripalani was one of its founder-teachers. Among his pupils was a small-made young man with large eager eyes. His name was Lal Bahadur. On passing out of Kashi Vidyapeeth, Lal Bahadur earned the nomenclature of "Shastri".

Of those early days what Kripalani is most proud of is the Ashram he established. It helps villagers to manufacture and market home-spun Khadi and has today a turnover of Rs. 2 crores.

In 1923, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel invited him to become the Principal of Gujarat Vidhyapeeth, the National College he had set up. It was there that Kripalani became known as Acharya, the learned teacher. In 1928 he left teaching but he still feels it his responsibility to look after the youth. Last month, when on a tour of South-east Asia, he heard of student riots in India. He cancelled the trip, flew back home and issued a moving statement.

The national movement was mounting in the thirties and reached its crescendo in the forties. Throughout this period Kripalani was at the heart of the struggle and in the inner councils of Congress strategy. From 1934 to 1946 he was General Secretary and then President of the Indian National Congress. It was the time when India not only became free but was partitioned.

To be continued

R.M.L.

NEXT WEEK Kripalani speaks of Nehru, Patel, Azad and Bose.

This was a Life

C. G. JUNG
1875—1961

"From the beginning I had a sense of destiny," said Dr. Jung, the well-known psychiatrist. "I must find out what God wants with me." This meant, for him, "to explore the will of God daily". It led him into a life of strenuous service to mankind.

Carl Jung was born on July 26, 1875. As the son of a Swiss pastor he was concerned from earliest childhood with God and religion.

He was given to having vivid dreams. At the age of 11 he had one which proved fundamental for his career. He had stood admiring the beauties of Basle Cathedral in bright sunshine when an evil thought arose in his mind which he quickly suppressed. After vainly trying to forget it, he dreamt he was again in front of the Cathedral and saw God seated on a throne, who seemed to be wanting him to utter the thought. "I gathered all my courage, and let the thought come." Immediately he felt relief and wept for joy at the goodness and forgiveness of God whom he had obeyed.

This dream gave him an experience of the reality of God and showed him the curative power of being honest about things that one is ashamed of.

After pursuing various fields of study, he seemed drawn strongly to psychiatry. As one of a group of enthusiastic young doctors in a mental hospital in Zurich, he was appalled by the lack of understanding of the nature of mental diseases.

In 1906 he visited Freud in Vienna, who taught him that dreams were the via regia to man's unconscious. After five years of collaboration, they parted ways, Jung disagreeing with Freud's belief that all neuroses were due to sex repressions. Many a neurosis he traced to religious misconceptions.

Jung was the first to combine psychiatry with psychology (analytical psychology). As a 'healer of souls', he became the intimate friend of his patients. His brilliant lectures in Britain and America, based on experience, brought him fame. He endured the loneliness and opposition that are the lot of men ahead of their times. He studied widely, travelled far and wrote over 170 books and articles. Some of them are classics.

He retired to his villa on the quiet shores of the Lake of Zurich. He died on June 6, 1961.

BOOK REVIEW

Tilak Wanted to Stay in the Commonwealth

INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH
(1885—1929)
by S. R. Mehrotra, George, Allen and Unwin (40 sh.)

As India has played a major role in the last Commonwealth Conference in London, it is worth reviewing the growth of the Commonwealth idea in India.

The period chosen by Dr. Mehrotra to examine the changing attitude of Indians towards the Commonwealth is the 44 years between the founding of the Indian National Congress and its capture by the younger, more radical leadership as represented by Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel.

Within its own terms, this thesis is an excellent and absorbing work of scholarship. Dr. Mehrotra takes the three main all-India groups separately for analysis: the Indian National Congress, the National Liberal Federation of India and the All-India Muslim League.

The argument about whether India should maintain some form of association with Britain and the Empire, in which it had been "the brightest jewel" went deep. For some it was a matter of sentiment—of maintaining what was regarded, for all its sins and shortcomings, as a benevolent connection. For extremists like Aurobindo Ghosh, and the young Nehru in the thirties, it smacked of servitude and domination, inconsistent with the dignity of an ancient people.

Yet for others, men like Gokhale, C. R. Das, and, above all, Gandhi, the connection had a deeper purpose. For them, membership of the Common-

wealth as an equal partner was a "higher form" of independence.

They had the vision of a multi-racial Commonwealth as a prototype for a larger world community. They had in mind not only what the Commonwealth could do for India but what India, through the Commonwealth, could contribute to the world.

Tilak, shared this vision. "The British Empire is already a League of Nations", he said. "Why should Indians—believers in a world policy—wish to separate from the British Commonwealth of Nations?" For Srinivasa Sastri the Commonwealth was "unique in the world" as a reconciler of East and West. C. R. Das believed that to strive for freedom within the Commonwealth was "to serve the cause of humanity".

Finally it was Gandhi's great dream to see the British Empire transformed into a free Commonwealth of nations. He wanted, he said, to be a citizen of that Commonwealth "not merely for the benefit of India, not merely for mutual benefit...but in order that the great weight that is crushing the world to atoms may be lifted from its shoulders."

It is worth reflecting how these giant fathers of our independence conceived the Commonwealth idea, which in India today seems to have but few embarrassed apologists, and no outspoken champions.

P. W.



Lokmanya Tilak



I
HAVE
CHANGED
TO
RATH
VANASPATI

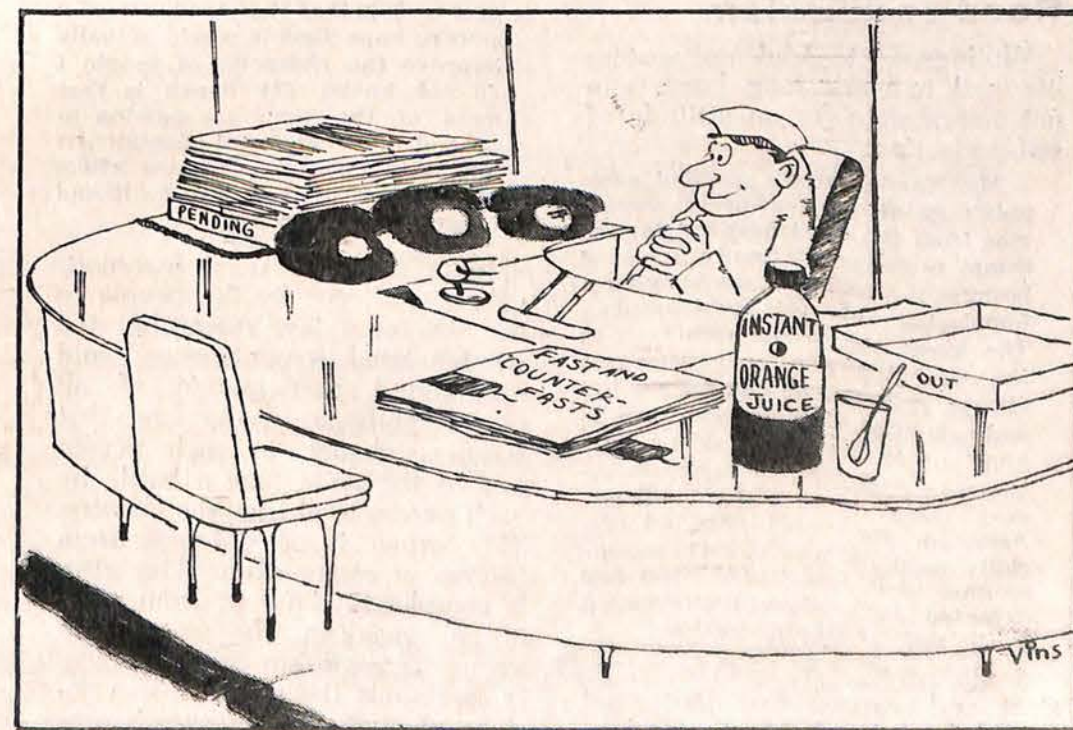


For its vitamin-rich goodness.
For the taste it adds to my cooking.
And because my family absolutely loves food cooked in
Rath Vanaspati.



Change to Rath Vanaspati today

LPE-Aiyars 266 (A) A



Chief Minister: "I wonder who I'll be treating next".



NOT CONVINCING

By Rajmohan Gandhi

IN THE MANNER of his resigning, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda has exhibited his central weakness. His defence seems to be:

I was, am and most probably always will be right and correct. Any mistakes or shortcomings are without a doubt the result of someone else's fault. My staff has let me down. My chief aide in the Ministry did not co-operate. The Prime Minister did not assist me.

Mr. Nanda did not use these precise words, but they are a fair summary of his lengthy explanations of resigning.

There is an expression called self-righteous and it describes Mr. Nanda's stand perfectly. I suppose some will be amazed that a politician who obviously does not dislike power and would like to retain the friendship and support of people should so completely miss the sheer political folly of unflinching self-righteousness. The song which says, "Isn't, isn't it terribly sad, That I'm so good and the world's so bad", is not exactly a politician's key to success but it remains the battle-cry of some of the men who have occupied India's prominent seats for a good deal of time.

Road to Fascism

Willingness to lead an austere life and to work long hours can not compensate for an attitude of self-perfection.

Mr. Nanda's much vaunted campaign about the 'sadachar samiti' was from the start destined for the complete failure it finally achieved because it was based similarly on a foundation of self-righteousness. The great call which went out in the campaign was for government officers to keep one eye on the life and activities of their colleagues to find out if they were doing anything against the rules, and to report them to vigilance officers. Although the word was not officially used, it was spying on one another that was urged upon and expected to produce improvement in the tone of administration.

Some protested right from the start and warned that that road would lead inevitably to fascism. They urged Mr. Nanda to see that a voluntary desire to change and

make restitution would have effects stronger and longer lasting, and that this desire could be stimulated through experiments in honesty in the facing up to one's shortcomings by the most prominent leaders of the land. They pointed out that while swift punishment of offenders in public life was absolutely necessary, a practice incidentally seldom to be seen, any demonstration of ethics and morality in government service springing from spying or from fear of being spied upon would be phony and could lead to grave harm.

Ignored Warnings

Mr. Nanda chose to ignore these warnings. He chose also to forget his own statement that if corruption did not significantly diminish in two years he would resign. Fortunately the plan of converting large numbers of our government servants into state spies was not carried out with massive momentum. But enough harm was done to destroy the confidence and morale of large numbers of those who form the Indian bureaucracy.

It is this passion to control the lives of one another which is so destructive of enterprise and progress. Whether it is born out of a sincere hope that it would actually improve the character of people I do not know. My hunch is that most of the time the passion to control is inherent and spontaneous and that good reasons are afterwards discovered to justify it and to explain its benefits.

India does not need fear-motivated obedience by the people to the will of a few rulers, but the wholehearted, spontaneous and uninhibited participation of all in a revolutionary programme that requires change in each person and at the same time a battle by each person to change the country. The former is no different from fascism or communism. The latter is completely different from capitalism, socialism, the mixed economy, communism and fascism. It represents the erection of a society adequate for tomorrow's problems—a society where there is the completest freedom of the in-

dividual as well as a passionate concern in every individual about what happens to the man next-door and to society.

Mr. Nanda could have used his life to establish this society in India. He missed his chance, and I fear his failure has been costly to the nation. He still could change, and if he does the nation can only gain. But it will not happen without the surrender of the attachment to self-righteousness and without facing uncomfortable and painful truths.

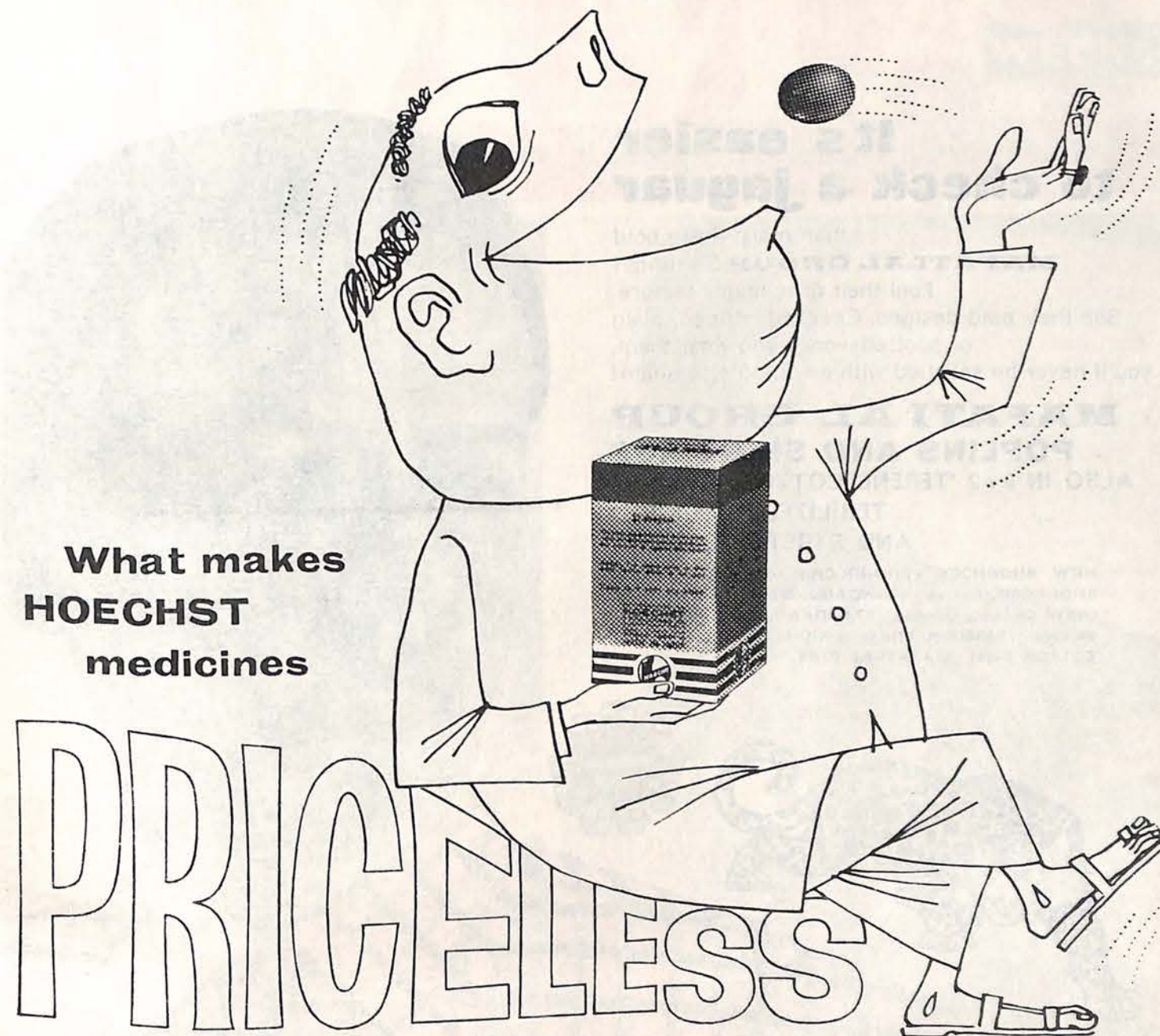
Mr. Nanda has been asked by Mr. Kamaraj to be the Congress Party's chief election organiser. It is doubtful whether this move will necessarily or significantly boost Congress' poll prospects. It is equally in question whether his departure from the Cabinet would necessarily or significantly improve Cabinet performance.

The Opposition leaders are accurate when they state that the Cabinet changes offer no grounds to expect a major switch in government policy or efficiency. As long as our central leaders insist that the situation is not really as bad as it seems, we cannot expect any note-worthy change. There is so much co-existence with what is wrong at the nation's highest level that to expect a swift improvement would be sheer unrealism.

Oppose Tyranny

A new breed of Indian still remains the first necessity—a fearless, unselfish Indian who applies Moral Re-Armament, admits where he is wrong, opposes tyranny and injustice with all his might and uses his time and energies to train others in the qualities of a relevant revolutionary. To expect a transformation in India without a large army of this new type of Indian is a pipe dream. With such an army India may achieve more than those who have loved her have hoped in their wildest dreams.

There is more in the heart of the average Indian man and woman than a rigid desire to prove himself or herself right. There exists in that heart a hope as well as a burning passion for change.



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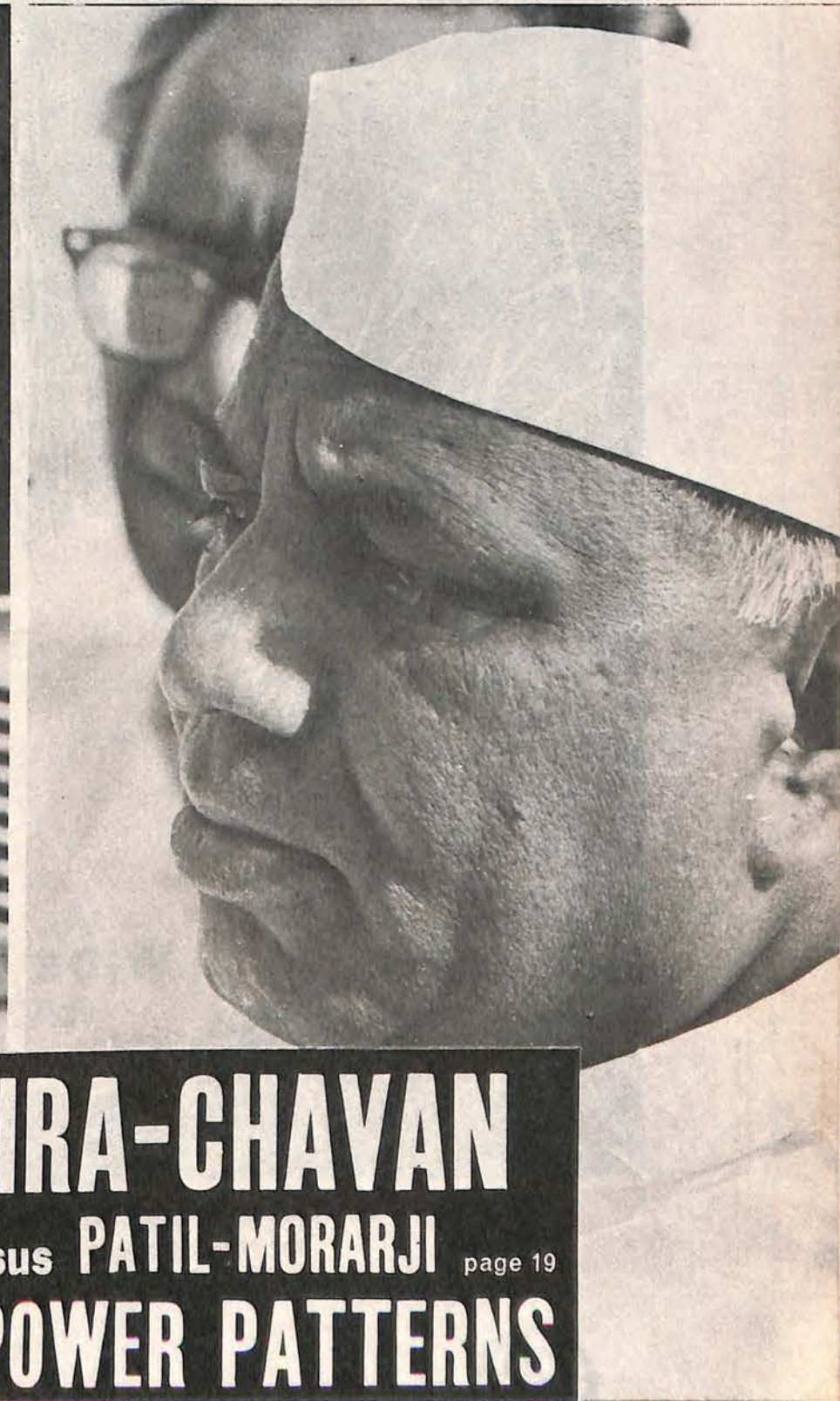
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INDIRA-CHAVAN
versus **PATIL-MORARJI** page 19
NEW POWER PATTERNS

QUIT INDIA by General K. M. Cariappa