

each
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opens
wider
horizons

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Tomorrow it will be wider.
Both wider and better.

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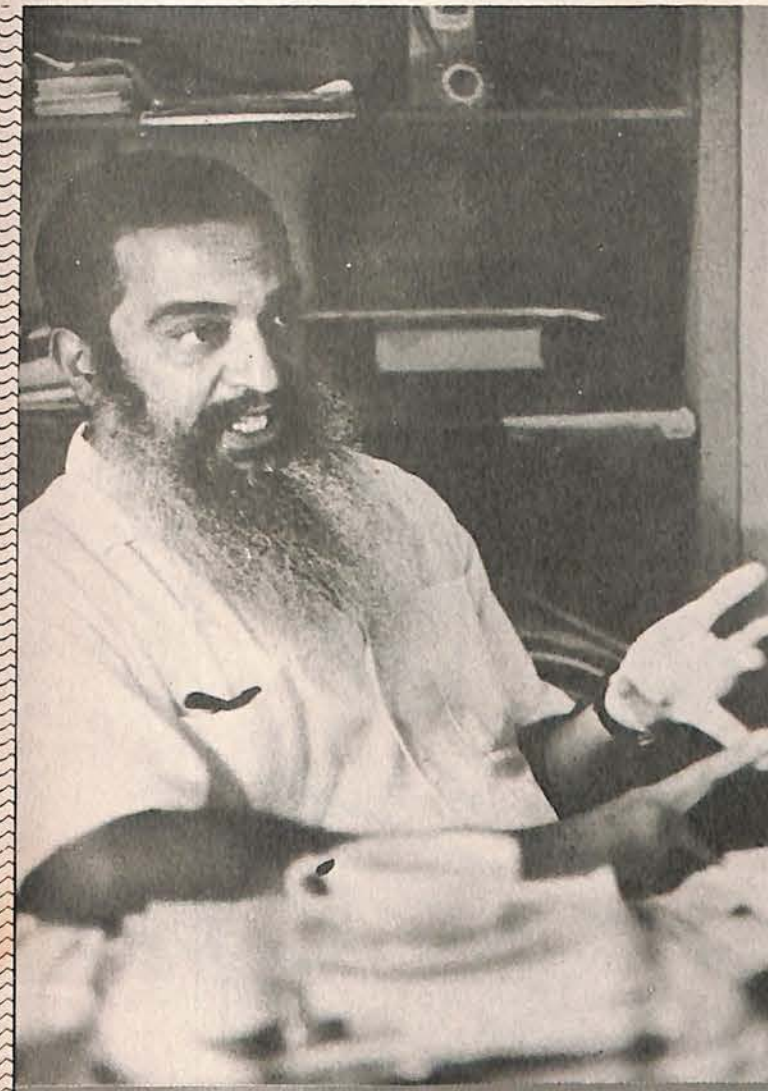
HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

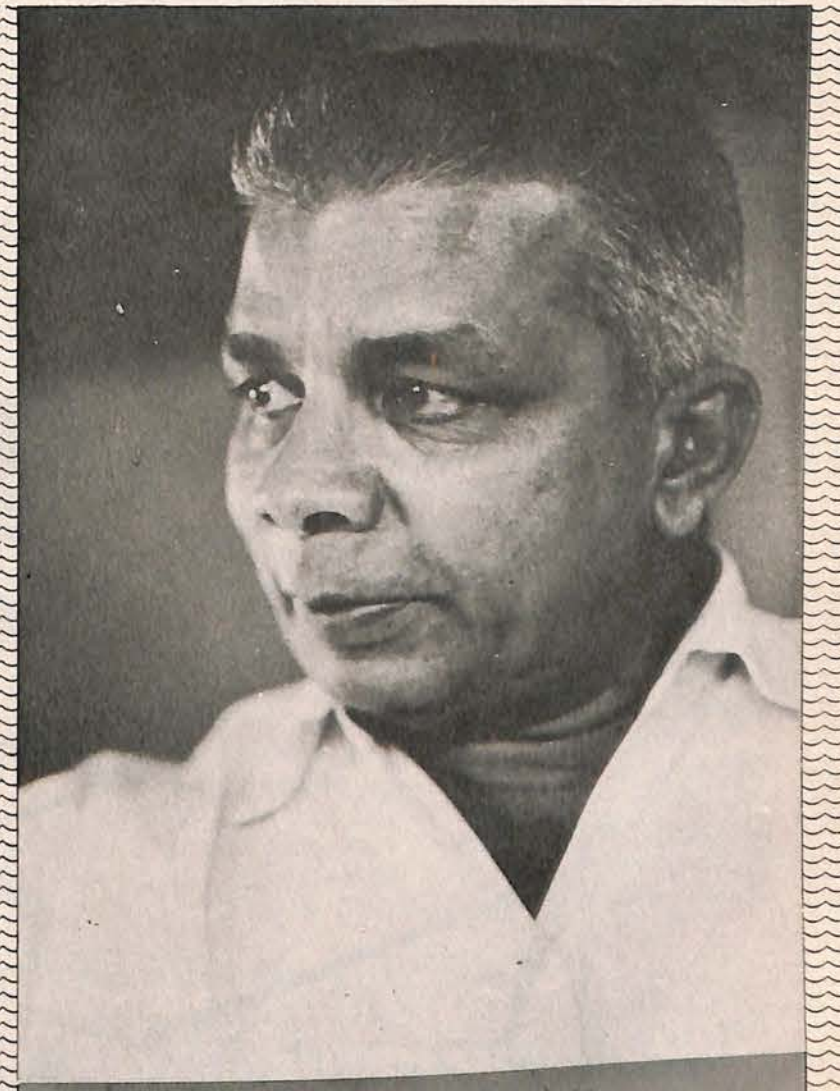
VOL 2 NO 39

Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY JULY 29 1966



Opposition Leader Sequeira



Chief Minister Bandodkar

GOA MERGER OR NOT

Page 5

Rajmohan Gandhi TRIUMPHANT MLA'S OF LUCKNOW

Briefly Speaking ...

Do not remove a fly from a friend's forehead with a hat-
chet.

CHINESE PROVERB

On Lenin's Tomb

WITH THE FREQUENCY of Indian VIPs going to Moscow and laying wreaths at Lenin's mausoleum with cards recalling Lenin as "the eternal friend of India" and "the great friend of India", I searched David Shub's standard biography of "Lenin" (Revised Edition, Pelican 1966) for references to India.

How many references did I find in the copious index?

Nil.

Perhaps if our leaders could read a little more about Lenin they would write a little less.

Misguided Muscle

AN ARMY MAJOR talking to a civilian friend said: "These days ordinary citizens want to show their strength by rioting, throwing stones and looting. Why don't they join the army and fight on our borders to show their strength?"

Off Beat

THOSE WHO THINK that life is all splendour and glory for the brightly uniformed soldiers who take part in "Trooping the Colour", one of the many brilliant ceremonies of London life, will probably feel sorry for Life-guards musician Henry Gray. Gray, who rides the drum horse, Hannibal,

CHALTA HAI...



"This was one occasion when you should have kept secret who you really are."

missed the beat the other day and his squadron leader, Major Ferguson, fined him two days' pay (Rs. 70) under Section 69 of the Army Act covering "good order and military discipline".

It Pays

THE EATON chain of stores in Canada was built up by Timothy Eaton, who began with one small shop in Toronto, on four principles:

1. Goods satisfactory, or money refunded.
2. Sell for cash and one price only.
3. No one importuned to buy.
4. Correct representation of all merchandise.

Other shopkeepers said Eaton would go broke—but the customers proved them wrong. His retail company has become the biggest in the Commonwealth.

On Your Toes, Get Set...

HIMMAT starts this week a new feature

ON YOUR TOES

by Freebooter

True to his name, Freebooter will freely roam over domestic and foreign issues, tread on a few toes, tangle with red tape and puncture pompous balloons.

For his first feature see page 5. —Ed.

Keeping Nation Clean

COLONEL LESLIE SAWHNY, in launching a new detergent for Tata's, observed that only eight per cent of washing materials used in India were detergents. The remainder are soaps which consume edible oils imported with precious foreign exchange.

It is a case where the more "dets" we use, the less debts we have.

Who Says We Don't...

S. RAJU sends an item from a Tamil weekly, *Kumudham*—duly translated—to say that Ayyappa Naicker, a labourer in Lakshmi Mill at Kovilpatti, Tinneveli District, Madras, has taken no leave for the last five years. From his native place he has to walk four miles to reach his mill. Even on the day of his mother's death, he went to conduct the funeral only after his work was ended. He had got many prizes from the mill-owner for his selfless duty.

ANNOUNCEMENT TO ADVERTISERS

With the increase in the cost of newsprint and other publishing costs resulting from the devaluation of the rupee, the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society, of which HIMMAT is a member, has directed that a surcharge of 10 per cent be levied on all advertisements from August 1, 1966.

Advertisers may kindly note that all advertisements appearing in HIMMAT on August 5 and thereafter will carry a surcharge of 10 per cent.

Advertisement Manager
HIMMAT Weekly.

To Be or Not to Be

CHINESE teahouse attendants who are also militiamen have started pouring tea left-handed in order to strengthen their left arm muscles for rifle-shooting, reports New China News Agency.

IN RED CHINA'S current "cultural revolution" an official in north-east China was sacked for putting on plays such as Shakespeare's "Hamlet" in an arts festival.

Do You Know?

WHERE is population growth the fastest?

Pakistan.

Egypt comes second with 2.7 per cent growth per year and is eager to go down the list.

OF THE 10,000 newspapers and periodicals registered with the Government, nearly half have stopped publishing.

R.M.L.

People on the Go read HIMMAT Weekly

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AUSTRALIA - Post Box 21, North Melbourne, Vic., Australia. Sea: \$4 Air: \$12 ■ EAST AFRICA - Post Box 20035, Nairobi, Kenya. Sea: 30sh Air: 80sh ■ EUROPE - C/o M. Ch. Luthi, Postfach 218, 6002 Luzern, Switzerland. Sea: £1.10.0 Air: £4 for UK, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and £5 for other European countries. ■ UNITED STATES - Post Box 17005, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017, USA. Sea: \$5 Air: \$17

Sea Mail to any other country: £1.10.0 or \$5
Air Mail to any other country: available on request from Himmat Weekly, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1.

GOA—II: MERGER OR NON-MERGER

By R. M. Lala

Last week a "no confidence" motion moved against the Bandodkar Ministry in Goa was lost by 16 votes to 13. The motion was moved by Opposition leader Jack Sequeira, a Goan businessman. Refined in manners, Dr. Sequeira told me he was "against Portuguese rule, but of course you could not do much then". Dr. Sequeira wants Goa to remain outside Maharashtra and dreams of a Konkani-speaking state in future. The latter will, he hopes, extend from Malwan in Maharashtra to Mangalore in Mysore, a long coastal strip.

His rival, now in power, Chief Minister Bandodkar, has the distinction of being the only Chief Minister in India who is eager to resign—but not at Dr. Sequeira's request. He wants a merger of Goa with Maharashtra. A prosperous mine-owner, he wants to return to his business. They say in Goa that he accepted the presidency of the Gomantak Party as he would have accepted the presidency of a cricket club. Even by nature he enjoys scoring runs on a cricket pitch more than scoring points in the assembly. (He was 53 not-out in his last cricket match against the Maharashtra Chief Minister's XI).

"Bandodkar and Sequeira", said one politician, "cannot get on with each other, but are, in fact, very much alike. Both are wealthy and both are dictatorial. Neither bothers to consult his party."

Climate of Uncertainty

I asked Mr. Bandodkar why he was so keen on merger with Maharashtra. His reasons were economic and educational. Maharashtra, he feels, could develop Goa. Goans now graduate in large numbers and can find better employment opportunities in Maharashtra. (There is nothing to stop them from these opportunities now.) Goa, he says, is too expensive to run.

The morale of the Goa Civil Service is low. They seem to be all awaiting the day when Goa will be merged. The uncertainty has created a climate of "why bother when we don't know what tomorrow holds".

In spite of this climate of frustration, Goa has advanced educationally under the leadership of its 32-year-

old Education Minister Vithal Karmali. He has an eager questioning mind as ready to learn as to instruct. His Ministry has opened 600 new schools and the school population has grown from 20,000 to 93,000. Where there was not a single college of arts or science, five new colleges have sprung up.

The Bandodkar Ministry has introduced a Tenancy Bill and built some of the finest roads anywhere in India. In one and a half years the State Government is to spend Rs. 1.25 crores on road building, in addition to Rs. 1 crore by the Centre. Goa's manganese ore exports fetched Rs. 25 crores in foreign exchange before devaluation.

A major failure of the present Government is that there is hardly any new industry since liberation, and little fresh electric power. But Goan politicians don't seem to be very concerned about industry and the big-

gest industry these days is heated discussion on whether to merge or not.

This issue is not just political, but cultural. Although both Bandodkar and Sequeira deny that merger or non-merger parties are divided along communal lines, my observation is that the majority of Hindus, who constitute 62 per cent of the population, are behind the merger move and the majority of Catholics, 36 per cent, are not.

Bandodkar wants to end the political uncertainty. At the time of the general elections next February he wants a mid-term election to be held in Goa too. He wants the election to be treated as a referendum and if his party wins, then he wants Goa to merge with Maharashtra. He says that his party expects to win 60 per cent of the votes cast. "I am ready to face elections any time," Jack Sequeira tells me, "but I am not ready to treat the election as a re-

Continued on page 14

On your toes

CUT OUT THE NONSENSE

Scissors can be dangerous. To children and censors, they lend a strange sense of power. I am against youngsters and immature censors getting hold of them. They don't know what to cut and what to spare.

Those who know the writings of that remarkable playwright, Peter Howard, could never imagine censors colliding with him. In the preface to his brilliant drama, "Mr. Brown Comes Down the Hill", Howard writes: "The purpose of my plays is clear... to encourage men to accept the growth of character that is essential if civilization is to survive."

Mr. Brown comes down the hill into modern-day London. He brings God's healing touch to a sin-sick prostitute, a hate-filled black man and a smug, hypocritical bishop. Howard's pen exposes them for what they are and, with warm humour and incisiveness, shows what each can become if freed from their indulgences.

The play has been filmed and the Bombay censors don't like it. Perhaps its truth is too sharp even for Mr. Uma Shanker and his celluloid slicers. They ripped it in eight places and gave it "Adult" rating. By banning it for youth the cen-

sors are impeding the very growth of morality they claim to guard. Either their claim is a sham or they are exceedingly stupid. The film attacks dirt and the hypocrisy of those who cloak their immorality with false respectability. It upholds decency and the power of God to change a man and straighten out his kinks.

What side are the censors on?

If one tallies the scenes of bawdy romping which are normally allowed on the screen, and the tedious films on family planning with their perverted emphasis on procedures which are repugnant and religiously offensive to certain communities, then one is left wondering: Are the censors truly interested in the character of our nation or just an ingrown club intoxicated with the scissors?

A cynical bishop says to Mr. Brown, "And what, may I ask, is truth?"

"Truth," he replies, "is the right you deny and the wrong you justify." Rather relevant to censors.

The exhibitors of the film would do well to invite the Prime Minister to see it. Mrs. Gandhi may even prescribe it for schools and colleges for she is known to take a very different view of these things. It would not be the first time she had made the censors look a little foolish.

FREEBOOTER



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Philips ARGENTA lamps are specially 'inside-coated' to provide perfectly diffused and glare-free light, eliminate harsh shadows. They are the latest development in incandescent lighting...help protect your precious eyesight.

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Congress has created two classes—"ins" and "outs"

The rains have come. The dry, parched, brown earth has overnight become silky green. Water is available for drinking and for irrigation. The "kharif" crops have been saved even though the delayed monsoon might result in lower production. Power supply, which had been cut everywhere, is gradually being restored. Life returns to normal as nature smiles again on our crisis-ridden land.

The farmers are happy. So is the industrialist who can now work to full capacity. Nature has done her part, even though belatedly. Will man do his? If not, violence may engulf this nation.

The common man cries out for relief. The latest published indices of the cost of living show a ten per cent increase since the budget was announced. In the four months, March to June, the average monthly index rose from 169.4 in February to 185.8 in June. Despite all the measures announced by the Government to ensure supply of essentials for life, commodities like kerosene are almost unobtainable.

But in some states the political leaders behave as if nothing has ever been wrong. For example, the only preoccupation of Andhra Congressmen are the sins of fellow-Congressmen of the rival group. Judging by the vehemence of the quarrels of politicians over Belgaum and Goa,

SAY THAT AGAIN...

Madam, you need a holiday.

Soviet Premier KOSYGIN
to Mrs. Gandhi

Mao Tse-tung's books are difficult to sell.

CHOU YANG
formerly Deputy Director of
Propaganda Services, Central
Committee, Chinese Communist
Party.

A world in which one-third of us worry about our waistslines while the remaining two-thirds worry about where the next meal is coming from, is not a stable world.

ORVILLE FREEMAN
US Secretary for Agriculture

it is not very different in some of the other states.

Strangely, some opposition parties suffer from the sins of the Congress they oppose. They are more preoccupied with whether a piece of territory belongs to this or that state than with their organized capacity to meet the power vacuum in the country, in the light of the Congress Party's failure.

One of the dangers to democracy is the exclusive preoccupation of politicians with their political strength vis-a-vis the groups in their own party or allied parties. This concern for their own position, independent of what is happening in the nation, leads to an almost callous indifference to the public need, or a complete distortion of priorities. The public have no means of redress for rarely do the political parties interest themselves in a daily concern to answer the smaller grievances of the ordinary man.

Indifference to Public

Opposition parties have a natural preference for the "built-in" frustration that has agitational potentialities and often shirk the more difficult road of dealing persistently with the grievances of the public. But the indifference of the ruling party, especially at the state level, to the difficulties of the people until they have become law and order problems is equally responsible for the popularity of the agitational approach.

To be fair to the opposition parties, the administration is not an impartial dispenser of justice. The civil servant is, by training, suspicious of men of politics and may not take happily to complaints made by representatives of political parties. He has, however, learned by experience to attach weight to representations made by Congressmen. The latter press home their advantage and exploit it for their personal benefit, the advantage of their group, and the promotion of the party interest.

It is common knowledge that often the criteria for getting a loan from the Government for a well or a tractor, seed and fertilizer, or even credit from the co-operative society, are whether the "supplicant" is "in" with the local bosses of the ruling party,

Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

belongs to a particular caste, etc. As long as the Congress Party has this power of patronage and can keep the influential men such as the elders of the various castes, the rich peasants, and some others in a good humour, it can afford to remain indifferent to the general grievances of the masses.

But the consequences of this two-way relationship of the ruling party and local vested interests are serious for the functioning of democracy. By creating the two classes of "ins" and "outs", one-party rule has become entrenched as there is no way of getting anything done without finding a way to become an "in". The "outs" who for some reason are not "in" and do not want to get "in", have no constitutional way of enforcing on the administration "the equal rights" granted to them by the Constitution. The result is an encouragement of the climate and mood for violence.

Mr. G. L. Nanda, the Home Minister, has pointed out in his note to the recent conference of Chief Ministers that "during recent weeks there has been increasing lawlessness in several parts of the country... and there are reliable reports of preparations being made for large-scale direct action involving defiance of the law". It is true, as he has indicated, that "most of these agitations and preparations are politically inspired". But it is an over-simplification to explain away the agitations against the Government as a "law and order" problem. *The Government cannot thus insulate itself from the political consequences of its own mismanagement and failure.*

A New DIR ?

The opposition parties could hardly be considered "political" if they did not use the manifest failure of government to make a bid for power. If they resort to violence, or encourage its use to bring about a breakdown of administration, the Govern-

Continued on next page

ment should have recourse to the normal laws of the land. *Reliance on fresh, extraordinary legislation such as a new and more drastic Public Security Act would defeat its purpose and serve only to bring the law into greater disrepute.*

For too long the Government used the powers it assumed under threat of external emergency to curb internal unrest. Now that popular pressure has led to restriction of the use of the Defence of India Rules, it

would be most unwise to bring them back by the backdoor in the form of a Public Security Act.

Already the vast powers of Government, with laws like the Preventive Detention Act which allows the Administration to hold people for extended periods without trial, provide the basic legal framework for a totalitarian government. It is this framework plus the "bossism" and the "feudal-authoritarian" habits of our political structure, that provides the

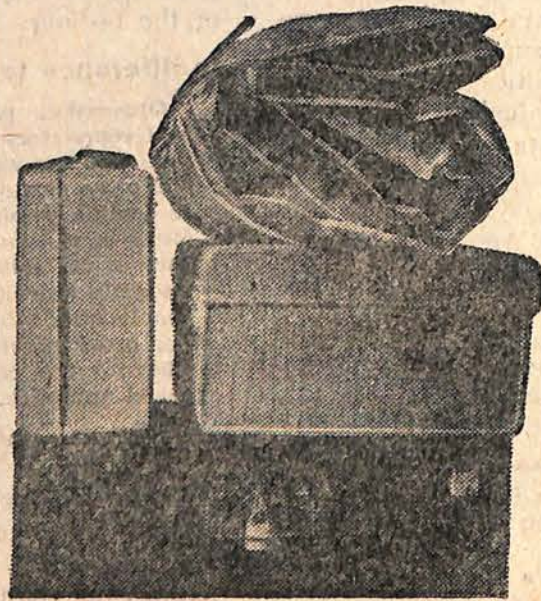
psychological climate for violence at times of obvious government failure such as the present. Any further move to give the often inefficient and corrupt cliques that run the state governments more repressive powers, can only encourage this tendency.

Mr. Nanda must go deeper in his attempt to meet the threat of constitutional breakdown from "organized anarchy". He must inspire his own party to deal expeditiously and efficiently with the needs of the nation.

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Kenya and Ethiopia in Joint Defence

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

Kenya and Ethiopia, who recently abolished all visa formalities between citizens of the two countries, are drawing even closer together in the common defence of their borders against the threat of invasion. The new road link, on which work has already started, is probably receiving priority as a military necessity.

Both countries have been engaged in a costly guerrilla war on their borders against Somali-armed and directed "shifita" or bandits. Over half of the Ethiopian army is believed to be engaged in this action and probably an equal proportion of the small, but well-trained Kenya army.

Their opponents are receiving large-scale Russian support. Somali-armed forces, which have doubled in number since 1963, consist of four or five independent brigade groups and an armoured brigade. Their equipment is known to be almost entirely Russian. It includes T-34 tanks, artillery and light weapons. The Somali air force is reportedly equipped with 150 MiG-17 fighters and twenty helicopters. Few of these aircraft can be flown by Somali pilots. The number of Soviet military "advisers" and "technicians" now in the country is estimated at 1200.

Radio Attacks

At the same time as the military threat takes its toll, Radio Mogadishu has poured out a constant stream of abuse and inflammatory attacks on Kenya and Ethiopia. Its commentators have urged the people of these countries to overthrow President Kenyatta and Emperor Haile Selassie.

The Kenya Government has taken strong measures recently to counter the guerrilla war in the North East Province which is in size about one-third of the total area of Kenya. A fifteen-mile strip along the border has been declared a prohibited zone for all human habitation. All persons normally resident in the province have to register with the Government before the end of July.

The inhabitants, traditionally nomadic and therefore difficult to control in police operations, are now to live in specified "manyattas" (small

villages where they can be accommodated with maximum security and protection).

The Kenya Government has also placed a ban on all trade with Somalia. This is a convincing gesture on Kenya's part as the balance of trade with Somalia last year was six million pounds in Kenya's favour. All movement between the two countries by land, sea or air has been prohibited.

As Emperor Haile Selassie complained to Soviet Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Jacob Malik recently, Russian military supplies to Somalia seemed "far in excess of the requirements of national Somali security".

Is the Soviet Union building a new bridgehead to the continent through the Horn of Africa? Just across the entrance to the southern end of the Red Sea lies the port of Aden. Perhaps in this context the British Government should take a fresh look at its commitments in that area. To withdraw and abandon the Red Sea to Soviet-Egyptian control would seriously jeopardize the independence and liberty of Ethiopia and the Sudan, as well as Kenya and possibly Uganda.

Cleaning Up Beirut

FROM CHARIS WADDY

Beirut

Beirut's staff of 4000 sweepers have been on strike for almost a week. 3000 other state employees, transport and water workers, have also withheld their services.

Recently, a campaign for cleanliness in Beirut's notoriously litter-strewn streets was inaugurated. Pictures of up-to-date equipment newly purchased appeared in the press. Boy scouts and juvenile Red Cross units were enlisted to help. An appreciative cartoon appeared—"All

Continued on next page

The week in Asia

DJAKARTA—Hundreds of Indonesians are reported to have died in a famine in the Lesser Sunda Islands, 1000 miles east of Java.

BAHREIN—Britain is to build up its forces in the tiny Persian Gulf State of Sharjah according to reports here. The base will replace Aden from which Britain is to withdraw by 1968.

RAWALPINDI—Pakistan agreed to ministerial-level meetings with India for "purposeful discussions" aimed at solving outstanding disputes.

COLOMBO—Ceylon Prime Minister D. Senanayake said a team he had sent to South Vietnam reported that all that country's Buddhists agreed they were in a life-or-death struggle with the Communists.

SAIGON—The South Vietnam Government said it would ask the US to withdraw its troops and stop bombing if North Vietnam would withdraw its troops from the South, stop subversive activities and let the people of the South decide their future freely and democratically.

PEKING—The Peking Evening News, the capital's most widely-read paper, was closed indefinitely as part of China's "cultural revolution".

TOKYO—Japanese industrialists and MPs were reported studying a plan to build a 10,000-mile railway across 13 Asian countries from Turkey to Vietnam.

BAGHDAD—Iraq Premier Dr. A. R. Bazzaz called for a tripartite union of Iraq, Syria and Egypt on the basis of a covenant drawn up in 1963 but never put into effect.

KABUL—Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, the Pakhtoon leader, told Indian pressmen here, "We want to settle the (Pakhtoon) problem peacefully" on a basis of internal autonomy within Pakistan.

DUSHANBE—On the first day of his Soviet tour Congress President Kamaraj was shown features of life in this Central Asian city illustrating Russia's connections with Asia and India.

HONG KONG—US pilots captured by North Vietnam will almost certainly be tried as "war criminals" according to Communist sources here. President Johnson has warned that the US would retaliate if the pilots were executed.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

we need now is a new set of inhabitants".

The Ministry of Public Works published a statement saying the campaign had been such a success it would be expanded to include other towns. The sweepers' decision to strike appeared alongside this. The plan had reckoned without the people to carry it out.

The Government appeared inept and indecisive. An able but elderly Premier heads a cabinet representative of many interests and communities. The daily *L'Orient* commented, "In an expansive moment the Premier called his ministers 'fathers of the family'. But these men have been assembled as one puts a puzzle together, not because they are competent to solve problems like these, but because they represent a 'rapport' of parliamentary forces."

Press comment feels that the em-

ployees have a good case, facing soaring costs of living and a refusal on the part of their governmental employers to take adequate action. Many deplore the publication of photos of the mounting garbage, as spoiling the image of the city for tourists.

The demands have been partly met and work is now resumed. The long-term questions of social policy remain. Public business is the largest single business in Lebanon. Some impetus is sought both to giving better conditions to government employees, and also making them act as what they are supposed to be, public servants.

Needed: Men Who Dare

Against this background, Professor Elie Salim, Professor of Public Administration in the American University of Beirut, lectured this week on Administration in Lebanon.

Everything depends, he said, on the quality of the men in the ser-

vices. Many are able, well educated and experienced, but he called for the appointment of younger men who might be "more willing to accomplish, to excel, to dare, to lead, to be different, to inspire, to invigorate". The President of the Republic has been making great efforts at reform. But dismissing the corrupt or the elderly "does not in itself increase production and multiply services. More people who *think* are needed, to articulate an aim for the country."

Ceylon's Vietnam Mission Reports Back

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Colombo

There is no evidence of religious discrimination in Vietnam. That is the finding of Ceylon's fact-finding mission that has just handed in its unanimous report to Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake here.

The mission was sent officially by the Prime Minister at the instance of Buddhist organizations here who were concerned at stories of unfair treatment of Vietnam's Buddhists. Ceylon's highly experienced international delegates find that the Sangha, or Buddhist clergy, in Vietnam is itself divided as to what it wants for the Buddhist movement. One group wants secular authority, while the other is content to ask only that the religious rights of the majority be safeguarded. It points out that Premier Cao Ky himself is a Buddhist and regards the crisis in the country as a purely internal political affair.

Buddhist Missionaries

The main problem, in the eyes of Ceylon's representatives, is the lack of leadership in the Vietnamese Buddhist movement. As a long-term solution it suggests that scholars from Ceylon should be sent to teach Buddhism in Vietnam, and that Vietnamese students and laymen should be invited here for training both in Buddhism and non-religious subjects. All this, they propose, should be financed by Ceylon. This last will weigh heavily with the Government here which is still in straitened financial circumstances. Marxist influence is also strong in some Buddhist institutions which is another factor to be taken into consideration if Vietnamese are to come here.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

The week elsewhere

WORLD COURT SHOCK

THE HAGUE—The International Court of Justice rejected the case against South Africa's mandate over South West Africa on technical grounds. The Court decided, by the President's casting vote, that Liberia and Ethiopia, who brought forward the case, had no legal right in the subject. Whether South Africa had violated its trust by introducing apartheid in the mandated territory was not discussed in the judgement. Judges from Poland, Greece, UK, Italy, France and South Africa supported the decision. Judges from Nationalist China, Russia, Japan, US, Mexico, Senegal and Nigeria voted against.

UK'S FIERCE CUT-BACK

LONDON—Prime Minister Harold Wilson announced drastic measures to reduce Britain's balance of payments deficit. They included cuts of 100 million pounds in overseas expenditure; a six-month standstill on wages; a year's freeze on prices of goods and services and on dividends, and cuts in consumer-spending through tax increases, administrative economies and restrictions on hire-purchase. The measures were expected to involve cuts in military forces abroad and more unemployment at home. Mr. Frank Cousins, who resigned recently as Technology

Minister, said the one-and-a-half-million-strong Transport and General Workers' Union, of which he is general secretary, would not cooperate with the Government's wage freeze.

KAUNDA'S PATIENCE WANES

LUSAKA—In a series of measures to press the UK into stronger action against Rhodesia, the Zambian Government ended relays of British Broadcasting Corporation news, dismissed 15 senior white police officers, and withdrew its team from the Commonwealth Games. President Kaunda warned, "If leaving the Commonwealth is the only way Zambia can show that soulless cleverness wins rounds but not victories, then we must take this step." Commonwealth Prime Ministers meet in September to discuss Rhodesia.

DE GAULLE GOES EAST

PARIS—President de Gaulle is to pay a three-day visit to Cambodia in September, it is reported here. A meeting with President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam is possible. This week de Gaulle's personal envoy, M. Jean Sainteny, returned from Hanoi, whilst King Savang Vatthana of Laos has been on a state visit to the French capital. Observers say these moves are part of de Gaulle's diplomacy aimed at pacifying Vietnam.

The week in India

BANDA—Complete hartal was observed in this UP town for the tenth day running in protest against police firing on July 12. Schools and colleges were closed.

LUCKNOW—UP Government employees struck throughout the State paralyzing public work in many departments, in protest against alleged police violence during the recent UP bandh. Fifty-seven Opposition MLAs were evicted from the Vidhan Sabha when they obstructed proceedings after demanding an inquiry into the police action.

NEW DELHI—India and Pakistan are to exchange ships seized during the September war, said Transport Ministry sources. There is no move yet to release river craft held by the two countries in Bengal.

HYDERABAD—Six Andhra Cabinet Ministers resigned in protest against a Cabinet reshuffle by Chief Minister B. Reddy. The State has ten Cabinet Ministers.

NEW DELHI—The Congress Central Election Committee decided that one-third of the existing State and Central MPs should retire at the next elections to make room for fresh blood. (However, exceptions would be made for members who had rendered good service.)

SHILLONG—Assam Left Communists backed the hill people's demand for a separate state.

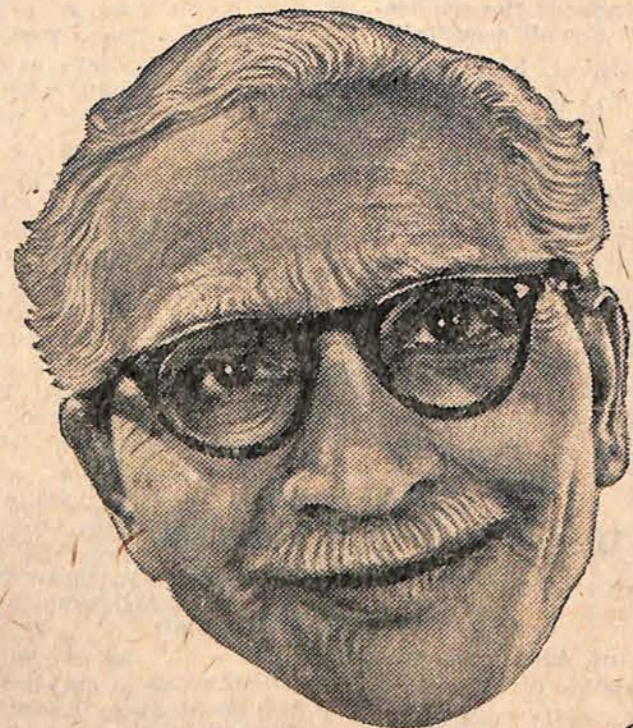
NEW DELHI—A nine-member Australian MPs' delegation led by Aviation Minister Swartz visited India.

BOMBAY—M. V. Gubbi of the State Employees' action committee said over two lakh Maharashtra Government employees would take "drastic action" from August 1 if their demands for better pay were not met.

NEW DELHI—India will agree, according to reports here, to Pakistan's proposal that every outstanding issue, including Kashmir, may be raised at the forthcoming meeting between officials of the two countries.

NEW DELHI—All Opposition Parties said they would attack, during the monsoon session of Parliament which opened this week, the Government's decision to devalue the rupee.

JODHPUR—All departments bar one of Jodhpur University closed indefinitely, following "violent activities" by students including damage to property and picketing to prevent willing students attending class.



to-day he is a happy man... he saved until his last working day



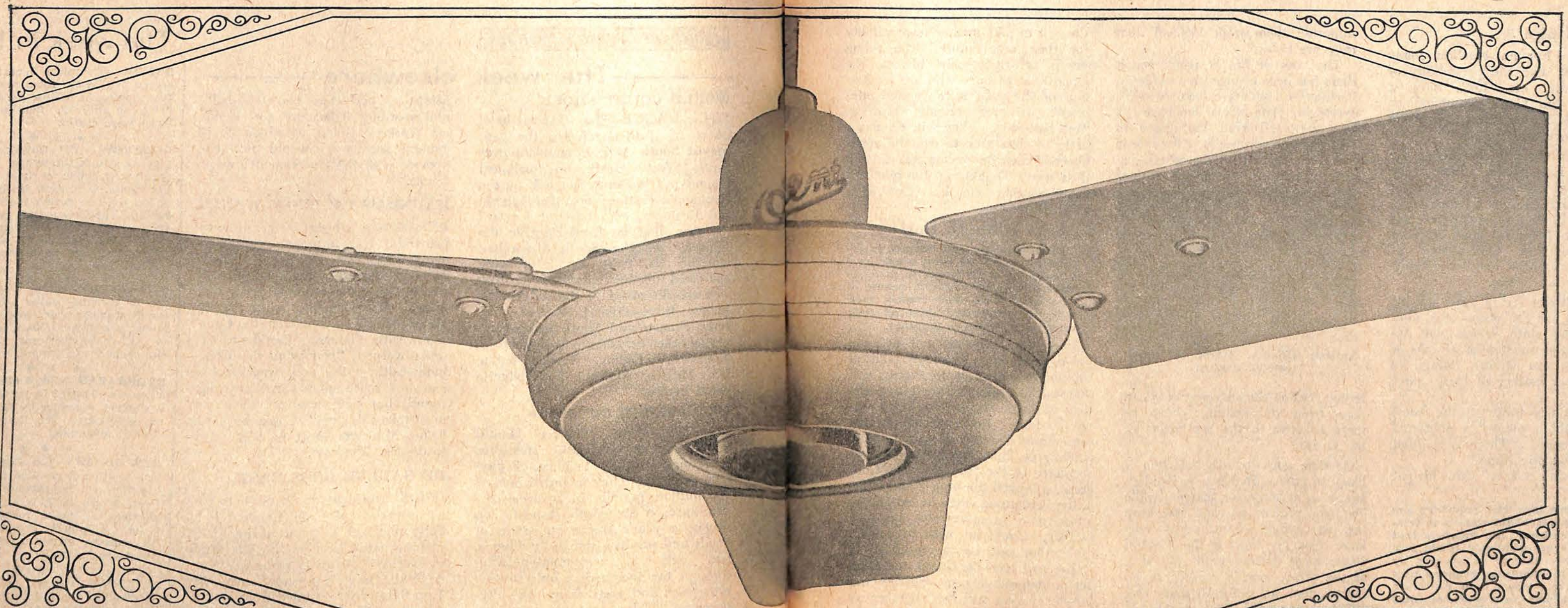
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ASPI/OGI.2/66

GOA—from page 5

ferendum. For an election many things count, like the personality of the candidate, etc. Let's have a referendum on Goa's statehood or merger with Maharashtra and settle the issue once and for all."

Whether a Goan is working in the railways of East Africa, sailing in the great ships of the world or practising law in Bombay, he has a deep yearning to go back and spend his last days in this beautiful land of palm trees and rivulets. One cannot understand Goa unless one understands this feeling in a Goan.

Jack Sequeira has a card up his sleeve. He has the vision of a Konkani-speaking state which will involve claiming substantial chunks of Maharashtra and Mysore, though he is aware that neither of these states is obliging.

"The nation's unity is the most important thing today," I suggested to Dr. Sequeira. "There is no limit to these linguistic states."

"But I didn't start it," came his pat reply.

Bandodkar says that Sequeira's aim in wanting a Konkani state is to weaken Maharashtra. My hunch is that he aims to get additional Hindu support to the cause of non-merger, by appealing to linguism. Sequeira may gather more support if he can stave off a referendum for a couple of years or more.

The ruling party has already to face the odium of rising prices. "Tomatoes," complained one housewife, "were cheaper when the Portuguese

imported them from Holland than they are today."

The way of life of many people there has been changed too suddenly. Portuguese laws have been switched overnight. The official language has been switched from Portuguese to English also overnight. They fear that a merger with Maharashtra may mean a more radical change in their



Anthony d'Souza, Mayor of Goa's capital, Panjim.

living. Indian officials, most of whom come from Maharashtra, could be more sensitive to the sentiments of the Goans.

As time goes by dissatisfaction is likely to grow. That is why Bandodkar is in a hurry for merger, while Sequeira prefers to wait and keep the pot boiling. Some people who know Goa say that if the Central Government decides firmly one way or the other, namely merger or an independent status for 10 years (till 1973), there would be no trouble. It is the uncertainty which is demoralizing.

Instead of expecting their future to be decided by Delhi, Goans will

do well to take greater responsibility for their own future. The ruling group self-righteously blames the Opposition as ones who are hankering for the past, have "vested interests". It even brands them as "anti-national". They will do much better if they seek to win the confidence of their opponents and assuage their fears. Digging up the past and finger-pointing will lead Goa to a blind alley.

Contribution to India

The Opposition will do well to recognize that all the Goan people have a distinctive contribution to make to India with their composite culture of East and West, their music, their skills, their faith and above all, their heart power which is immense.

There is a growing gulf between the two sections. Whatever political solution is arrived at, its success will demand integration of these two sections of the Goan people. Delhi cannot do that. But a citizen of Goa can. Could Panjim's Mayor Anthony d'Souza be that man? As General Secretary of the Goa National Congress he braved the bullets and lathis of the Portuguese when he led an unarmed party of satyagrahis into Goa in 1954. Could he, with friends on both sides, take on the task?

The real issue in Goa is not merger or non-merger, but whether the people of Goa will live together as sons and daughters of a common Creator and participate in creating a better India. Then merger or non-merger will fall into perspective. India so needs them all.

Time to Reject the Big Lie

By Roland Wilson

A FOREIGN MINISTER was talking recently to four hundred young people from many nations. I was present. The young people volleyed questions at him. He replied with wisdom and patience. Then one young man rose and asked, "Mr. Minister, what was the most hopeful, constructive event in international diplomacy with which you were associated last year?" The Minister was caught, bowled and stumped. With rare honesty, he replied, "I cannot answer that question. I have never thought about it." Then he added, "I could tell you of two or three major disasters we managed to avert, but I suppose that is not what you meant."

Some of us went away and thought about it. The right answer to it may be the golden key for the free world. Our sincere and able leaders spend so much time in countering the initiatives of others, and in solving problems which, even if they are cleared up, will leave us little nearer to the new world of our longings and our hopes. We have arrived, perhaps unconsciously, at the place where the pressure of the problem rather than the availability of the answer conditions our thinking.

Militant for Right

This is evident as you meet with responsible men round the world. An Asian Prime Minister asked me what was the strategy of Moral Re-Armament. I said to him, "It is to make what is right militant." He was startled. He said, "I have never thought of that before." He immediately asked if we could launch a programme of Moral Re-Armament through the schools of his country.

My wife and I were asked to speak to a vast girl's school in Korea. Snow was on the ground. The assembly, seventeen hundred strong, had to be held in an outside arena. At the end girls thronged round us. "How," they said, "can we bring Moral Re-Armament to Korea? How can we establish it in our school? Give us a keynote for our school magazine." These girls and their families have suffered. Communist forces have three times occupied their city in the

last few years. They want an answer that works. We said to them, "Launch a revolution of honesty and unselfishness, in which everyone has a part and everyone starts with himself or herself."

Korea and Japan have signed their treaty of friendship. There is a long legacy of bitterness. We sat with the head of one of the big Korean universities, a distinguished senior woman, and a Japanese man of affairs from a famous family. Simply and movingly our friend from Japan

Mr. Wilson, who is Secretary of Moral Re-Armament in Britain, recently completed a 50,000-mile world tour, during which he visited India, Malaysia, Japan, Korea, Australia and Kenya.

told this woman of his sorrow at what Japan had done and of his resolve to heal the hurts and enlist young and old in Japan and Korea in a programme of change that would bring fresh hope to Asia. He added, "This is my sixth visit to your country for this purpose." The woman's eyes overflowed. She said, "My university is wide open to you."

Already the youth of Japan and Korea are moving with a masterly musical weapon through their own and the neighbouring lands, offering a revolution of moral change and united purpose to the peoples of South East Asia, including the Chinese communities. They are clear that mainland China herself, instead of being preoccupied with purifying her own ideology, could actually be won to this infinitely more spacious ideology, which is the philosophy of the future and is alone big enough to weld humanity. When the Chinese businessmen in Hong Kong saw these young men and women of Japan and Korea on the stage together, they said, "Are they real Koreans?" It was a miracle.

President Kenyatta of Kenya has become the father of his country. Europeans, previously ranged against him, speak of him with gratitude and respect. He stands for healthful national life, for sanity and decency, and for a vigorous and independent idea of nationhood. One faction, fortified by Chinese money, has battled to upset him. At the crucial point of

their last assault, 150 African young people from eight nations, took the City Hall in Nairobi and challenged the country with a call to unity entitled "Harambee Africa"—"Pull Together Africa".

They gave their truth in songs, in traditional dances, in arresting ideas and with the forcefulness and magnetic power of an army of young people investing all they had to equip Africa with fresh aims. Wealth, they said, comes from hard work. Unity comes from new motives. A wave of honesty is the cure to corruption. National greatness consists in having an answer for the world.

President Kenyatta asked these men and women to come to his farm. My wife and I were invited. The President revelled in the traditional music and dancing of Africa. Then he rose and said to them that "Harambee Africa" was a weapon not only for Kenya but for the African continent and the world. He told them they must take it throughout Africa. He said that he needed it, they needed it and Africa needed it.

He saw this weapon on the very day that the crisis with the opposing faction was at its height. That night he broadcast a call to unity and high purpose to his people.

End the Bloodshed

The young men and women of Africa who are pledged to this programme are multiplying fast. Throughout the summer they will be at work in many parts of the continent, enlisting fresh forces and bringing home to governments and people alike that Africa is meant to be the answer continent.

I sat with some of the leaders of the Sudan. Bold men in the Sudan, trained in Moral Re-Armament, have already decided to risk everything in the attempt to unite North and South, and end the tragedy of division and bloodshed.

Fifty Australians and New Zealanders have set aside plans and careers, raised the needed funds, and made their way to India. As I write, word comes that 2,000 people from the Harijan community in Poona poured in to their musical demonstration. The Harijan leader said to

Continued on page 18

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Will Devaluation Benefit India?

By Hrishikesh Bhattacharyya, Bombay II

NO SERIOUS ECONOMIST will deny that in order to prevent an economic collapse in the near future prompt rectification of imbalances in our economy is imperative. Whether devaluation, which has sparked off a lot of controversy, has been a step in the right direction, only time can show. At this juncture it is of little use concerning ourselves with a post mortem on the rationale of the decision. It is a *fait accompli*.

France and Japan are often cited as examples of the devaluing countries that have devalued and prospered. "This does not, however, establish a cause and effect relationship. A country which prospered after devaluation might conceivably have prospered in spite of it." And we need not forget the fate of Indonesia. Devaluation can be said to have benefited the Indian economy only if we can now improve our balance of payments position, and increase production in all sectors without allowing any appreciable price rise in the internal market.

Our balance of payments position will improve if our export income can exceed import expenditure. The foreign demand of our export goods is relatively inelastic—55 per cent of our goods being of agricultural origin. Moreover, our exports will have to be sixty per cent more in order to remain at last year's figure of Rs. 800 crores in terms of foreign exchange.

Inflation Likely

On the other hand, our import demand is also highly inelastic. Our developmental programme, the continuing critical food situation and heavy defence needs entail heavy imports, the volume of which cannot be easily curtailed. In addition, we will have to pay one and a half times the pre-devaluation prices. As Professor Raul Prebisch, Secretary General of the UNCTAD, has rightly pointed out, "Devaluation is not a solution to India's trade problems."

Soon after the decision to devalue the rupee was made public Com-

merce pointed out that "it (devaluation) is bound to upset the whole cost-price structure in the economy and consequently generate fresh inflationary forces". Their fears have been fully justified. Inflation is likely to result due to the following three main reasons:—

- (1) curtailment of domestic consumption in order to divert goods to the export sector;
- (2) import substitution, resulting in an increase in demand for essential raw materials, and
- (3) all-round increase in prices purely for psychological reasons.

The present market trends clearly reflect that the prices of most commodities have registered a rise, and that the steps taken by the Government to counteract this effect have been far from successful. Some of the anti-price rise measures are decidedly unpractical.

Production figures are also unlikely to show a conspicuous rise. Devaluation has hardly instilled the feeling that every Indian should now work harder and refrain from anti-social and wasteful practices. As a nation we have yet to learn "economic discipline".

Second Prize No Remedy by Itself

By ASHOK L. SAMPAT, Bombay 9

WHETHER DEVALUATION will benefit India's economy or whether it would further aggravate India's economic difficulties will depend upon the Government's determination to take further bold and corrective steps which should follow devaluation. Devaluation by itself is not a remedy for our economic ills. This drastic step of devaluation became unavoidable because during the last 19 years or so and more particularly during the last decade we have been living beyond our means. Devaluation is only a recognition of our past failures and mistakes. In my opinion, the following steps are imperative if

COMPETITION

* India's Vietnam policy has never been non-aligned.

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

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our economy is to benefit from the devaluation:

- (1) *There should not be any deficit financing during the course of the Fourth Plan.* We resorted to heavy doses of deficit financing during the last few years and the result of this ruthless action was that our money supply increased very sharply whereas increase in production was negligible. This disproportionate increase in money caused the inflation and we had to pay a heavy price for that. The real test of economic development is that investment must be sustained by the real savings and not by deficit financing.
- (2) *Government should give top priority to the schemes which give immediate returns.* The investment that the Government makes should lead to increase in goods and services and it should not lead to any further inflationary pressure.
- (3) *Government should give top priority to the agriculture which is the keynote of our economy.* Right from our first five year plan, we have been neglecting agriculture and we had to pay a heavy price for our negligence.
- (4) *Unproductive and administrative expenditure should be drastically cut.* Government should tighten its own belt and set an example to the public by doing away with all wasteful and unproductive expenditure.

It does not follow from the above

Continued on page 19

HIMMAT, July 29, 1966

The Incredible Ho—II

By John McCook Roots

FOLLOWING CHIANG KAI-SHEK's break with the Russians in 1927, Ho joined Borodin in flight across the Gobi Desert to Moscow. There followed clandestine visits to Germany, Switzerland, Italy, France. Then a period in Eastern Thailand where, disguised as a Buddhist monk with saffron robe, shaved head and begging bowl, he toured the villages on foot founding "Mutual Help Associations", and two Party newspapers to be smuggled back to Vietnam. According to the French *Surete*, this was not the last time the traditional monk's garb would serve to cloak a Party agent.

Back in China by 1930, this time in Hong Kong as the Comintern's Ambassador-at-large for South-east Asia, Ho gathered various rival Communist factions in the bleachers of a soccer stadium and, while the players contended on the field below, founded the Vietnamese Communist Party. He also took time on a visit to Singapore to help found the Communist Party of Malaya, thus preparing the way for the long insurgency there against the British fifteen years later.

Sentenced to death in absentia by the French, and jailed for many months in Hong Kong by the British, Ho was finally saved from extradition and, execution by the legal acumen of Sir Stafford Cripps, pleading his case before the Privy Council in London. He then travelled through China in various disguises, ending up as a school-teacher in Shanghai.

With Mao in Yenan

Returned to Russia by the Party at the time of Mao Tse-tung's "Long March", he spent 1934-35 attending the Lenin School in Moscow, where Eudocio Ravines, author of "The Yenan Way", speaks of meeting him and Mao during the crucial Comintern meetings which launched the United Front.

During 1937-38 Ho joined Mao and Chou En-lai in the Yenan caves, served briefly in Red China's 8th Route Army, and spent some months training Chinese guerrillas. During the Japanese occupation of his homeland, he continued training his Vietnamese cadres on Chinese soil, exciting the suspicions of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists who clapped him in prison for a year.

HIMMAT, July 29, 1966

Eventually Washington interceded so forcibly with Chiang on Ho's behalf that on September 13, 1943, he was released. According to a German report, "The Americans thus handed the Soviets, as so often during the war years, another trump card."

During and immediately after World War II came a period of wary, and at times close, relations between Ho and the West. When he was fighting the Japanese in his own home jungles in 1944-45, the United States reinforced his troops with OSS units and supplied them with US arms. Robert Shaplen relates how an American Army officer, parachuted into Ho's mountain headquarters in Tonkin on an under-

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

ground mission, lived and worked for several months with the Vietnamese leader and eventually found himself helping Ho frame a Declaration of Independence for his struggling nation.

"He kept asking me," reported the young lieutenant, "if I could remember the language of our Declaration. I was a normal American, I couldn't. I could have wired up to Kunming and had a copy dropped to me, of course, but all he really wanted was the flavour of the thing. The more we discussed it, the more he seemed to know about it than I did."

There is some evidence to support the theory that Ho at this period wanted the friendship of liberal Americans and liberal Frenchmen whom he hoped might help him follow a middle road to the achievement of independence. To Major Jean Sainteny, then Free French representative in North Vietnam and recently de Gaulle's personal envoy on a special mission to Hanoi, he made proposals for a post-war accommodation, including independence within the French Union.

While Sainteny's colleague, a professional politician, considered Ho merely "a great actor", Sainteny himself was convinced there was more to it than that. "This ascetic man," he wrote, "whose face revealed at once intelligence, energy and cleverness, was a personality of the highest order" who "aspired to become the



President Ho Chi Minh (seated) plans his campaign with General Vo Nguyen Giap during the war against the French.

Gandhi of Indo-China." Sainteny reported Ho as stating: "While we want to govern ourselves... I need your professional men, your engineers, and your capital to build a strong and independent Vietnam."

During the Fontainebleau Conference that summer of 1946, Ho begged the French delegates: "Arm me against those who would seek to displace me. You will not regret it." Just before the conference breakdown he warned: "If we have to fight, we will fight. You will kill ten of our men and we will kill one of yours, and in the end it will be you who will tire of it."

Dien Bien Phu

Did France and the United States, during this ideologically fluid late-war and post-war period, miss an opportunity? Some of those who knew Ho best believe they did. But whatever motivations may have stirred the heart of the old revolutionary were swiftly overtaken by events. The seven years' war against France ended finally at Dien Bien Phu. Then followed Geneva, the rise of Diem, the covert aggression from the north, the American response, and after Diem's death the emergence of Ho as the most widely known political figure on either side of the parallel.

What kind of man is this who is idolized by Hanoi, anathematized by Saigon and Washington, and assiduously courted by Paris, Peking and Moscow?

First of all he is probably the most culturally sophisticated of any Communist of stature, past or present. He has spent 30 of his 76 years in the non-Communist world—including

Continued on next page

20 in the West. He is fluent in French, English, Russian, Chinese, with a working knowledge of German, Czech and Japanese—in notable contrast to the mono-lingual Mao Tse-tung who early in life abandoned a futile struggle to learn English.

Besides his remarkable facility with languages, Ho has also been at

various stages in his kaleidoscopic career a political commentator, editor, playwright, photographer, artist, master calligrapher, school teacher, and poet—he authored his first volume of verse in a Chinese gaol and his poems, like Mao's, still appear regularly in the press. Once he is said to have served as a British intelligence agent. He has been an

expert cook, and even today is known as a master.

Even implacable opponents like the French *Surete* of colonial days have testified to Ho's integrity. "It is useless to try to buy him," reported a discouraged police officer. "He is completely disinterested." Another quality is single-mindedness, as revealed in a cameo of the Vietnamese leader from the Paris of the early 1920s. "That fellow used to work in our wine cellar," reported an aging French *maitre d'hotel* ruefully after Dien Bien Phu. "He used to clean up the place, wash the dishes and floors. We would push him around. But he kept studying his military manuals in every spare moment, and said nothing. We thought he was a fool. Now I know who the fools were!"

NEXT WEEK: "A roving catalyst for world Communism."

THE BIG LIE —from page 15

his people, "These men and women, who include young and old, will go all over India. They have come to rally the people to obey the guidance of God, to remove poverty and division between rich and poor, between class and class, and to make one world."

The idea whose time has come is that bold men and women can switch the thinking of whole peoples from problems to answers, and that the greatest deception of history will be upon our generation, if we accept the lie that hunger of body and of mind, smallness of aim, hate and division in home, industry and nation, and between nations, are normal, to be endured rather than cured.

In my country, Britain, I sat recently with a force of militant dockworkers who have decided that instead of presenting the world with a picture of class war, Britain's craftsmen shall take on the task of producing and exporting ideas that unite and goods that satisfy. In five continents this tide of answer-minded men is rising. They represent normality—the potential of man and the power of God, moving together in the greatest effort of production and output history has seen, new men making a new world for our children.

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

To the top of Hanuman Peak

THE STUDENTS cheered a forty-year-old professor all the way from the staff-room to the class. He was Professor Anand R. Chandekar, leader of the successful Hanuman Peak Expedition team. This was the mathematician's third successful trip to the Himalayas in the last three years.

A former student of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, Professor Chandekar passed his MSc in Mathematics in 1947 and joined the Department of Statistics of the University of Bombay, from where he obtained his MSc in Statistics. In 1949 he joined the Siddharth College of Arts and Science as a lecturer in mathematics and at present he is a Professor there.

"The real charm in scaling the Hanuman peak was not only its height of 19,930 feet, but also its challenge as having remained unclimbed for so long. A Scottish attempt in 1950 had failed."

What was the reason for the Scottish failure and your success?

"The Scottish team tried to get over a ridge in which they found a gap at about 18,000 feet. We avoided it by passing over a glacier beyond the ridge."

The expedition, which started on May 15, ended on June 18, but rigorous preparations had been undertaken by the entire team three months in advance. The team of nine who accompanied the Professor were all Bombayites, the youngest of whom was an engineering student from VJTI, aged 21.

VIEWPOINT—From page 16

points that we should be stagnant. New industries, which can find out their own resources of domestic and foreign capital, must be given all encouragement. Industries which facilitate import substitution and the industries which are engaged in exports should be given all facilities for development. After all, the main object of devaluation is to increase exports and encourage local production by making imports costlier.

Was the equipment that you used imported? How much did it cost you?

"Most of the equipment that we had with us was Indian," said the Professor with pride. "My sincere thanks to the Jayal Memorial Fund and the Indian Mountaineering Foundation for helping us in getting the entire equipment on hire."

What did you eat there?

"For up to 12,000 feet rice, dal and chapatis were the usual food, but after that one did not have an appetite for such food. We had therefore to supplement it with energy and protein foods like biscuits, soups, cheese, chocolate, dry fruits, etc. Up to 13,000 feet we cooked food by burning a plant called Juniper which burns even when green. After that we had to use the high-altitude stoves."

"I slipped at 12,000 ft."

Did you meet with any exciting experience on this expedition?

With glittering eyes and a serious face the Professor said: "Yes. At about 12,000 feet I slipped in the snow and rolled down about 50 feet where I found some bushes. I caught hold of them and was saved or else



I would have gone down another 300 feet and would have been seriously injured."

You have combined two rare pursuits in your life—mountaineering and mathematics.

"Mathematics and mountaineering is not a new combination. Many mathematicians were mountaineers; Robert Wiener was one of them. I for myself had been roaming in the Sayadhri Mountains of Western India since 1950. I passed an advanced course in mountaineering in Manali and scaled 18,600 feet."

What does your family feel when you are far away on the mountains?

"My wife and my two daughters—Madhavi and Seema—are a bit worried, but my 4-year-old son Dnyanesh bids me good-bye with a smiling face not knowing where I go. After all, they are accustomed to this now."

J.J.M.



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LETTERS

MERE GESTURES USELESS

The Union Finance Minister stressed the need for "utmost austerity and unostentatious living". As part of his drive to achieve it, he suggests a gesture by the Prime Minister that she should use a small car instead of a large imported one.

It is no use making these gestures now. The time for gestures is over. What is needed is solid action and no bones about it. Realism is sadly missing in the austerity drive.

It is obvious that the Government doesn't want to economize and all this talk is so much eyewash. Almost every economist, from the highly recognized to the street corner ones, have been saying for the last so many years that Government expenditure must be cut. At the proposal of the last budget the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce published figures which authoritatively indicated that a ten per cent cut in the Government expenditure would result in savings equivalent to the newly imposed taxes. This was ignored, as was all other cautionary advice.

All such suggestions which would really affect a saving are unpalatable to the Government since they tend to

- Reduce the power of the Government.
- Restrict the scope of the activities that the Government indulges in.

In any case it would be a great relief if the Government leaders economized on moralizing and speech-making.

ABHAY FIRODIA*

Bombay 22

* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

BORDER HOOLIGANISM

Shri R. M. Lala's observations on the Maharashtra-Mysore border dispute are candid and bear truth.

Apparently for no useful purpose this border dispute is taking an ugly shape. One could understand people playing the role of martyrs in fighting Pakistan and China. But it passes one's comprehension to find people adopting methods that tend to disintegrate the country.

Imagine these agitators trying to stop trains and then loot the passengers' belongings. Such acts of hooliganism must not be condoned.

S. DAVID

Guntakal, A.P.

FORGET DIFFERENCES

I am unable to find adequate words to congratulate Mr. R. M. Lala for his realistic and absorbing interviews with four eminent men of public life—General Cariappa, N. G. Goray, K. Hanumanthiah and V. V. Giri (HIMMAT, July 15).

While Mr. Goray says that the Maha-

ashtra stand was correct and principled, the two others agree that more urgent problems like food, housing and the development of the nation should be tackled effectively.

That Mr. K. Hanumanthiah has advocated the spirit of adjustment on both sides shows broadmindedness.

After all, everyone's wish is that, Maharashtrians and Mysoreans live like brothers, forgetting these petty differences.

R. ANANDA RAO KARPOOR
Jalahalli

EFFICIENCY

Recently I was asked to address a gathering of Government servants. I based my talk on Temple Car Festivals.

The car has to be drawn by hundreds of people tugging at four thick ropes. All the (Hindu) townsmen are expected to contribute their energy, at least for short periods. Many vie with each other and haul with gusto, while some just make a show of it.

Of late, this shram-dam is getting half-hearted. Often, paid labour has to be engaged to bring the car back to the stand.

The car can represent our Governmental and other public activities. To which category of pullers do we, individually, belong? Let us search our hearts and find the true answer. If we have defects in ourselves, let us remove them. Let us fervently hope that none of us is, at any rate, putting up road blocks!

Again, think of the ropes used in the pulling. The hawser is ultimately built up of coconut fibres. The fibres are first spun into thin cords. These strands are twisted into ropes about an inch thick. Six of them are again twisted, with skill and hard work, into hawsers. If the original material is rotten or feeble, or if the processing is technically

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

faulty or half-hearted, well, the final product cannot have the expected efficiency. It will give way under strain.

How are we as fibres—strong? healthy? willing to pull our load?... Have the rope-makers—our parents, our teachers and the others who influence our formative life—done a good job of it? If the answers are in the affirmative, all will be well with our country.

M. S. KALYANASUNDARAM
Kodikanal 2

SOUTH AFRICAN REPLY

Your correspondent Vere James gave a fair commentary on the Republic Day celebrations in Pretoria (HIMMAT, June 17), only his remark "the safety and protection of the White nation within the nation has become the supreme law" should not go unchallenged.

Only an elementary knowledge of events in recent times—intertribal clashes, genocide in the Transkei, African vs Indian rioting in Durban—will have convinced him of our earnest regard for the safety and protection of all sections within our nation—regardless of the loss of white lives in such operations.

Although time is on no one's side, we are working out at high speed an answer to our complex race situation.

It is not an alternative we need—but we need a change of heart in all sections—to work together in harmony, to the benefit of all sections and yet live in areas apart, which is in no way discriminatory. India and Pakistan separated on this question and Cyprus is heading the same way.

J. F. LEGRANGE
Scottburgh, Natal



"Only those who come under the 'Fly Now, Pay Later' scheme are issued with parachutes."

This was a life

KIYOSHI TANNO
1875—1961

ON THE TALL memorial stone dedicated to one of India's best friends are engraved the following words: "Mr. Kiyoshi Tanno's work, in the cause of India's freedom, will always be remembered"—signed Indian Ambassador.

Born in northern Japan in 1875 as the eldest son of a samurai, Kiyoshi Tanno spent his youth in the fast changing and developing times in Japan's history. Eight years before his birth, Emperor Meiji succeeded to the throne, and Japan, hitherto a remote and feudal land, suddenly opened her eyes and doors to the world. Ambitious young men ventured abroad, trade became popular and the earnest minds of the youth were exposed to unknown adventures.

FOR INDIA'S FREEDOM

As a very young boy, Kiyoshi Tanno became interested in Oriental History. Naturally India, the birth place of the 2500-year-old Buddhist religion, won his admiration and interest. At the age of 16 he specialized in the study of India and, at 25, established the Indo-Research Institute. From then on he was an ardent believer and worker for India's Independence. His conviction was firm, that India, the home of rich and traditional culture, must be free and be able to contribute to the future of Asia. After much work of distributing pamphlets among government agencies and delivering speeches to the public, the Indo-Japan Society was founded in 1903. The first president was Duke Okuma, the Prime Minister, who was succeeded by Viscount Shibusawa, the founder of modern industrial Japan.

The major tie between India and Japan was Buddhism. But Tanno and others felt the need for further strengthening the link economically and politically. With Bihari Bose and other Indian fighters he worked ceaselessly for India's independence. In 1954 he built the independence monument of India in the precincts of the Jonenji Temple in Utsunomiya, Tochigi Prefecture.

Although he had never visited India himself, he was a life-long lover and fighter for a free and self-supporting India. He believed India has much to give to the world and wanted the Society to help in every way that will make India economically and politically independent. He also believed that unless every farmer in India was happy and fulfilled, true happiness and peace will not come. Until his death in 1961 at the age of 86 he devoted his life for India.

Behind the UP Agitation

From S. K. Rau in Lucknow

In trying to do the right thing in the wrong way the UP Government has got into a deep muddle. A purely domestic affair snow-balled into a prestige issue resulting in political elements infiltrating into a simple agitation by government employees for higher dearness allowance.

Two years ago the State Government appointed a pay rationalization commission to revise the pay scales of its employees. While doing so the Government made adequate provision in the budget to meet the increased commitments to the tune of Rs. 15 crores believing that a part of it, if not the whole, would be met by the Centre.

The commission submitted its recommendations in April this year and the Government announced acceptance of the report *in toto*.

There are over half a million non-gazetted staff. If these Rs. 15 crores are to be equally divided among the entire staff each one will hardly get Rs. 5! The staff was not happy with the recommendations but since the Government accepted them *in toto* they were reconciled to it.

At the same time there was a silver lining. The pay commission said that over and above the dearness allowance allowed by their recommendations, in the event of cost of living going up Government would pay extra dearness.

Pen-down Strike

Whether the Government failed to take note of this or just ignored it, it is difficult to say. When the Centre gave its own staff increased dearness on the basis of the cost of living, the State Government staff put forth a similar demand.

Government woke up at this stage. It sent a strong protest to the Centre that it had created a hornet's nest. But the Centre brushed aside the protest and its own staff got the enhanced DA.

That was the starting point of the trouble. The employees launched a constitutional agitation, daily meetings, representations, press statements. It ultimately culminated in a pen-down token strike for an hour.

Extra DA asked by the staff would involve the exchequer in an additional burden of Rs. 7 crores and so there is no question of the Government granting it unless the Centre makes good the loss.

Deadlock ensued. Meanwhile rumour spread that Chaudhury Charan Singh, agrarian economist and Minister for Forests, had formulated a plan to retrench 30,000 employees and to pay something to the rest out of the savings.

When this news leaked out the target became the Chief Secretary K. K. Das, an ICS officer. He had earlier brought forth a reorganization scheme which would result in axing a large number of people. Das is of the opinion that there is a good deal of superfluous staff.

Government May Fall

"Das must go" became the slogan. Jan Sangh opposition in the Assembly began to encourage this feeling. One day Das was mobbed and the Armed Constabulary made a lathi charge inside the Secretariat. Government could have gracefully expressed regret, but it totally denied the charge.

Over a lakh of government employees in the whole State downed tools. Government could do nothing. The entire administrative machinery was paralysed. Quasi-government staff also joined the movement. Public transport came to a stop.

The third phase of the struggle began when the students joined it. Students of Lucknow and Allahabad universities called for a general strike. In their attempt to cordon off the university, armed police in Lucknow precipitated a crisis. The movement passed into the hands of unsocial elements who started stoning the transport buses and police. Schools were closed.

What next? To the Government it is a question of prestige. Even in the Government one group will be happy if the Government topples.

The strike cannot continue indefinitely. But this is just the beginning of a bigger struggle. There will be nothing surprising if it results in the exit of the present Government.

The Triumphant MLAs

By Rajmohan Gandhi

UTTAR PRADESH is our most populous State. Only a handful of countries in the world can speak of a population greater than its 80 million.

UP leaders dominated India's politics for many post-freedom years. Some UP men were convinced that UP was India and India was UP.

Now the wheel has turned full circle. The giant State has become corrupt, divided, lazy and quarrelsome. Its influence on the country is minimal.

Enemy Routed

Last week, however, some UP legislators thought they had achieved a signal triumph. United as one man, marching shoulder to shoulder, their arms linked to prevent any penetration of their ranks, and with an unshakable resolve, they took on and defeated Mr. Marvin Zim, correspondent of *Time* magazine.

Indeed, they routed him. Their victory was so complete that the enemy offered a full apology in addition to his surrender.

This enemy was obviously dangerous. He was not an Indian, and was carrying a nefarious weapon capable of causing huge damage which, with the aid of modern American science, had been miniaturized into a device called a camera.

Against Other Wrongs

Our daring as well as nimble heroes not only got their man but with their unbeatable combination of defiance and dexterity captured intact the sinister weapon.

I have no desire to play down the importance of this triumph. Yet I hope I will be pardoned if I suggest that the fury, indignation, unity and dedication of the UP MLAs might also be directed against certain other wrongs.

Such as the corruption in the schools, colleges, government offices and the police force of the State. And against the breakdown of trust which has resulted in thousands of government servants striking for days. And against the division between students and the

educational authorities. And against the liveliest and most systematic—and costly—intra-party feud that exists anywhere in the country.

I am not mentioning rising prices, continuing poverty and mounting unemployment.

I do not share the view of some that UP is bound to stay the Upside-down Pradesh, or "ulta" Pradesh, as some are wont to describe it. There is nothing unusually wrong with the people of UP, or its leaders. What is responsible for the present mess is the absence of a fear-free, greed-free, hate-free man or woman who says, "Come what may, I am going to clean up this State from end to end."

UP should lead the rest of India. It can. It will not, without unselfish leaders with *himmata*. I suspect another thing. If this new type of man comes forward, proclaims his resolve and sets about his task in earnest fashion, he might find *Time* speeding his news to the world's corners.

Are we going to end up in mob rule? Are our legislatures going to be thoroughly discredited in the coming months, degenerating into wrestling arenas or fish markets? Crude tyranny is in store for us if we allow this to happen.

Some politicians boast that what others call rowdiness in legislatures is their thought-through, well-planned and deliberate approach. "We want to destroy respect for parliament," some are alleged to have said. Others claim that noise, defiance and theatrics are the only means available to them to command the attention of Government when it has a steamroller majority.

Timid Majority

I am convinced that the real issue is not whether some politicians are out to destroy democracy or are drawing attention to public issues—or to themselves—through their demonstrative tactics. Of graver concern is the silence and timidity of the vast majority of our legislators. These men desire, by and large, the nation's welfare. They want progress in peace. But their passion for what they want is hardly within range of the small

minority's zeal for exhibitionist or purposeful defiance.

For this reason all who cherish our country's democracy will welcome the Praja Socialist Party declaration against violent agitations. In spite of changes and defections, the PSP still has men who hold principles to be more important than immediate personal or party advantage.

The attitude of the Prime Minister and her Cabinet is of crucial importance here. If those among the Opposition who know that fearlessness and independence do not have to be demonstrated through mobism do not get the attentive ear of Government, mobism becomes the victor. Constructive opposition, to use an old phrase, for which many Congress leaders have been known to appeal, then becomes unrewarding and ineffective. Men are almost compelled to assume undemocratic methods.

For National Teamwork

Those in the Congress who are pledged to the proposition that party is more important than country will not like Indira or her Cabinet seeking a closer relation with the Opposition. Here Indira must decide boldly.

She has already thought fit to express what anyone knew, that if it came to a choice she was for country before party. It will be in her own interest, and, of course, in India's interest, for her to develop and sustain a national teamwork that cuts across party divisions.

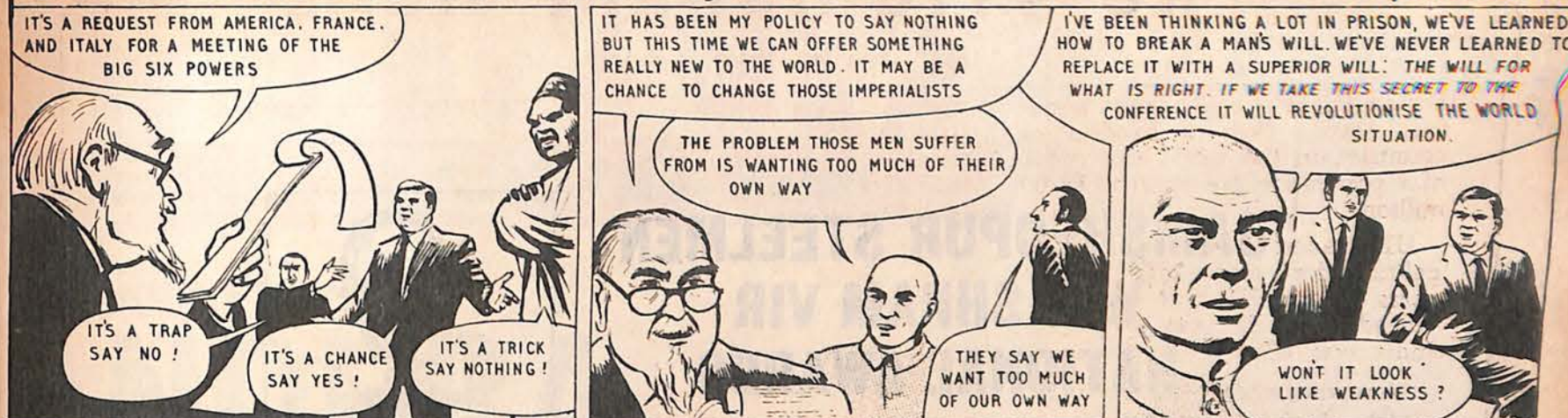
Brick by Brick

Government of the people, for the people and by the people is not established by wishing for it or voting for it in a constituent assembly or by writing those words in a constitution. It is a house that has to be built, brick by brick, by the joint efforts of Government, Opposition and the people.

If party interests are dominant whenever it comes to appointing people to key jobs or formulating policies, mob rule will be the inevitable end. And the storm of mobism will sweep aside all the reasonable elements in Congress.

THE DICTATORS SLIPPERS by PETER HOWARD

Episode 20



BHOR PLASTICS FILL MANY CHALLENGING ROLES!

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JAMSHEDPUR STEELMEN WIN SHRAM VIR NATIONAL AWARDS

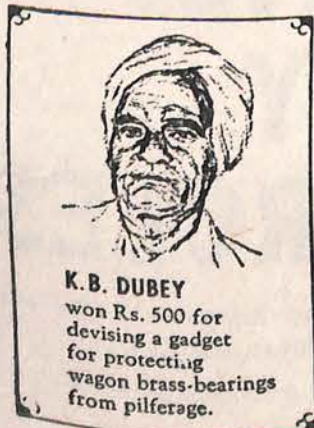
In March 1966, the Government of India held the first ceremony to honour the country's new heroes—technicians and industrial workers—with *Shram Vir* National Awards. These awards will be made every year in recognition of suggestions leading to higher production at less cost.

Of the 27 awards this year, no less than five, including two top prizes, went to Tata Steel employees—the largest number won by any industrial unit in the country.

At Jamshedpur, during the last 20 years, employees have put forward over 12,000 suggestions, of which nearly 1,000 have been accepted. These suggestions have helped to increase productivity and make operations safer, and have led to the utilisation of local know-how and materials for self-reliance.

Tata Steel is proud that it pioneered the Suggestion Box Scheme to encourage initiative from the shop floor... a scheme which is becoming a standard industrial practice in India today.

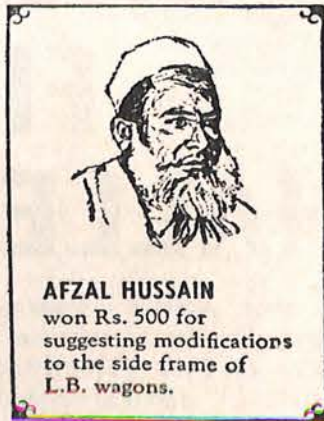
TATA STEEL



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



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



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

The Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited

JWTTN 3274AR



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



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

HIMMAT

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FRIDAY AUGUST 5 1966

R. Vaitheswaran

ANDHRA STRUGGLE FOR POWER



Chief Minister Reddy



Union Minister
Sanjeeva Reddy

ENGLAND WINS FOOTBALL CUP

Special from
Dickie Dodds

Rajmohan
Gandhi

KAMARAJ IS WRONG