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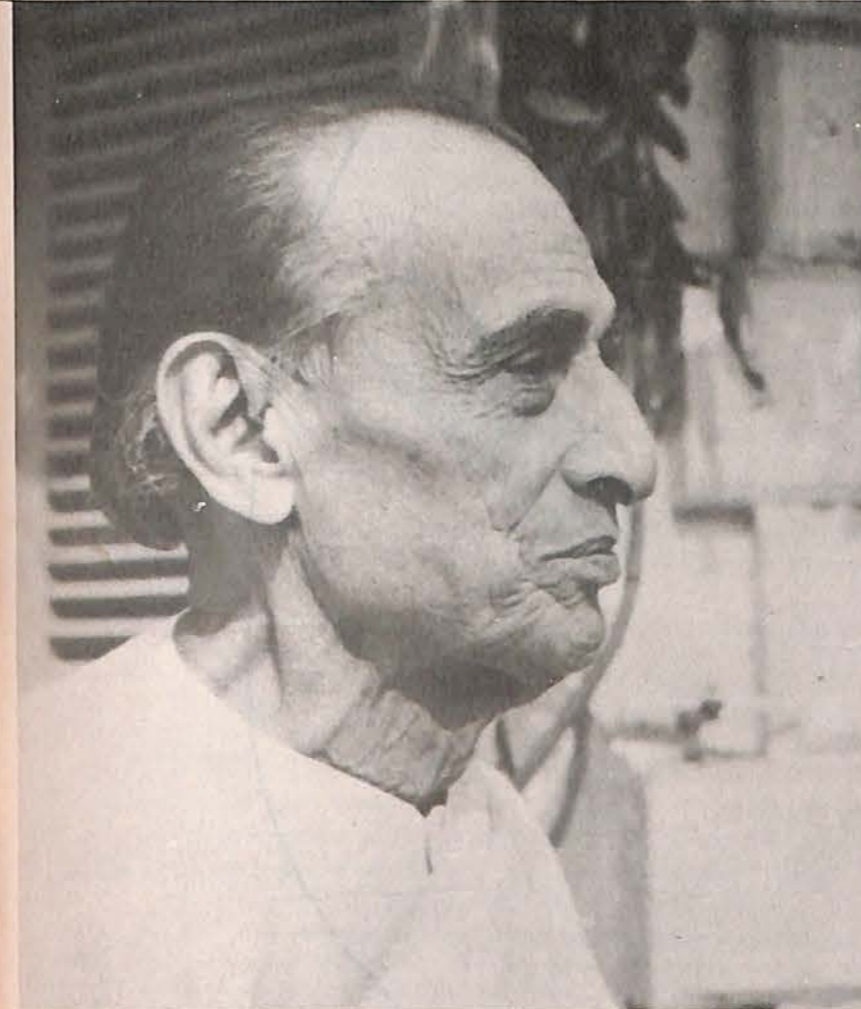
HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

VOL 2 NO 42

Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY AUGUST 19 1966



J.B. KRIPALANI
MP

tells the Lok Sabha:

"We had a glorious revolution the like of which has never been in history.

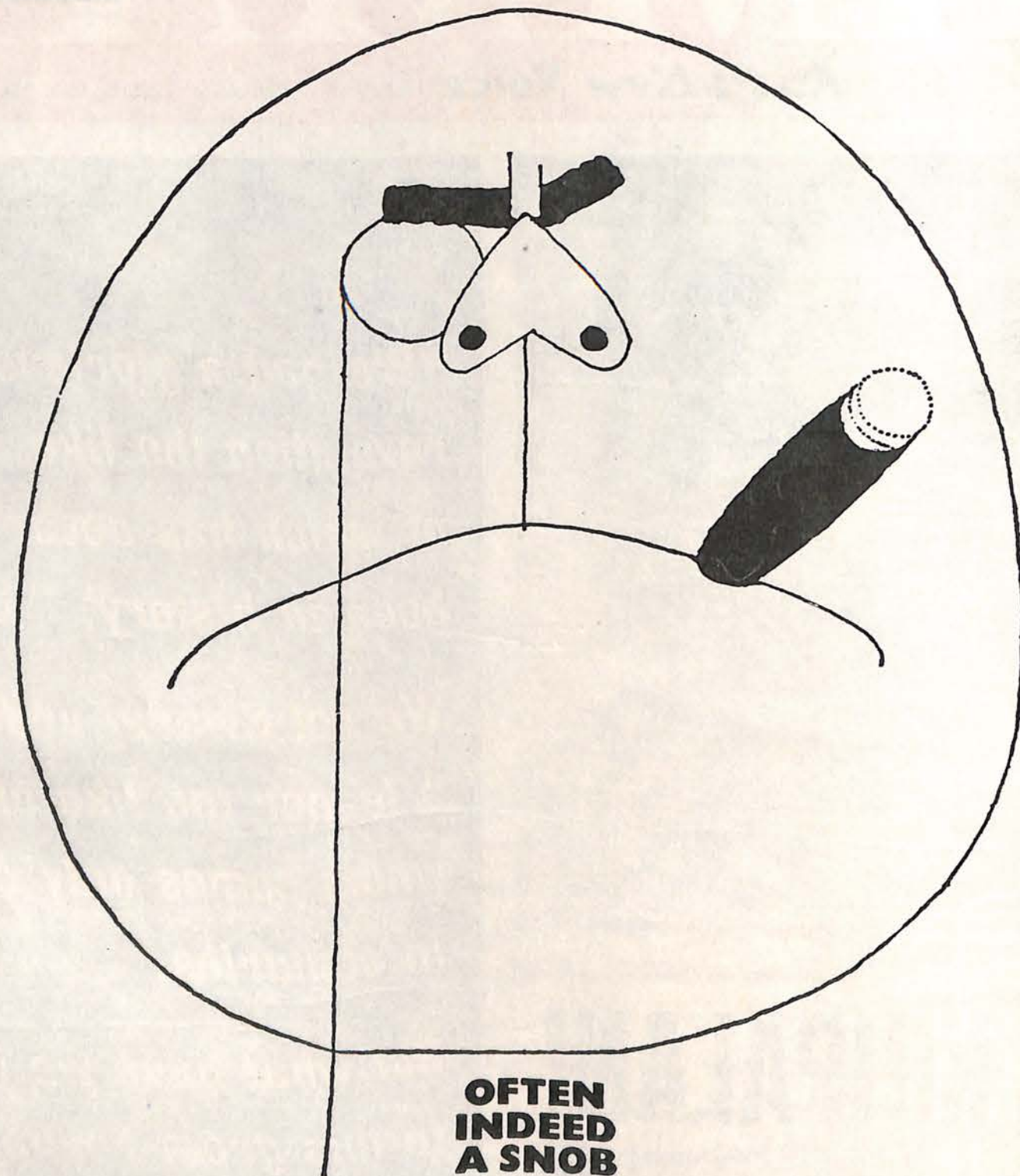
We got Swaraj under a leader the like of whom comes only once in centuries.

But what have we done to this great heritage?"

Page 5

THE SUBRAMANIAM AFFAIR

page 17




**OFTEN
INDEED
A SNOB**

But that is only when we must insist on a specified raw material rather than compromise with a non-standard substitute.

Or when we must reject what our own factories have produced, which do not conform to specifications.

Or when we must recommend to industry new methods of using our products and processes rather than preserve the old ways, which obstruct standardisation.

Or when we must question the ultimate quality of what we make, as we continually do. Yes, we are snobs, of a sort.....

INDIAN OXYGEN LIMITED 

HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday August 19 1966

Speak Out

THE DALAI LAMA's visit to Ladakh Kashmir has been cancelled. On August 9 he was to have paid his first visit to this remote area on our north-western border. Thousands of Buddhists who recognize him as their spiritual head made elaborate preparations for his visit. His Holiness was to deliver the Tuskor Wang Chen, an important sermon the Dalai Lama delivers only three times in a lifetime. He has already delivered two in Tibet and this was to be his last.

Then something happened. It is said some leaders in Srinagar were not too keen on the Lama's visit. Excuses were unearthed by interested parties, for example that the Chinese only one hundred and fifty miles away would be offended. They forgot that Dharamshala, the Dalai Lama's headquarters, is not much further from the Chinese border than Ladakh's capital Leh.

When President Johnson asked the late Prime Minister Shastri to postpone his visit to the USA last year what a hue and cry we raised. The Dalai Lama is a Head of State. Why are we silent now?

The End of Madness

GENERAL SUHARTO and his Young Turks have set a cracking pace. The world, long inured to Sukarno's wearisome speeches and unworkable schemes, receives one pleasant shock after another these days.

Confrontation with Malaysia has ended, Indonesia has a cabinet of rational patriots, moves are afoot to rejoin the United Nations, and a new law guarantees press freedom after years of suppression.

When Bung Karno shuffled over endorsing the recent Bangkok accord with Malaysia one wondered whether the bright hopes of peace in the region had been ill-founded. But anxiety was quelled as General Suharto and Dr. Adam Malik, his able Foreign Minister, went into action.

They knew they were working against the clock. If the treaty ending confrontation was not signed before the fateful August 17—the day on which the Republic celebrates its independence, each year—Sukarno could well use his regular address to the nation to speak directly to the people and rekindle emotions against Malaysia. To his credit, Dr. Malik pressed on firmly. With polite indifference to the Great Leader's mood the treaty was signed on August 11.

Next day there was history written large at KL's Sabang airport when Malaysia's Deputy Premier, Tun Abdul Razak, and Dr. Malik, with his party of 50, flew in by separate planes from the signing ceremonies in Djakarta.

Both flags and both anthems broke out together for the first time in many years midst the full-throated cheers of thousands. Later, the Indonesians joined the Malaysians in Friday prayers at the giant new national Mosque. Dr. Malik was received by the Paramount Ruler and lunched with the Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, before flying home to Djakarta in the security of knowing that across the Straits of Malacca now dwelt a friend.

The Djakarta leaders face a difficult task as they enter a new year of independence. HIMMAT wishes them well, believing that their nation's role in world affairs is a great one. Before them lies the exciting and adventurous development of human and natural resources given to few nations on this earth.

Return Kripalani Unopposed

NEHRU, PATEL AND AZAD are no more. Acharya J. B. Kripalani is the last of the illustrious figures of the Independence Movement to sit in the Lok Sabha. He is heard with respect and attention by all. His latest speech, published elsewhere in this issue, is a measure of his distinctive contribution to the proceedings of the House.

Kripalani was host to Mahatma Gandhi on the eve of the Champaran Agitation in 1917. Since then he has given his time, energy and talent to the social and political programme of the Mahatma. For 12 years before independence he was the General Secretary of the Congress and later its President. Now he sits as an Independent, but says he loves the Congress more truly than those who speak in its name.

Kripalani is nearing 80. His mind is bright, his wits are sharp. But his health will not permit the vigorous campaigning for a Lok Sabha election. There is no doubt about his desire to serve the House.

Would it not be a gracious gesture on the part of the Congress Party and especially the Prime Minister to arrange not to oppose Kripalani if he stands as an Independent at the next elections? The Congress owes it to him for his service. The nation needs his sane and passionate voice.

Crime Rates Climb

CRIME RATES are shooting up in Britain and America as well as the Soviet Union. In the same week as the Russian announcement of new measures against hooliganism, the UK and the USA published figures showing that crime, particularly violence, is growing far faster than population.

Strange, but neither Communist, capitalist nor Socialist countries seem to have found an answer to crime—and nor has affluence. The germ of this social sickness is now seen to lie not in the structure or wealth of society but in the heart of man—in a malnutrition of the human spirit which neither Marxism nor Mammon seems to satisfy.

Crime must be fought, but it is in the realm of human nature that the cure must be found. Civilization is actually dying for want of statesmen who see that truth and lead accordingly.

Briefly Speaking ...

It usually takes me more than three weeks to prepare a good impromptu speech.

MARK TWAIN, 1835-1910

Himmat's Hot Tip

A SUNDAY NEWSPAPER has just discovered from a "highly placed" source in Yugoslavia that President de Gaulle plans to try his luck at bidding President Ho of North Vietnam to a peace conference during his forthcoming trip to Cambodia. Maybe the newspaper's "highly placed" source reads HIMMAT where this information was published three weeks ago (July 29, page 11).

Watch Those Lights

ADDED TO THE MANY hazards of road traffic at night is the shockingly high proportion of vehicles which have defective lights or, quite frequently, no lights at all. And the police never appear to do a thing about it. A random check the other evening on Bombay's Marine Drive showed 46 per cent of all moving vehicles had defective lights. The police are swift to take action if a vehicle is wrongly parked in broad daylight, but what about these lethal machines that go careering through the blackness scattering pedestrians?

A simple solution is for the police to stop the vehicle, point out the defect (which strangely enough is often unknown to the driver) and require the driver to report to any

CHALTA HAI...



"Uncle, what is the meaning of nepotism?"

police station of his convenience within 48 hours with the lights functioning. This original caution is marked on his licence and counter-signed by the inspecting police station when the lights are repaired. Any driver stopped and found with his licence already marked but not countersigned is then liable to a fine.

"Stimulating" Delhi

UK HIGH COMMISSIONER John Freeman handed out a few bouquets to Delhi officialdom when he returned from home leave recently. "I've particularly found Indian officials exciting to work with. In fact I don't think I've ever worked in such a stimulating intellectual atmosphere," he was reported as saying.

The "intellectual atmosphere" may "stimulate" Mr. Freeman but it "excites" the poor citizen to a frenzy. In his dealings with Delhi officials the poor, miserable taxpayer has come to feel that with a little less of the "intellectual" atmosphere he may see a few more files attended to and development plans accomplished.

Becoming Nobodies?

THE FOLLOWING LETTER appeared in *The Statesman* of Calcutta last week:

SIR—True to tradition, the department for the Publication and Preparation of Electoral Rolls has omitted the names of all my family this time.

My parents and my maternal uncle are electors since independence and my maternal uncle's wife and I cast our votes in the last general election. We have been residents for over 20 years of the premises in which we now live. The voters' list of the last general election had shown an amusing confusion of the names of members of my family. These were corrected later when we applied on prescribed forms. This time too, I have been asked to forward the claims on prescribed forms. The forms are available against payment of 10 paise each—a penalty by paying which I am perhaps made to admit that I am the culprit behind the wrong entries.

If this is the way our democracy runs then the day is not far away when we, the innocent voters, the bulk of whom are illiterate, will be nobodies in a country which has the best written constitution in the world.

AHMED ALI

When one considers the small percentage of citizens who are educated

enough to know about checking one's entry in the electoral rolls, it makes one wonder how much election results really represent the will of the people these days.

Congress Austerity

MAHARASHTRA CHIEF MINISTER NAIK is once more putting the squeeze on local business to swell the Jawaharlal Nehru Fund. Maharashtra's target is Rs. 2 crores and with less than 8 per cent (Rs. 26 lakhs) in hand he called a meeting at Sachivalaya last week of representatives from various commercial organizations to discuss "steps which could be taken".

HIMMAT has a serious suggestion for raising at least a further Rs. 2 lakhs for the fund from some of the late Prime Minister's admirers.

According to Mr. Atulya Ghosh, Treasurer of the All-India Congress Committee, the forthcoming session at Ernakulam on September 24 and 25 will be "an austere one" costing only Rs. 2 lakhs. Considering that major Congress decisions are made by a few of the bosses in private and presented to the AICC as policy, would it not be more sensible to scrap the Rs. 1,00,000 per-day meeting and in honour of Mr. Nehru donate the money to his Memorial Fund?

Bed and Breakfast

ACCOMMODATION IN NEW DELHI is very expensive these days, even for a night. One man we heard of recently got a bill for Rs. 300 just for bed and breakfast. This is what the Delhi Zoo charged him for looking after his elephant!

Sayeed had brought the beast from his home town in the UP. Unfortunately the elephant went for a stroll in fashionable Connaught Circus and ended up detained at the Zoo. Rs. 300 seems a lot, but then hay is not as cheap as it was. On top of it all, Sayeed was also fined Rs. 50 for not having a permit. But that really was his own fault.

People who count read

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PUT CONGRESS HOUSE IN ORDER

By J. B. Kripalani

EVEN THOUGH I'm in the Opposition I do not support the no-confidence motion, not because this Government deserves our confidence but because it makes Congressmen gang up and speak against their conscience. There are not a few people in the Congress, including some members of the Cabinet, who are disturbed by the

Mr. J. B. Kripalani was General Secretary of the Indian National Congress from 1934 to November 1946, when he was elected its President. Now an Independent Member of Parliament, Mr. Kripalani is one of its main critics. In a recent speech on the no-confidence motion against the Government, he made a passionate appeal to all Congressmen. In view of its importance, HIMMAT publishes substantial excerpts from his speech.

—Ed.

policies of the Government. They have told me: "We do not know what is happening in our country; we do not understand what is going on." But when a no-confidence motion is brought they speak with one voice supporting the Government.

This Government deserves our pity and not a motion of no-confidence, because it is slowly going down with its own weight. It has materially and morally brought down the nation. It has injured the country. The material deterioration is now clear, the rupee is devalued and there is no country from which we have not begged money. In Italy children have gone without their breakfast in order that our people may be supplied with food. After three Five Year Plans, it is considered that among the 24 backward countries that have recently achieved their freedom, we were the last but one in development. This is not what the Opposition says. It is said by economic experts.

This Government has committed so many sins of omission and commission that one has not to pass a vote of no-confidence on it but to sympathize with it. Its mistakes are legion. I would not say they are mistakes. They are sins. When people are put in responsible positions, when their decisions adversely affect the lives of millions their mistakes are sins. This have I learnt from Gandhiji.

I am even more concerned with efforts that are made to cover up bribery, corruption and misrule. There are persons called "contact-men" who approach ministers and officers on behalf of firms. They use all kinds of methods to get things done. Yet, when in the Lok Sabha their names, and names of their firms are asked, the Government is silent. When there is a complaint against a Secretary, every effort is made to cover it up. It is said if we expose senior Government servants they will not shoulder responsibility. This is absurd reasoning. I say in all seriousness that the murder of the late Chief Minister of Punjab was not brought about by his enemies but by those who covered up his sins. The sins went on so accumulating that somebody was bound to take revenge. Such things are bound to happen if official misdeeds are tolerated.

At first corruption was denied. Then it was admitted. Our pious

Home Minister staked his office on its removal. Houses of some cinema stars were searched and lakhs of rupees were found on which they had paid no income tax. But their names never appeared in the press and we do not know what was done to them. I would very much like to be enlightened by the authorities what was done to them.

If anti-social persons are caught, their names are not published. This is not the way to tackle corruption. Therefore let the Congressmen take thought to themselves whether their house is in order, because a house divided against itself is built on sand. The wind may come, the flood may come and it will be swept away. Institutions do not die physically soon. First, they die morally. The moral authority of the Congress and this Government exists no more.

Go to any house, to any club, to any other association where people gather.

Continued on page 17

On your toes

SECRET AGENT 199

For a long time 007 was the most mysterious and difficult secret agent to track down. Now it is 199—the number designated by Bombay Telephones for "ASSISTANCE". 199 is supposed to assist telephone users but its main concern seems to be to avoid them. It is always busy.

Every six months the General Manager of Bombay Telephones writes a pleasant, if verbose, letter to all subscribers. He makes a lot of interesting comments about new services being installed to cope with expanding demand and so on. He explains at length his difficulties: new equipment seized by Pakistan; over-loaded exchanges; shortage of cables; over-long conversations by users; unforeseen rise in demand. In fact, he cites every hazard except the proverbial monsoon!

The problems are genuine and Mr. Muthanna is not blamed by the public for this. But where he loses sympathy is over the incredible couldn't-care-less, hang-on-forever attitude among his staff.

Forty MPs of all parties recently urged the Communications Minister to institute a "high level" inquiry into the functioning of the telephone service "so that the consumer can get his money's worth".

I hope they won't just table the standard face-saver, "shortage of

foreign exchange" or some such nonsense. It requires no foreign exchange to answer a call and deal with an inquiry pleasantly and efficiently.

If 199, 198, 180, 181 or 183 (or any other service number) is always busy—and the complaint is universal—is it not possible to have more operators manning the board. Is such a simple solution so technically impossible? If the harassed subscriber could only feel sure that by dialling 199 he would get immediate assistance, a wave of confidence in the Telephone Department would sweep the public and they would happily bear with Mr. Muthanna a little longer in his technical problems of no cross-bars or no co-axials.

No matter how broken down the equipment, Mr. Muthanna, pride of service could make your Department the pride of them all.

Some years ago in Calcutta when they still had a manual exchange, a colleague was connected to a wrong number. When he phoned back to complain, the operator sweetly explained, "Oh, but the number you asked for was engaged."

Bombay operators don't need to be so "helpful" as that but you know, Mr. Muthanna, what I mean.

If not, perhaps the most convincing argument would be to lift the phone right now and try dialling 199. I gave up recently after 25 attempts at one sitting.

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Don't make martyrs out of the Left Communists

Allegations of a serious nature have been made against the Communist Party of India (Marxist). It is reported, presumably on the authority of a high official of the Home Ministry of the Government of India, that the Left Communists (official title: Communist Party of India—Marxist) at the June meeting of the executive at Tenali, Andhra Pradesh, decided on large-scale plans for subversion and sabotage throughout the country. These allegations have now been repeated by Professor Dandavate, member of the National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party. He cites as his source people belonging to the "hard core" of the Left-wing Party.

The Home Minister, Mr. G. L. Nanda, disowned the report as emanating from his Ministry without caring to comment on its accuracy.

But in fairness to the Left Communists as well as to the Indian nation, Professor Dandavate's vehement denunciation needs official investigation. The Professor obviously believes in the truth of his assertions. If he is proved correct, the country has a right to be informed about these designs and to be protected from them. Sterner action would then be called for against those who plan to wreck the nation. If untrue, amends must be made to the Left Communists.

If the Government of India adopts a policy of silence on such an important matter, it is open to the charge of using unsubstantial allegations to

SAY THAT AGAIN...

We are not willing or able to take action against the anti-social elements. An honest and firm government should be energetic in putting down corruption.

PRESIDENT RADHAKRISHNAN

My Secretaries know that they would not be able to influence me.

MR. C. SUBRAMANIAM
Minister for Food

I am glad that a very interesting programme has been arranged for me.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT KAMARAJ
on arrival at Brioni, Yugoslavia

clamp down on civil liberties, arresting and detaining thousands without trial, and in general of installing a regime of repression on the eve of general elections.

Democrats, however opposed they may be to any tendencies to violence of the political groups, whether they be the Communist or the Congress (the Government has a peculiar tendency to overlook the violence indulged in during Congress-inspired agitations such as in Gulbarga over the Maharashtra-Mysore dispute), cannot be too happy at the extensive use of the powers of preventive detention used by the Government in recent months in Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Bihar. In all cases, the Congress administration was using its draconian powers to forestall, not any threat of violence, but the constitutional expression of the right to protest against its policies which have led to high prices and scarcities.

Unsubstantiated Charge

The Gujarat Government has not substantiated its charge of planned sabotage against the leaders of the Janata Parishad. In the event, the arrests of hundreds of Janata Parishad and Opposition leaders was an arbitrary and unwarranted exercise of police powers, totally unbefitting a democratic state.

The Government may feel relieved that the projected "bandh" (general strike) in Bihar failed after it had arrested at least 1800 leaders of Communist and Socialist Parties of the State. But it ignores the lessons of history if it believes that police state methods can answer legitimate discontent. Inefficiency and corruption cannot be protected in this manner for long.

The Government is, of course, entitled to prosecute any citizen for acts committed which violate the law. It is even permissible to forestall violence provided the administration is convinced by concrete evidence available to it that there is a planned attempt to unleash violence. But in every case the Government has to substantiate its charges. It has to establish the *bona fides* of its action. It cannot use an alleged intent to rob the nation of its civil liberties and fundamental rights.

In the absence of more specific evidence offered by the Home Minis-

Under
the
Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

ter and Professor Dandavate regarding the alleged plans of the Left Communists, one is led to believe that they are but an excuse behind which the Government is protecting itself from the consequences of its own inefficiency.

This does not overlook the fact that ideologically both the Left and Right Communists are not opposed to violence and sabotage at the right time and under "favourable conditions". But they are also realistic men who are not wedded to violence "for its own sake". If the Left Communists and especially Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad and Mr. Jyoti Basu are seriously planning to capture power in Kerala and Bengal in the next general elections, the present moment would appear to be the most inopportune to take to violence. One would therefore expect that the deliberations of the Tenali meeting of the Left Communist executive would have given far more serious thought to its "election strategy" than to any grandiose scheme for launching guerrilla action through the country, as is alleged.

Primary Interest

The Left Communists have another primary interest in the next election. They hope to demonstrate the strength of their own following as against those of the "Dangeites". At the moment, this is as important an aspect of their plans as the struggle for political power.

Common sense would therefore suggest that such plans as the Left Communists have for violence and guerrilla struggle are not for the immediate future. If the administration or any other individual has knowledge to the contrary, they should take the public into their confidence. It would be foolish to make martyrs of the Left Communists on the eve of the general elections.

VERDICT

This week **HIMMAT**

LAUDS MR. P. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, Vice Chancellor of Bombay University and former Chief Justice, for his warning against the adoption of regional languages for higher education.

ADMONISHES THE PRIME MINISTER for exhorting only youth to "revive the spirit of the freedom struggle" rather than the Congress bosses who have so wilfully forsaken it for power and booty.

NOTES the comradely generosity of the **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (Right)** in offering not to contest in the general elections against **Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon**, **Mr. K. D. Malaviya** and **Mrs. Subhadra Joshi**.

CONGRATULATES DR. ADAM MALIK, Indonesian Foreign Minister, for his special part in the swift and skilful negotiations which ended Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia.

REPRIMANDS HOME MINISTER NANDA for his fatuous statement to the Congress Forum for Socialist Action that foreign aid received by India was only the recovery of loot "to which we had been subject in the past", and **ENQUIRES** whether he also means Soviet aid.

COULD NOT AGREE MORE WITH MR. NANDA in his contention, made on the same occasion, that India would not have been criticized for getting foreign aid "if only we had been successful in utilizing it in the proper manner".

FRETS OVER MR. M. C. KHANNA, Minister of State for Works and Housing, revealing that the advice of astrologers was not being sought in the selection of a permanent residence for the Prime Minister.

HAILS THE WISDOM OF MR. MANUBHAI SHAH, Minister of Commerce, in rejecting in the Rajya Sabha the demand for the nationalization of foreign trade.

TEARS ITS HAIR OUT over the strike by Bombay's 15,000 barbers.

The Fox Without the Tail

I AM INCLINED to think that most of our brilliant intellectuals must have skipped their elementary education course altogether; otherwise I can't account for their total and often ludicrous ignorance of Aesop's fables.

I am not economist enough to canvass the pros and cons of devaluation; nor is Mr. Krishna Menon, as I now find to my great relief! His recent contribution to the *eclaircissement* of its complexities was so delicious in its unconscious humour as to merit special and honourable mention. It may be recalled that he assailed the Government decision as a gratuitous truckling to American pressure.

Detested Desired

Mr. Menon's proposal has a certain heroic simplicity about it; for what he wants is a devaluation of the dollar and sterling to get even with those currencies which are at once detested and desired! Can you imagine a more perfect parallel to the story of the Fox Without the Tail? We are assured that both of them are scandalously over-valued with intent to hold a helpless world to ransom, and I am quite willing to believe it.

Why, in my own limited experience, I find that the price of eggs varies in my immediate neighbourhood from Rs. 2.25 to 3 a dozen, the same vendor manipulating this sliding scale at his sweet will and pleasure from day to day. The one thing I can't do is to bargain over the price of eggs to suit my purse. Since exchange operations between countries follow similar principles, there is no remedy for them except to submit to them while giving vent to our spleen!

The fact is that currencies are counters or tokens backed by more substantial things. The basic malady from which we have been suffering is the planned attrition of our food production in preference to the acquisition of glittering gadgets simply because others possess them. It is not they that make the difference between poverty and wealth so much as a perverse ordering of priorities resulting in the body politic suffering at once from atrophy in some parts aggravated by adiposity in the rest.

Even in the worst days of "colonialism", we had a favourable foreign exchange position and, for a wonder, traffic in gold was open, uninterrupted and free. The secret

of it was that we were able to feed ourselves vastly better than we are now able to do. It seems therefore elementary to say that unless we achieve that situation again, we can never hope to turn the tight corner in which we find ourselves now.

Mr. Menon, who fell foul of the dollar and sterling, was discreetly silent about the rouble or yen which also bully our rupee; since they peg their currencies to their betters to exploit those below them. Here is a kind of graduated economic imperialism at work in which all the big powers are involved. What will happen therefore is that against a lower rate of dollar and sterling, our rupee will be demoted "pro rata" to leave the over-all position unaffected!

It might well have the undesired effect of giving a further fillip to smuggling instead of stopping it, since the gold which our Arab friends have in such plethora has to be got rid of as often as it overflows their coffers. Our leaders have not stopped to think why that gold does not flow into England or America, but is mopped up in our country as though we suffer an insatiable hunger for it.

Insurance against Planning

The true reason is that the people have no confidence in the Government's plans to make them rich, and want to insure themselves in their own way against it! Let the unit of currency for internal purposes be changed over from the rupee to a measure of rice or wheat or one of the primary cereals, and you will find the bottom knocked out of the whole show. It would give a fillip to agriculture which our plans could not and indeed have not provided.

I don't deny the existence of poverty arising from under-production of the essentials of life; but what the Government has in mind is our poverty in the technological field. Industrialization by forced marches carries within it the seeds of militarism, as we find every advanced country is also a military power. Our professions of peace in the years of our admitted weakness have not convinced the world; are they going to be accepted when we can parade an impressive display of guns, tanks, supersonic fighter-jets, missiles etc.?

P. M.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Senanayake Seeks Tamil Friendship

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Colombo

It is twelve years since a Ceylonese Prime Minister visited Jaffna, centre of the predominantly Tamil north. But the tumultuous reception just accorded to Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake did more than mark an unusual event. It demonstrated the large Tamil minority's enthusiastic support of a man and his policy.

When the results of the election that returned his government to power in March, 1965, came in, "Dudley", as he is affectionately known here, announced that he was glad that the number of seats his United National Party had won would make it necessary to form an administration with Tamil support, as this would build unity between Ceylon's two main communities. This policy, consistently followed, has produced an atmosphere of peace and harmony which cannot but benefit the country.

It is a measure of the Prime Minister's statesmanship that the Opposition, whose strongly pro-Singhalese line had even led to violence in January of this year, seems to have given up this approach and is emphasizing racial unity.

The Tamils are well-known for their industrious qualities and have made their dry northern land fruit-

ful while others, more blessed by nature, have achieved less. The Prime Minister, talking to the thousands who had come to greet him at the railway station, complimented them on their hard work and said it "must necessarily be an example for the rest of Ceylon". He also said that the unity which had done much to win the country independence without bloodshed was even more needed now to gain economic emancipation.

All communities and groups had united to welcome the Prime Minister. The two rival Tamil parties, the Tamil Congress and the Federal Party, had sunk their differences and were there. Senanayake, though a devout Buddhist, seemed completely at home as divine blessings were invoked on him in Sanskrit and his forehead was marked with the traditional Hindu "tilak".

Freedom Enclaves in Southern Africa

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg

Three more African countries are on the verge of independence. They are the British Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. The total population of the three countries is little over one million, but they will command three votes in the United Nations.

Basutoland, the "Switzerland" of Southern Africa, is high and mountainous. Bechuanaland is low-lying and includes the great Kalahari desert—home of the nearly-extinct but fascinating pygmies of Southern Africa, the Bushmen. Swaziland has no extremes. It is rich in iron, rich in farmland, a potentially wealthy country.

All three countries are land-locked. Basutoland is wholly surrounded by territory of the Republic of South Africa. Swaziland is bounded by South Africa and the Portuguese territory of Mozambique. Bechuanaland, a vast territory of about half a million square miles, adjoins South

Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia and just touches Zambia. Yet this small point of contact is important as it is the escape route for political refugees from South Africa via Bechuanaland to Zambia.

Bechuanaland gets independence on September 30 this year and becomes Botswana. Basutoland on October 4 becomes the independent country of Lesotho. Swaziland or Ngwane gets self-government this year but has not opted for independence until 1969.

Two issues are paramount in all three countries:

1. Their economic dependence on South Africa.

Continued on page 11

The week in Asia

BAGHDAD—Naji Taleb, new Iraqi Prime Minister, included three Kurds in his Cabinet, indicating that the previous Government's peace settlement with the rebel Kurds would be maintained.

WELLINGTON—Japan's Deputy Finance Minister, Katsushi Fujii, said here that he foresaw the creation of an Asian Common Market including Australia and New Zealand.

HONG KONG—Nuclear scientists and technicians have been exempted from current Chinese purges, it is reported here, even if they show "revisionist tendencies".

KUALA LUMPUR—Communist guerrillas ambushed a Malaysian-Thai police patrol near the border of the two countries in the biggest Communist action for 10 years.

DJAKARTA—Red China is training Indonesians for a fresh rebellion, claims *Ampera*, Indonesian Army paper. The paper said former Ambassador to Peking Djowoto was now China's adviser on Indonesian affairs.

BEIRUT—Shaikh Shakbut, ruler of the oil sultanate of Abu Dhabi and one of the world's wealthiest men, was deposed by his family for inability to govern properly. His brother, Shaikh Zaid, replaced him.

SAIGON—North Vietnamese troops are infiltrating into South Vietnam at the rate of 5000 per month, say intelligence reports.

DJAKARTA—The three-year-old confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia was ended by an agreement signed here by the Foreign Ministers of both countries. The agreement included an immediate end to hostilities and resumption of diplomatic relations.

RAWALPINDI—Geologists are reported to have found uranium deposits in the northern region of Pakistan adjoining the Karakorum Range.

PEKING—The People's Daily announced that 35 million copies of Mao's works would be published in the next 18 months to carry his thinking to the people.

TOKYO—Japan "postponed" a major deal to export synthetic fibre plant to North Korea after protests by South Korea.



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

2. The conflict between traditional and elected authority.

All three countries at present use South African currency. Basutoland is economically dependent on the export of labour to South Africa as it is poor in minerals and its farmland badly eroded. It is rich in water and South Africa faces a water crisis which has caused the Government to curtail industrial growth in the vast industrial complex in the Transvaal. Mutual economic needs point to the building of the Ox-Bow Dam in Basutoland and selling water to South Africa. This clearly would have to rest on a great deal of mutual trust which will have to be built between the two sovereign states.

Mineral Wealth

Bechuanaland strangely has had its capital on South African territory at Mafeking. Its own capital of Gaborone is now rising daily in readiness for independence. The country is arid but with enough bore-holes parts could be good cattle country. Meat-packing is its largest industry. Yet with Southern Africa in general mineral-rich, who knows whether great wealth may not lie there.

Swaziland is economically the most viable of the three territories. All three have declared for a policy of economic co-operation with South Africa. All have opposed any sug-

Europeans Integrate Agriculture

FROM PETER HINTZEN

The Hague

The European Common Market Council of Ministers have at long last agreed on integration of the continent's very diverse agriculture.

This is a significant step forward on the hazardous road of European economic unification. The President of the Common Market's executive commission, Germany's Professor Halstein, said that no other scheme of merging different national markets had gone as far.

The cheers however, are not as loud as they might have been. The accord was reached after a long and bitter struggle. The French are the principal beneficiaries. The multi-billion European Agriculture Fund will channel large sums, taken from all six countries' taxpayers, into the pockets of French farmers. This has

gestion of political links and asserted their determination to maintain complete political independence.

In the conflict between traditional and elected authority Bechuanaland has largely solved its problem. Seretse Khama, married to an English girl, is of royal blood but has come to power as a democratic politician with little opposition, and will be an executive president firmly in the saddle.

Swaziland is the opposite. The dominant power is King Sobhuza and under the new constitution he will have major powers, probably more even than Seretse Khama. All political parties have agreed on these royal powers, and at present no party could flout his will. His strength lies in the fact that all Swazis are one tribe and recognize him as king.

In Basutoland the conflict between traditional and elected power is in full flood. The young Oxford-educated Paramount Chief Moshoeshe II sees that constitutional heads of state without military power have a limited power of survival in modern Africa. He is pressing for an active place in the power structure of government and has sought to delay independence if he did not have these powers. His danger is that in the struggle he may accept help wherever he can find it and end up with the trappings of power, but as the prisoner of forces which he cannot control.

required considerable concessions from several of the other nations. During the last dramatic sessions, the Dutch had to choose between a new deadlock and heavy sacrifices. Their Minister of Agriculture chose the latter, after much heart-searching.

Yet there is relief that this thorny issue is out of the way. The road is clear now for further agreements with third countries and the long-delayed Kennedy Round talks on trade tariffs reductions. Europe can now concentrate on policies concerning industry, energy and scientific research in which fields her principal

Continued on next page

The week in India

NEW DELHI—Three Russian TU-124 jet airliners have been acquired for the Indian Air Force communication squadron, said A. M. Thomas, Minister of State for Defence Production.

NEW DELHI—Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan-yew is to visit Delhi on September 1.

BOMBAY—In defiance of a Maharashtra Government directive, nearly 1.5 lakh State employees stayed away from work for one day to press demands for pay at Central rates.

SHILLONG—The army was called out during student riots against hoarders in Shillong, Gauhati, Jorhat and other Assam towns. Five died and over 100 were injured in police firing.

BANGALORE—Maharashtra and Mysore Chief Ministers Naik and Nijalingappa failed to reach agreement on terms of reference for the one-man commission to investigate the border dispute between their States.

NEW DELHI—It was reported here that a 750,000-member Rural Youth Corps would be formed during the Fourth Five-Year Plan to provide on-the-job training in development projects.

SHILLONG—Nagaland Chief Minister Shilu Ao and six members of his Cabinet resigned after defeat on a no-confidence motion. MPs of the ruling Naga Nationalist Party unanimously elected T. N. Angami, Speaker of the Nagaland Assembly, to replace him.

NEW DELHI—Talks between Naga underground leaders and Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi ended cordially after discussing basic Naga demands for the first time. The cease-fire will be extended and more talks held.

PATNA—Police took 867 people into preventive custody on the eve of the Bihar bandh organized by the leftist United Opposition Front. The hartal was peaceful.

HYDERABAD—An estimated 3000 students ransacked shops and damaged buses in a demonstration against increased fees for Backward Class school pupils.

ERNAKULAM—Accommodation for 10,000 delegates is being provided for the AICC session starting here on September 24.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

contribution to world progress lies. But there remain shadows. The advance in economic integration is not matched by similar advance in the political field. The spending of vast sums of the European Agriculture Fund will not be checked by elected representatives. Paradoxically,

Pundits Discover: It's a Young World!

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Zurich

Never has a generation been the subject of so many studies, analyses and lectures as today's youth. The young people of 1966 seem to be the most discussed and most diagnosed people that ever walked on earth.

The first group of studies concern the percentage of youth in the population. More than a thousand million people living today—that is about half the world's population—are under 25 years old. Of these youth (between 5 and 24 years) 900 million live in developing countries and 200 million in Europe and America. 700 million live in Asia alone, which contains therefore more than 65% of the world's youth.

Three-fourths Under 21

Even more interesting is to see how these figures will evolve in the years to come. According to the latest estimates, at the end of the century three-quarters of the world's population will be less than 21 and more than half less than 14 years old. It will be a world of two thousand million children and two thousand mil-

the policies of President de Gaulle, who has said ugly things about the Brussels technocrats, have made these more, not less, powerful. It also seems crazy that present-day economic conceptions make prosperous countries quarrel over, and even limit, their food surpluses, whereas a vast section of humanity needs these only too badly.

lion teenagers of which an overwhelming majority will live in Asia and Africa.

More important even than the figures is the evolution of thinking and living in the younger generation around the globe. The French weekly Paris Match launched an enquiry under the title "The young, do they still have a morale?" in which they analysed the attitude of the youth to love, happiness, parents, money, homeland and God.

These articles—like many similar ones in reviews and newspapers all over Europe—were presented in such a way that everyone could draw the conclusions they wanted. Those who wished to do so, could shake their heads about the non-conformist rejection by many youth of rules which their elders still considered sacred.

Others could admire the so-called lack of hypocrisy in the young comparing them to some of the older generation who pretended to uphold certain standards even if they were not ready to live them themselves any more.

But one of the most interesting aspects of the Paris Match enquiry and of articles in other publications concerns the attitude of today's European youth to the problems of the world. The question of patriotism is certainly one subject which produces discussions everywhere. But what really interests a large majority of the youth more than anything else are the great questions of war and peace, of aid to developing countries, of the fight against hunger, racial intolerance and false faiths.

Ready to Sacrifice

What amazes many senior people is to see the readiness of so many youth to sacrifice time, energy and career in order to participate in activities aiming at tackling some of these great issues. A country like France, for instance, has 44,000 young teachers, experts and volunteers serving abroad (compared to 12,000 from Britain and 14,000 from the US).

During the holidays many more thousands show their desire to do something big and worth while. During the last holidays in France alone 13,000 youth went to work for no salary in work camps inside France, 4000 in work camps abroad. But even if these figures seem quite important, they look very small if one compares them with those of the remaining youth who would be ready to engage their energies in nation and world-reconstructing action if they were given the chance.

Forward-Push of Youth

It will take planning on a gigantic scale, on the one hand by governments concerned, on the other by men and organizations disposing of training-centres and personnel capable of training thousands in the new revolutionary living needed—as Moral Re-Armament is already doing on a world-scale, and finally by the countries who are requesting this type of aid. If this is not done, the forward-push of this generation may be lost.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Enough Honest Men? —Colombo Dilemma

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Colombo

Private enterprise—in the persons of the textile traders—has so disgraced itself that the Government is moving in the direction of state trading.

All textile imports will be taken over by the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment, the Finance Minister told Parliament in his Budget Speech. Under-invoicing and various forms of double-dealing by the traders, who are largely of Indian origin, has brought this about.

But the Government is between the devil and the deep blue sea. State trading has not proved successful. In fact one of the first moves of the present Government was to set up a commission to go in to the corruption scandals in the C.W.E., the Co-operative Wholesale Establishment, itself. This commission is finding so much to investigate that it has not submitted its report yet, although it is hard at work.

The honesty of the present ministers is not in doubt. The question people are asking is: will they find enough honest men to carry out their policy? And will these men be progressive and unbureaucratic in their approach?

U.S. Airlines Strike: "Public Be Damned"

FROM STEWART LANCASTER

Los Angeles

The national airlines strike, which began on July 8 and is led by the International Association of Machinists' Union, continues to halt the operations of five major American airlines. It has tied up 60% of the air transport industry, cost the airlines 135 million dollars in revenue losses so far and put 65,000 men out of work.

The airlines have been in financial difficulties for ten years and during that time the unions held off demanding wage raises. But in the last year most of the big companies made a handsome profit. The unions are determined to get their share. The companies claim it will take several high-income years to make up the deficit

of the preceding years. Both sides are adamant.

The "public be damned" attitude of the unions has so angered the Congress that a bill was passed requiring the President to intervene, which was something the labour-backed President did not care to do.

When the White House finally stepped in to pressure a settlement, the Union defied the President and turned down the Administration's proposal. A "rebellion attitude" among the workers to an enforced

The week elsewhere

UK CABINET SHUFFLE

LONDON—Economics Minister George Brown and Foreign Minister Michael Stewart swapped jobs in a cabinet reshuffle by UK Prime Minister Wilson. Brown retained his Deputy Prime Ministership. Left-wingers R. Crossman and A. Greenwood became Leader of the Commons and Housing Minister respectively.

C'WEALTH PMs TO CONFER

LONDON—Rhodesia will dominate the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which begins here on 6 September. Other topics will include aid for Zambia, disarmament, world economic trends and development projects. Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi is expected to attend. President Ayub will be represented by his Foreign Minister.

ASIAN TRUNK RAILWAY

TOKYO—Initial surveys may begin next year for a 6,500-mile Asian

settlement by the President is a new turn in US politics. The President quickly pitched the responsibility back to the Congress to settle the dispute.

Congress is presently working on legislation to make strikes having to do with essential public services unlawful, but the right to strike cannot be denied without imposing some degree of servitude on free men. The Congress will be hard put to come up with a solution that decides which is the lesser of the evils.

Trunk Railway. Japanese industrialists and MPs studying the scheme hope their Government will finance the survey. The proposed line would take 20 years to build and cost some 10 billion dollars. From Istanbul, the line would run through Ankara, Aleppo, Baghdad, Tehran, Karachi, Rawalpindi, New Delhi, Calcutta, Rangoon, Bangkok and Phnom Penh to Saigon.

CONGO CLASH

KISANGANI—Katangese armed police, a thousand-strong, are reported to be advancing on the north Congo city of Kisangani (former Stanleyville). The Katangese, who support former Prime Minister Tshombe, are believed to be clashing with President Mobutu's Congo National Army. Tshombe has been accused of fomenting trouble in order to return to power.

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ON THE Spot
HIMMAT meets the people

Docker's leader in port that "never worked smoother"

S. GUNERATNE LOOKS exactly what he is—as strong as an ox, an extremely tough customer. He lives with his wife and five children beside the paddy fields in Kadawata, a village ten miles out of Colombo, where he goes every day by bus to work.

He is one of Ceylon's 22,000 dockers and has been for the last 22 years. His is a vital job for a country which imports everything from cars to chillies, from textiles to toe-nail varnish. Ceylon governments have torn their hair over dockers' strikes and go-slows more than over any other labour group.

Recently I had read in a Ceylon newspaper, "The port of Colombo has never worked smoother than at present."

How did this change come about?
"Well, one thing that happened was that the leaders of my union met with the leaders of the other main portworkers' unions recently and we held a conference.

New Ideas

"As a vice-president of my union, I spent two hours with my president beforehand and we worked out some ideas which we then put forward to the others. One of these was that all of us dockers should do a full and hard day's work. We have a real chance to get prosperity in this country now, I feel. But as well as fighting for our own rights we need to think of the many who are unemployed and have less than we have.

"Another suggestion we put forward was that the dockers' unions should cut adrift from all political influence. We have tried mixing politics with union work and it has been bad for the workers."

How did you come to hold these convictions?

"In 1962, I was invited to a Moral Re-Armament assembly in Kerala. I was sceptical and knew nothing of MRA. But I went. I listened carefully and came to the conclusion that

what they said was true. I realised that, although I made great speeches, I was living all wrong and I decided to put it right."

Guneratne described how he used to drink and gamble his money away and how when he came home, his children never ran to meet him, but ran away and hid. "This may have been due to the fact that after filling myself up to the neck with drink, I used to behave like an animal. My wife too found me intolerable."


I turned to his wife. She had been scolded, scolded him, tried everything, she said. Nothing had worked. "Then he came back from India and

was honest with me, stopped gambling and drinking and bought this land with the money he saved." She pointed to about an acre of land by the house where coconuts grew. "Life was hell before this, now it's like paradise," her old mother added. The children, laughing and playing round her, bore out her words.


Guneratne told me that during the 1958 communal riots he had hit a Tamil with a crowbar. When he came back from Kerala he had gone up to a tea estate and met some Tamil workers, many of whom had changed in the same way as him. When they heard of a proposal to dub into Sinhalese a film about similar revolutionary changes among dockers in Brazil, they had given Rs. 275 to the making of the film. Guneratne was so moved by this that he apologised from his heart for attacking this Tamil.

"We workers should love our country, work hard and eradicate all hate and jealousy," he says.

G.D.

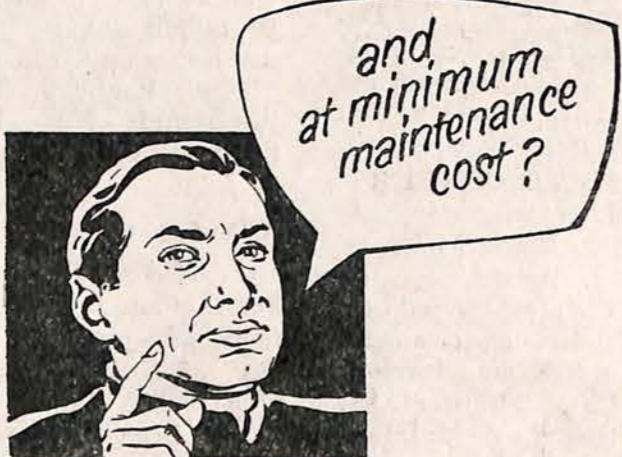
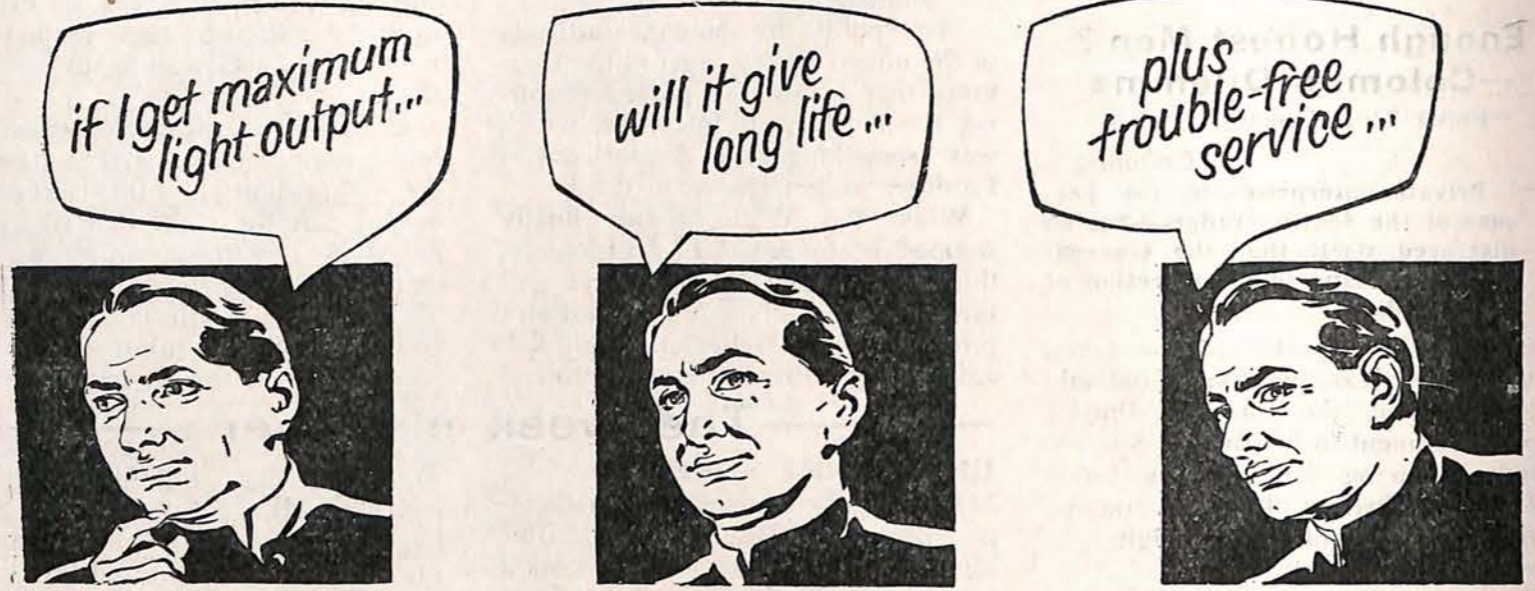


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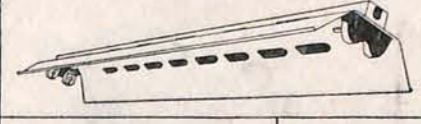

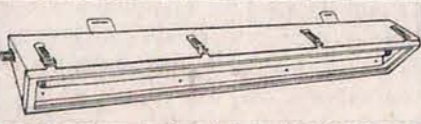

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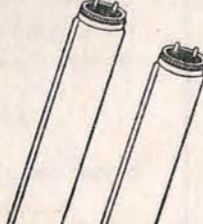
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KRIPALANI—*from page 5*

In the bazaar, in the trains, in the buses you will find people talking of the ruin and starvation brought by this Government. When the moral authority of the Congress is gone, it must be remembered that it is dead in the universal scheme of things, even though it may take a little more time to die physically.

Further, the Congress and the Government, bad as they are, are divided in their ranks. Who carries on campaigns for the demarcation of borders? Who intercepts the trains? It is done by Congressmen and the Congress organization passes resolutions praising the agitation and Congress Government supports them on both sides.

Yielded to Threats

Punjab was already half a state. That half state has been divided into three parts; so it is one-sixth of the original Punjab. That great state that had a great name, that state which defended our borders has been divided—and by whom? By the Congress Government.

Why was it divided? Because the Government was not strong to resist the demand that was against the interests of the nation. The members of the Congress Working Committee and the Cabinet were against it. But somebody threatened self-immolation. They yielded against their better judgement.

I could understand if it was felt

The Affair Subramaniam

From Our Special Correspondent in New Delhi

THERE IS A scalp hunt going on in Delhi. The Opposition wants the Food Minister, Mr. Subramaniam, to resign. If he does it will be a great victory on the eve of the elections, if he doesn't they can point out that the Government is not above board.

Subramaniam is charged by the Opposition with giving incorrect information to the House and by the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament with showing preference to a business firm with a dubious reputation for reasons not obvious. The Minister has profusely apologized to the House for any disrespect and given his explanation for his attitude to the Calcutta firm. But he has declared he will not resign.

that the division was beneficial to Punjab and India. But when it was against their better judgement what should one say? When a Government takes a bad step deliberately, then I say that Government has to be pitted.

I want the Congress people to sit among themselves, search their hearts and reform their organization. They have to put some life in their Government if they really mean business. It is a great organization that has done marvellous service to the country in the past. We had a glorious revolution the like of which has never been in history—a non-violent fight for freedom. We got Swaraj under a leader the like of whom comes only once in centuries. But what have we done to this great heritage?

For God's sake let us not enter into arguments. The lawyers can argue against each other. That does not settle a case. The case is settled by what people say and feel and what they suffer from.

I appeal to the Congressmen, not because I'm in the Opposition but because for quite some time I was one of them. I have worked in this organization for years, painful years of service. Therefore, I appeal to them to put their own house in order, be united, find out ways and means of solving the problems by sitting with members of the Opposition.

The Prime Minister is solidly behind him, but it is doubtful if his Cabinet colleagues are. The Premier had to send her trouble-shooter, Dinesh Singh, to visit individually senior Cabinet Ministers to gather support for Subramaniam. Some of them think Subramaniam is the Premier's favourite and are not averse to his resigning.

Feelings in the Congress Parliamentary Party were stronger than anticipated. While some gun for the Food Minister on account of his fertilizer deal and food imports, others are plain annoyed, anticipating charges which will be hurled at them over this affair in their election campaigns.

The Food Minister is eager to clear his name and is believed to have privately offered to resign, but Mrs. Gandhi wants to weather the storm together. She has sounded out ex-Chief Justice Gajendragadkar to give his opinion on the charges against Subramaniam. Gajendragadkar is believed to have said he is ready, provided his findings are acted upon. This is the result of the Government using the prestige of the judges to suit its convenience and then flouting their findings later.

Justice Shah, who gave his finding on the Punjab boundaries, is furious that the Government has not totally accepted his decision. Mrs. Gandhi on the other hand is reluctant to accept Gajendragadkar's terms. She will have to show her qualities of quick decision. The agony of Subramaniam and the nation cannot be prolonged.

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Fourth Test—Sobers is King

From Dickie Dodds at Headingley

WITH THEIR VICTORY by an innings and 55 runs the West Indies won the present Test Series against England. It has been a clear-cut victory and fairly represents the merits of the two sides. In every department of the game the West Indies have had the edge. Their fast bowlers have bowled faster. Their spinners have spun better. Their batters have scored more runs. And their fielding—especially their catching—has been of a higher standard. In captaincy too, Gary Sobers has had more attack than either Cowdrey or Smith.

Somehow as a team the West Indies seem to have spirit and fight whilst the Englishmen, despite some good individual performances, appeared to lack purpose and that cohesion and bite so noticeable in the World Champion football team.

Despite the one-sided result, the Fourth Test was always interesting to watch. It started with a bang. Conrad Hunte, the West Indian

opening bat, hit five fours in the first four overs. He then played a vital role in keeping his wicket intact for the next two and a half hours as play continued in bad light, strong gusty winds and interruptions for rain.

On the second morning there came the turning point of the match. When Butcher was dismissed by Higgs the West Indies were 154 for 4. If England could have broken through then they could have been in a winning position. For half an hour the struggle was tense but England could not raise their game sufficiently and gradually Sobers and Nurse took control. That was it. The next wicket fell at 419. The incredible Sobers made 174 with strokes to all parts of the ground. When the West Indies declared at 500 for 9 it was a winner.

Saturday morning was a black morning for England. Certainly Hall and the other West Indians bowled magnificently, but it was the lack of resolution on the part of the Englishmen that saddened the Yorkshire crowd that appreciate grit and guts.

When England was 83 for 6 two

stout hearts revived England's fortunes. D'Oliveira, the find of this test series, and Lancastrian Ken Higgs, played sensibly and showed what could be done. Hall was driven straight for six by D'Oliveira and Higgs made the highest score of his life. Higgs is the workhorse of this English side. He bowls fast medium and will give his all till he drops. His batting is made up of the forward and backward prod and the agricultural barley mow and one of these latter strokes sent the ball sailing over the flag on the pavilion roof.

When the English innings closed 260 runs behind the West Indies, Sobers enforced the follow on. Boycott was soon out but Barber began to show the form that won him such praise in Australia last winter. He

Continued on next page



Opener Hunte hit five fours in first four overs.

LETTERS

KINDNESS IS NOVEL

An old widow had deposited a sum of Rs. 2000 in the Current Account of the Savings Bank in Balangir Post Office of Orissa. On the previous occasion the woman had withdrawn a sum of Rs. 500. According to the rules of the Postal Department a gentleman, known to the officials there, is to identify the depositor after which money is paid. On that occasion a gentleman identified the lady for which he charged a sum of Rs. 20.

Recently she had come to withdraw a sum of Rs. 800. Sri Rabindra Nath Misra, who was an instructor in Gram Sevak Talim Kendra and had joined the Bar recently, identified the lady in the withdrawal form. The woman, out of her own will, was willing to pay a sum of Rs. 30 to Sri Misra who refused the same on the ground that he had done so in order to lend a helping hand to the woman. Thereafter the woman insisted on him accepting at least some money but he denied to accept it.

At last the woman blessed him from the innermost corner of her heart and then left the place with utmost joy and

gratefulness to Sri Misra. It seemed that the old woman had experienced a novel thing in her life.

SIDDHESWAR SAI*

Balangir, Orissa.

*This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

WATER FOR BOMBAY

Having read Mr. V. V. Rajan's letter (HIMMAT 22nd July) I would like to point out some discrepancies in his suggestion to solve the water problem for Bombay.

It would be highly impractical to tap water from the Yamuna river and pump it over a distance of 700 miles. Besides that, the cost of the venture would also be formidable, whosoever may finance it. There may be leakages in the pipes, and probably, beggars would build their colonies near the canals, if the water is brought through canals. Many more problems would naturally arise then.

A more practical solution has been suggested and agreed to—that of the Ulhas river. Another source could be the water which is used by the Tata Hydro to generate electricity. This water after serving its purpose is completely wasted. It is worth considering using this water after proper filtration for commercial purposes.

P. ILAVIA

Bombay 8

"KAMARAJ IS WRONG"

I would like to congratulate Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi on his article, "Mr. Kamaraj is Wrong." This article has been published at the right time. Sure, Mr. Kamaraj and his partymen should know of what they talk, before they talk.

We readers look forward to such bold and really thought-provoking articles often in your weekly.

M. S. O. ANNAMALAI
Annamalainagar, Madras State

BEST INFORMED PEOPLE

When I went to my college during the previous summer holidays, I discovered a file of HIMMAT dating back two years. While the rain dripped outside and the news over the hotel radio grew steadily worse, I read every page of every issue.

That small experience was part of my education as a citizen of this country. I did not admire everything I read in

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

those 96 issues of HIMMAT. Some of it seemed to me to be dated and some of it had been proved slightly contrary. Yet I thought that the articles I read and remembered were neither slanted nor eccentric.

HIMMAT describes not only the main events of humanity's constantly changing political and economic spheres but the spirit which underlies them and gives them meaning and shape. It strives to fight for national unity. It is no accident that HIMMAT readers are among the best informed men and women I know.

T. S. PRASAD

Bangalore 10

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While the Government of India is serious enough on popularizing Hindi as the national language for its inter-state adaptability, then why should not they recognize a standard Roman script for use in addition to a Devnagri script.

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O. P. VERMA

Shillong 3

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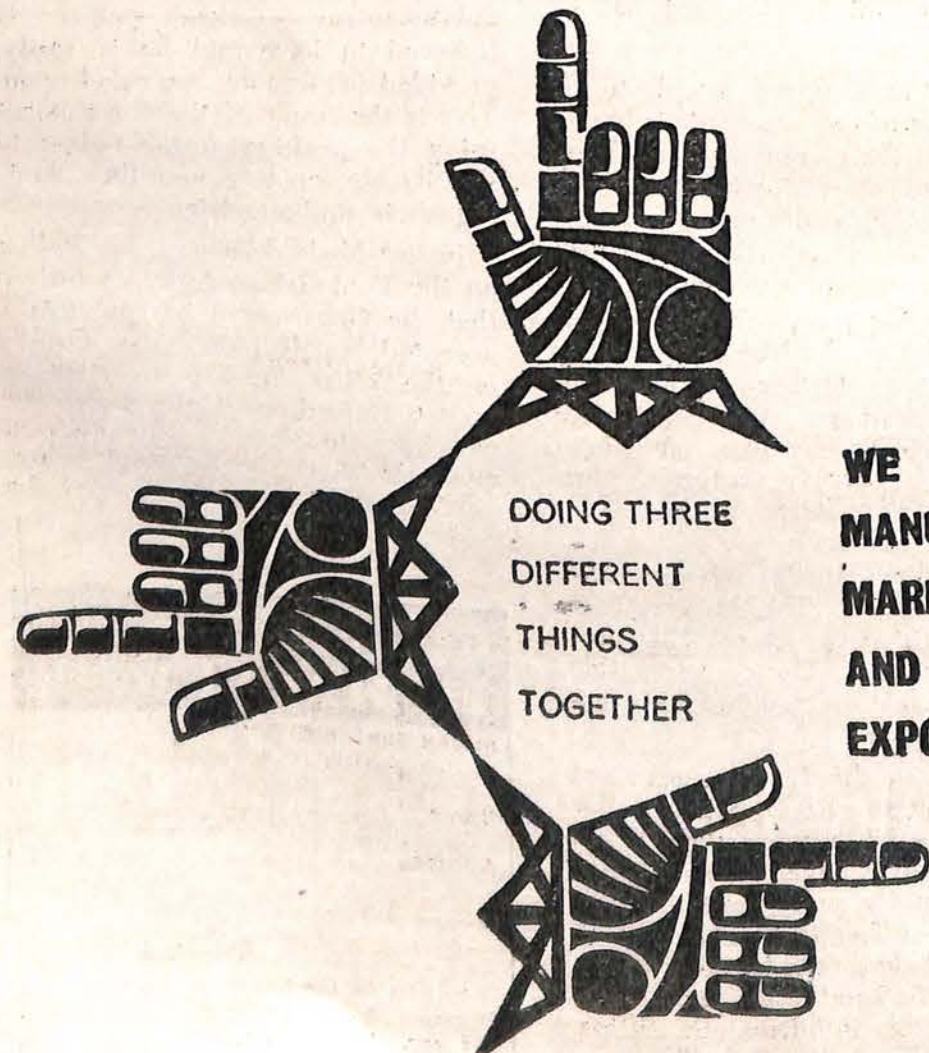
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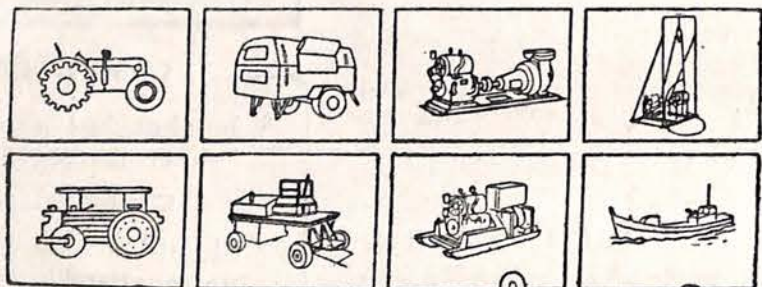
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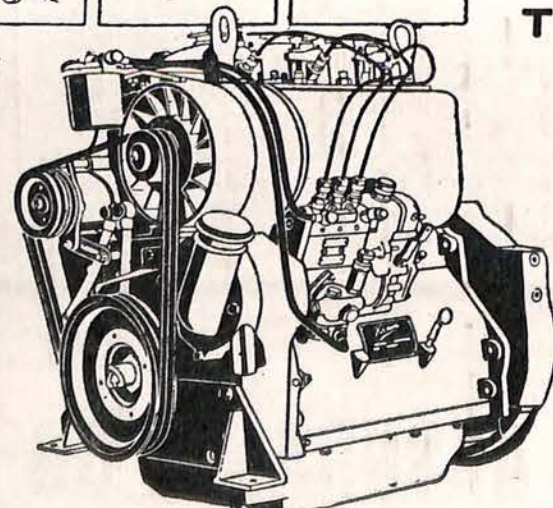
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This was a life HIPPOCRATES Circa 460—377 BC

HIPPOCRATES was the first doctor to study medicine intelligently and scientifically. He was born in Cos, an island off the coast of Asia Minor, and came from a long line of physicians—the Asclepiades, named after Aesculapius, the Greek god of medicine, whose symbol, the serpent twined round a staff, is often used in connection with medicine.

After his medical training, Hippocrates travelled widely in Greece, and spent much time in Athens, where he is said to have been able to prevent an epidemic, an achievement for which he was rewarded with a golden crown.

He set up a medical school in Cos, where he and his followers taught that disease should be carefully studied before attempting to cure it with simple remedies, and that the patient should be helped to help himself, with the aid of nursing and diet.

KEPT CASE HISTORIES

He and his school seem to have been the first to emphasize the importance of the right diet. Many of their ideas were surprisingly modern. For instance, 2000 years before the invention of the stethoscope they taught that the course of disease may be traced by listening to the patient's chest.

They were also the first to keep careful case histories, which can still be studied.

Hippocrates seems to have been a shrewd judge of men, judging by the story that he was sent to talk to a philosopher who people said was mad because he had withdrawn from human contacts into a cave. "He is the sane man," said Hippocrates, after examining the man, to those who had sent him. "It is you who are mad, with your prejudice and ignorance and superstition."

REFUSED FOREIGN OFFERS

He loved his country, and though he was offered large inducements by Artaxexes, king of Persia, to come to his country, he refused to leave Greece.

Hippocrates' influence is still felt in medicine, and indeed in society as a whole today. The writings of his followers can still be read—possibly some by Hippocrates himself; and doctors still respect as the highest expression of medical ethics the Hippocratic Oath, which calls on them to treat their teacher as a father; to share knowledge; to live honourable lives; and never to disclose secrets learned in the sick room.

D.M.P.

FRONTIERS OF science

Planning for the 21st Century

By Reginald Holme

OUR SPECIAL SCIENCE CORRESPONDENT

FEW MEN RAISE their gaze above the daily rat race for survival to look at far horizons.

In Fleet Street's Press Club in London I lunched the other day with a man who peers into the Twenty-First Century—its cities, its transport on ground and in air, and out to space and planets.

He is Professor K. L. C. Legg, Head of the Department of Aeronautical and Automobile Engineering at Loughborough University of Technology in Leicestershire, England.

Forty-one-year-old Professor Legg sports a hedge of brown beard on his face, with a solid thicket on chin.

He left school at 15 and during an apprenticeship in industry got himself a thorough grounding in engineering. He did this by part-time study which led to an external engineering degree. A post-graduate course at the Cranfield College of Aeronautics in England was followed by four years' lecturing at a university in Brazil (he lectured in Portuguese after three months).

Rebuilding Cities

His present post at Loughborough brings him in contact with a number of Indian students.

Professor Legg's main cry is for an overall, integrated view of city building for the next 50 years. He also wants well-coordinated, speedy ways of moving people and goods around, on earth, under sea and in space.

He believes much can be done by training young people in this overall view and filtering them into industry and Government Ministries. These Ministries should, in his view, be as much concerned with looking ahead as with coping with present day-to-day problems.

At Loughborough the comprehensive outlook, which Professor Legg and his staff instil, suggests that cities now existing, and even those still being built, will have to be pulled

down and rebuilt in the next 50 years, unless our present outlook changes.

Basically we are building in the traditional way, or making piecemeal alterations, instead of thinking how the city of the next 50 years is going to cope with increased traffic.

The present city or town tends to have a commercial centre with a residential belt round it. In the belt are pockets of industry. This makes for maximum daily in and out flow of traffic (as in London) and a lot of traffic routes crossing each other, leading to costly traffic jams and delays.

A more logical pattern, Professor Legg suggests, is a central residential sector, surrounded by a main industrial belt. Around the belt would be a transport ring.

Little private transport would then be needed in the central residential area. This area could be linked to the outer ring by public transport, possibly of a novel and fully automatically controlled kind. Residents who needed to go on journeys could garage cars at the outer ring. From this ring aircraft would operate—out of ear-shot of residents, and making use of Vertical Take-Off and Landing (VTOL) aircraft or feed-line helicopters.

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Are We Really Free?

By Rajmohan Gandhi

WE HAVE JUST HAD another freedom anniversary, and it is worth examining what freedom in India means.

In 1947 India became free in the sense that instead of men from Britain some men who were Indians now sat in the seats of power. Whites were replaced by the white-capped. Every Indian was proud of the change. But we were foolish in thinking that what was a technical transfer of power from one group of men to another would achieve a transfer in the life of our country's millions.

Many now assert that although India may be called free, individual Indians are not. I share this view.

Unreliable Powers

Our Constitution guarantees the fundamental freedoms of speech, expression and worship to every Indian. But a whole series of amendments to the Constitution have reduced these freedoms. The Defence of India Rules, the Preventive Detention Act, and a number of laws and ordinances have given Government the right to arrest and imprison and silence anyone it wants to without trial.

It is not my point that such laws are always or wholly evil, but often they are, and it certainly is my point that the wisdom and discretion of many who now have the power to use these laws is not reliable. The ordinary citizen, if he thinks at all about such matters, lives under the constant threat of being bullied and captured by unscrupulous men whose aim is not national security but vendetta, desire for bribes, or some such small aim.

Submit Abjectly

And even when the law is on the citizen's side, lack of money, stamina and influential contacts can often force him to submit abjectly to the dictatorship of police or government officials.

The decent officials in our police and civil departments, and they are many, are not my targets. In a sense, however, they are, for they have not fought with guts to keep the corrupt among them in line. The ordinary citizen, when the chips are down, cannot really

count on the effective backing of the good men in power against the designs of the bad.

In free India there is no such thing as the freedom to conduct business and trade in the way one wants to. Nobody, in any country today, would want a few powerful rich to have the fullest liberties to exploit the powerless many. Regulations are necessary not only to avoid this but also to promote the speedy prosperity of the poor.

Inter-state Restrictions

But no one can seriously maintain today that the massive, complex, pervasive network of blocks and controls on industry and trade are eliminating poverty. A high proportion of them are perpetuating it even as they are depriving men of their freedom.

Buses, trucks, cars and carts cannot move from one state to another, and very often from one district to another, without lengthy processes involving licenses, permits—and bribes. India is not one country, as far as trade is concerned. The western part of Europe is much more of a country than India from this angle. Wheat can come freely to Gujarat from America, it cannot come to Gujarat from Punjab.

Inner Ban

The western part of Gujarat, Saurashtra, produces one third of all the groundnut and groundnut oil of India, but not a bean or a drop can leave the borders of Gujarat State, for the aim of the Gujarat Government is to offer the city dwellers within their borders a lower price. But in spite of elaborate plans announced to prevent smuggling, a great deal is "exported" out to other states. It is impossible for the people of Gujarat to consume all the groundnut oil they produce. The smuggling, of course, is achieved through an established set of bribing methods and procedures.

More important and dangerous than the encroachment on individual liberty from outside is the refusal of so many of us to fight for our rights as free men. The inner ban we place on ourselves is altogether more powerful than any external control.

Fear, of course, is the root of it, and the other side of the fear coin is demand. Demand for money or place or fame. When this passion is replaced by a greater and bolder passion fear vanishes, and the individual is liberated. His unknown or suppressed talents come out, and confidently he confronts the Establishment.

Root of Slavery

It is the big "I" which is at the bottom of our slavery. I do not mean this in any unreal, mystical or theological sense. I am speaking in cold, practical, political terms if you like. In today's India the man who cherishes place or recognition has to be a tool of other people. He cannot function on his own. The man who wants to be free has first to decide to terminate his agreement to popularity and status.

The self-seeker, who can at times preen with pomposity, can also produce a meek submission to tyranny and injustice.

Buying and Bullying

Today's freedom fighter in India should be able to say to anyone in this land and outside, "You cannot buy me and you cannot bully me."

If we are honest, there is a lot of buying and bullying in our families, offices, factories, organizations and government departments. Buying and bullying is our way of life. It is the opposite of freedom and actually another name for imperialism.

It is this imperialism we must vow to destroy. The battle is not between class and class, caste and caste, age and youth, conservatives and progressives. It is between good and evil, between the truth we know and the lie which, (we think), will fetch us something we want.

And if we are again deeply honest we shall know that there burns today in millions of ordinary Indian citizens a passion for a new way and a new day. Everything has got to be different, they feel. Men who accept the inner change will produce the outer change which will bring us closer to real liberty.

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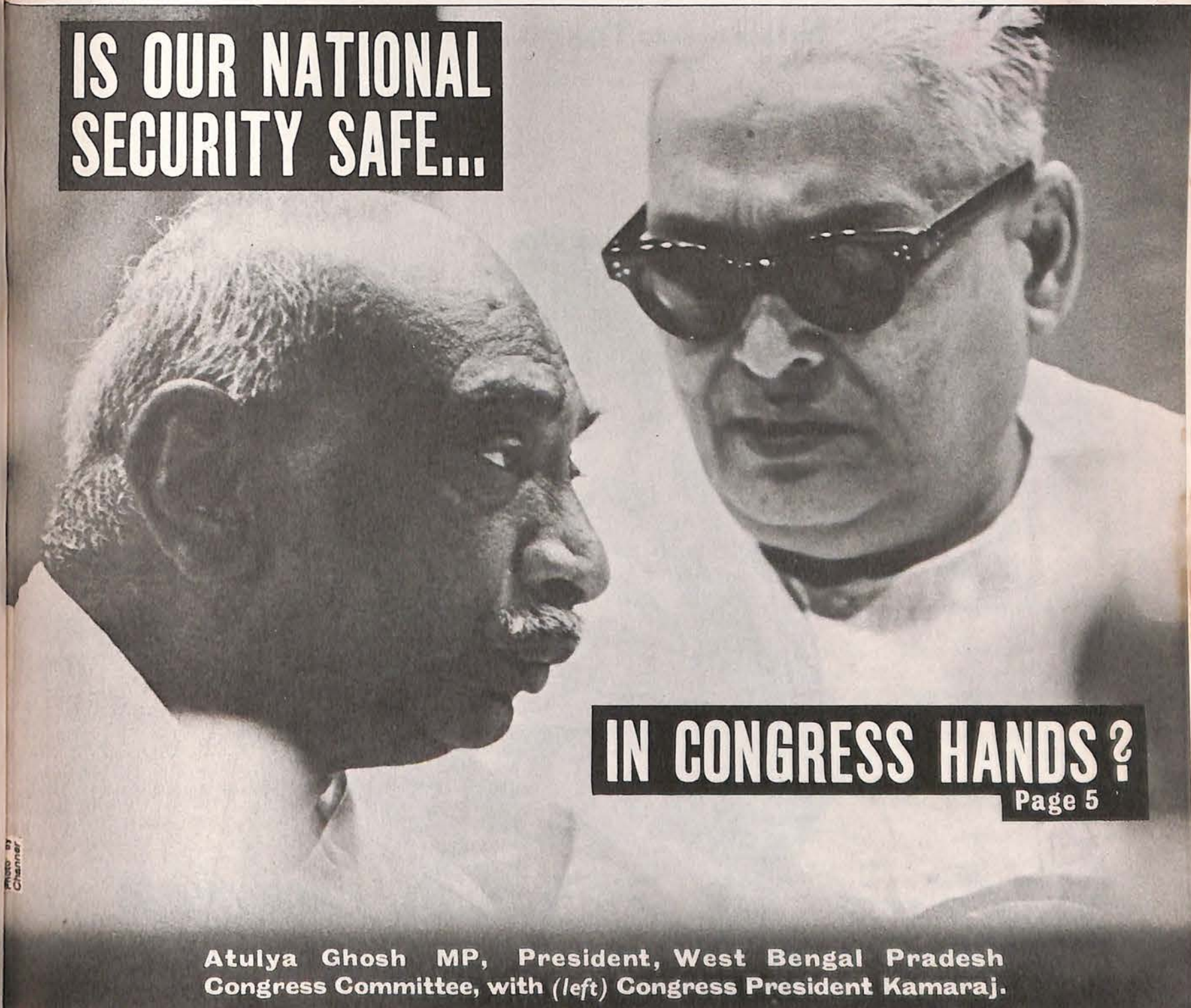
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FRIDAY AUGUST 26 1966

IS OUR NATIONAL SECURITY SAFE...



IN CONGRESS HANDS?

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Atulya Ghosh MP, President, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, with (left) Congress President Kamaraj.

Rajmohan Gandhi
GOODBYE, COMMUNISM