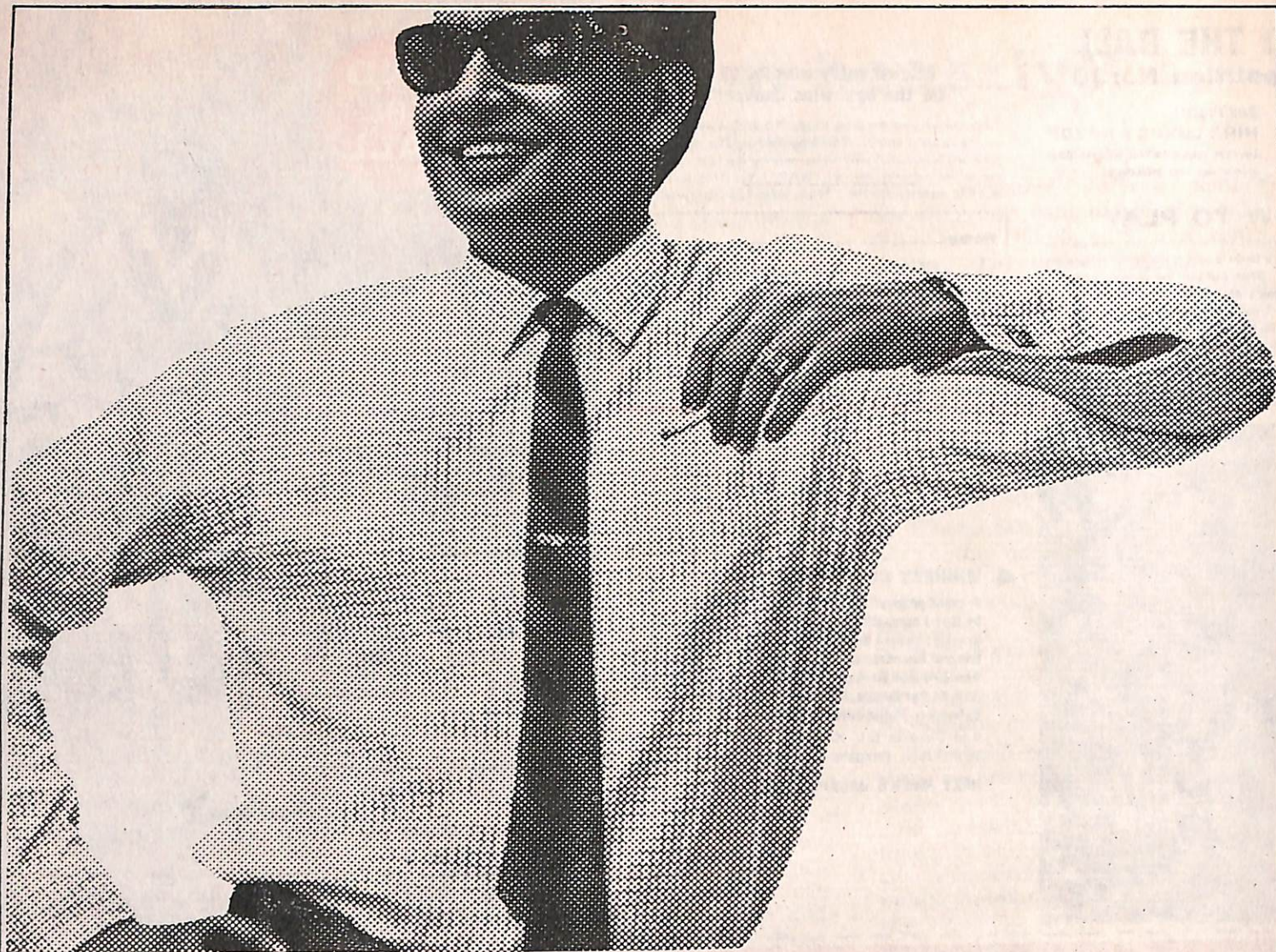


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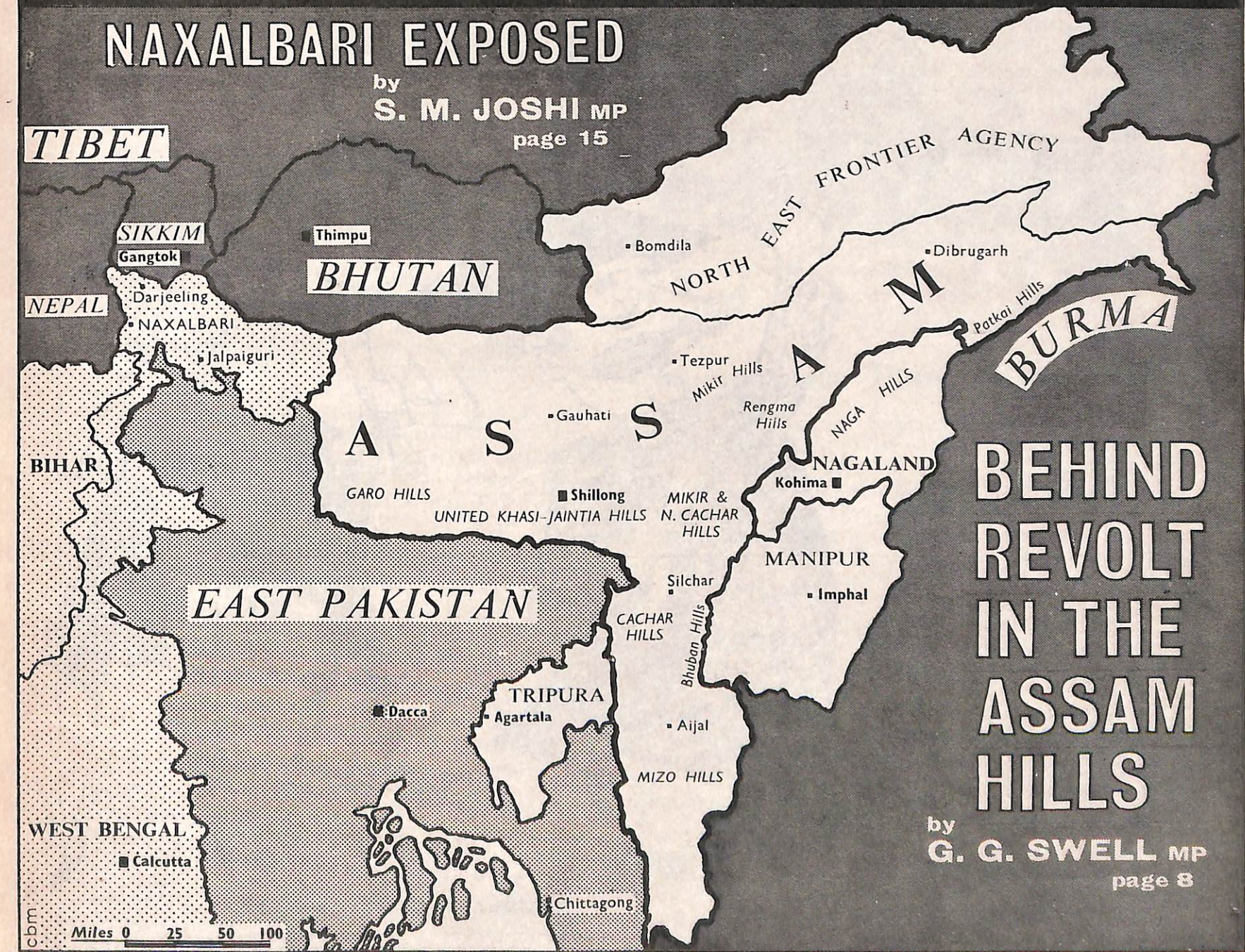
ASIA'S NEW VOICE

FRIDAY AUGUST 4 1967

INDIA'S STRATEGIC NORTH-EAST SMOULDERS

NAXALBARI EXPOSED

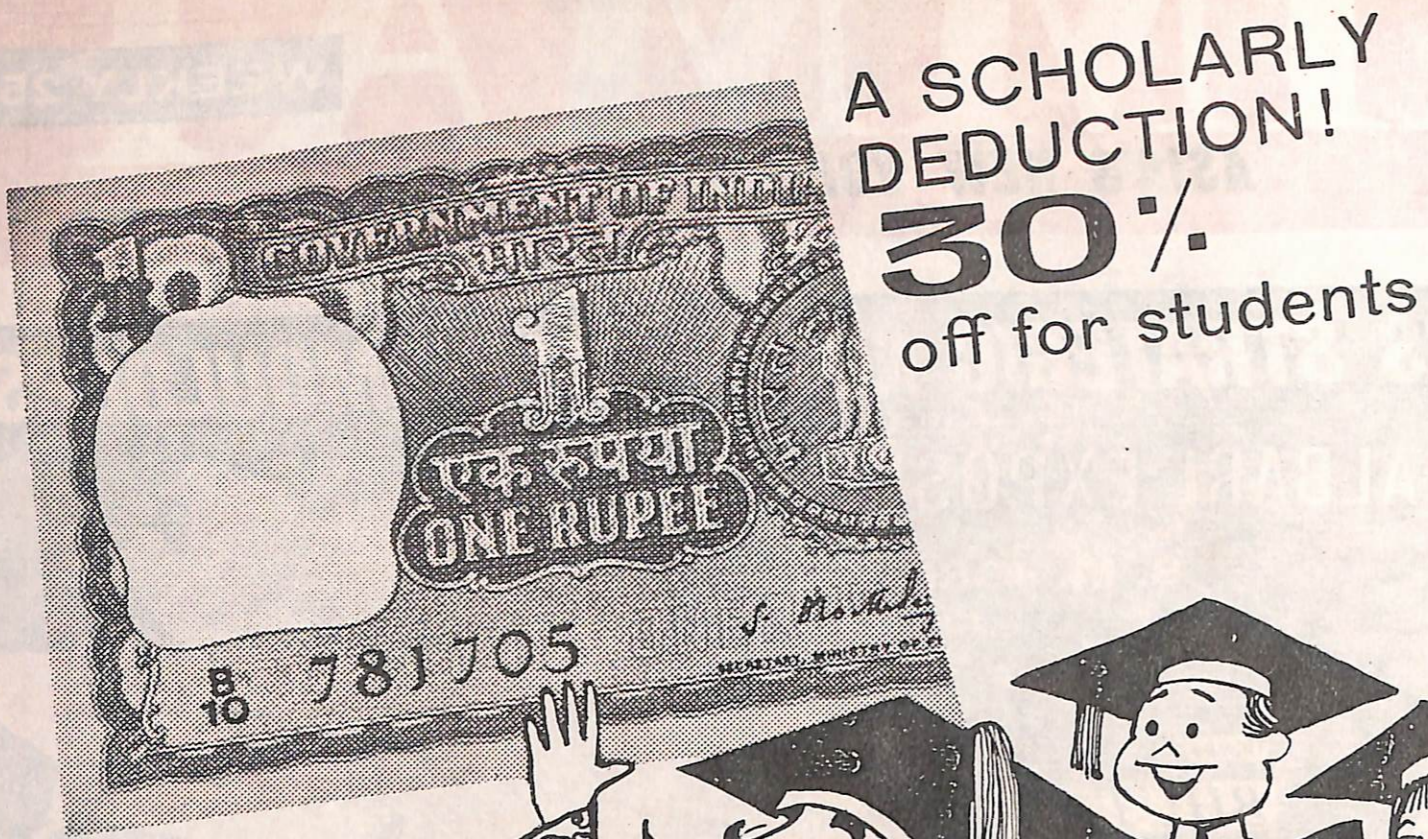
by
S. M. JOSHI MP
page 15



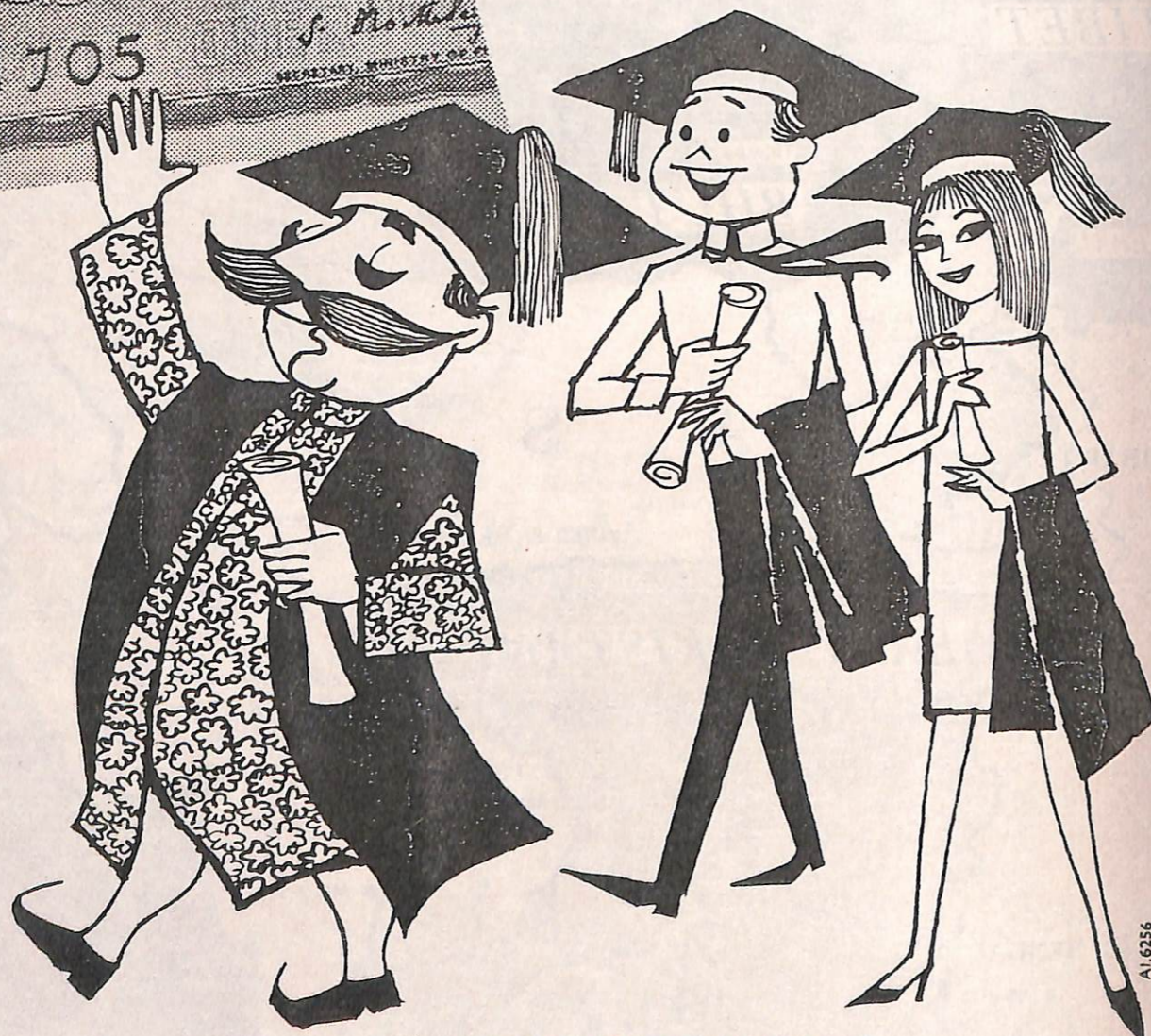
BEHIND REVOLT IN THE ASSAM HILLS

by
G. G. SWELL MP
page 8

MISHRA TO SUCCEED KAMARAJ?



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice WEEKLY

BOMBAY FRIDAY AUGUST 4, 1967

Call to glory

AFTER 200 YEARS East of Suez, Britain has decided to withdraw militarily from the area by the mid-'seventies. "It is," says an Indian commentator, "a painful rebirth (of Britain) into a smaller world from the wider spaces of the Kipling era. It is good-bye to glory."

Military withdrawal is one thing but one senses in Britain's decision a desire to retreat into the shell of Europe to turn her back on the role history has called her to do. The speed with which she has arrived at her present decision has left many of her friends aghast.

What about Malaysia which she once saved from Communist guerrillas at the cost of her blood and money? Could that land not again be the target of Peking? What about the economy of Singapore which depends heavily on Britain's defence commitments?

It is true that Australia, that stout-hearted young nation, will grow in responsibility in that part of the world. It seems however that there has not been the necessary co-ordination between Australia and Britain before the White Paper was published.

There are nations East of Suez who have close links with Britain. They speak in her language, their institutions have been inspired by Britain's political thinking and their law courts today dispense justice according to British law. These nations cannot but feel sad and search for a clue to this new move. The conclusion is inevitable that Britain's withdrawal from responsibility in the East is the end product of her own receding moral frontiers.

We have observed how in the last years Britain has been pre-occupied with secondary issues. The Indian Parliament is no paragon of virtue but it seems that the mother of parliaments at Westminster has had its own share of the fall.

In its last session, the House of Commons' main achievements seem to be the passing of the Abortion Bill and the Homosexual Bill. It is difficult to see how either of these Bills will strengthen the moral fibre of that nation. Having rushed through these Bills, some of the same elements now want to launch a campaign to make the consumption of the drug marijuana or hashish legal.

Heading this campaign are some MPs, doctors, writers like Graham Greene—and the Beatles. They

have just published a full page advertisement in the Times urging the reversal of the law against this drug. At the same time the humanistic society of Britain has declared its aim to launch a five-year programme to have religion abolished in British schools.

Unless these moral challenges to Britain's thinking and living are met with, Britain, which now claims to withdraw into Europe, will next withdraw within the borders of Britain and soon many in Britain will be satisfied sitting round their television sets.

We do believe that there are still people in Britain who want her to rise to her true calling. If the Government doesn't change its policies, maybe the people can assert themselves. They may find unity in the common task of reinforcing democratic institutions in India and backing, with men and resources, the initiative of Indians who want to build a clean, strong and secure nation that could be the bulwark of Asia.

With her experience, Britain could enthuse Scandinavia and other affluent nations of Europe and make them reach out towards Asia and Africa, not for military but humanitarian purposes of feeding, housing, clothing and inspiring the world's millions.

Commonsense Plan

AGRICULTURE TAKES PRIDE of place in the annual Plan presented to Parliament last week. Out of a total outlay of Rs 2246 crores in the public sector, Rs 523.27 crores will be spent on agriculture, irrigation and community development.

The Plan's emphasis is sound, for agriculture contributes about 50 per cent of the total national product. Given a good harvest, the Plan anticipates a 24.6 per cent increase in food production (up to 95 million tonnes of grain) compared to last year. This is expected to generate an upward swing in industrial production in response to increased consumer demand.

After 20 years the planners have at last seen that in a nation of farmers, agriculture should be given priority. That Government should recognise this is good, but it is important that the reappraisal of agricultural policy goes far enough.

In a recent Parliamentary debate the Food and Agriculture Minister, Mr Jagjivan Ram, said, "Any strategy which does not enthuse all the farmers, big or small, will not achieve the desired results."

Many experts hotly dispute the value of certain policies, for example on food zones and land reforms, claiming that their effect is to deprive farmers of precisely those incentives which the Minister says are essential. National necessity requires that common sense, and not dogma or local politics, prevails on these issues.

Briefly speaking...

Zest for life

SIR MANILAL NANAVATI, a notable pioneer of the civil service, died at his home in Bombay last week, aged 90. In 1936, Sir Manilal became only the second Indian Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank. He had served for many years before that in the administration of the Maharaja of Baroda to whom his father was physician. His experience of famine in Baroda led to 60 years of research into rural indebtedness and it was he who later set up the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank.

When HIMMAT met Sir Manilal two years ago and asked him what changes he saw in the civil service today, he replied: "In my time we

were always out in the villages camping 10 to 15 days a month, meeting people, and getting to know their problems. When I meet the younger civil servants I am surprised to see there is so little will to work. One officer told me, 'I am waiting for a transfer.' Another, 'I don't like this job.'"

Sir Manilal felt keenly that the zest for life and work is often missing today, yet somehow he managed to retain it himself until the last.

Cunning plot?

WHILE THE HEALTH MINISTER is campaigning for sterilisation, even offering transistor radios for the victims, *The Times of India* goes one better. In an editorial last Sunday they pointed out that of All-India Radio's estimated 40 million listeners, 90 per cent are in the urban areas. Therefore, giving transistors to sterilised villagers, they argue, would help AIR cover more of the rural population! "It would serve the interests of family planning and also those of education and agricultural development."

Perhaps it is all a cunning plot by Broadcasting Minister K. K. Shah to use the Health Ministry for his own schemes!

Gay new musical

A NEW British musical, "Annie", has set audiences rocking with laughter following its world premiere last Friday at London's Westminster Theatre. The first night audience, according to reports, loved the ebullient characters of north country England and East London where the lively story of "Annie" unfolds. "A strong cast" and "genuinely rousing numbers", wrote *The Times* reviewer.

Annie Jaeger, whose life inspired the musical, was a valiant and vivacious widow who sold her hat shop in Stockport for £40 and plunged into the turbulent East London of the 'thirties. She had a special way with difficult people, changing their attitudes and their lives wherever

He who comes up to his own idea of greatness must always have had a very low standard of it in his mind.

WILLIAM HAZLITT 1778-1830

she met them—in the streets, in pubs and in their homes. As the Cockneys themselves described it, "She gave us a 'basinful of revolution'."

Her son, who described the new play to *Birbal* when he visited India a few months ago, received letters of appreciation from 500 families when his mother died some years ago.

Planning backwards

WHILE THE Government announces a discouraging 5.5 per cent drop in India's per capita income last year (down to Rs 450), Japan's went up 9.7 per cent to approximately Rs 7500. Now there is a lesson for those theorists in the backrooms of Yojana Bhavan! These planners should realise that hard work and initiative need to be encouraged, not frustrated by controls.

Dark and dingy

THE FOLLOWING report in *The Hindu* on the Guntur General Hospital describes the harrowing experience of its more than 3500 daily out-patients:

"There is a market-place atmosphere in the halls of the out-patient department, with hundreds of men and women waiting in dark rooms for the doctor. The room where injections are given is a long, narrow passage, the long unending queue moving towards the doctor who hurriedly does the pricking and asks the patient to go."

No doubt this will be one of the centres in the Health Minister's plan for sterilisation. Dr Chandrasekhar would do better to concentrate on the nation's health which, after all, would seem to be the purpose of his Ministry.

Birbal

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HIMMAT, August 4, 1967



from the Capital

Aftermath in Madhya Pradesh

by **ANTENNA**

NEW DELHI Whither Congress? Whither Mrs Gandhi? These are the questions people are asking here today. But answers to them are not readily available. One thing is, however, certain. The prestige of the Congress Party has

slumped to its lowest point ever since independence, and one wonders whether it will ever recover or continue plummeting till the Party's destruction is complete.

Two significant events have taken place in the last few days of the gravest import to the Congress since its drubbing at the polls last February. The first is the collapse of the Mishra Ministry in Bhopal, which was hardly in doubt after the "strong-man" of Madhya Pradesh retreated from Delhi to his provincial lair last week without having succeeded in persuading the Central Congress leaders to agree to dissolving the State Legislative Assembly immediately and holding a mid-term election instead of subjecting him to facing a hostile house.

Once it became obvious that the defecting Congress legislators could not be lured back to the Party, Mr Mishra's number was up. He went back to Bhopal already a defeated man, but apparently with the consoling thought that Mrs Gandhi considers him the most suitable choice for Congress President if Mr Kamaraj agrees to bow out when his term expires in a few months. Mrs Gandhi, if people who claim to be close to the Congress "high command" are to be believed, now has no more use for Mr Kamaraj than he has for her.

With Mr Mishra in command at

Mr Govind Narain Singh who led the revolt of 35 Congress legislators on July 19, was sworn in as Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh on Sunday. He will head the Samyukta Vidhayak Dal coalition after its leader, the Rajmata of Gwalior, declined to accept office. The Rajmata has been formally named Leader of the House. Madhya Pradesh is the ninth State (out of 17) to come under non-Congress rule. The nine States comprise 62 per cent of the population.

No. 7 Jantar Mantar Road, the headquarters of the All-India Congress Committee in New Delhi, she could hope that the widespread rumbling of revolt against her authority could be stifled, or at least kept within reasonable bounds.

One hears talk here of Mr Mishra's ouster being caused by a "conspiracy" of feudal elements in Madhya Pradesh and of the increasing urgency, therefore, to abolish princely privy purses, but those who express such views conveniently forget that these very elements were responsible

for keeping the Congress in power in this State all these years. Rajmata Vijaya Raje Scindia of Gwalior, who heads the opposition Samyukta Vidhayak Dal which encompassed Mr Mishra's ruin, was until last February a Congress member of the Lok Sabha.

One offshoot of the Madhya Pradesh debacle which must be perplexing Mrs Gandhi and her top aides is how many Congress MPs will cross the floor in Delhi with the installation of a non-Congress Government in Bhopal. The present calculation is six or seven in the Lok Sabha but should there be further defections from the Congress ranks in the State Legislature there is

continued on next page

On your toes

"NON" TO DE GAULLE

PRESIDENT DE GAULLE'S endorsement of separatist emotion when he shouted "Vive Quebec Libre"—(long live free Quebec) during his recent Canadian tour was not only a piece of cheap politicking. It was also bad manners, and of a Frenchman what worse could be said.

After emergency Cabinet sessions (one lasting 3½ hours) Prime Minister Pearson rightly pointed out, "Canadians don't need to be liberated. Indeed, many thousands of Canadians gave lives in two world wars in liberation of France and other European countries."

The General's call for a "free Quebec", said Pearson, was "unacceptable" to the Canadian people. And with that, the 76-year-old soldier beat a hasty retreat to Paris. To sulk over Pearson's rebuke? Safe on his own soil the General repeated his call.

De Gaulle had also urged Canadians as a whole to "safeguard their independence from contact with the USA". He apparently misjudged the extent of pro-French and anti-American sentiment. As often in the past, he equated his hopes with reality.

De Gaulle's hostility towards Ame-

rica and Britain now shapes his foreign policy. Their postures in West Asia and towards China provoke the opposite in him. But however understandable his personal reaction to these two powers, he appears to have forgotten that without them, France would not have been freed from Nazi occupation and de Gaulle may not have been President.

The fall of France in 1940 was a calamity, but for Charles de Gaulle it was a humiliation. Throughout the long fight back, in which the Free French led by de Gaulle under the Cross of Lorraine played an outstanding part, there was constant friction between the exiled General and Churchill.

While other allied leaders planned for the liberation of all Europe, de Gaulle lived intensively for the liberation of his beloved France.

His nationalism, in a way, was his weakness then. And it is his weakness today.

De Gaulle has kindled the sense of greatness in French hearts. He could snuff it out unless he relinquishes his old animosities and covets greatness for other nations also.

Freebooter

HIMMAT, August 4, 1967

CHALTA HAI...



"We seem to be short of everything except shortages."

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QUBIRAMA

VERDICT!

This week HIMMAT...

CONDEMNS the Government announcement that Singapore citizens who are Indians, and whose families live in India, will be classified "stateless" if they give up Singapore citizenship.

★

WARNS those who want their grandchildren to be motorists that they had better join the 124,586 registered bookings for cars now as the waiting period for a new car in some places is as long as 29 years.

★

REMINDS Andhra MLAs who say their State should secede unless the Centre heeds their demands for the completion of the Nargajunasagar irrigation project, that, without the Centre's aid, there would probably be no project to complete.

★

GARLANDS Congress President Kamaraj for saying "no" to defeated Chief Minister D. P. Mishra's limpet bid to cling to power by imposing mid-term elections on Madhya Pradesh, and **DISMISSES** as personal pique Mr Mishra's threat to resign from the Congress leadership and become a backbencher.

★

DUBS with a sword of honour Japanese yachtsman Kashima who sailed solo across the Pacific.

★

INQUIRES whether the Union Health Ministry has an organisation ready to issue 250 million Indian women with birth certificates—a necessary corollary of its scheme to raise the age of marriage to 20.

★

CONDEMNS as outrageous the constant strike threats by IAC and Air India pilots and engineers whose pay runs into thousands monthly in a country where millions get less than Rs 100 a month.

★

SUGGESTS the appointment of non-party guidance counsellors in State Assemblies for Members who have crossed the floor so often they cannot remember which lobby to vote in.

MP AFTERMATH—from page 5

bound to be a chain reaction which will be felt in Parliament. The chances then are that her majority in the Lok Sabha may be halved to around 20, and this is a prospect that will certainly not bring peace to her mind.

Had the Congress leaders in Delhi heeded Mr Mishra's urgent plea for a mid-term election in his State, this would most likely have led to a series of such polls in states where the Congress or non-Congress coalitions are holding on to office with a precarious majority. And the general view is that such polls would have turned out badly for Congress.

The second significant event of last week detrimental to the Congress is Mr Charan Singh's victory in the voting on the no-confidence motion in the Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Sabha. Even enthusiastic supporters of the coalition he heads were not optimistic about the outcome of the motion, and his success in getting a margin of 20 votes is expected to ensure the stability of his Government for at least another five months.

Mr Charan Singh's triumph undoubtedly influenced developments in Bhopal and reinforced the determination of the Opposition to see Mr Mishra out. A Congress comeback in Lucknow would, on the other hand, have been a big boost to him in his bid to bring back the defectors from his ranks.

Further, the combined effect of

the events in Lucknow and Bhopal are expected to deter the Congress from attempting to overthrow prematurely the non-Congress coalition in other states.

The popular rejoicing which greeted Mr Mishra's downfall in Bhopal and Mr Charan Singh's victory in Lucknow, have come as a sobering shock to the Congress strategists here who thought they had discerned a swing in public sentiment in various parts of the country once again towards their Party. The advocates of aggressive action against non-Congress coalitions will now lie low for some time.

Tailpiece: Mrs Gandhi's "kitchen cabinet" is now known in political and journalistic circles here as the "chicken cabinet". So many of its members are getting "roasted", it is said, the latest being Mr D. P. Mishra.

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Madhya Pradesh decision only postpones some mid-term polls

THE THREATENED PROSPECT of a series of mid-term polls following one in Madhya Pradesh has been averted for the time being by the resignation of the D. P. Mishra Ministry. The opposition Samyukta Vidhayak Dal, led by the Rajmata of Gwalior, will now form a new Government. But the political crisis in Madhya Pradesh is not ended thereby.

The Congress High Command, which was just recovering from the fall of the Congress Ministry in Uttar Pradesh, may find itself confronted with similar crises before it recovers from the shock of Mr Mishra's fall. For these crises are symptoms of a deeper moral malady—the opportunistic scramble for power—which has nothing to do with meeting the needs of the people.

Devious means

Mr D.P. Mishra's notable election victory in February has been turned into a profound loss of face by the defection of about 35 legislators from his party. He is understandably angry that his powerful rival, the Rajmata, has now obtained by devious means what she failed to obtain through an open contest. Whatever the sins of Mishra, there is nothing to commend

SAY THAT AGAIN...

The problem of famine in Bihar is in the last analysis, a human problem and not one created by God or nature.

PROFESSOR R. M. GOLE

The lethargy, waste and smug self-satisfaction in our private business are not imposed by Communism nor their existence made mandatory by the Planning Commission.

M. S. KIRLOSAR
in "Industrial March"

The country is seeing how people, who cannot agree for anything else, are sticking together for power.

MINISTER OF STATE K. C. PANT

Under the Lens

by R. VAITHESWARAN



either this defection or the use made of it by opposition parties.

But Madhya Pradesh is true to the pattern of Congress Party dissolution. Dissident groups and careerist individuals in the Congress are now abandoning the ship because it is no longer the best instrument for their personal aims.

True to character

The Congress Party has of course brought this situation on itself by building its strength on bosses like Bakshi Gulam Mohammed and Biju Patnaik who have, on the established findings of duly constituted commissions, amassed crores of rupees after coming into positions of power. State funds and political patronage have been apparently used extensively by Congressmen to enrich themselves and buy the loyalty of supporters. If such fair-weather friends now choose to go elsewhere for what they want, they are not being untrue to their character.

The Congress, by continuing to protect proven defrauders of the public treasury by refusing to institute inquiries, delaying legal action as long as possible while wrongly obtained properties are turned into untraceable cash, and even making it possible for them to leave the country when it gets too hot, is also true to its character as a corrupt power machine which deserves no better.

Obviously, governments based on the votes of buyable turncoats are no alternative to Congress rule, bad as that has been. The coalitions of non-Congress parties now in power cannot last for long on the basis of a determination to keep the Congress out. The will and the patience somehow to keep the precarious coalitions going despite conflicts of interest and ideology is undoubtedly brave. But it cannot be a substitute for intelligent action on a commonly agreed programme.

The Opposition encouragement of opportunism in the Congress Party and defections from it is quite deliberate, for each breakaway group hastens the day of crisis for Mrs Gandhi's Government. The parliamentarians cannot stand aside from the turmoil of state politics. Defections in the States will shift the balance of forces in the Congress

Legislature Party and ultimately threaten continued Congress Party rule at the Centre. Opposition strategists are consciously working for a repetition of the Haryana, UP and Madhya Pradesh stories in New Delhi.

The instability of almost all State Governments and the undermining of Mrs Gandhi's base in her own party would suggest the prospect not only of piecemeal state elections but a general election all over the country. That day is coming sooner rather than later.

It would seem that all opposition parties and in particular the Left Communists are planning to go to the polls again when it would be of maximum advantage to them, especially in the States where they are planning for total power—Kerala and West Bengal.

The chances of dissident groups surviving more than an election or two are remote. So it is reasoned, chief ministerships for dissident Congress leaders and generous offers of cabinet positions are not too high a price to pay if this will weaken the Congress Party at the moment, hasten their elimination tomorrow and ultimately destroy both them and the Congress.

Tide of extremism

Opposition Parties expect to gain considerably in a mid-term election and not unrealistically they hope that the Congress will be beaten even more badly. The prospect would appear to be one of increased consolidation of rightist parties in some states and left parties in others. Political polarisation which has so far been prevented by the amorphous nature of Congress, will become inevitable.

I believe that there is a real danger from the intolerance of extremists and their tendency towards political authoritarianism. One can only hope that the liberal democrat who values freedom, as well as the democratic Socialist who is not prepared to abandon freedom as the price of realising his aims, can come to some understanding and create a forward-looking strong and united democratic Centre.

Only such consolidation can halt the tide of extremism and the bid for monolithic power of totalitarian forces in the country.



is so

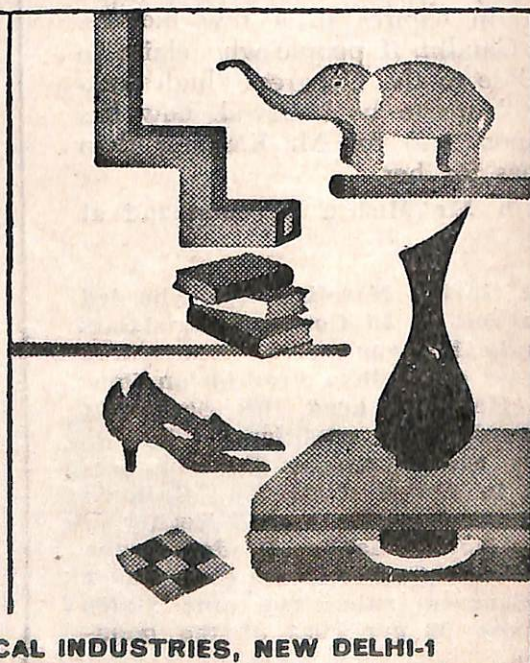
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The challenge of India's North-East

BY G. G. SWELL

WHILE the rest of India is frantically exercised over the shakiness of her democratic fabric and the fluctuating fortunes of political parties in different states a part of her, the North-East, constituting about one-twelfth of her entire land mass, is facing the immediate danger of being cut off and lost to her.

Covering an area of 2,52,700 square kilometres out of India's total of 30,53,000 square kilometres the North-East has a population of 1,48,37,000 and comprises at present five administrative units—the two States of Assam and Nagaland, the two Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura, and the centrally administered NEFA (North East Frontier Agency). The average density of population is 46 per square kilometre as against India's 134.

Epitome of India

In its challenging variety the North-East is the epitome of India—towering, craggy, snow-capped peaks; open, pleasant plateaus and fertile valleys; wide, alluvial, humid plains; dense, virgin forests; cultivated fields and terraces; crops like rice, tea, maize, potatoes, jute; fruits both tropical and alpine; minerals such as oil, coal, limestone, copper, gold, etc; and people of different racial stock, Austric, Tibeto-Burman, Mongolian, Aryan, Dravidian, having their own distinctive cultures, languages and dialects.

Bounded by China on the north, Burma on the east and the south, Pakistan on the south and the west, and tenuously connected with the rest of the country by a narrow land corridor which averages about 25 miles in width between Bhutan on the north and Pakistan on the south, the North-East constitutes a well-defined region by itself and presents a special challenge to India's capability to exist as a democracy and to hold on to what is hers.

The Chinese aggression of 1962, when NEFA was swiftly overrun and the Chinese soldiers poured down into Tezpur in the plains of the Assam Valley, revealed the vulnerability of this region. If the Chinese had continued in their aggression a few days more and if Pakistan had also pitched in the North-East would have been cut off and lost and the history of India would have taken a different turn.

One would expect, therefore, that

after this aggression India should have taken special measures to strengthen her position in this region, politically, economically and militarily. But if one were to judge by recent developments there the outlook is far from encouraging.

The first of these developments is the visits which groups of Naga and Mizo rebels have paid to China by traversing the land route through the Tirap Frontier Division of NEFA and Northern Burma. The Nagas have been in rebellion against the Government of India since 1954, and the Mizos since March 1966. Far from being put down the Nagas and Mizos have displayed greater militancy and fighting capability.

Belligerent section of rebels

The second is the ascendancy in the Naga rebel organisation of a belligerent section under the leadership of the erstwhile Chief of Staff and Defence Minister of the rebel federal government, Kaito Sema. Kaito led the Naga rebel army during the bitter years of fighting. But for some years now there has been a ceasefire in Nagaland which was followed by parleys between the Government of India and the Naga rebel federal government. Kaito, who was dismissed from his post owing to some internal differences, never reconciled himself to his loss of authority and never looked upon these parleys with approval. Today he is reported to have staged a comeback to power and to receive the backing of two-thirds of the armed forces of the rebel organisation.

The third is the sudden hostile shift in the relationship between China and Burma. What could be China's motive in provoking the recent incidents in Rangoon and in brushing aside the cordial relationship she has been maintaining with the government of General Ne Win?

China is decidedly keen on creating troubles for India without launching a full-scale offensive on her and in this the Naga and Mizo rebellions come handy. It is within the realm of probability, therefore, that in

qurelling with Rangoon Peking is only seeking an excuse for eliminating the flimsy control that Rangoon has over northern Burma and to utilise this area as a base from which the Naga and Mizo rebels, with the collaboration of their kinsmen, the Kachins, and

with the active material support of China, can operate against India in case India decides to go on a full scale war with them.

The fourth is the seething political unrest in other areas, particularly the hill areas of the present State of Assam comprising the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills, the Garo Hills, the Mikir Hills and the North Cachar Hills. These areas lie to the south of the north-eastern region and border on East Pakistan. Their demand is that the hegemony that the Assamese majority community enjoys over them should be put an end to and that they should be separated from Assam and constituted into a separate state within the Union.

Mass civil disobedience

To begin with, this demand was also the demand of the Mizos. In the 1962 general elections 78 per cent of the Mizos voted in its favour. But Delhi scorned it and the resultant frustration and anger led to the revolt in the Mizo Hills. In other hill areas too there is now the cry for constitutional mass struggle in the form of non-violent civil disobedience.

Will India persist in her present nonchalant, supercilious attitude to the legitimate, constitutional demands of her own people in the North-East? Much of the course of events in our North-East in a short time to come will depend on the answer to this question.

But before giving the answer let us not forget that of all the parts of our country north-eastern India lies closest to the south-east Asian theatre to which the world's centre of gravity is gradually shifting and that while we may be indifferent to what may be going on other countries are not.



Dr. G. G. Swell—prominent Independent MP from Assam.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

“One of Africa's greatest men”

FROM VERE JAMES

NAIROBI — Could he have been another Jomo Kenyatta? This is the question that surrounds the tragic death in a train accident of 1961 Nobel Peace Prize winner ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, of South Africa.

Hundreds of all races who flocked to his funeral on July 30 could do so as the South African Government waived the usual permission needed for non-Africans to enter the Bantu areas.

A convinced Christian, the Chairman of the now-banned African National Congress consistently condemned violence: “To refrain from violence is the sign of a civilised man.” In pursuing this philosophy he began to lose the loyalty of the younger impatient men who are now detained.



Albert Luthuli

68-year-old Albert John Luthuli, grandson of a Zulu Chief and born of African missionary parents, was himself a teacher for 15 years. He joined the ANC in 1945 and became Chairman in 1952 when Congress adopted a more militant approach in the struggle against apartheid. Then his Chieftaincy was removed by the

Government and since 1961 he had been restricted to his home area.

The London ‘Daily Telegraph’, not known for championing African leaders, may have given Chief Luthuli his most fitting epitaph in reviewing his autobiography ‘Let My People Go’. “One of the greatest men produced by Africa in this century,” the newspaper wrote “... a far greater man than most of those who presume to call themselves his masters.”

A Canadian friend and myself once had the opportunity to visit Albert Luthuli in his simple home at Groutville, Natal. After serving us tea himself we sat on the verandah talking of developments in Africa.

As twilight came we had to take our leave. “Before you go,” he said, “let's pray for our beloved continent of Africa.”

After a simple, fervent prayer the aging former Zulu Chief and militant political leader struggled to his feet with the aid of his stick.

It is a picture that will stay always in my memory—as will the question remain unanswered in the minds of those who knew and respected ex-Chief Albert Luthuli. “Could he have been...?”

Jordan then and now

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

AMMAN — His face was grim and wrinkles bore marks of apparent worry as he spurted out, “We believed Nasser and what have we got—the East Bank.” The remark holds good for most Jordanians—now.

The fertile lands of West Bank plus the historic city of Jerusalem—earner of most of the country's \$120 million per year, has suddenly disappeared west—a broken, twisted Jordan bridge marks the new boundaries of present Jordan.

After two weeks in Jordan, one

thing that impresses is the untiring efforts of young King Hussein to make the best out of the debacle. Love for his country and safety of his people is uppermost in his mind. Having talked to numerous people in Jordan, there is no doubt now that

continued on next page

The week in ASIA

KATHMANDU — China spurned a Nepali protest against anti-Nepal propaganda by Peking Radio and the New China News Agency over the incidents that took place at a recent exhibition here.

HONG KONG—Anti-Maoists are planning rival governments in north-west and south-west China, reports Reuter. Leaders of the two regions formed a “united front” and had virtually agreed on a “military, political and economic alliance”.

SINGAPORE — The Indian High Commission warned citizens of Indian origin that they were liable to be declared stateless if they renounced their Singapore citizenship.

TOKYO — Japan reeled under a heat wave and millions of people swarmed to holiday resorts. 44 swimmers were drowned and 12 others missing at beaches, rivers, ponds and pools throughout the country.

KUALA LUMPUR — Malaysia agreed to hold talks with the Philippines over Manila's claim to Sabah in North Borneo which has been part of Malaysia since 1963.

ANKARA — Twice in five days earthquakes struck eastern Turkey. Over 100 were reported dead in the latest shock.

SYDNEY — Monsignor James Knox, Archbishop-elect of Melbourne, called India's proposed sterilisation programme “mutilation of human persons”. The Catholic prelate was for 10 years Papal representative in India.

COLOMBO — Talks are going on with the Government of India on the utilisation of the Rs 50 million credit offered by it to Ceylon in 1962. The credit will be used for buying capital goods.

KARACHI — Over 100,000 people were reported homeless in East and West Pakistan following monsoon floods. Karachi was proclaimed a “calamity area”.

DJAKARTA — Military Governor Gen. A. Machmud forbade former President Sukarno to enter Djakarta, or citizens to meet him in Bogor, without permission.

ISTANBUL — Pope Paul, in the first visit to Turkey by a Pope in 1200 years, asked this Muslim nation to mediate between Israel and the Arab countries.

PHILIPS TL fluorescent lamps

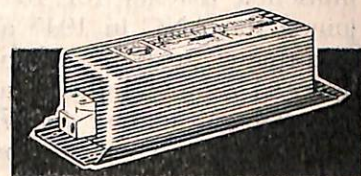
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FOR THE NEWEST IN
LAMPS

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Hussein was a prisoner of circumstances. Though he shunned and despised war, he was forced to toe the Nasser line and plunge his brave



Refugees cross the demolished bridge on the River Jordan.

soldiers into the "hate Israel" arena. A restaurant owner I talked to said, "There is no doubt that had he not joined the war, Arabs would have killed him." The Jordanian Army put up the best fight and had the worst of it—proportionately.

The people of Jordan are not led away by emotions. The geographical situation of Jordan makes it impossible to avoid confrontation with Israel. One Amman businessman summed it up: "Iraq and Syria are breathing next door. Even if Jordan had remained neutral it would have been hit. Suppose Iraq wanted to send troops, they have to go through Jordan. Syrians would have used our territory and Israel, in self-defence, would have had to hit at our bases."

One look at beautiful Jordan, its hospitable people, posh restaurants and concrete roads remind a visitor of the efforts of King Hussein, who shaped this country into a haven for tourists. It is different now.

A drive through Jordan filled me with anger when I saw for myself signs of the use of napalm bombs by Israel. Army vehicles, civilian cars and houses, all bore testimony to it. Disfigured children, burnt women, filled one with shame and pain.

One shudders to think what would have happened if King Hussein had not agreed to a cease fire. Jordan bridge now is only a mere 45 minutes drive from Amman. I was told by many people that Israel had nothing against Jordan. In fact they respected Hussein's statesmanship and wisdom. They also knew his difficulties. It is with reluctance they fought Jordan. This is what made a cease-fire between the two effective and easy.

While Egyptians and Israelis face each other at Suez and clash, there is hardly any incident on the Jordan-Israeli front. Both sides have kept troops away to avoid provocations. At the Jordan bridge Israelis come right up to the end of the span while helping refugees cross over, and vice versa.

The sight of refugees at Shuni and Jerash refugee camps is pitiable. About 200,000 have crossed over. The world has come to their help. The question is—will they ever go back to their homes which they left for no fault of theirs. Israel says they can start returning from August 10.

Having talked to people in Jordan and seen things for myself, I am convinced that the only hope for the Arab world is King Hussein. He can possibly bring a permanent end to hatred—but only if Jordanians give him whole-hearted support.

continued on next page



"I may be famous now, but I had to start from 'scratch'."

The week in INDIA

BANGALORE — Mysore has given three months to the Government of India to settle the Krishna-Godavari water allocation dispute through negotiations. If talks fail, the dispute should be referred to arbitration, it has said.

CHANDIGARH — The Haryana Ministry has fixed ceilings on travelling and daily allowances of Ministers. It has decided that no Minister should generally go on tour for more than one week a month.

VELLORE — The CARE organisation proposes to spend Rs one crore on hospital construction and provision of vans in the rural areas of Madras State.

BHOPAL — Chief Minister D. P. Mishra resigned following his defeat, 153—137, in the Madhya Pradesh Assembly, and the rejection by Congress leaders of his plea for mid-term elections.

NEW DELHI — Indian life expectancy next year would be 53.2 predicted Health Minister S. Chandrasekhar. In the 1920s it was 26.9.

SHILLONG — The Assam Government ordered three American missionaries to leave India. They were alleged to have taken part in activities "prejudicial to the interests of the State".

BOMBAY — Floods hit Western India following heavy monsoon rains. Thousands in Poona had to quit their homes to escape rising river waters, and rail services between Poona and Bombay were cut.

BANGALORE — An officer in the Mysore Government had been transferred 13 times in a single year, the Assembly was told. According to Mr H. Siddaveerappa, Deputy Leader of the Opposition Janata Party, there were several cases where officers who did not choose to be "yes men" of the Ministers ran the risk of transfer.

HYDERABAD — To realise a certain sum due to a big landlord from the Government, a taluk office was attached under a court order. An attachment notice was posted on the closed doors of the office.

NEW DELHI — This year's Plan, presented to Parliament last week, estimated a 95 million tons food harvest (against 76 million in the last year).

NEW DELHI — Official sources said India's per capita income fell 5.5 per cent (to Rs 450) in 1966-67 compared to two years ago.

Ceylon's food drive pays off

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

COLOMBO The Government's statement in the Throne Speech that they are encouraged by the "excellent response by the vast majority of the people to the food drive" seems to be borne out by facts. The last harvest is the highest on record, more land has been brought under cultivation, the year's fertiliser production was up four times and Government spokesmen say they are confident of self-sufficiency in food by 1970.

Administrative inefficiency and the "couldn't-care-less" attitude are still one major block, as the Prime Minister himself highlighted during a recent visit to Batticaloa. A committee of Permanent Secretaries produced a report strongly critical of the work of the Irrigation and Agriculture Departments and the Auditor-General reveals a spine-chilling list of failures in his report.

The Prime Minister has several times referred to sabotage, but some of this may be laziness and corruption. The new discipline and efficiency in broadcasting, due largely to the drive and example of its Director-General, Mr Neville Jayaveera, shows what can be done.

The week elsewhere

DE GAULLE FAUX PAS

QUEBEC — President de Gaulle created a diplomatic storm by giving apparent support to those who want independence for Quebec, French-speaking province of mainly English-speaking Canada. The French President cancelled a visit to Ottawa, the Canadian capital, and suddenly returned home.

ALGERIA INTRIGUE

PARIS—Russian ships have brought quantities of Soviet tanks and mortars to Algeria in the past few weeks, according to reports here. French observers think Algerian President

ECONOMIC COMMENTARY

Well done

THE CHAMPIONS of the public sector in India have some good news. During 1966-67, the refineries in the public sector have helped to save Rs 16 crores in foreign exchange.

Oil prospecting and distributing is one area in which Government policies have been largely pragmatic. The refineries and the marketing companies in the private sector are all owned by foreigners. While there is no harm in these companies functioning within the statutory framework, it is equally essential that our public sector should have a commanding position in this strategic field. This has been gained sooner than many expected.

In the success of Oil India Ltd., luck has been in step with human efforts. Of the 480 deep wells dug by OIL, 243 were found oil-bearing and 40 gas-bearing. This is extremely lucky judged by the success in oil exploration elsewhere.

There are, however, certain products such as kerosene and lube oil where we have yet to go a long way. We are bulk importers of kerosene. Suddenly, the price of kerosene imported from the Soviet Union has gone up by 20 paise per litre. The reason: higher freight due to the closure of the Suez Canal. Besides,

the recent agreement with the employees has substantially increased the expenses of the Indian Oil Corporation, the distributing Company. These are some of the areas that need a careful watch.

What a trophy!

FROM EXPORT SUBSIDIES and import entitlements to "awards" is an absurd march. Fertile brains in New Delhi, however, seem to think that awards would lift our exports sky-high. According to a scheme that was said to have been on the anvil while going to press, awards would be given to meritorious export performances. One award will be a gold-plated shield, the other a silver-plated shield.

Pioneering efforts in the export field would make an individual or a business undertaking eligible for nomination. The winners will have the option to use the winning symbol on his letterhead for three years, and their names would be circulated to Indian commercial representatives abroad. Our Commerce Ministry apparently believes that grown up men in trade and industry could be motivated in the same manner as students in schools and colleges.

If exports have not been rising as

continued on page 14

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

* Should privy purses be abolished?

Closing date: August 18

** Defecting legislators should stand for re-election before resuming their seat.

Closing date: September 1

Prizes: Rs 25, Rs 15

Send entries of not more than 500 words to Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate St., Bombay-1.

handling of racial problems, said the outbreaks could only be the result of a conspiracy on a national scale.

Legitimate grievance exploited by goondas

ON JULY 17, angry tenants from several Maharashtra Housing Board colonies converged on Bombay's famed Kala Goda ("Black Horse", deriving its name from the equestrian statue of Edward VII). They broke through a strong police cordon and went on a rampage, pulling out bus passengers and assaulting them, smashing buses, windows and attacking passers by. HIMMAT went to the dispensary of Dr D. N. Samant, an independent MLA and President of the Federation of Tenants' Associations who led the *morcha*, to get his version of the tenants' grievances.

Was the question of collecting a higher so-called "economic rent" from those drawing over Rs 500 the only grievance?

"The Government are yet to fix the rents of the tenements and they have not rendered any account so far for the Rs 3 crores already collected. Another grievance is that the service charges over and above the rent levied by the MHB are also high. Maintenance is very poor. There are many cracks and faulty construction—even in new colonies.

"Another important point is that industrial tenements are constructed under the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme. The 1948 Housing Board Act of the State Government is really very harassing. The tenants have to pay double the rent if a man ceases to be an industrial worker or has retired, or they are evicted.

"If the Housing Board wants to charge a higher rent for those who draw over Rs 500, they should fix it on a basis of the prevailing price index.

"Another vexing problem is that the colonies are 20 years old. Many tenants are retiring. In many cases you have a son who is an industrial worker; but not all are industrial workers. So the best solution is to bring the tenements under a hire purchase scheme, so that tenants will eventually become the owners."

What was the result of your negotiations?

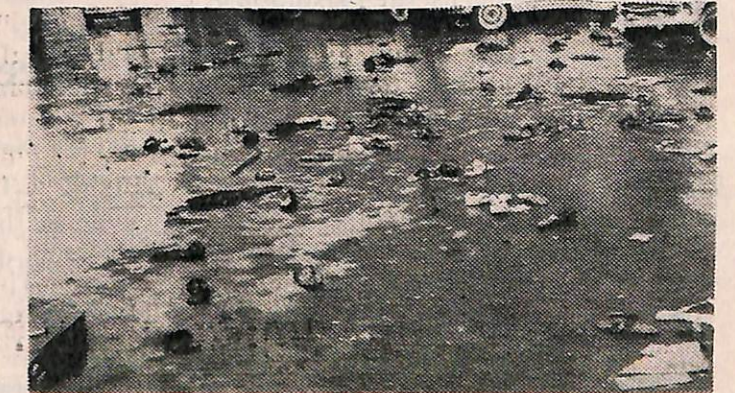
"In 1950, the then Chief Minister agreed to this proposal. He said:

"I will see that these tenements are given under the hire purchase scheme and if any difficulty arises I will be the first man to solve it." This was at a Federation of Tenants meeting. The then Housing Minister, Mr Taleyarkhan, directed Housing Commissioner Andhare to work out a scheme. Our Federation worked it out and Mr Andhare had approved it. It was also forwarded to the Minister for approval. In fact, they even withdrew notices which had already been served on tenants. Now they are again serving notices.

"Even a month after we had sought an interview with the present Housing Minister, Mr Mohite, he had not acceded to our request. Then he fixed our interview for June 23, but cancelled it later."

Why didn't you carry on the talks?

"As I said we have made vain attempts to carry on talks. I met Mr Naik on July 3 and explained to him all the points. He asked us to see Housing Minister Mohite. But he



Dr. D. N. Samant, MLA, who led the tenants' march. The scene at Kala Goda after police restored order.

is reluctant to see us. Mr Naik also said that he would call a meeting again. We saw him on July 13. At that meeting he merely sidetracked the issue.

"Our only request is that till we settle the question of occupancy, the eviction notices should not be issued. It creates panic among the tenants. But Mr Naik's only reply was: 'It will be done as per law.'

"On July 14 Mr Mohite sent a note at 11 pm asking us to meet him the next day. Again the entire matter was gone through. But the Minister was evasive and said only the new

tenements would be given under the hire purchase schemes but not the old tenements."

How many tenants are involved?
"About 50,000 industrial workers. And 5000 of them draw more than the Rs 500 limit."

Why did you threaten to go on the streets?

"Well, I said that in a different context, in the Assembly. It was not with reference to the general rent issue. There was no intention to have a general mass defiance. I only wanted to break the police cordon as a symbolic protest. In fact I stopped the *morcha* 25 feet from the cordon, and I asked the people to be peaceful."

Then why did the processionists indulge in attacking passers by?

"I condemn the violent incidents. But this mischief was played by somebody else. The police knew of our *morcha*. They should have

taken more precautions."

Thirty-five-year-old Samant is a practising doctor. He is married and has four children. He has been the President of the Federation for the past two years. He received the maximum number of votes in Greater Bombay in the last general elections as a Samiti-sponsored independent candidate for the Legislative Assembly.

KRISHNA

expected, the real remedy lies at the base, in the critical examination of the entire tax and tariff structure of the country. Ludicrous schemes like awards serve only to amuse the public.

Physician, heal thyself

ONE OF the avowed objectives of the dear money policy of the Indian Government was to reduce money supply with the public. There are no two opinions about the need to do this. However, so cruel was the

curb that it led to shrinkage in the volume of production—almost defeating the objective of credit contraction, viz., holding the price line. All along, our rulers tried to make us believe that the pangs of a dear money policy had to be undergone to fight inflation.

The recent report of the Reserve Bank exposes, unintentionally perhaps, the wide gulf between what the Government preaches and what it practices. It reveals that money supply with the public contracted by Rs 9.6 crores in June 1967, while the Reserve Bank's credit to Government rose by Rs 45.7 crores.

Time and again, Reserve Bank's

credit to Government has been branded as a major factor leading to inflation. But the Government is in no mood to curb this credit which is usually accounted for by heavy spending on public sector units. Scanning the Government's own reports one is amazed to read that these running projects (with investment exceeding Rs 2,200 crores) have yielded a return of just 2.5 per cent last year. When trade and industry finds it difficult to raise money at 9 per cent is the Government justified in investing it for such a frugal yield?

M.S.D.

FRONTIERS OF science

Sail vs. nuclear energy

HAMBURG The least expensive means of propulsion, the wind, is again to be made useful to shipping by the Hamburg engineer and impassioned sailor, Wilhelm Prolss. He spent 10 years working on the construction of his six-master *Dynaschiff*. (See photograph of completed model below). Theoretically, his 17,000-ton freighter has sailed for 12 months between the largest harbour in the Federal Republic of Germany — Hamburg — and the

North American West Coast. He has figured out that freight costs are roughly one-third lower than in normal freighters. In addition, the streamlined sailboat needs less crew members than an equally large motor freighter. It is also just as manoeuvrable — its masts can be turned — and it sails faster than any previous windjammer. The 60-metre-high masts, elliptical in diameter, are to carry 9,600 sq. metres of sails which can be set and taken in by pushing a button. (DaD)

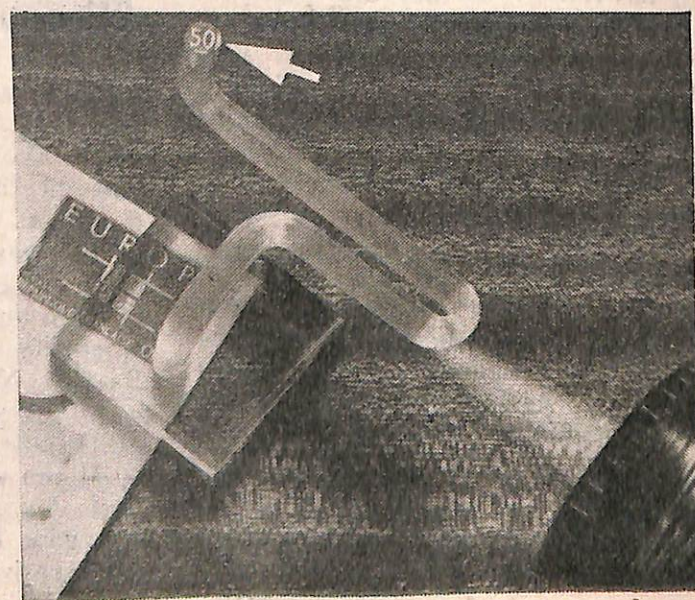
Seeing around corners

MAINZ The number 50 is clearly legible at the end of the bent glass-fibre rod placed on the Europa stamp. This photo clearly reveals that conducive light fibres enable

one to see around corners. 10,000 conducive light fibres, all melted together and made out of quality optical glass, serve as the conducive path for the object. Each fibre is made out of two pieces of glass with different refractions and is no thicker than a human hair. The object's light rays follow the conducive fibres through the narrowest bends and are still clearly visible at the end. This instrument is used in medicine — when illuminating inner organs with cold light — as well as in the field of data processing. (DaD) (See photograph below, right).

For the real news read **HIMMAT Weekly**

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NAXALBARI:

Political terrorism exploits peasant grievances

BY S. M. JOSHI, CHAIRMAN, SAMYUKTA SOCIALIST PARTY

THE POPULAR BELIEF that the disturbances in Naxalbari were due to the injustice perpetrated by the landowners on the tillers of the soil was not supported by the facts as they were revealed to us in our on the spot tour of the area.

The contention that the *adivasis* were forcibly evicted from the land and therefore they have started this resistance movement is also not correct. It was pointed out to us that no representations were made to the authorities of forcible or illegal eviction of sharecroppers on behalf of individuals, political parties or Kisan organisations during the last two years.

It was true that since the Act came into force about 160 complaints were made by the landowners alleging illegal occupation of land. Out of these 97 were disposed off and only in eleven cases eviction was ordered.

Kisan movement in this area is not new. It started during the freedom movement and the leadership is in the hands of Communists. Consequently when the Estate Acquisition Act was enforced *jotedars* could not easily avoid the provisions of the law by their usual tricks and shady deals. Besides, people are not as sophisticated in this part of the country.

The main complaint at present seems to be that the *jotedars* have made *benami* transfers to retain in substance the ownership of the land. To investigate such cases, committees have been formed consisting of the representatives of the various parties and the Kisan organisations. The Left Communists of the extremist variety have stopped attending the meetings of these committees.

Over-simplification

Those who describe this movement as essentially a struggle between *jotedars* and the landless peasantry are deliberately misleading the public. They are trying to show that the present agitation is a natural consequence of intense class feeling. This however, is an over-simplification and not borne out by the facts.

Land hunger is there; as it is in the rest of rural India. But the gulf between the rich *jotedars* and the poor *kisans* is not as wide here as

in other parts of West Bengal. Out of the total 60,000 acres of agricultural land, 17,000 was vested in the Government as a result of the Ceiling Act (ceiling under the Act is 25 acres). Seventeen thousand out of sixty thousand is not so bad when compared with most other parts of India. When we investigated the cases of those who were the targets of attack from the extremist Left Communists we found they were holding lands much below the ceiling.

Communist landlords

Shri Paulish Kujoor of Bhatagach, whose house was attacked by a mob led by these extremist Left Communists, owns 52 *bighas* and by far he is the biggest landowner to be attacked. In the rest of the cases the victims of Communist terrorism were holding less than 25 *bighas*.

Even several of the Communist leaders themselves and quite a few of their sympathisers continue to exceed the ceiling on land ownership by dividing their land amongst brothers and relations. Therefore, it is illogical to say that the trouble in Naxalbari is the outcome of intense and genuine class-struggle.

The Left Communists are certainly playing a political game in the name of class struggle and revolution. For example Shri Paulish Kujoor, the only Christian questioned by us, told us that the Left Communists have not forgiven him for supporting the Bangla Congress against the Left Communists in the last General Elections. Moreover, he told us that he was never asked to surrender any of his land in favour of some poor or landless peasants.

In the course of our tour we came across many cases of such political terrorism; peasants were straight away asked to accept the membership of a party or its Kisan Sabha or to suffer the consequences of harrassment.

This campaign of terrorism under the disguise of revolutionary slogans

was launched immediately after the elections and on the eve of the swearing-in of the Ajoy Mukherjee Ministry. The objective behind this campaign was simply to get into power and to see to it that the coercive machinery of the State was kept paralysed even when lawlessness and terrorism were freely practised and a sort of parallel authority established. Even the Chinese radio said the other day that the issue was not agrarian but political.

The "rightists" or "revisionists" among the Communist Party (Marxist) have disowned the extremist rebels but it is not known whether they have expelled all of them. According to our information the CP (M) leadership gave their blessings to this movement in its initial stages. Obviously their strategy is to protect this terrorist movement from the vantage position of power, to broaden their organisational base in the process and also to disrupt the organisations of the other parties in the Coalition. Their demand for mid-term elections fits into this strategy.

Grievances redressed

The parties who honestly stand for democratic methods and Socialist ideals cannot afford to become silent spectators of such goondaism and totalitarianism.

Significantly the extremists are carrying out these experiments in an area which has a common border with Pakistan and Nepal. This challenge has to be met.

The violence and terrorism of the extremists must be resisted and the life and property of the people protected. Where the police are not able to do so, the masses must be organised to offer collective resistance to such violence.

This, however, is a temporary measure. The main task of democratic Socialists is to get the grievances of the people redressed in regard to the distribution of land and to create a public opinion against the tactics of goondaism which are the negation of democratic practices.

Drift towards disintegration?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN MADRAS

"DEMANDS DAY"—observed on July 23 throughout Tamilnad to bring to bear on the Central Government the mounting pressure of public opinion for the early implementation of the Salem Steel and Tuticorin Harbour projects—turns the spotlight on the need for a reappraisal of Centre-State relations.

Is the DMK pursuing a perilous policy of brinkmanship that may lead to a Centre-State confrontation? Is the Central Government following a disastrous course of regional bias which may provoke a revolt in some States?

Chief Minister Annadurai has categorically declared that the DMK has given up its demand for secession. But some critics feel that his continuous harping on the problem of Centre-State relations is unhealthy. Anna has said that regional imbalance and linguistic imperialism, which had previously provoked him to demand Dravidanad, were still very much operative and that he would continue to fight these evils.

Not as he planned it

"Demands Day" was not marred by even one spark of violence. But it was not observed the way Anna had originally planned it. He had in fact contemplated a full-scale agitation, replete with meetings and processions, with all the frenzy of a spirited campaign.

Though sometimes impetuous, Anna, however, is very responsive to sober advice. When his well-wishers pointed out that an agitation such as he envisaged might well lead to violence and disaster, he decided to confine the campaign to a limited number of public meetings.

By so modifying the proposed agitation, Anna was able to rally the other parties behind him, all but the Congress which stood in stark isolation, adrift from the main body of public opinion. The irony is that the two projects in question were planned and promoted by the previous Congress Ministry.

Though the "Day" was peacefully observed, the festering dissatisfaction

with the Centre is evident from little incidents. In a Madurai college, for instance, students boycotted classes and took out a procession which culminated in a meeting at which a resolution was passed threatening direct action "to uphold the independence of the State" if the Centre ignored the people's demands.

The fumbling and equivocal manner in which the Centre has handled regional demands for priority in the order of national development has worsened the turmoil. Poor planning and poor implementation of plans have resulted in all-round chaos. Not only have the national resources been squandered but the economic future of the nation has been mortgaged.

There is strong feeling here that South India has been neglected in the programme of national development. Anna calls it "step-motherly treatment".

The depth of feeling which sparked the anti-Hindi agitation of 1965 was realised by the Centre only after the holocaust swept the State. Today, it would take very little organised agitation to fan the smouldering

embers into another holocaust of mass fury. The Salem/Tuticorin projects, linked up as they are with the development of Madras State, would provide combustible material of very low flash point.

The Centre has handled the steel plant issue so poorly that the three states of Madras, Andhra and Mysore are all ready to flare up. If Mysore and Andhra have been comparatively restrained, it is probably because they have Congress Governments which are reluctant to take a four-square stand against the Centre, while Madras, having a non-Congress Ministry, suffers from no inhibition of party loyalty.

Said Minister Karunanidhi: "The continued on next page

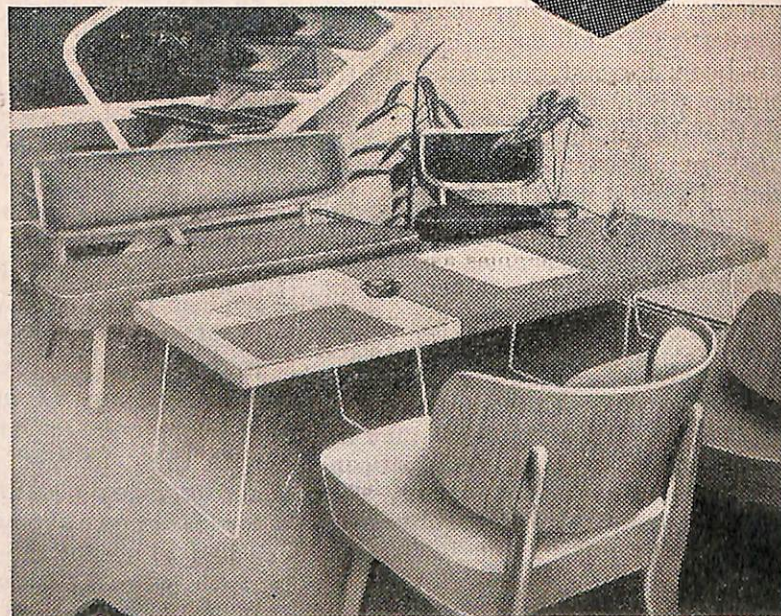
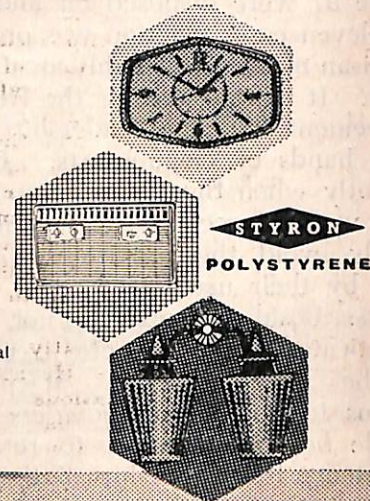
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This was a Life

PRINCE SHOTOKU

574-622

PRINCE SHOTOKU became heir apparent and Regent of Japan when the Empress Suiko was placed on the throne after a war of succession ensuing upon the death of his father, the Emperor Yumei. He was a brilliant child and was brought up in the study of Buddhism, which had not long been introduced into Japan. He became the greatest scholar of his day and wrote commentaries, still preserved, on three Buddhist scriptures.

His appointment as Regent came at a time when good administration and humane customs were sorely needed in Japan. He gave Japan her first "constitution", the only one she was to have for nearly 1300 years till the time of the Emperor Meiji.

It embodied the two ideals he strove for all his life, that of putting government on a moral and religious foundation rather than one of sheer force, and that of consolidating the power of the central administration over the local lords. At the same time he reorganised the official hierarchy, making ability and not rank the criterion for appointment to high office.

In all this he was greatly inspired by Confucianism. He started up diplomatic relations with China, making sure that China recognised Japan as a nation of equal standing and not a vassal. He sent scholars to study and bring back Chinese learning and culture to Japan. This inflow of culture lasted for several centuries, and the men thus trained completed his work after him.

His whole life was guided by his deep faith in Buddhism. Tangible evidence is still to be seen in seven famous existing temples associated with his name. In fact, this period was noteworthy as one in which architecture and sculpture flourished and rose to new levels.

When he died, it is said in the Chronicles of Japan, the old wept as if they had lost a son, and the young as if they had lost a father. His name is legendary in modern Japan, as King Alfred's is in England, and his features are known to everyone, appearing as they do on bank-notes.

H.E.W.

BACKDOOR HINDI

THE Union Government's principle that Indian languages should be the media of education at all stages and in all subjects cannot but be viewed with dismay.

Education Minister Triguna Sen, who perhaps holds the record for making the maximum number of announcements of policy changes in the brief period since he assumed office, tried to justify the switch-over as necessary to release the creative energies of the people, raise the standards of education and knowledge and bridge the gulf between the intelligentsia and the masses. As things stand, the new formula seems to be an invitation to chaos and confusion.

First, the students of different states educated in different tongues will find themselves linguistically compartmentalised and unable to use a common medium for inter-regional communication. They will be much less equipped to go in for all-India services. Inter-state migration of talent in search of better emoluments and living conditions will necessarily be curbed, a situation militating against what little national and emotional integration was possible before.

With English permanently out of university education the non-Hindi people, educated in their own lingua, will have willy-nilly to adopt Hindi in their communications with the Centre or with the other Hindi-speaking areas. (The late Nehru-Shastri assurances of continuing English as the associate official language will be automatically dead with the non-Hindi states themselves giving up English for educational purposes). Plainly, this is nothing but an imposition by the back-door of Hindi on the non-Hindi people.

T. S. PRASAD, Mysore

DOCTOR DISMAYED

MY wife and I were dismayed to read in the press that the Indian Government plans to legislate for compulsory sterilisation of all men who have three or more children.

Last year we were privileged to spend three months in India and we came to have great faith in your people and the future of the country. We saw the population as a great potential for what needs to be done, including the adequate feeding of the nation. We do not understand why so many rupees and so many doctors are already being employed in a voluntary sterilisation programme when millions require food now.

Thank God for a man like Mr Morarji Desai who stands four-square with what Gandhiji believed and proclaimed. "Self-control is the surest and only method of regulating the birth-rate." But every

Letters

man and woman needs to ask themselves the question propounded in the issue of HIMMAT (June 16) which read:

"Are we going to permit an elected Government to treat the sovereign people of India like a herd of cattle, compelled to undergo operations on their bodies which have been bestowed on them, not by the State, but by Almighty God?" We believe that the mass of Indian people will reject the proposed legislation of the Central Government.

CHRISTOPHER LANCASTER, MB BS, Melbourne, Australia

BOOTLICKERS?

CONGRATULATIONS to Miss Kushal Choudri and Mr R. S. Mani for their viewpoints on "Is India's policy in West Asia wise or otherwise?" (HIMMAT, July 14).

I would like them to SAY THAT AGAIN:

- 1) "...we have 'out-Nassered Nasser'..."
- 2) "...notorious as we are in licking the boot that kicks..."

BHARAT RAJ MUTHU KUMAR, Bangalore 5

MADRAS—from page 16

attitude of the Congress Ministry towards the Centre was 'Give us what you will' while the DMK insists 'Give us our due'."

It would probably satisfy all thinking opinion if the Centre were to make a categorical assurance that when resources are available for the promotion of the steel industry, it will proceed to erect a small steel plant in each of the three states.

The DMK has a regional base and tends to be parochial in its outlook.

Minister Mathiazhagan recently expressed resentment that, although Madras produces enough sugar, there is a sugar shortage in the State because of controls exercised by the Centre.

Conceding that the primary responsibility of a State Ministry is to look after the interests of its own area, the overall national interest cannot be ignored. The Centre, for its part, cannot afford a lopsided national development which condemns some States to languish in backwardness while others flourish.



The blood is red

by Rajmohan Gandhi

Caux, Switzerland

THREE AFRICANS I have met here give hope for Africa's future. What they have found can bring friendship to the black, white, brown and yellow races of this earth.

One is an Ethiopian lecturer, Teame Mebrahtu, sent by the Governor General of Eritrea, Ethiopia's northern province, for training in Moral Re-Armament.

"I was a rabid white-hater," he said. Black power was his passion. After a scrap with a GI in Ethiopia he had concentrated his hate on the Americans. "Being with whites who have stopped thinking for themselves and want to sacrifice for other nations has removed my hate. Now I am out to annihilate hatred."

World outlook

Mebrahtu possesses the world outlook without which the most patriotic of men will succeed only in embittering relations between nations. In a speech to an international audience of 730 he asked the following question:

"If America wins the war in Vietnam or vice versa, if Biafra wins in Nigeria or vice versa, or Israel in the Middle East, or the Negroes in America, do they cure the disease. Is hatred answered?"

The other two are from Kenya. "Hatred is not caused by colour alone," says one of them. "In my country my tribe is small and we are told by others, 'you small tribes keep quiet.'"

The other Kenyan is concerned about Nigeria and Biafra. He is searching for a way to liquidate the hate between black and black as well as between black and white.

The "India Arise" team in Europe and Britain has played a remarkable part in deepening the unity between Europe and Asia, between the white and brown. A number of Pakistanis living or working in these parts have come to the show and befriended the team.

West Indians, Africans and Arabs have spoken of how "India Arise" has helped melt hate in their lives against the white man and

against compatriots. They have heard Indians admit honestly their need of the West. They have watched the Indians attempt to re-create in Europe the spirit she needs. They have seen that no nation or race can be self-sufficient today.

Certainly the Indians and Ceylonese in the "India Arise" team have understood more strongly than ever the foolishness of the pride, jealousy and hate that lie behind brown racialism or brown nationalism. They have observed also the astonishing effectiveness of the policy of being on the give.

A young Frenchman told me, "A number of Catholics like me have been brought back to our faith by 'India Arise'. The Indians have been able to do more for us than our priests."

At a moment when a newspaper like *The Observer* speaks of racial flashpoints and possible race riots in Britain, some West Indians living there have decided to turn the "immigrant problem" into an answer.

Black power no answer

Carol Bartholomew, a nurse from Trinidad, says, "My decision is to live beyond the barriers of colour, to start to care for Britain, to be responsible for her and help to make her the great country she is meant to be. Together we can build a society that is an answer to the racial riots of America and the Red Guards of China."

Conrad Hunte is the famed Vice-Captain of the West Indies cricket team. His ancestors left West Africa as slaves. He believes that the black man's biggest role today is to help unite all races. "Black power, based on ambition, jealousy and revenge, is no answer to white power because both exploit human nature," he says.

Hunte agrees with Chief Albert Luthuli, leader of the African National Congress who died the other day in South Africa. Chief Luthuli said, "Black intolerance must never be allowed to replace white intolerance." He insisted that South Africa was the home equally of all its peoples.

A friend from Nigeria—an outstandingly gifted man—writes, "I have seen that you either commit your life wholly and unreservedly to world remaking, or you only have a small, narrow, selfish and comfortable movement that you can manage and handle, and be successful in. It will not be a revolution adequate for the times we live in."

Men like this and Hunte and the others quoted above represent this earth's coloured peoples more fairly and fittingly than the Stokeley Carmichaels of life.

The latter typify a cheap and reactionary battle. To declaim before Fidel Castro that "Vietnam", of race rebellion ought to flourish in America, as Carmichael did, was neither costly nor particularly brave. He would doubtless have received thunderous applause, most probably a standing ovation.

Tougher by far it is to change the man or the men who cause or permit injustice.

Read the words of an American Negro woman who was born of slave parents, who lived and served her people, founded the National Council of Negro Women and became advisor to two American Presidents:

"The real differences are not between black and white, but between good and bad. The deciding struggle is not between race and race, class and class, or nation and nation. It is between the sovereign grace of God and man's arrogant rebellious will."

A full collaboration

Stating that she who had always yearned for the betterment of her people now yearned for the betterment of every people, she went on, "I realise that if the white people can grow to appreciate the deep qualities in the heart of a coloured person, then the coloured person cannot take refuge in any scorn of the white. It is a full collaboration."

Mary McLeod Bethune spoke these words.

Hers is America's authentic voice, and needs to be heard strong and clear above the reactionary din.

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HOW TO PLAY

The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to mark a cross where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o HIMMAT, 294 Bazar Gate Street, Bombay 1, by noon Monday August 14. The winner will be published in August 18 issue.

There is no limit to the number of entries you can make, but only one cross may be marked on any one picture. The Editor's decision is final.

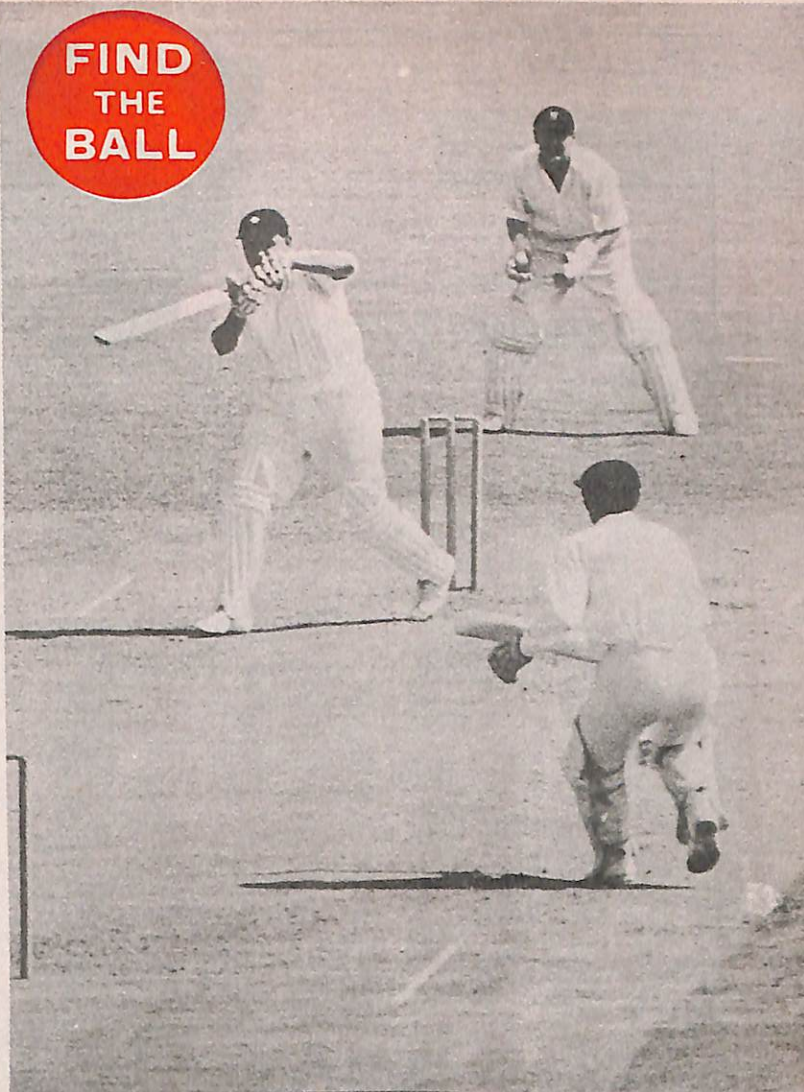
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I agree to the rules of the competition as outlined above.



WINNER OF COMPETITION 29 is Jimmy D. Talaty, Mody House, Khetwadi Main Rd., Opposite Duke & Sons, Bombay 4. Rs. 25 for nearest entry (5 mm from ball)

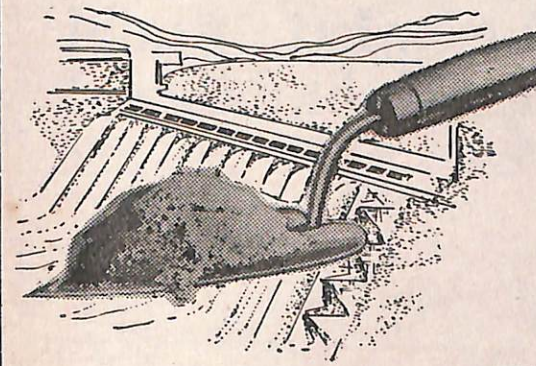
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Next Week's Jackpot : Rs. 75



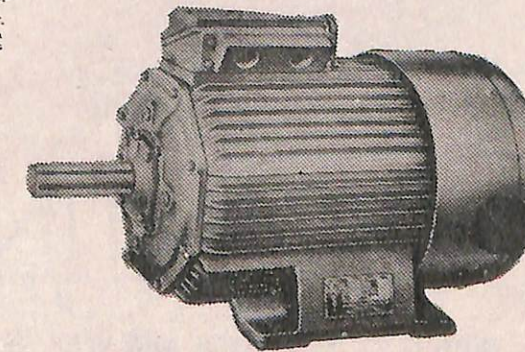
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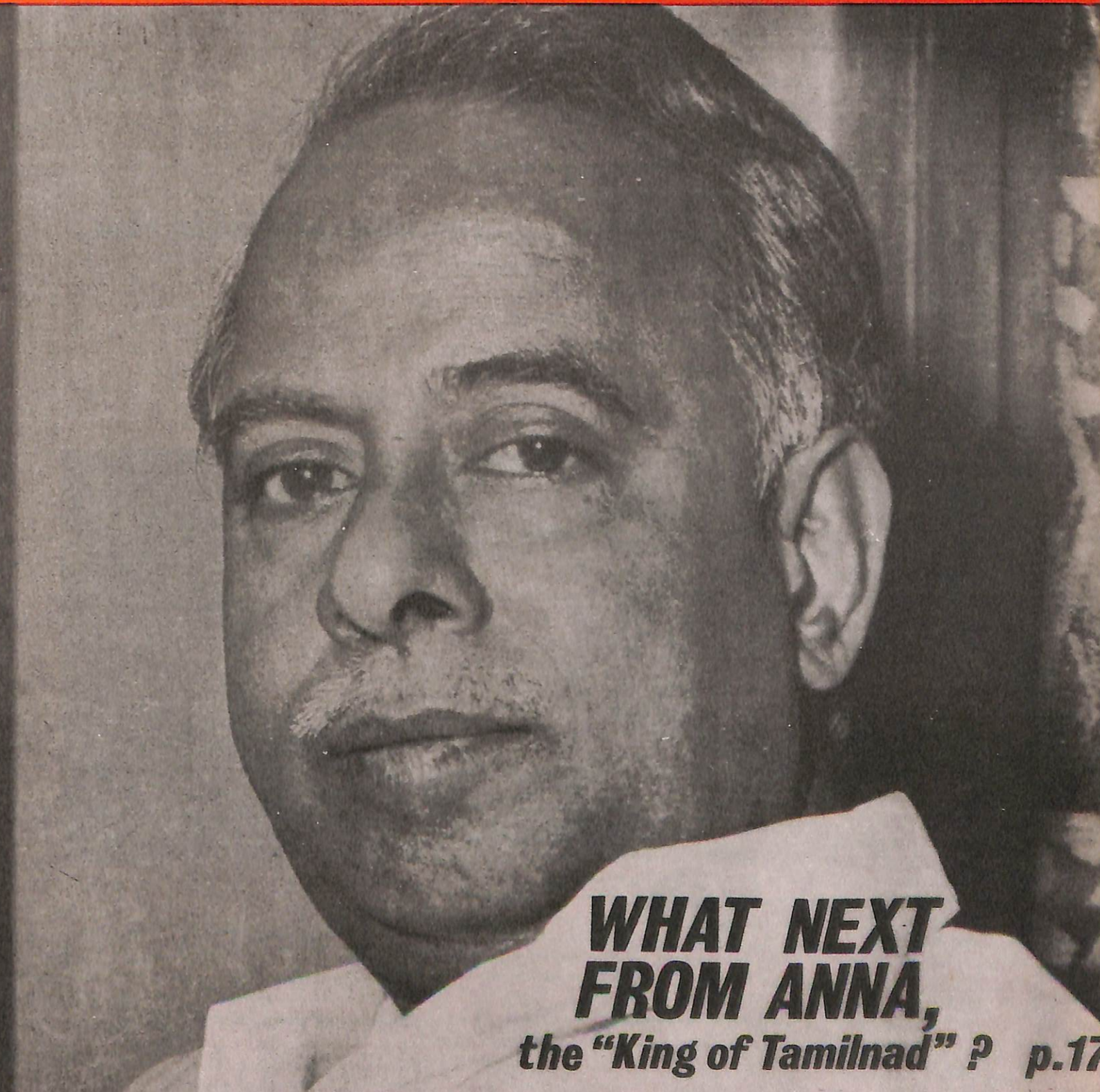
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**WHAT NEXT
FROM ANNA,**
the "King of Tamilnad" ? p.17

**Will two-language formula create an
INDIA, THAT IS, BABEL ?**

by
ANTENNA
p. 5