

HIMMAT

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NATIONAL FOOD CRISIS BUT...

Food crisis may breed unrest in other fields too

Hindustan Times Correspondent

NEW DELHI, Aug 3—The Union Home Ministry has asked those States under President's rule not to wait for the implementation of popular governments for implementing reform measures and overhauling

INDORE, August 4. Imposition of night curfew, repeated teargassing, charge, large-scale arrests and mob violence marked the sponsored anti-price-rise demonstration here today.

administration utilise the by President's long reform in people's aspirations towards improving them deteriorations of the should not

Hoarded wheat to be seized

Kapil Verma Times Correspondent

3—The U. P. Rules

U.P. To Use DIR To Arrest Hoarders

From Our Special

LUCKNOW, July 20

Adulterators Hanged

From Our Special Reporter

NEW DELHI, July 31—Members in the Lok Sabha today receive

Bungling in food unloading at port

By B. SHESHAGIRI RAO

WHEN people are living from mouth, food carriers in the Bombay dock have been unloading at a painful rate. Since March, when large port of wheat was resumed, lapse of nearly three years of clearance from the dock most unsatisfactory.

Against 5,000 to 6,000 tons discharged daily during the years of 1967, 68 port average daily has been only 3,600 tonnes. Five reasons have been cited for this unhappy state are: lack of planning, purchase mission in W to prevent.

CALCUTTA WEDNESDAY



PRICES SHOOTING UP

Bread Scarce, Mustard Oil Costlier, Eggs Dearer

By a Staff Reporter

PRICES of food articles in Calcutta and its adjoining areas have shot up further during the past few days: the 250 gm cut in rice ration has made an immediate impact on rice prices, bread has become scarce in some areas, mustard oil sells at a minimum of Rs 7.60 a kg and eggs and butter are now dearer.

lb loaf, which sold at 70 paise even three to five days ago, cost at least 75 paise on Tuesday. Long queues formed outside the well-known bakers' shops in central Calcutta. This is yet another problem for the common man as a couple of toasts with a cup of tea is the usual breakfast for most people. Vegetable prices however have remained at about the same level.

BOMBAY PRICES FALL

SHIV SENA LEADER

PRAMOD NAVALKAR ON

SS ACTION

ALL PARTIES JOIN HANDS

KALPANA SHARMA CABLES ON COMMONWEALTH SUMMIT

fresh and glowing with
HAMAM



Get that Hamam complexion. Fresh. Glowing. Radiant. Hamam's rich, fragrant lather gently refreshes your skin as it cleanses. Use Hamam daily. It always keeps its shape—and lasts and lasts...

the longer-lasting toilet soap



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Skilful handling

THE second round of Indo-Pak parleys in Delhi on August 18 will be a further test of the skill and sensitivity which Mr P. N. Haksar and Mr Aziz Ahmed displayed in Rawalpindi. The personal rapport established between the leaders of the two delegations may prove to be the cementing factor in what Haksar called a "sub-continental restructuring of relationships".

It was odd that a member of Aziz Ahmed's own team spread the rumour that the talks had been deadlocked because India raised extraneous issues. The Indian side, of course, denied this. It is to the credit of Ahmed that he publicly clarified India had done no such thing. His firm handling of his own colleague, during the Delhi talks, will be a helpful factor.

On the Indian side, an understanding of Pakistan's difficulties and of our own shortcomings has helped establish the equation between the leaders of the two delegations. When Haksar was questioned on his return whether Pakistan was deliberately trying to be difficult, he replied, "As an Indian I also feel a sense of responsibility that we too have to play our part." "For instance," he said, "I feel convinced that if our secularism which is part of our State policy had been a little more successful than it has been, the credentials of India would have been accepted by the people of Pakistan."

Swaran Singh speaks out....

INDIA is fortunate in having an External Affairs Minister of the calibre of Swaran Singh, at present heading the Indian delegation to the Commonwealth Summit Conference in Ottawa, Canada.

During the discussion on changing power relations in the world and their economic consequences, Mr Swaran Singh mentioned the situation in the Persian Gulf. Oil, instead of becoming the basis for social regeneration was becoming a "pretext for an unnecessary and dangerous arms race, in which the rulers of that region are being encouraged by outsiders who buy their oil and sell them sophisticated weapons of destruction."

Iran, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the smaller Gulf Sheikdoms, oil-rich countries, have been acquiring large stocks of the newest arms. India cannot ignore the onrush of sophisticated weapons not too far from her borders. A powerful weapon in weak hands is more dangerous than in the hands of a stronger power.

To wit

ONE bright ray in the otherwise drab political atmosphere in the country is to wit, the wit displayed by our politicians.

Some time back the Cabinet of Mr P. C. Sethi, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, was referred to as "a sinking ship". Mr Sethi immediately retorted that he would rather call his Cabinet "a submarine". One can only conclude that Mr Sethi, however precariously he may be perched at the helm of political affairs, is certainly a wit of the first water.

Mr Pилоo Mody, Swatantra MP, asked in the Lok Sabha not all that long ago whether the Fifth Plan would be "mody-fied" (modified) in view of the tight resources

Pakistan accepted the Indo-Bangladesh declaration in principle. The details, complex as they appear to be, will have to be worked out. To Pakistan's suggestion that the question of POW trials be shelved for the moment, India rightly said that the decision lay with Bangladesh. President Bhutto will have to strengthen Sheikh Mujib's hands by a concessional gesture like the recognition of Bangladesh. He has, anyway, been empowered to do so by the National Assembly. By granting recognition, he himself will be in a stronger position. By direct dealing he can seek accommodation with Sheikh Mujib. His difficulties are real because it will not be easy to absorb 260,000 people from Bangladesh in one go.

For normalisation of relations on the sub-continent, there is no short cut to off-the-record, bilateral talks between Bhutto and Mujib. They can come to an understanding so that they will not be unduly disturbed by statements made for public consumption by both sides till the time when both leaders can publicly unbend, having prepared their people psychologically.

Sheikh Mujib too would gain from putting aside the trial issue for the moment. The future is even more important. The peace and prosperity of the subcontinent depends on the extent of generosity displayed by all sides.

While Iran has at the top a man who can control with a steady hand the armaments he is acquiring, the same cannot be said of the other well-heeled leaders who have been avidly shopping for arms. As Mr Singh pointed out in Ottawa, "It must be clear that these arms are themselves going to be the basis on which militarism will be built in that region."

Another pronouncement made by Mr Singh in Ottawa refers to the Sino-Soviet tensions. Mr Singh cautioned against capitalising on the "dangerous" deterioration of relations between the Soviet Union and China. He said, "It would be imprudent to say the least, for any country to play on the differences between those two great countries and to fan their accumulated mistrust and fears."

HIMMAT cannot agree more. For some nations to fan the fear and hate between the Soviet Union and China will be a game that can boomerang on them if a world war breaks out.

position. Mr Mody, who can find few rivals for sheer width of body and mind, must be thanked for ensuring a "modycum" (modicum) of wit and humour in the august House.

The House also witnessed another witty display this time presented by Union Minister of State for Planning, Mr Mohan Dharia. Mr Dharia, in the face of criticism that once a roaring lion he had declined into a bleating lamb responded that when a lion is in action "it never roars; it is absolutely quiet."

Withal, it looks as though we are well on our way to achieving self-sufficiency in witticism at least.

Briefly Speaking.....

Revenge is often like biting a dog because the dog bit you.

AUSTIN O'MALLEY, 1858-1932

Talk without think

EVEN at a time when irresponsible statements by "responsible" men are the rule rather than the exception K. D. Malaviya takes the cake for talk talk without think think.

Referring to the weekly "Every Man's", with which Sarvodaya leader Jayaprakash Narayan is associated, he said that it was run by an "anti-Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and pro-American element."

It was Mr Chandra Shekhar, Young Turk, who set the record and his party colleague straight by saying that Jayaprakash Narayan, one of the weekly's sponsors, was "neither anti-Prime Minister nor pro-American".

Statesmanlike

MR S. K. PATIL, Old Congress leader, one-time "boss" of Bombay and a



"Some farmers are coming to see you, so do not blurt out as usual" go to the villages and work to strengthen our economy."

GET ODOMOS BEFORE THE MOSQUITOES GET YOU

3 A PRODUCT OF BALSARA

former Union Food Minister, has adopted an admirable attitude in the face of the frustration over rising prices and disappearance of essential commodities in Bombay. He said, "If we can hold the prices and control the situation for another three months, by Good's grace, we shall be out of the woods. Let the political parties and the Government bury their hatchet in view of the most difficult situation the city is facing today."

The temptation to make political capital in such a situation is understandable. To resist it is statesmanlike.

Unusual trade-unionism

THE as yet unfinished Queen Elizabeth II Park Games Complex in Christchurch, New Zealand, has been the site of a unique trade union action.

Carpenters employed on the complex as well as the main contractor were being paid a travelling allowance. But when they heard that tradesmen and sub-contractors engaged on the complex were also thinking of asking for the extra money, the carpenters decided to forego their own allowance "in the best interests of the community as a whole".

Deputy Mayor Macfarlane described it as "probably unique in the history of the trade union movement. I know of no other case where a union, once having obtained something, has so selflessly forgone it."

Birbal will be glad to know if any readers can recall comparable instances in India.

South African sport

SURPRISING changes are being foreshadowed in South African sport. At a recent cricket club dinner, attended by the President of the South African Cricket Association, Springbok cricket captain Ali Bacher said the future of South African cricket on the international level was no more the exclusive domain of white cricketers as in the past.

It was, he said, in the hands of both white and coloured cricketers.

But he warned that white cricketers had failed to convince the coloured cricketers of their sincerity over the question of merit selection. It was essential that the whites won the trust of not only the coloured but also the black Africans, he said.

Next Week

HIMMAT's Independence Issue deals with the subject of long-term planning needed to meet India's recurrent food crisis.

* 72 Drought areas throughout the country have been identified, What are we doing about them?

* What do floods cost India?
* Has our planning for Irrigation been adequate?

Merit must be the basis of selection for teams.

Also the Sports Minister, Mr Piet Koornhof, said that the Government was prepared to consider non-white participation in the world-famous Comrades Marathon race. By next year the event could become a non-racial event if the organisers of the Marathon want it that way.

South Africa is a great sports-loving country. Such changes as these may be more important than they appear: at least they indicate a readiness for new approaches.

Birbal

UPON MY WORD I

Find as many words as you can from the TEN letters given below. The words must have four letters or more and must use the letter in larger type. At least one word must use ALL TEN letters. No proper nouns, plurals, or non-English words allowed, nor variations of same verb (eg. tame, tames).

UPON MY WORD **E I N**
PUZZLE NO. 39

You should find 66 **D A T C**
words this week. **O F E**
(Answer next week)

ANSWER TO PUZZLE NO. 38

Bescreen, cense, censer, censure, cent, centre, cere, certes, ceruse, cesure, cree, crest, cretin, cruet, cruse, cruset, crust, ctene, cube, curb, cure, curie, curse, curt, cute, ecru, enerust, erect, eruct, recense, recent, recuse, rescue, resect, secern, secret, sect, secure, truce, ERUBESCENT — Growing red, blushing.

NATIONAL FOOD CRISIS

From Bombay a ray of hope

WHEN the President of India, the constitutional head of state, levels criticism at the Prime Minister things must be serious. Sources close to Mrs Indira Gandhi are reported to be upset at President Giri's Lucknow speech where he regretted that in spite of Mrs Gandhi's best efforts and the big majority she "had asked for and got" in the last elections, the promised results had not materialised.

A New Delhi newspaper states that for the last month the Prime Minister is not going around the country or making any public speeches because she does not know what to say. She will break her public silence on Independence Day.

All this reflects the situation facing the country.

There is a shortage of food but, as often happens, even with a marginal shortage prices shoot up, hoarding takes place and the poor suffer. The Government distribution machinery is now subjected to transport strikes like the recent loco shed staff strike and protest strikes (bandhs) by Opposition parties. Such bandhs dislocate the transport further, the arrival of stocks is hampered and the hardship increases.

Most Governments have been slow to unearth hoarders though last month the Governments of UP and Tamilnadu have started applying the severe Defence of India Rules against them. But it will need more than threats of the law to meet the present situation. It needs the willing co-operation of a cross-section of society, as is beginning to happen in Bombay.

There is a danger that people hungry and restive may frequently

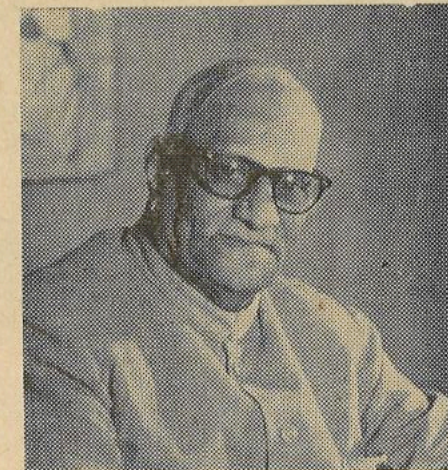
SO THEY SAY

We are struggling tooth and nail against obscurantism and communalism.

SHEIKH ABDULLAH

It's not always that the person I talk to is as tall as I am.

GOUGH WHITLAM,
Australian Prime Minister



PRESIDENT GIRI:
the speech that upset Indira

take the law into their own hands. An August 3 despatch from Varanasi says armed policemen have been posted in the drought-hit areas as a precautionary measure against food riots.

Is it really feasible to expect any Government to survive if it has to resort to firing against its own hungry people? Even Louis XVI had the sense not to when his people cried for bread.

Another report says that the restlessness generated by the food crisis may spread to other fields, like agitation by industrial workers, government employees and railwaymen. Meanwhile the police force across the country is also dissatisfied and efforts are speeded up to give relief to them.

At a time like this the Opposition parties can play either a constructive or a divisive role.

Opposition parties — hopelessly divided and electorally weak — tend to capitalise on the present difficulties. The experiment in Bombay of having committees of wholesalers and traders of essential commodities and inviting the Opposition to participate in reducing the prices, is a model of how the Opposition can be invited to play a constructive role.

For effective political action political stability is needed. At a time like this most Congress parties in most states are engaged in in-fighting. After investigating one such incident in West Bengal the General Secretary of the Congress Pradesh Committee, Mr Moitra, sadly declar-

ed, "Our party is very sick."

Food scarcity which is prevailing today could have been foreseen when drought withered the crops last October. In the beginning of this year it was announced that the food situation was not serious but as a security measure 1½ million tonnes (only) of grains will be imported.

Last March the director of a British relief agency landed in Bombay and flew back home to report the seriousness of the food crisis. The British press played it up. The Indian High Commission in London issued a pompous statement that there was no shortage of food and no help was needed. A month later an Opposition front bench spokesman, Mrs Judith Hart, suggested to the British Government that Britain should spare her surplus wheat for India. In

by R. M. LALA

view of New Delhi's sensitivity the British Government replied to Mrs Hart that they would consider such a request but it had first to come from India. Of course we were too proud to take the wheat as aid or too blind to negotiate its purchase—even though in this instance we would not have mortgaged our future to "American imperialism". News has now come that half of Britain's wheat production of 4.5 million tonnes will be de-natured to make it unfit for human consumption and fed to cattle. Her Majesty's Government will spend Rs 40 crores (Rs 400 million) to de-nature it and subsidise farmers.

There is a lobby in this country that believes one should rather die than import food grains. But it is usually the other fellow who is going to suffer death, not the one espousing this thesis. One magazine that fancies itself to be progressive, writes: "Food has become a sensitive commodity with international significance. It is precisely on the food front that we have been making the biggest mess, leaving the gates wide open for large-scale imports, which in today's context, could lead straight to economic dependence on the USA."

What has happened is that finally we have had to knock on the door of the United States but too late.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7

"We don't want anarchy"

Shiv Sena leader tells HIMMAT

THE Shiv Sena hit the headlines with a bang on July 31 by the way they forced the high prices of essential commodities in Bombay to come down.

Next day most of the shopkeepers put down their shutters. The state Government woke up to the situation. The Chief Minister, Mr V. P. Naik, called a meeting of political and business leaders to chalk out a course of action. At the time of going to press, six committees, each headed by a Minister of Cabinet rank, have been formed to suggest fair prices and review them every week. A special cell is being set up in the Secretariat to deal with their enforcement. The police are being geared for action. The traders are being warned of drastic measures against them if they fail to co-operate with the Government.



PRAMOD NAVALKAR

So an interview with the Shiv Sena leader in charge of the agitation, Mr Pramod Navalkar, MLA, promised to be interesting from the word go!

Mr Navalkar is a friendly man in his middle thirties with an informal manner. A graduate of Ruparel college, he is also a journalist and regularly writes for some Marathi newspapers.

Could you give us the background of the present agitation — how it came about, what made you do it at this time?

Though I am a politician, I am also an employee of a private firm. So I know at first hand what the workers have to go through, and how they manage their family budget. I also go to the market every day at 7 a.m. to buy vegetables, groceries, etc. I don't have a domestic servant. So I know exactly what the prices are like and how they are rising. It was obvious that the situation was getting out of hand and something had to be done fast. We decided to act. Some opposition leaders, like Mr N. G. Goray, have said that terrorising the middle class retailers, while allowing the big sharks like the wholesalers to go scot free, will not

solve the problem. What have you to say to that?

We want to create a real consumer resistance movement — the only ultimate guarantee of bringing the prices down and keeping them there. A consumer is in direct contact with the retailer, not the wholesaler. In the past few months we had twice approached the wholesalers in the grain market and elsewhere, but they were totally unwilling to reduce their prices. Besides, there was no guarantee that the consumer would ultimately get the benefit of such price reductions. A long chain of middlemen complicates the situation.

So we decided to attack the problem at the bottom. If the retailers knew that people would not pay more than a certain price — if they are forced to sell at that price — they would have to rush to their suppliers and ask them to reduce their prices. The wholesalers, in turn, would have to comply as they cannot sell anything without the help of these retailers. This is, in fact, what is happening now.

It is reported that some traders were threatened, and even assaulted, to force them to sell at prices arbitrarily fixed by the Shiv Sena — at much below the cost price.

We realise that a price rise of five to ten per cent a year may be inevitable. But 300 to 400 per cent in just two to three years? That is criminal. The Shiv Sena fixed the price of sugar, which for example was Rs 2 a kilo a couple of years ago, at Rs 3.50. Is that unreasonable?

As for threatening or otherwise forcing the shopkeepers to sell at reduced prices, we had to do that. What else can be done when the traders and the Government are not moving in the matter? How else can one force them to act? We have a proverb in Marathi: "The mouth cannot be opened unless you close the nose!"

What would happen if everybody took law and order in his own hands like this? Won't there be anarchy — thus adding to the suffering of the common man?

We do not want anarchy. It is those profiteers who are raising the prices indiscriminately, and the officials who are conniving with them, who are the real anarchists. We want the forces of law and order to take charge and remove the hardships of the people.

"These sharks who never caught a fish in their life corner those trucks at the Phule market and sell the fish at exorbitant prices"

Our agitation has actually strengthened the hands of the Chief Minister who, we believe, sincerely wants to control the runaway prices. It is an open secret, however, that many of his associates have links with those who are profiteering at the people's cost. This was hindering the Government machinery. But because of our agitation, and the situation created by it, the Chief Minister is literally forced to act. He can now act freely, in spite of those colleagues, because the situation has created its own momentum.

Many traders were scared and downed their shutters. The normal channels of trade were dislocated. Would not this add to the hardships of the consumer?

Some amount of dislocation is inevitable in these circumstances. The large majority of people, however, are prepared to undergo temporary hardships to break this vicious circle. Normalcy will be quickly restored once the Government moves in the matter.

We are educating the people about how they should refuse to buy anything at higher prices, even if it is freely available. We are also preparing them psychologically to be ready to undergo additional hardships for successfully holding the price line.

While blaming the traders and the Government aren't we all overlooking something? India is going through one of her most difficult periods. Where is the adequate food at fair prices to come from?

I agree that there is a real shortage. We can, however, share a reduced quantity at reasonable prices. The excessively high prices paid by the consumers are not going to the farmers or the fishermen. They are all cornered by the middlemen. These sharks who never caught a fish in their life corner those trucks at the Phule market and sell the fish at exorbitant prices!

What made you suspend the stir? Have you received any firm assurances from the Government and the traders?

We have indeed. It is easy to start an agitation, but one must know

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



How long to wait?

when to call it off. So when Chief Minister Naik personally assured us, along with Mr Sharad Pawar, Minister of State for Home and Civil Supplies, and Mr Viren Shah, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, on Wednesday (August 1) that within 48 hours they would call a meeting of traders and would take concrete steps, associating opposition parties with them, to bring down the prices, we at once called off our agitation. I stress again: our aim is to force the Government to act; not to create anarchy.

What would you advise the people, the traders and the Government to do now?

● The people should not resort to hoarding. They should refuse to pay more than the controlled price. If they find the price beyond the fixed limit, they should report the matter to the nearest police station. If the

police are moving slowly in the matter, they should inform the nearest Shiv Sena office — we have over 140 of them in Bombay — and we will force the police to take swift action.

● The traders must co-operate with the Government and the people to hold the price line. They must realise that the people's patience is at an end.

● The Government has already announced price committees. We welcome this. The Government should also form separate price control vigilance squads to enforce the fixed prices. We realise that the police have many other matters to attend to. We suggest the formation of special police units, attached to every police station, exclusively meant to investigate complaints about hoarding and profiteering. The Government must raid such hoarded

godowns and take drastic measures against the offending traders. What is your reaction to the latest measures announced by the Government? What are your future plans?

We accept the prices fixed so far — though we do not think they are low enough — in the hope that they would subsequently be reduced in future, after studying the situation, at the weekly review meetings.

We are fully prepared to co-operate with the Government, and the whole Shiv Sena machinery is being geared up for this purpose. We will, however, resume the agitation on a much larger scale if we find that the Government or the traders are failing to hold the price line.

As I left, I wondered whether a sincere man like Mr Navalkar could not help the Shiv Sena to grow into a constructive force in Maharashtra's public life.

Sudhir Chandra

FOOD CRISIS—from pages 5

Whilst we were hesitating to import more at a high price China has moved in last week and signed a deal for \$75 million for 500,000 tonnes of wheat from a US grain dealer.

Many observers believe that the wholesale take over of the wheat trade by the Government is partially responsible for the present situation where the farmers are not releasing their stocks. The farmer is asked to sell to the Government at Rs 76 per quintal against Rs 120 for imported wheat.

The Government has taken over only the wheat trade, leaving the

sugar cane, coarse grain, oil seeds and pulses outside the takeover. This policy will rebound soon because the farmers will switch from wheat production which the Government can levy to other crops the Government cannot levy.

The President of the Indian Merchant Chamber this year, Mr Viren Shah, is fortunately a dynamic young man who has taken the initiative in obtaining the co-operation of wholesalers and retailers of Bombay. Prices have been worked out at less than 10 and 15 per cent of the present selling price. Some teething troubles are expected but if there are vigilant committees of public men

and if consumer resistance can be developed especially among the more affluent class, Bombay could be a pattern for other parts of the country.

In her speech on Independence Day should the Prime Minister appeal for people to make voluntary efforts to resolve the present crisis. It could take the shape of not serving cereals for two days a week at home, of missing a meal a week and not stocking up more than one needs. If she summons the nation to a high purpose and calling the people may respond. Isn't this what independence should be all about—a free people meeting a challenge?

VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT....

IS MOVED by Prime Minister **Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's** generous gift of Rs 1 lakh to help the famine-hit people of Maharashtra.

CREAKS TO A HALT at the statement of **George Fernandes** that he would stop the manufacture of cars in India if he came to power and asks whether Mr Fernandes, who used to ride in a chevrolet in Bombay, means that he would import cars instead!

IS FLABBERGASTED at the lack of co-ordination in the affairs of the **Government** as shown by the utter surprise of the Food and Agriculture Ministry that groundnuts are being exported to the Soviet Union in the face of acute shortage here.

PRESCRIBES a restorative to **Planning Minister D. P. Dhar** who has now been forced to climb down from his ebullient optimism about the Fifth Plan.

IS GLAD that the **Congress Parliamentary Party** has asked its members to release their "surplus wheat stocks" and interprets it as a polite euphemism for "hoarded wheat".

IS AGITATED over the violence and vandalism prevailing in Delhi University and regrets to find that the Vice-Chancellor **Sarup Singh** has chosen an attitude of helplessness.

IS CONCERNED at reports that the **Soviet Union** is supplying arms to African guerrillas in Portuguese Guinea as it does not feel that escalation of armed conflict in the area will lead to a solution of the problem.

AGREES with Civil Aviation Minister **Karan Singh** that half the problems of the **Indian Airlines** could be solved if its employees would work with a smile but warns him that the other half might require more than a smile to resolve.

BEST WORLD PRESS

THE OTTAWA CONFERENCE

Has the Commonwealth outlived its utility? Should it be disbanded with collective consent? The answer will depend on what is expected of the association. In the past the Commonwealth has discussed almost every political issue, and settled practically nothing. If it still seemed useful, it was almost entirely because of the economic and commercial co-operation among the members that it guaranteed. Britain's entry into the Common Market, more than anything else, has liquidated that part of the relationship. And yet it is difficult to see what great purpose will be served by winding up the show.

THE INDIAN EXPRESS, Bombay

THE GREEK REFERENDUM

The latest mockery of an electoral process conducted by George Papadopoulos bears all the signs of a dangerous overreach. It seems that close to 80 per cent of Greeks have voted "yes", to grant the former colonel dictatorial powers over the land of democracy's birth, through at least 1981.

More significant than the predictable outcome of the referendum campaign during these past few weeks were the gestures of disavowal from influential persons who had previously either supported the Papadopoulos method of rule or had at least withheld open criticism. The Greek Orthodox Primate of North and South America, Archbishop Iakovos, broke a long silence on the politics of his homeland a few days ago to observe: "The



"Oh dear! Oh dear! I shall be too late!"
Courtesy: The Daily Telegraph, London

people of Greece are not free to choose their political leaders, nor are they free to chart their own course of political destiny."

THE NEW YORK TIMES



Happiness is everybody's birth-right.

The innocent smile of a child, the naughty giggles of teenagers, the ringing laughter of the adults.....peace and prosperity for all!

A progressing and prosperous nation alone can provide its people sweet contentment in life.

Shriram Chemicals is making significant contribution to the country's prosperity. By producing 240,000 tonnes of Shriram Urea every year which, in turn, helps increase the annual food production by 1,200,000 tonnes.

PROMISE OF PLENTY WITH



SHRIRAM CHEMICALS

ASIA

AFGHANISTAN:

The coup through Chinese eyes

Will Afghanistan and the Soviet Union try to weaken and dismember Pakistan in the next few years? This is the fear in the minds of Chinese leaders, according to almost identical reports sent by the Peking-based correspondents of the London "Times" and "The Daily Telegraph".

David Bonavia of "The Times" says that the Chinese see the international aspects of the recent coup in Afghanistan as part of "a Russian grand strategy" to weaken or dismember Pakistan and establish Soviet influence firmly on the shores of the Indian Ocean. To support the Chinese view, Clare Hollingsworth of "The Daily Telegraph" draws attention to the fact that President Mohammed Daud, whose regime was recognised within 24 hours by Russia, is openly encouraging separatist movements among the Pakhtoons in the north and the Baluchis in the west.

Both correspondents report the Chinese belief that the Russians cannot expand in Europe because of the presence of the Americans; nor can they expand to the east because of Chinese preparedness; so the only way to go is to the south and fulfil the Czarist dream of obtaining a warm water port on the Indian Ocean.

Hollingsworth also says that the Chinese fear that Afghanistan may even "invite" in Russian troops. With Soviet troops already deployed along the Chinese border with Outer Mongolia, China may then be faced with a situation where three of her frontiers in the Sinkiang province would have Soviet troop concentrations. The Chinese nuclear installations at Lop Nor in Sinkiang would then be more vulnerable than before.

To the Chinese, Iran is a key nation in the region. The Shah of Iran has openly warned that he will not tolerate the disintegration of Pakistan. He has also spoken of a military threat, but preferred not to name the nation. In the light of this the Chinese are highly pleased with the recent arms purchases made by Iran and the Shah's visit to Britain and the US in late July.

As Chinese industry advances, more oil will be needed and she will turn to the Middle East. The links that Russia has established with Iraq and some Arab states worry China's

leaders. They know that Russia's friendship is not because they love the Arabs, but because they love the oil fields.

JAPAN:

Tanaka in U.S.

With President Nixon's promise to Premier Tanaka that the US would treat Japan as an equal partner and a "great world power" in its own right, Japan and the US seem well on the way to a more healthy relationship.



TANAKA:
"world power"

(Japan and the US are the world's largest consumers of oil.)

In the last two years, in the haste to find an accommodation with China and Russia and solve America's financial problems, President Nixon made many mistakes which hurt Japan. Premier Tanaka's visit last week has been an opportunity to repair fences and Nixon has even accepted an invitation to visit Japan next year. When he sets foot on

Japanese soil, he will be the first US President to do so.

The real key to closer relationships between Japan and the US may lie in the words Nixon spoke at a White House dinner in honour of Tanaka. "We have our faults," he said, "just as every nation has its faults. But our total dedication at this time in our history is towards using our great material resources and our emotional resources and our intellectual resources towards building a better world..."

VIETNAM:

Out — Canada; In — Iran

Iran has agreed to replace Canada on the four-nation ceasefire commission in South Vietnam. US Administration officials were revealing this in Washington while the 244-man Canadian contingent, which had withdrawn from the commission, arrived back in Canada and complained of "frustration".

The four signatories of the ceasefire agreement — the US, North Vietnam, South Vietnam and the Vietcong — need to agree to Iran replacing Canada, but this is expected to be a mere formality. The present members of the three-nation team are keen to have someone who will bail them out of a grave financial crisis. Iran has the resources to save the commission from bankruptcy.

Japan, Malaysia and Brazil are reported to have been approached but declined to serve on the commission. The Shah, eager to get his hands on the latest equipment from America, seems only too keen to help. In addition to the closer links it will bring with America, Iran will be given an opportunity for her men to acquire a field knowledge on warfare and guerrilla activities.



"My hunch is that Russia has been around here."

CYPRUS: where bishops are the pawns

Last month General Grivas's commandos seized the Cyprus Minister of Justice. This was one further incident in the build-up of confrontation on the island. Yet President Makarios may contrive to avoid a head-on collision with General Grivas, but tension within the Greek community on the island is so acute just now that it is hard to see any definitive solution to the Cyprus question being reached this year. This is the view of Kenneth MacKenzie in the following analysis.

LIKE so many other countries in the Middle East, Cyprus has recently been suffering from one of the worst droughts in its recent history — but there is no sign of any dry-up in the poisoned wells of political intrigue and factional strife. This torrid summer might see a definitive show-down in the bitter, prolonged quarrel —



MAKARIOS: astute

“vendetta” might almost be a better word — between President Makarios, who is 60 this month, and his 75 year-old rival, General George Grivas. The difference in their ages is significant. As a political tactician and diplomatic negotiator, Makarios is in his prime, and clearly feels that time is on his side. Grivas, on the other hand, may not have very long to go; he must act quickly if he is to fulfil his Messianic ambition to unite Cyprus with Greece.

The catalytic event in this tense imbroglio may prove to be the special Synod of the Greek Orthodox Church, which has just been held in Nicosia to adjudicate on Archbishop Makarios's quarrel with the three pro-Grivas bishops of the independent Church of Cyprus. In April the three dissident bishops (Paphos, Kitium and Kyrenia), after convening a special synod of their own, announced to the world that they had “deposed” Makarios and defrocked him. Makarios flatly rejected their verdict — and carefully prepared a larger synod, comprised of leading members of the Greek Orthodox Church throughout the Middle East, who were on his side.

Predictably, the Nicosia synod has

come out emphatically in favour of the Archbishop. First of all, his “deposition” in April was declared void; then, on July 14, the three dissident bishops were themselves publicly anathematised — and defrocked from the priesthood.

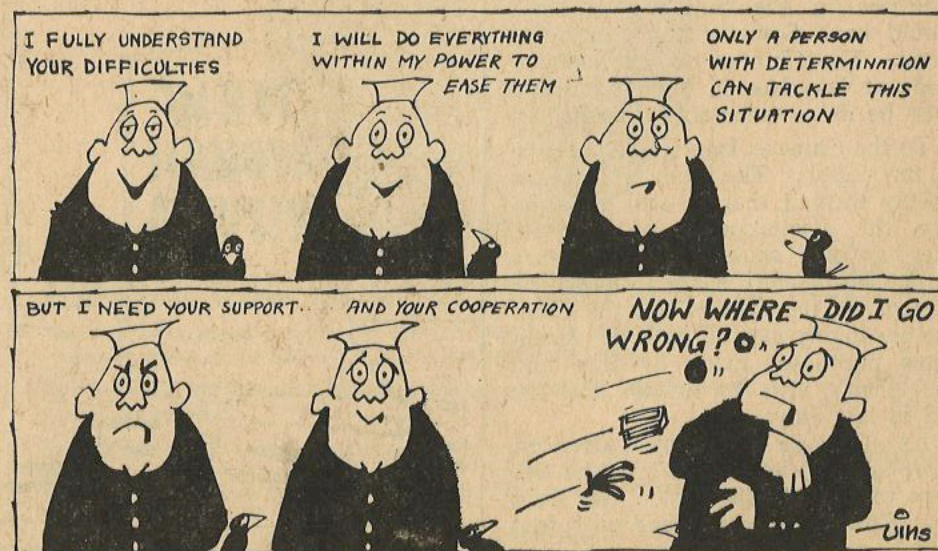
But the key question in this bizarre game of Byzantine blind-man's buff is what action Makarios will take to implement the Nicosia decisions. The three dissident bishops will no more accept the Nicosia verdict than Makarios has accepted theirs. They are working hand-in-glove with Grivas — the ecclesiastical wrangle is a reflection and extension of the Makarios-Grivas political conflict — and they are guarded by well-trained cadres of Grivas's underground army. To expel them Makarios will probably have to send in para-military forces — which might well spark off a bloody, head-on clash with Grivas's men. In the resulting imbroglio, Grivas might decide to cut the Gordian knot — by attempting a military coup d'etat.

Meanwhile, the island watches and waits — with the tension heightened

by the bizarre story that Grivas is ill. As he has led an abnormal underground life for nearly two years (he returned to Cyprus clandestinely from Greece in September 1971), it is obviously on the cards that his health has suffered. But well-placed sources are sceptical about the reports that he has cancer or some other serious affliction. It is significant that the story has been “splashed” mainly by pro-Makarios papers; it may be a ploy by the Makarios camp to undermine the morale of their opponents and, more important, to bring Grivas out into the open — where he would lose much of his glamour as a “Scarlet Pimpernel” guerrilla leader.

Significantly, both the “illness” story and the convening of the Nicosia synod coincide with an energetic drive by Makarios's security forces to root out Grivas's Eoka movement. The Archbishop's supporters — and many outside observers — argue that he should have done this long ago: that, as head of the legally constituted Government, he has every right to crack down on an illegal underground organisation. Following a wave of violence in June, many of Grivas's men were arrested, and over 40 are in prison awaiting trial. A number of pro-Grivas journalists have also been charged with offences under the penal code.

All in all, Cyprus looks like having a long, dry summer — which symbolises its “tinder box” image. There have been many false alarms in the past; Makarios, nothing if not patient and astute, may contrive to avoid the head-on collision with Grivas which so many observers fear. But tension within the Greek community is so acute that it is hard to see any definitive solution of the Cyprus question being reached this year. —FWF.



The West Indies win again

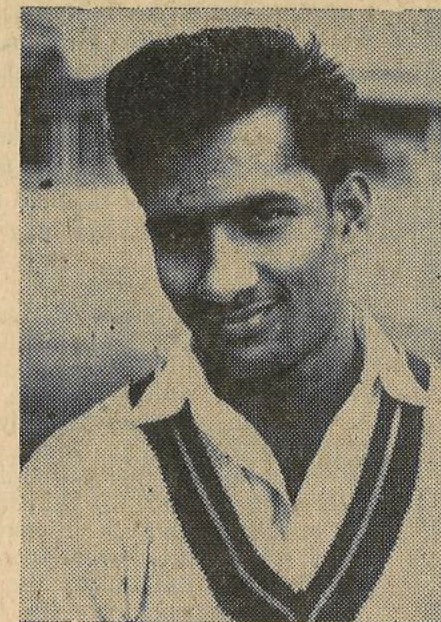
Report from T. C. 'Dickie' Dodds in London

THE West Indies won their first victory after four years and 20 Tests when they beat England by 158 runs at the Oval. And a fine win it was and in the gaining of it the West Indies looked once more an integrated side.

Rohan Kanhai captained his side with the authority and appearance of a senior senator. It was good to see Gary Sobers, the former captain, giving him such wholehearted support. Perhaps this sprang from lessons learnt in earlier years when Conrad Hunte was vice-captain under Sobers — experiences which Hunte so vividly describes in his book “Playing to Win”.

And what a team Kanhai now captains. As England captain Ray Illingworth said after the match, “It's hard to believe the West Indies haven't won for so long with so many good cricketers”. The batting line-up is stacked with talented stroke-makers led by Kanhai, Lloyd, Kallicharran and Sobers. Keith Boyce, who is no mean player and who scored 70 in the first innings, comes in at number nine. Another feature is that six of the batsmen are left-handers.

The West Indian bowling matches their batting. Boyce provided real



ROHAN KANHAI: victory for new skipper

of the turf as he played the ball. The turf flew several yards forward though off the wicket. Hayes strolled out and picked the pieces and tidily stacked them behind the stumps. Meanwhile the bowler and fielders were all straining to continue their attack urged on by the huge West Indian crowd who were baying, as it were, for English blood.

Hayes is an apprentice Test batsman of the highest class. It is interesting that his first scoring strokes were 4, 6, 4. He uses his bat like a sword to attack the ball. Not for him the forward push or the sideways shuffle. Each ball is played. He is a joy to watch.

The West Indian victory in this first Test has set the series alight. England will need to make changes. If Sobers can come back and play under Kanhai I do not see why Cowdrey should not do the same under Illingworth. He is in great form with the bat with an average of over 60. I would like to see him at number three in place of Roope. Roope does not appear a Test prospect at present. He bats like a man who, provided he has a lot of luck, might get 20 or 30, and this is not good enough. In the bowling department the time may now have come for Snow to give way for Old.

England will be glad to get away from the Oval. They have lost their last three Test matches there — to India, Australia and now the West Indies.

SPORT

pace and moved the ball appreciably as well. Sobers, though not perhaps at his best, still looks a very good bowler. And in the spinning department there is Gibbs, who Kanhai says gets better as the years go by, and Inshan Ali, the left arm leg break and googly bowler. Inshan is small, wristy and confident. At 21 he is very much the baby of the side with the benefit this brings of having the solicitous lift and encouragement of his senior colleagues. He really bowled very well.

But if the West Indies found victory at last, England look as if they have finally found one of the batsmen they need. Frank Hayes of Lancashire scored 106 not out in this, his first Test match. Hayes is 26. He bats in a cool detached manner and seems to have so much time to play his shots. He is an unruffled batsman. At one tense moment in his innings he knocked a divot out

THE WEEK IN INDIA

NEW DELHI — For the second time in three months, the Indian railways face the threat of being paralysed as loco staff all over India absented themselves en masse on August 1, preparatory to a general strike, to press their demands for better pay and service conditions.

— About 80 per cent of the “besan” (gram flour) sold in the city is adulterated with kesari dal, the continuous use of which causes a crippling disease leading to paralysis of the legs, according to a survey carried out by the civic authorities. It is feared that such adulteration is also rampant elsewhere in the country.

LUCKNOW — All the major rivers in the drought-affected Uttar Pradesh (and also in neighbouring Bihar) are in spate, following incessant rains in the last few days. Constant liaison between the army and the civil authorities is being maintained to face any situation that may arise because of the threatened floods.

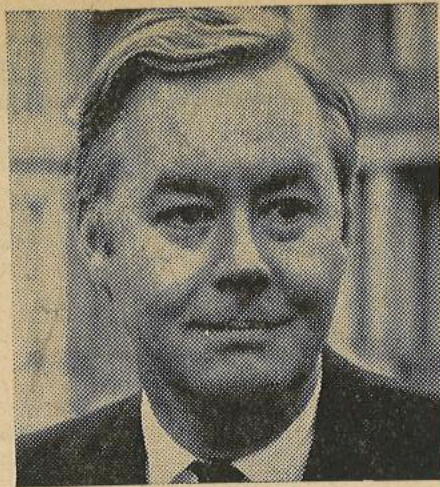
IMPHAL — The Naga hostiles have killed 17 jawans (soldiers) and two civilians during the past fortnight in Manipur, according to a Government spokesman.

AHMEDABAD — The city's textile workers, numbering 1,30,000, will get the highest-ever dearness allowance, calculated on the basis of the price index for June, of Rs 262 this month and it is expected to be even higher next month.

BOMBAY — About 55,000 trucks went off the roads in the city in a 24-hour strike on July 30 to protest against blackmarketing in tyres, and the replacement of octroi by other taxes, and the rise in the prices of commercial chassis.

CUTTACK — The Central Bureau of Investigation has charge-sheeted a former agent of the Athagarh branch of the State Bank of India, and a private firm for cheating the bank of Rs 60 lakhs (Rs 10 lakhs equal Rs 1 million) in 1969-70 under the demand draft purchase scheme.

TRIVANDRUM — Three people were killed, two of them in police firing and one in a stabbing incident, as Kerala observed a near-total statewide “bandh” (complete stoppage of all activities) sponsored by the Opposition parties as a protest against the price rise and food shortage in the state.



DANIEL MOYNIHAN

Ambassador keeps his word

AMBASSADOR Daniel Moynihan has held his own in a confrontation with the State Department.

The cause: future of the USAID Centre in New Delhi built two years ago. What to do with this six million dollar complex became "a 64 million dollar question". Moynihan wanted it turned over to the Indian Government. The State Department advised otherwise.

Here are the contents of the rhetorical attack from the US Ambassador to India: "Your cable begins, 'Assuming that USAID India retain (the complex).' It won't do anybody any good to assume any such thing. I have already told Prime Minister (Indira Gandhi) that we are turning (it) over to her. We were authorised to do this by USAID last April...We might have tried to weasel out, but you will need another ambassador for such work. The United States keeps its word.

"I am sorry about the (complex). Once every two weeks or so I take the family down there, drop \$5 (my limit) in the stately row of silent slot machines, drink a few cold beers in the Paul Revere cocktail lounge and then dine (best Chinese cuisine in town) in the Williamsburg dining room. The place is marvellous except that we are the only people there and the waiters...say it is kind of spooky. If we could turn it over to the Smithsonian it would make a marvellous memorial to a certain kind of mentality, along with, say Cam Ranh Bay. But that really isn't practical, is it?

"If anybody wants to get upset, it should be the people who built the damn place...Nothing anywhere quite

The OTHER SIDE of AMERICA

Watergate is one side of America. This week we present the other side of America in the following articles.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the US Ambassador to India, has crossed swords with the State Department over a moral issue. A nation that has given its promise, he says, must honour it.

A young American questions why Watergate was allowed to happen.

The third article is the life-sketch of an American missionary who like many others of his kind loved India, and who died in the Boeing aircraft crash near Delhi on May 31, 1973 in which some Indian leaders perished.

so brilliantly embodies Parkinson's Law to the effect that institutions build their great buildings at just the moment their decline sets in. By the end of the year, we will only have eight AID people in the whole of the AID mission. Let this sad ending be a lesson to the next US Administration tempted by an edifice complex."

The result: The State Department was silenced. But quietly the word was passed around that the centre would be given to India and Delhi will continue to enjoy Moynihan's company.

WATERGATE— How did it happen?

by Evelyn Ruffin

AS Senator Sam Ervin's hearings on the Watergate Affair proceed at their slow and deliberate pace, it becomes increasingly evident that the senators — and many Americans — want to know how it all happened as much as they want the full truth on what did happen.

Certain facts about the men on Nixon's staff and on the Committee to Re-Elect the President have come out. And because most of those testifying — bright, attractive and earnest young men — are so typical of America, one is forced to ask what the emerging picture shows us about the country today.

A young woman who until recently worked on presidential appointments for the White House told me that loyalty had been an overriding factor in almost every appointment the President has made. This observation has been borne out in the testimony of one man after another before the Senate Committee.

For example, when Hubert Porter, a member of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, was asked by Senator Howard Baker whether something inside him had not queried the rightness of the Watergate break-in and cover-up, he replied,

"Yes", but that he had done nothing because of his "deep loyalty" to the President. Baker retorted that he might have proven more loyal had he followed his conscience.

Being a "team player" has obviously been more important than honestly trying to discover and carry out the right policy in administration circles. When Hugh Sloan, treasurer for the Campaign Finance Committee, balked at "playing the game" and voiced his doubts to his superiors, he was apparently urged to take a vacation!

Another attitude that has characterised those participating in Watergate and related scandals has been a disrespect for the law.

Jeb Stuart Magruder, deputy director for the '72 campaign, justified his breaking of the law by the fact that many, including his former ethics professor William Sloan Coffin, Jr, had broken the law as they participated in anti-Vietnam and other movements. Magruder has now learned the lesson, he said, that two wrongs do not make a right.

Clearly many of Nixon's staff operated on the assumption that the end justified the means. The "end" which so many people felt right and necessary was the re-election of the President. This "justified" not only the Watergate break-ins and wire-tapping, but also the circulation of damaging accusations about Presidential hopefuls Muskie and Humphrey, and failure to report all contributions and other unethical or illegal acts. Once the Watergate attempt had been uncovered, the "end" of protecting the Presidency "justified" an elaborate effort to cover up the involvement of high officials through payoffs, perjury and so on.

Some people express the view that Watergate spells doom for democracy in the United States. In so far as men in Government have accepted loyalty above conscience, freedom from the dictates of law in the pursuit of certain aims, and moral com-

promise in matters of finance and general ethics, democracy is threatened. The apparent involvement of the President himself — by association if not directly — certainly undermines the faith of the ordinary man in the Government.

On the other hand, the fact that Watergate has been brought to light, that justice is being pursued, and that a real attempt is being made to get to the bottom of the scandal and to expose the lack of principle and false values of those involved gives hope. The future of American democracy depends on more than what does or does not happen in Washington, however.

As Americans ponder the how of Watergate, we must ask ourselves what it shows about the realities of our conduct as opposed to the rosy ideals we so readily profess. The

reality is that we have accepted compromise, expediency and dishonesty on a very wide scale in the country and have become content to turn a blind eye to what is wrong as long as it "works". Our hypocrisy makes us hated by those in and out of the country who look to us to live out the ideals we claim.

Watergate does not herald the end of the democratic experiment in America — there is a resilience and soundness still. But it does jolt the nation awake. It gives us a chance to face the cost of moral compromise in the nation. And it gives us an impulse to change. Democracy to work needs men of unquestionable integrity and principle at every level. Thus Watergate is in a way every citizen's responsibility and it is up to each of us to deal with our share of the mess.

A much-missed American in India

by Professor M. Anantaraman

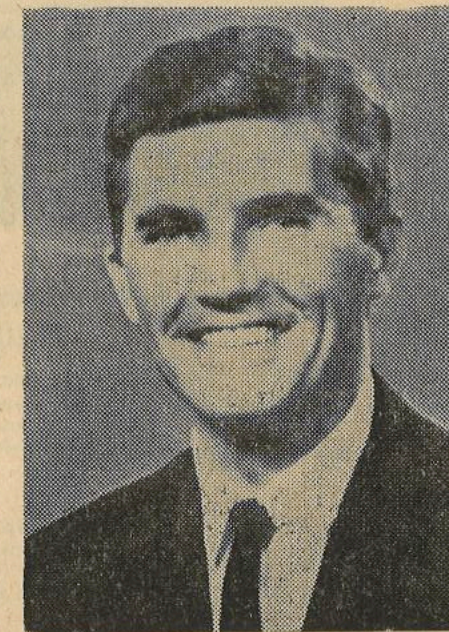
IT is doubtful if in the recent past any American or foreign national had identified himself with the people of Madras in the manner that Rev Harold Riber had done. Equally astonishing is it that he achieved this singular distinction in the brief period of two years. By that freak of circumstance which one encounters once in a while, he happened to be among the 48 lives claimed by the Indian Airlines Boeing 737 when it crashed at Delhi, on May 31 last, only two minutes and three miles from the airport.

Born in Dwight, Illinois, on February 27, 1923, of Chris and Kristine Larsen Riber, educated in Grandview College, Des Moines, Iowa, and the University of Minnesota, and ordained in 1947 as a minister of the Lutheran Church of America, he arrived in India the same year with his wife Mary (nee Olsen) of Des Moines, whom he had married in 1944, to serve the Santal Mission in Bihar (1947-53) and Assam (1954-70). He has been described by a head of the Santal Church "as a great American, a man who had implicit trust in Indian leadership, and as a person who had been loved by everyone in the villages" of the Santal region.

By October 1971, public men and social workers in Madras had had glimpses of the remarkably well-matched couple and were charmed within a few weeks of their arrival,

by their endearing personalities and friendliness.

As Executive Director of the Inter-Church Service Agency, Madras, he had the unique mission of serving the people, through the Church, in fields other than religion. Citizens of Madras were eager to seek his assistance — material or moral — in their social service activities, and Mr Riber was quickly absorbed into decision-



REV HAROLD RIBER

making bodies of the YMCA, the Christian Medical College, Vellore, the Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Madanapalle, the Madras Christian College, and the Family Planning Association of India (Madras Branch).

He was also vitally concerned in the rehabilitation of the Bangladeshis with orthopaedic aid for the crippled and several disabled persons found succour in Cheshire Homes through him. He made generous grants to the Day-Care Centres is the new tenements of the Slum Clearance Board, Tamilnadu, and for the establishment of a Population Education Cell in the Family Planning Association of India, Madras. His participation in the weekly meetings or Seminars of the 77 Society, pledged for urban development, infused them with a dynamism characteristic of the man. He made efforts to underline the pressing need for population control, and Leprosy Relief in the state.

Endowed with a compassion for the less privileged, a robust faith in human endeavour, a talent for socialisation and humility of service, he could see daylight in darkness, and — like the oyster — make a pearl around a sand grain. A tall and lively man, of abstemious habits and restless energy, he handled personal and social problems with prodigious delicacy and deftness.

Crucial discussions never found him hurrying or losing control of his emotions or faculties. One might say that he never had too many friends, nor too much to do. Returning after even a brief absence from the city, or phoning an intimate friend after a week of intense pre-occupations, he would greet him heartily exclaiming that he had been "feeling homesick" not having heard his voice.

His was a life of grace. His love for this country was abiding: he had spent half his lifetime here, all his children — three sons, Kris, Karl and John, and daughter Emmy — study in the Kodaikanal School. His son-in-law, Bengt Ageros, is engaged in rehabilitation work in Bangladesh.

He undertook the fateful flight to Delhi to negotiate with USAID officials about funds for Leprosy Control, and then visit his father in Dwight, Illinois, to greet him on his 85th birthday. Neither desire was fulfilled.

Harold Riber was wont to say that when he died he would prefer being buried in India to being taken home. It is sad to reflect that Providence chose to grant him this wish shrouded in calamity and circumstances beyond human comprehension.

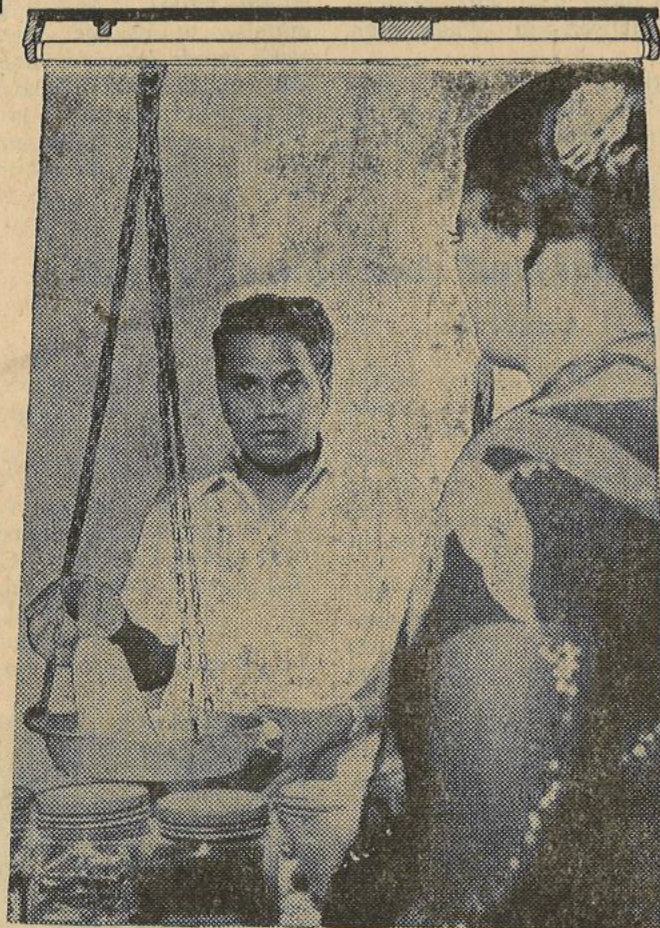
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THIS INDIA

CORRUPTION TRANSPORTED

FROM Salem to Yercaud there is an efficient bus service. Everyone in Tamilnadu tells you that The view wows. The journey is short. You find yourself believing people since the reassurance is so vociferous.

Two friends and I arrived at the Salem bus stop at seven in the morning. The 7.30 bus for Yercaud was waiting. The conductor told us that all the tickets had already been sold. "You'd better wait for the next bus, which will dock in here at eight and leave at 8.30." Wait we did.

When the second bus rolled in, the next conductor mouthed the same refrain, "Tickets already sold out." Characters who had come on the scene after us were seen boarding the vehicle. We confronted him with this fact. The man excelled in rudeness. The bus moved on. The conductor yelled out (it was meant to be comforting) that the next bus would be coming soon. By now we had rolled up our sleeves for a satisfying show-down.

In the next bus, I have no doubt, the story would have been repeated had we not created such a public rumpus. Tickets were being sold openly in black. Obviously the conductors

were allowing in people who paid them more than the price of the ticket. A combination of frustration and anguish springing from helplessness creates in you an impulse to shake the man up and rattle his bones. However, just as well, the opportunity did not present itself in the shape of the right man deserving it since he was already on his way to Yercaud.

We managed to get inside the third bus. By now a good section of public opinion was on our side. An old woman selling eggs, exuding friendliness and speaking only Tamil, took charge of the situation. Her tirade was not comprehensible but it produced the goods. The men were shoved off a seat. We subsided in it thankfully.

To my friends I started exhorting the advantages of a nationalised transport service. At least there is some check on crooked practises, I said. In Salem there was no ticket office to approach, no official whose help could be sought, no policeman in sight to appeal to.

Later I was informed that the bus service is actually nationalised and then given private names. You can imagine my disillusionment.

Neerja Chowdhury

"Living Free"

COLUMBIA'S "Living Free" is a film for those who love animals, nature and life. Fascinating and frothy, it relates the further adventures of the world famous Elsa. But here the spotlight is on Elsa's three cubs Jephah, Gopa and Little Elsa and for those who have seen and enjoyed "Born Free", its sequel is as captivating.

Nigel Davenport and Susan Hampshire play George and Joy Adamson, a happily married couple whose love for animals is all-consuming.


And Susan Hampshire lives every moment of her role as lion-loving woman. There are some scenes packed with emotion and she comes out of these very impressively.

How the cubs grow up, become a nuisance and danger to the neighbours and how eventually they are taken to a games sanctuary forms the subject matter of the film, which is not without its share of adventure and humour.

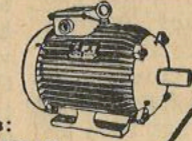
The whole subject is handled very beautifully. Some of the shots are superb, specially the one of a deer, in slow motion, being chased by a lion. Nature is depicted in all its splendour and wild life gets its due representation. The tough law of the forest — stronger animals preying on weaker ones — is also graphically portrayed.

Nigel Davenport is not very consistent, but the script is good and the fare sumptuous. Ideal family entertainment.

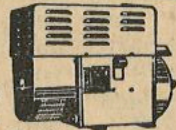
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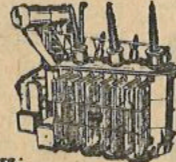
Induction Motors:
Range: 0.1 kW to 370 kW
and special motors like Vertical
Hollow/Solid Shaft, Crane Duty
Motors etc., and Coolant Pumps.



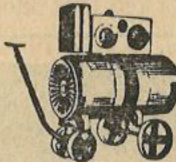
Alternators:
Single Phase
Range: 0.5 to 15 kVA
Three Phase
Range: 7.5 to 1500 kVA



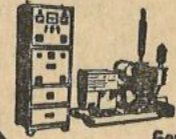
Transformers:
Power, Distribution, Furnace, Mining,
Non-inflammable liquid-filled and High
Voltage Testing Transformers
Range: upto 20,000 kVA; 132 kV



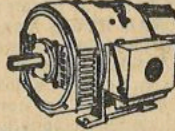
Welding Equipment:
Motor Generator
Range: 150 to 900 Amps.
Diesel Generator
Range: 200 to 600 Amps.
Semi-Automatic Submerged Set
Range: 250 to 800 Amps.
Fully Automatic Submerged Arc Set
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New spontaneity marks Commonwealth summit

by Kalpana Sharma

IN the Laurentian Mountains, one of the oldest ranges in the world, stands Mont Tremblant 166 miles north-east of Ottawa. That is where 32 heads of Commonwealth governments or their representatives had a relaxed weekend.

As guests of the Canadian Premier these representatives of almost 900 million people had the chance of getting to know one another in a different setting from the conference in Ottawa. It is unlikely that the Laurentians, their age notwithstanding, have ever before played host to such a powerful and diverse group of people.

Ottawa, the national capital of Canada, wears a festive air these days. In the centre of the town one sees people of many nationalities, Africans in colourful robes and others. Press people with identifications strung around their necks by a gold cord are everywhere. The most conspicuous, though they must try not to be, are the security men in non-descript suits and a maple leaf pin on their lapels. There are literally hundreds of them. More colourful by far are the Royal Canadian Mounted Police — the RCMP or Mounties — in smart red

uniforms. I have not yet seen one mounted on a horse but even on the ground they are impressive.

The country that will host the Commonwealth heads of government meeting next will be hard put to beat the Canadians. They have not missed out any detail and have managed with efficiency and the minimum of fuss to look after 32 delegations and Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip at the same time.

From the moment the different leaders landed at the airforce base in Ottawa, Canadians conducted affairs in a manner that one could learn from. The drill was basically the same. Leaders and delegations were flown by the Canadian Air Force to Uplands Airbase. The plane would land. The respective leader would step out and be greeted by a representative of the Canadian Government. The leader would then be asked to sign the visitors' book. The delegation could, if they wished, conduct a press conference at the airport. If not the head of government was led straight to a long black limousine, the kind that has been all over Ottawa these days, and driven to his respective hotel. There was no great fuss nor red tape and everything

was done with quiet dignity.

The conference centre where the heads of government are meeting is another Canadian achievement. Built in 1912 it was the Union Railway Station; now it is converted into a modern conference centre though the shell of the building is still the same. This former railway station was the scene of the opening of the conference.

Heads of different governments rolled up and were welcomed by Mr Pierre Trudeau looking his best in a grey suit with a red rose in his button-hole. Once everyone had arrived all the aides and seconds-in-command were sent into the enormous room prepared for the ceremony. This was the waiting room of the station. Now it houses in the middle an oval table around which are high backed chairs upholstered in royal purple. Further back there are chairs for the aides.

At a given moment the prime ministers, presidents or representatives began trooping in through a door where the ticket collector used to sit. Once all were seated the lights were turned on and a 15-minute photography session began. Photographers and cameramen were led around the table. The writing press — only 50 of us allowed — had to watch from the translation booths. After the last photographer had clicked, lights were switched off and the press politely asked to depart. As far as we were concerned that was the end of the tamasha and all we would see of the conference.

The gathering then moved to the smaller Sussex room where the main sessions of the conference, all closed, are taking place. One must admit that seeing all those leaders sitting around one table was an impressive sight. You could not help but think again of the potential that lies in this grouping of nations if it could be put to concrete and constructive purpose.

The big question before the conference as it opened was whether President Amin would come or not. He had earlier intimated that he would definitely be present. Two days before the conference he sent a



PREMIER TRUDEAU:
Commonwealth host

message to the Queen asking for her plane and a company of Scots Guards. When the request was diplomatically turned down he tried the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr Arnold Smith, for help on transportation difficulties. Mr Smith said he did not have a plane. Finally 24 hours before the opening General Amin decided, owing to state preoccupations, he could not really make it.

Newsmen can thank Amin because his appearance or non-appearance was just about the only thing to comment on. At the opening, a handful of Ugandan Asians stood on the road outside the conference centre with placards reading "Stop Amin". Unfortunately for them, they missed the car carrying the Ugandan representative and only after he had almost gone did they realise what was happening and let out a few half-hearted boos. Nevertheless the Ottawa papers, which must have been desperate for news, carried good sized photographs of the demonstrators.

The new format for the Commonwealth meeting has apparently worked well. This is a new executive type of session attended by heads of government and only one or two advisers. This has allowed spontaneity and real discussion which was not possible before. The limited numbers has meant less chances of a leakage to the press. And though this is disappointing for the 800 or so media men present at the conference, the end result might be far more constructive.

Even if there is no immediate concrete result from the conference, if in this atmosphere of informality and friendliness, a meeting of minds and mutual understanding can be established among 32 governments, the long-term effects will be nothing less than beneficial for the world.

Premiers condemn nuclear tests

by Michael Henderson

LEADERS of 32 Commonwealth nations meeting in Ottawa unanimously adopted a quiet statement condemning nuclear tests of all countries. This was announced on the eve of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, outer space or underwater.

Re-affirming "unfailing support" to this treaty, the Commonwealth heads of government appealed to all powers, particularly the nuclear powers, "to take up as an urgent task the negotiation of a new agreement to bring about total cessation of nuclear weapon tests in all environments". The subject was introduced into the Commonwealth discussion by the New Zealand delegation. It was expected by some observers to provoke something of a crisis. But Commonwealth leaders spent just one hour of their time discussing the issue in general and a further hour agreeing on the wording, worked out by a committee of ministers and civil servants.

Some delegates particularly from the Pacific had hoped the wording would have named the specific country or two. But as Kirk told the press after the announcement, "This

declaration is stronger than a text with harsh words but not unanimous." New Zealand was not anti-France but anti-nuclear tests, he said. "There is a belief that there is an international detente. The fact is that the rate of tests is accelerating. We want to see the arms race slowed down and stopped."

The Canadian External Affairs Minister, Mitchell Sharp, felt that other nations might be more disposed to listen to a whisper from the Commonwealth than just one more loud shout among many shouts in international politics. "One makes a greater impression by talking softly from time to time," he said. Sharp added that Canada did not want the Commonwealth to become a structured organisation passing resolutions regularly on controversial issues. This nuclear statement was acceptable because all Commonwealth nations opposed tests and this weekend marked the anniversary of the signing of the treaty. "I do not think I have ever attended a meeting where the delegates spoke their minds so clearly, so openly, so succinctly as on this occasion," said Sharp. "It is what the Commonwealth is all about."

Prince Philip raps press

SOME media people tend to consider the Commonwealth conference's value to mankind on its ability to provide good controversial copy." This remark by the Duke of Edinburgh while addressing the Canadian Club luncheon in Ottawa seemed to be one of the most apt reflections on the meeting of the Commonwealth heads of government.

"If you believe that acquisition of wealth and power is the most important function of an individual," he said in a speech, "I have no doubt that the Commonwealth would appear to be a totally pointless organisation. If you believe that there are other factors which have some importance such as racial and religious harmony, co-operation in the advancement of science and education, international contact between professions or simply better understanding between ordinary people, then, you will look on the Commonwealth in a different light," the Duke concluded. "To suggest that the Commonwealth has no function and no influence is simply to display a lament-

able ignorance. It is sadly one of those inescapable facts of life that conflict is news and peaceful co-operation a bore. The best that we can hope for from this meeting in Ottawa is that a lot will be discussed at it but little reported about it."

That would perhaps be a bit much to expect when 800 accredited news media people are gathered specially for the meeting. And to have them gathered for what is essentially a private conference conceived in optimism and not dedicated, as Trudeau said in his opening remarks, "to resolution of any crisis or solution of any major problem" is to invite exaggeration in reports.

Reports were coming out of restricted sessions of phrases like "End the generation of bitterness", "New world economic order in making", "Most diverse yet most fraternal organisation in the world".

However the official Canadian spokesman said that he was "joyous" and even Heath was pleased at the difference in atmosphere from what it was in Singapore in 1971. **M.D.H.**

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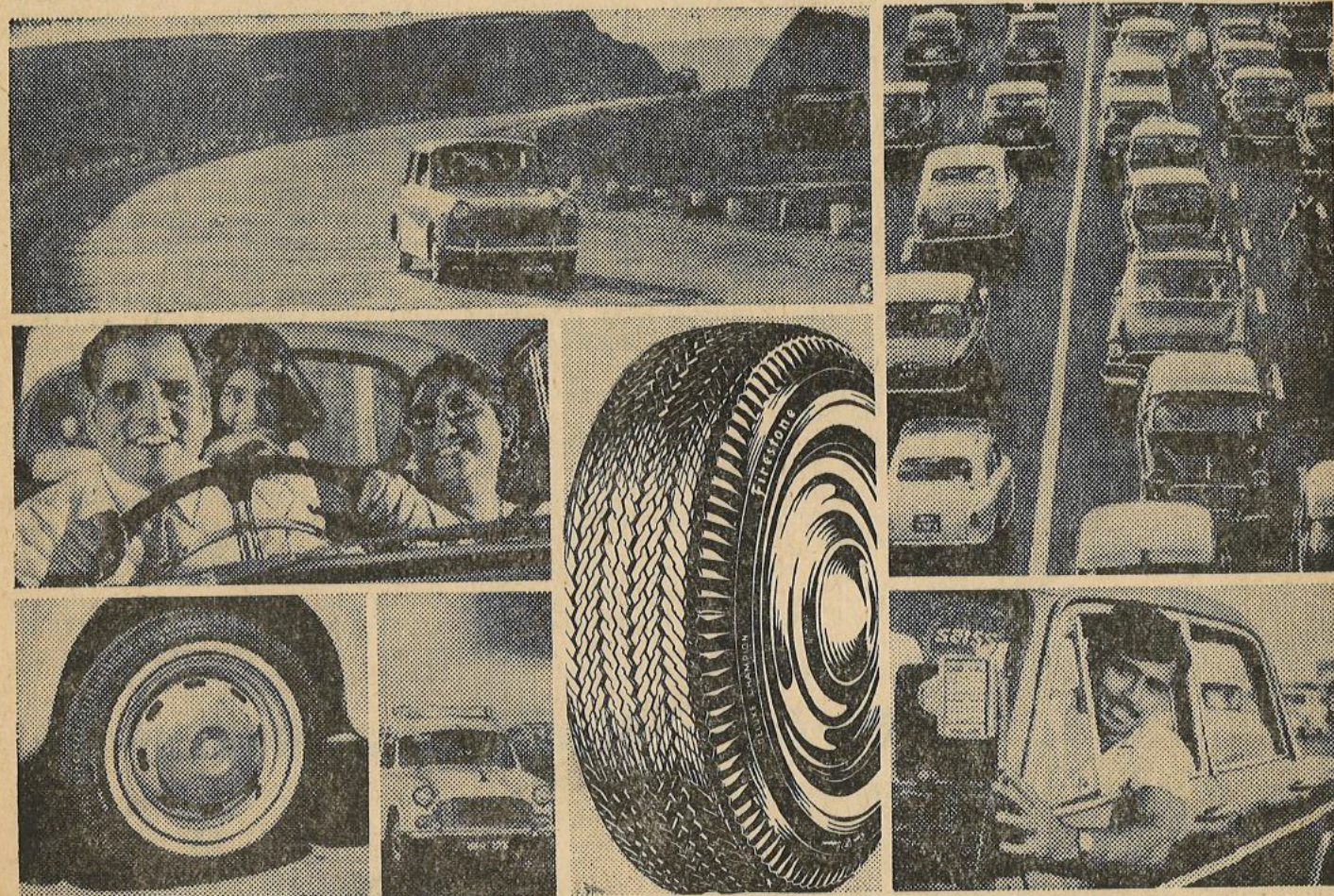
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FOCUS-U-13 (A)

Sukarno was struck by his own hand

IN THE SPIRIT OF THE RED BANTENG by Dr Anthonie C. A. Dake; published in English by Mouton and Company, The Hague

IN the Spirit of The Red Banteng" is a scholarly and often fascinating account of the rise and fall of the PKI, the Indonesian Communist Party, at its heyday with two million members the biggest Communist Party in the non-Communist world. The book is written as a thesis for a doctorate by Anthonie C. A. Dake, a Dutchman, who as a



SUKARNO :
feared army plot against him

former newspaper correspondent in Moscow and personally acquainted with Indonesia, is possibly better qualified than most to handle his subject. The doctor's degree was acquired at the Free University of Berlin.

The burning question this book answers is how it was possible that the PKI under its leader Dipa Nusantara Aidit, a mass party in near control of Indonesia, gambled away its chances in a hasty, badly prepared coup in 1965 which set in train developments resulting in the physical destruction of Communism in Indonesia.

The answer is unbelievably simple. The unsuccessful coup was not the PKI's initiative. Colonel Untung, officer of the Palace guard, set out

to kill seven generals following an order by President Sukarno himself. Proof for this can be found in the testimony by Sukarno's ADC, Colonel Widjanarke, and by three other witnesses who were present at the conversation Sukarno had with this blindly loyal officer.

Three times Indonesian Communists have been in on ill-fated attempts to seize power: in 1926, 1948 and 1965. The earlier two were inspired by Moscow. The 1965 bid was made at a time that both Sukarno and the PKI were united on a pro-China line. Aidit fled to China after the 1948 coup, intended and planned by Moscow-trained Muso, but prematurely started by local activists in Madiun. When Aidit returned half a year after independence in 1950 he quickly assumed top leadership of the party. In the briefest of time he made it into a mass movement.

Aidit knew that the PKI owed its strength to nobody. So he was inclined towards an independent policy. In the course of the Sino-Soviet dispute he got however caught in the cross-fire.

He supported Sukarno's policies of "Konfrontasi", first against the Dutch over New Guinea (West Irian), later against Tunku Abdul Rahman over the Malaysian Federation, because he believed it to be the best way towards power. The more disorder, the greater the economic disarray, the bigger his chance, Aidit thought.

At first Moscow was a good source of mainly military aid against Dutch stubbornness. But after Cuba, Khrushchev became aware of the dangers of acrobatics on the brink of war. So the Soviet support against the "nekolims" became less abundant.

The turning point was a Chou-Sukarno meeting in Shanghai in 1964. The wily Chou offered Sukarno light arms, financial help and aid to manufacture an atom bomb. Even before this meeting Sukarno had done everything to offend Moscow by doubting the Asian status of the Soviet Union at Afro-Asian occasions.

In January 1965 some Indonesian generals, including the rivals Nasution and Yani, met and agreed that the pro-Chinese, anti-Moscow line was dangerous. Hearing about this confidential meeting, the vain Sukarno began to talk about "a plot" against him by "a council of generals".

He opened himself to suggestions from Aidit to "arm the people" thus constituting a "fifth force" in the country.

On July 30 1965 General Yani, of old a loyal Sukarno man, said to a number of officers he would no longer go along with presidential plans which he deemed detrimental. This enraged Sukarno so much that on August 4 he asked Untung whether he would move against "some disloyal generals". After this conversation he suffered a slight stroke.

Aidit and a deputy, on a visit to China, had already been summoned

BOOKS

back and returned after this meeting. They heard of Sukarno's intention and agreed to collaborate, though they had not made any preparations beforehand. Aidit was no doubt motivated by a negative report on Sukarno's health by some Chinese doctors who were treating him. He knew that the PKI's preponderance was largely dependent on Sukarno's undisputed personality.

The "Presidential" coup in collusion with the PKI might have succeeded on September 30 if the relatively unknown general commanding the army reserve, Suharto, had not acted swiftly. A coup which Sukarno had intended to break the army as a force in the country resulted in a political upheaval which put paid to his own influence and that of the PKI.

Peter Hintzen

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

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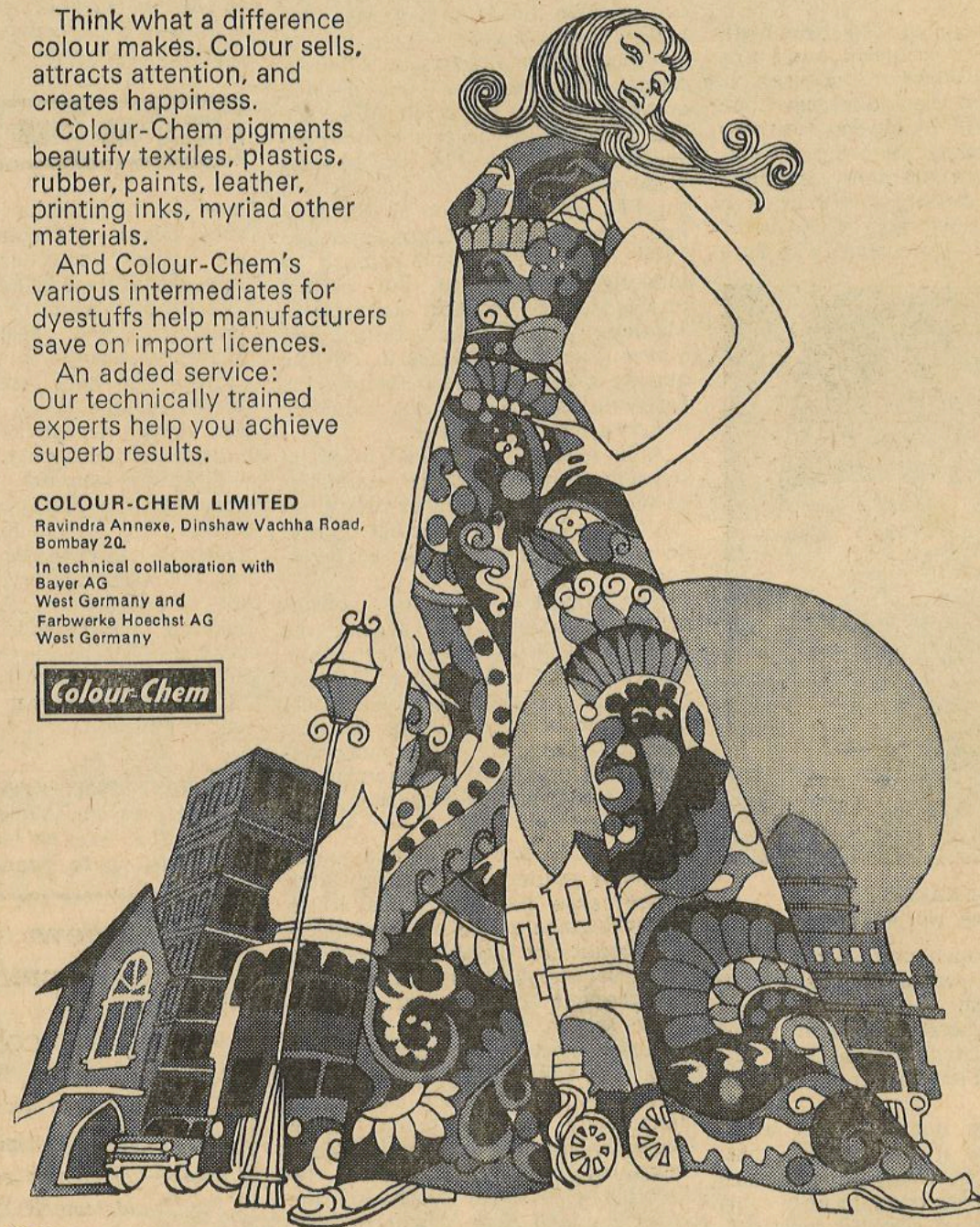
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Letters

INDIA AND RUSSIA

MR JAGJIVAN RAM, in his recent visit to the Soviet Union, expressed complete identity of Indian and Soviet views on major world issues. This is not the first time that our opinions are in rapport with those of the Soviets. Such chronic understanding, albeit helpful, also reflects the attitude of our leaders when it comes to independent, non-aligned thinking; in spite of vociferous claims that the Indo-Soviet treaty has not affected our policy of non-alignment.

It is disheartening to learn that pleasing countries where our present interests lie (and the present is always fleeting) has taken precedence over saying and doing openly and honestly what we believe to be right. Our as yet unexplained behaviour towards Israel and the happy forgiving and forgetting of the Tibetan issue, probably to appease China, are some of the examples. With the gradual increase in Indo-Soviet friendship there has been a concomitant rise in anti-American feeling.

We seem to have reached a stage where it would be too risky to risk displeasing Russia. Perhaps that is why we agree so fully with them on all matters of consequence.

I think it would do good to ask whether we are not already a 'neo-sputnik' of Big Brother Russia.

VINAY TANDON, Simla 3

OUR DOMESTIC SERVANT

BENEATH our fashionable clothes there often lurks a medieval mentality. Our attitude to domestics is just one case in point.

We all profess in public the democratic principle of equality for all. Yet privately, we treat our servants little better than slaves.

We care little how our servants live as long as they keep us comfortable. We do not have enough income to give him a higher dearness allowance, we say. Yet, let the petrol price go up; we may curse the Government, but we are not going to stop using the car. If a servant is sick, it is a small matter. Medicine and rest are not necessary for him. He will somehow survive. But what if we catch flu? We must have a doctor at our bedside and complete rest.

How often a servant is made the scapegoat for the lapses of a family member. How many times they are unjustly accused of crimes and summarily dismissed!

We must admit the fact that servants have rights, not only duties. They have feelings. They have their human dignity to keep up.

The typical Indian servant has a large family of undernourished children. He

lives in a one-room shack. He is neck-deep in debt. He has never been to school. He is sickly, overworked and fatalistic in his outlook on life.

By this I do not mean that all masters are inhuman oppressors or blood-suckers. Here and there one comes across kind masters who show genuine human warmth towards servants and uphold their dignity. What I have described is the general situation prevailing in our country even after our silver jubilee of independence.

Will it remain so in our golden jubilee year, too?

A. M. MATTHEW, Bangalore 36

ALL SPORTS FANS

R. M. Lala, editor of 'HIMMAT' warmly invites you to meet

SUNIL GAVASKAR

on Friday 17 August at 6.30 p.m. when he will present copies of

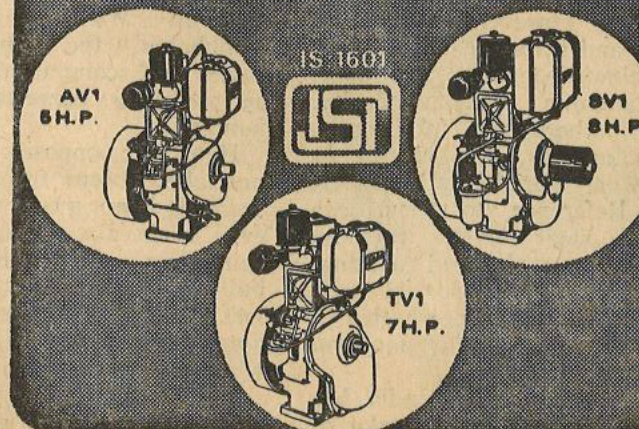
'PLAYING TO WIN'

by Conrad Hunte, former Vice-Captain and opening batsman of the West Indies XI

to cricket captains of Bombay schools at the Cathedral and John Connon School 6, Purushottamdas Thakurdas Marg, Bombay-1

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Our nation's philosophy

by Rajmohan Gandhi

HURT by the insufficiency of progress since freedom, many Indians are asking themselves some basic questions.

Are there errors in our beliefs? Are there shortcomings in our way of life? Is a change needed in our national mentality?

The mind of India has not yet found an answer to the controversy that arose when western civilisation first disturbed our thinking and living. Indians divided into defenders of ancient tradition and admirers of the modern mores Britain brought. Broadly speaking, a line was drawn between those who felt that salvation lay in westernising India and others who thought that the process would destroy India's virtue and self-respect.

On the ancient versus modern or eastern versus western debate was superimposed another controversy, which was affecting the whole world, over religion. Advocates of religion said there was a choice between faith and materialism; their adversaries said a contest between rationalism and superstition.

Many minds then accepted a curious over-simplification. They treated ancient culture, eastern (or Indian) tradition and religion as synonyms, and similarly lumped modernism, westernism and materialism together.

Great and small men have subscribed to this neat classification. Those wanting to champion material progress attacked what they termed the poverty-loving, backward-looking and spiritual emphasis of certain men. Those who claimed awareness that affluence did not satisfy man deplored ideas (and men) they deemed hedonistic, showy and westernised.

Jawaharlal Nehru, who became free India's first Prime Minister 26 years ago, did not over-simplify. He felt that an objective view of history did not sustain the contrast between a largely spiritual east and a west primarily engaged in

piling up material goods. He thought that greed was not the west's monopoly and felt that both ancient and modern India had their share of it.

A Canadian biographer, in 1956, sought his views on "what constitutes a good society and the good life". Nehru answered:

"Broadly speaking, apart from the material things that are necessary, obviously, a certain individual growth in the society — not only the corporate social growth but the individual growth. For I do believe that ultimately it is the individual that counts... The idea appeals to me... the old Hindu idea that if there is any divine essence in the world every individual possesses a bit of it ... and he can develop it... Every individual has an importance and he should be given full opportunities to develop — material opportunities naturally, food, clothing, education, housing, health, etc... I do believe in certain standards. Call them moral standards, call them what you like, spiritual standards. They are important in any individual and in any social group. And if they fade away, I think that all the material advancement you may have will lead to nothing worthwhile."

What are the necessary moral and spiritual standards? This may appear to be a question capable of eliciting a variety of answers; it is interesting, however, that down the ages and across the world men have acknowledged certain common standards: honesty, purity, care for others and forgiveness. These standards can help us in seeing what is right and what is wrong. Reference to them can give us a steer for our personal lives and on social and national matters. There is no special merit in trying to discover whether a proposal is ancient or modern, eastern or western.

In the writer's view India has in the past made the mistake of rejecting certain ideas merely because they originated in the west or were thought to have such an

origin. We examined the birth-place rather than the worth of ideas and practices. Japan had less of this needless pride, and has consequently brought greater comfort to its citizens. Getting rid of foreign rule was a necessary aim for any self-respecting nation; however, rejecting ideas merely because they were foreign was not necessarily helpful to India.

In an inverted way, some of us are now repeating the mistakes of Indians of earlier generations. We seem to be adopting trends and behaviours, customs and costumes, not because they are judged helpful but because they are foreign or western. The unreliability and unwisdom of this imitative way of life does not need underlining.

We need a scientific temper; we need to use our minds and to be free of prejudices if we are to advance. If in earlier centuries the west led the way in using reason, let us acknowledge the fact.

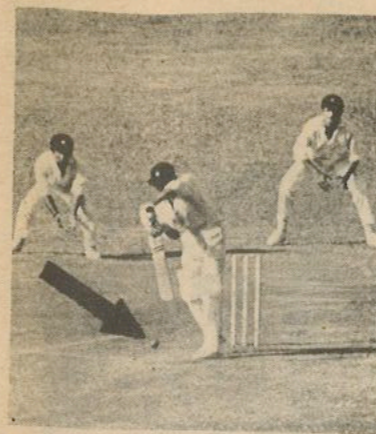
We need, as Jawaharlal Nehru said, an emphasis on moral and spiritual values. If today the west, or a section of the west, seems ready to ignore them let us refrain from doing likewise.

To the scientific and the moral approach needs to be added a social conscience. It is not enough to have rational ideas and to live straight lives; the wants and hopes of our neighbours have to disturb us. We have to love our neighbours, the other families, castes and communities of India, as we love ourselves and our families.

Hate, the opposite of love, is not, alas, absent from the Indian scene. It is not a constructive force even when directed at people we think are selfish. Social action built on concern for those in need will lead to progress; "revolutions" based on hate of those who have more than us will not.

A scientific temper, standards in personal living and a social passion springing from compassion—these form the trident free India requires.

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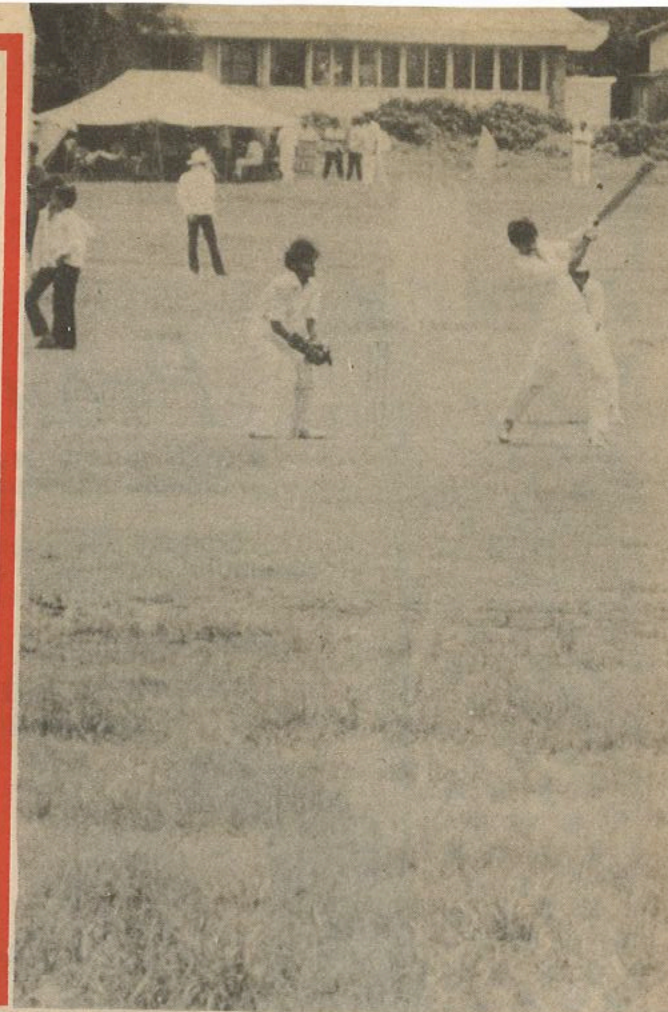
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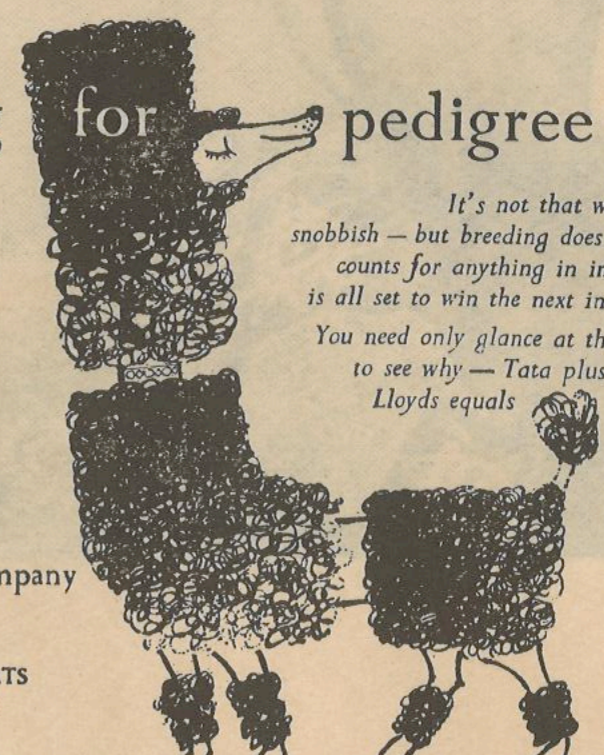
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