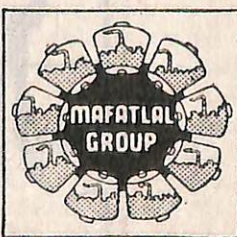




CHECKED TO CONQUER. Tantalising checks that dazzle. Sharp. Precise. As a question. Reckless as passion itself. Have courage. Dare them. Wear them. Just imagine what would happen if a man like you wore checks like these!

MAFATLAL GROUP
POPLINS AND SHIRTINGS
COTTON AND 'TERENE'/COTTON



2 X 2 'TERENE'/COTTON, PRINTED, TEBILIZED, MAFINISED AND STRETCH QUALITY

NEW SHORROCK (SHORROCK), Ahmedabad • NEW SHORROCK, Nadiad • STANDARD, Bombay • STANDARD (NEW CHINA), Bombay • STANDARD, Dewas SASSOON, Bombay • SASSOON (NEW UNION), Bombay • SURAT COTTON, Surat • MAFATLAL FINE Navsari

LPE-Aiyars M. 192 A

HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

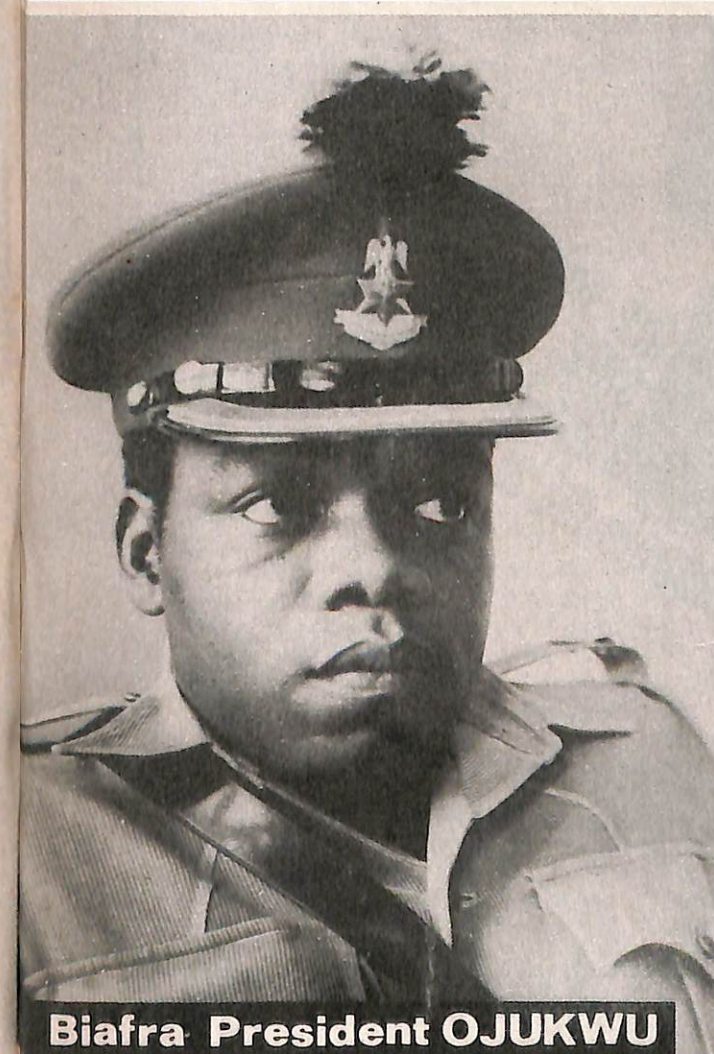
VOL 3 NO 38

ASIA'S NEW VOICE

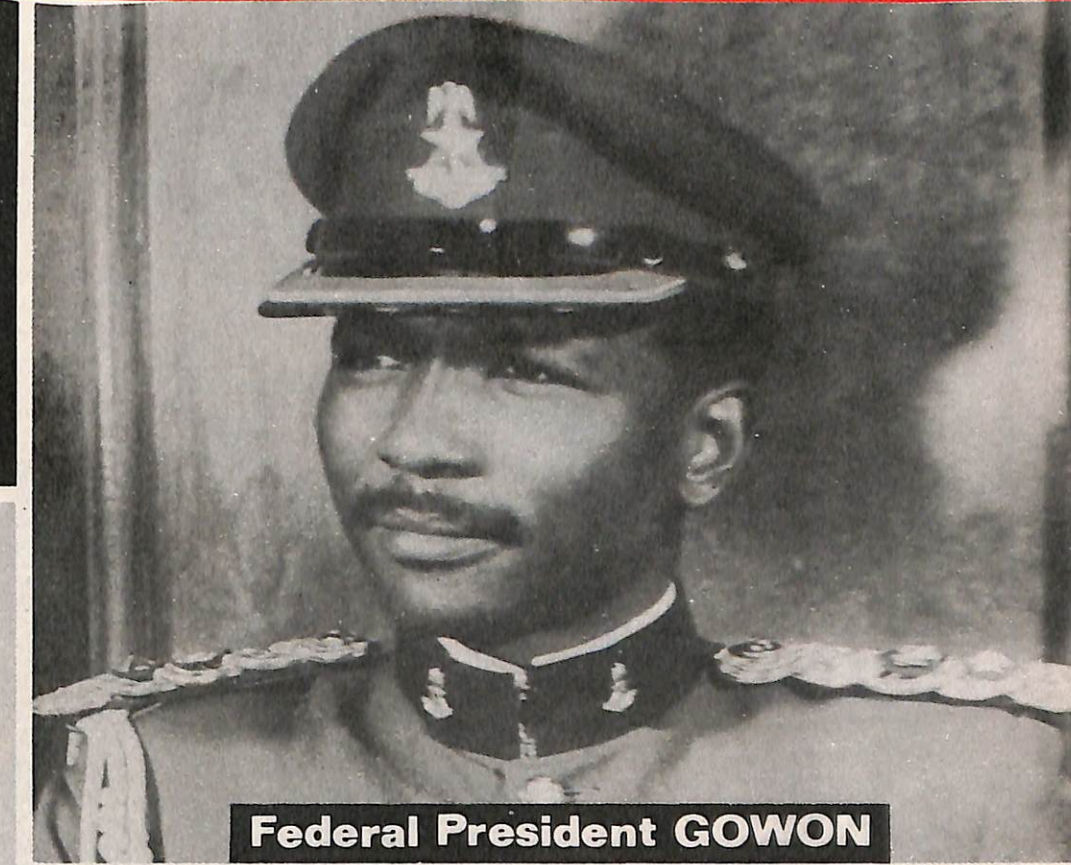
FRIDAY JULY 21 1967

Civil war in NIGERIA

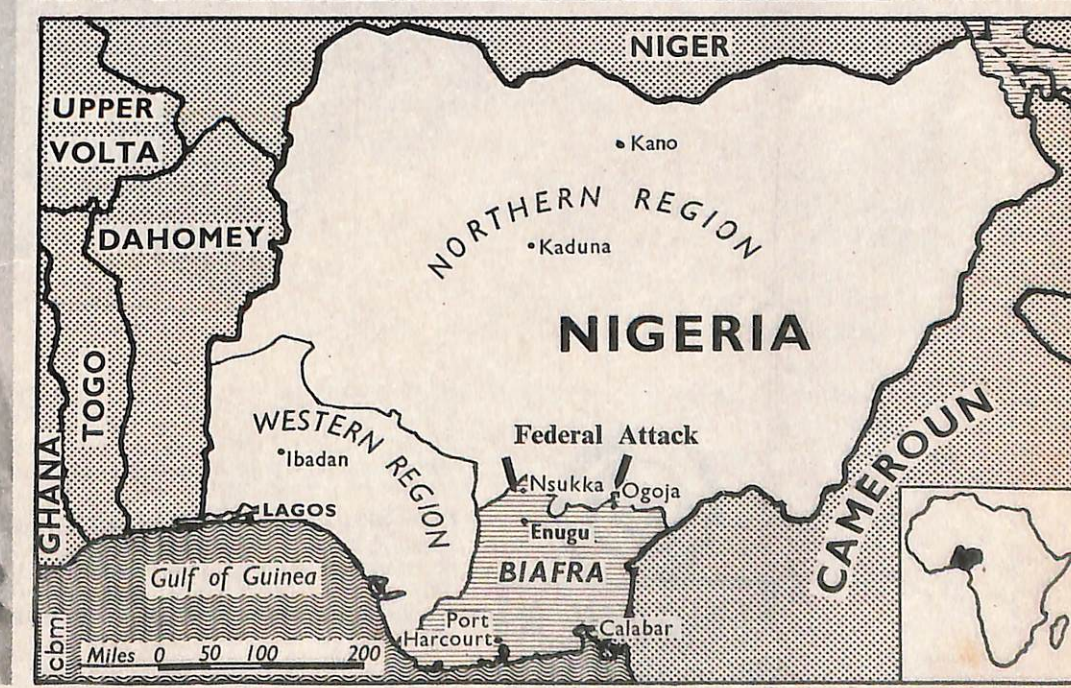
Pages 3, 8



Biafra President OJUKWU



Federal President GOWON



DECLINE OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION

heros-JBO-62



Have you checked the composition and weldability before you start fabricating? If not, it pays to consult ADVANI-OERLIKON

ADVANI-OERLIKON have a well established chemical and metallurgical laboratory where your metals can be tested and the right type of electrode can be recommended.

Only with ADVANI-OERLIKON you will find a welding electrode for any specific job in mild steel, high tensile steels, stainless steels, cast-iron and non-ferrous metals. There are electrodes for hardfacing, cutting and chamfering. And you will find a variety of fluxes for brazing and submerged arc welding too. Then there is the expert advice and excellent service—all at one place.

J. B. Advani-Oerlikon Electrodes Private Ltd., 6, Rampart Row, Bombay-1. Phone: 254815



HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

BOMBAY FRIDAY JULY 21 1967

Nigerian tragedy

TRAGEDY HAS OVERTAKEN the 60 million people of Nigeria. Since the end of 1964 the mills of regional conflict have ground swiftly and cruelly.

Of all African nations, Nigeria, the most populous, offered the brightest hope of establishing a modern and viable economy. Today her people are killing each other and thereby the dream of a prosperous nation. Innocent villagers are having their farms destroyed, their houses burnt and are escaping into rain-drenched forests. It is a tragedy not just for Nigeria but for all Africa.

So long as Colonel Ojukwu, President of the breakaway Eastern Region which now calls itself the Republic of Biafra, only *talked* secession the Federal leader, Major General Gowon, a Northerner, was also content to talk. Even Ojukwu's unilateral declaration of independence on May 30 provoked only a naval blockade of his ports. But when the Anglo-Dutch oil consortium of Shell announced they would pay token royalties to Ojukwu for Biafran oil, Gowon moved in his troops.

To nerve his seven million Ibo followers Colonel Ojukwu can rely heavily on their fear and hate of the Northern Hausa following bloody tribal clashes which killed many Ibos and forced some 1,800,000 others to flee to Biafra.

The difficult forest terrain and heavy rains could slow the Federal thrust and give Ojukwu a chance to organise crippling guerrilla actions.

Another hazard Gowon must consider is Yoruba unrest to his rear. Not long ago the Western leader, Chief Awolowo, threatened that if the East seceded so would the West. Gowon will feel he must move fast to break Biafra's rebellion. His failure would encourage other fractious regions to try their luck.

One thing is clear — political agreements, new constitutions and administrative skill will never by themselves end Nigeria's convulsions. All have been tried. A powerful antidote is needed to the drug of hate which warps and enslaves those who use it.

(See page 8.)

Time to think again

COALITION CABINETS do not have a very successful history in India. Now with seven states having coalitions, one wonders how long stable governments will survive. Chief Minister Mukherjee and Deputy CM Jyoti Basu have publicly clashed over making a Central ban on arms, bows and arrows applicable to Naxalbari.

In Bengal certain Left Communists are talking of the need for a mid-term election hoping that their party will emerge stronger. In Kerala the rest of the United Front Coalition members are furious with the Left Communist General Secretary P. Sundarayya for his speech that others were blocking Communist measures for procurement of paddy. "I only hoped that the Left Communist leader would desist from the ancient art of searching for scapegoats in other parties like the RSP to explain away his own party's dilemma and indecision," said the RSP chief.

Right Communist Industries Minister T. V. Thomas denies Sundarayya's charge that Kerala Government policy is "anti-labour". Reports indicate that there will soon be a third Communist party in India which will be more extremist than the present Left Communist leadership and more "pro-Mao". Its exponents boast that half the Bengal Left Communists are with the extremists.

Other parties, too, suffer from internal disunity. Dr Lohia bemoaned recently that he could do something in Bengal if even six of his own party leaders there would obey him.

The position of other parties is not too different. One coalition Chief Minister in private says that it is very difficult for his Government to take any decision because the half a dozen constituent party leaders within the Cabinet find it most difficult to agree and if perchance a decision is arrived at, they then want to go and check it with other colleagues outside the Cabinet. "How long can I govern like this?" he asks.

The logic of events will compel many to rethink the inadequacies of a political attitude that fails to tackle the rugged self-will, the lust for power, the snatching of credit from others, that confuses our political scene. It is time to stop and think again.

Cabinet pudding

POLITICAL MUDSLINGING is moving from public platforms to menus. A Hong Kong waiter landed in the soup lately for confronting customers with a choice of dishes like "boiled bourgeois shrimp" and "stripped Chiang's spy pigs". The British authorities, who found this fare unpalatable, sentenced him to wait for four months at Her Majesty's pleasure in jail.

Nevertheless political menus have possibilities. The next All-India Congress Committee dinner—possibly on a boat cruise in Bombay—might comprise the following.

- Hors d'oeuvres — Poached Privy Purse au Chavan
- Soup — Consomme Kamaraj
- Entree — Kedgeree Arabian with Chaglia Chips
- Main Dish — Jagjivan Curry (without rice)
- Dessert — Meringue Glace Indira and KK Sauce
- Coffee — Morarji blend (unsweetened).

Politicians of other parties may devise their own bills of fare, print them in fitting yellow, red or pink and hope their rivals can digest them!

Briefly speaking...

Suburban press

INDIA HAS A GOOD national press and many well-produced regional and language papers. But we have little of what is called the local or suburban press. One reason why the British rate as the top newspaper reading nation is because they not only read a national paper, but subscribe to their local paper like the *Westminster Gazette* or the *Pimlico News* which caters to the requirements of their specific small area, sometimes only three or four square miles.

Salute to the Lions Club of North Bombay for launching one of the first such papers in India called *The Suburbanite*. It deals with the problems that confront this growing but not-so-vocal public and deals humanely with stories of injustice.

It is edited by an enterprising Lion, Shafi Thanawalla.

Prince's Naxalbari

WHEN TITLELESS farmers are dispossessed of land you have a Naxalbari. What happens when Princes are deprived of the livelihood promised to them?

Listen to what a Maharaja told a reporter recently:

"What could I do? I am not a businessman; I don't know how to make money. I'm too old for the army. I could be a gentleman farmer but land reform put an end to that. I'd make a good ambassador but they won't give me an embassy. I suppose I could become an anarchist, but that's about all."

Three cheers

SOMEONE CALLED Oxford "the home of lost causes".

Birbal hopes that the latest cause taken up by Oxford is not a lost cause. For Oxford dons have launched an "independence fund" for overseas students whose fees have been stepped up considerably by the British Government. The congregation of Oxford dons recently decided to raise an estimated £80,000 to £120,000 a year to help pay the fees of their overseas students.

Oxford men sitting in Whitehall please make a note.

Ice-cream from England

"I THOUGHT that Hong Kong would be safe for another 10 years but now I feel we have less than five years to go. Time is running out," said a well-known businessman to *Birbal* in Hong Kong early this year. He was right. Sustained Mao pressure continues on the colony. Till recently the British and the Chinese had worked out their arrangements rather well. For example, mainland refugees who first crossed over into Hong Kong or stealthily came in junks, if caught by Hong Kong authorities had to be returned to the Communists, but if a refugee was

The best executive is the one who has sense enough to pick good men to do what he wants done, and self-restraint enough to keep from meddling with them while they do it.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, 1858-1919

not caught he could register himself as a Hong Kong citizen.

The ingenious people of Hong Kong know the art of survival and till recently this sterling and dollar-rich colony has survived well. They get their ice-cream all the way from England, apples from the United States and rice and 25 per cent of their water from mainland China.

Where HIMMAT goes

FEW PAPERS travel as widely as HIMMAT which goes to 65 countries and territories. The airmail edition reaches every week the leadership of many nations. Here is an alphabetical list:

Australia	Hong Kong	Puerto Rico
Austria	Hungary	Rhodesia
Belgium	Indonesia	Senegal
Bhutan	Iran	Sikkim
Brazil	Ireland	Sierra Leone
Burma	Israel	Singapore
Canada	Italy	South Africa
Ceylon	Japan	Spain
Cuba	Kenya	Sudan
Cyprus	Korea	Sweden
Denmark	Laos	Switzerland
Dubai	Lebanon	Tanganyika
Ecuador	Malaysia	Thailand
Fiji	Mauritius	Uganda
Finland	Morocco	United Arab Republic
France	Nepal	
Germany	New Guinea	United Kingdom
Ghana	New Zealand	United States
Gibraltar	Nigeria	Uruguay
Greece	Norway	West Indies
Guyana	Pakistan	Yugoslavia
Holland	Philippines	Zambia

Birbal

Get up to date with
HIMMAT Weekly

INDIAN SUBSCRIPTIONS -
from Himmat Weekly, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1

Name _____
BLOCK LETTERS

Address _____

Enclosed

6 months Rs. 6-50
 1 year Rs. 12
 3 years Rs. 32

please whichever desired
and send with remittance to
HIMMAT at the above address



from the Capital

Decline of the Planning Commission

by **ANTENNA**

NEW DELHI White elephant or dodo? Or both? Some people in Delhi consider it a costly luxury elephant, others think it is as dead as the dodo but still maintains a feeble pretence of being meaningfully alive.

The subject of these conflicting and not very complimentary views is that "august" body known as the National Planning Commission. The commission exists. Make no mistake about that. This is obvious from the stream of humanity that trickles into Yojana Bhavan, its headquarters on Parliament Street, New Delhi, around 9-30 a.m. every weekday and pours out at 5 p.m. But what its 1400-odd employees do to justify their existence and pay packets is another matter.

This does not mean that they idle, though the Fourth Plan is, theoretically, one year and three and a half months old but has still not taken off the ground. During this period of "delayed gestation", the planners have not lolled lazily in their foam rubber-upholstered chairs, to judge from the deluge of notes, working papers and memorandums on planning in all its multifarious aspects they have penned indefatigably.

The mills of Yojana Bhavan have, indeed, worked overtime in these 15½ months churning out blueprints promising jam tomorrow. But the sad truth is that our planners, all amiable men with the best intentions, are flapping their pinioned wings in a void.

Far from reality

Like the scientists of Laputa, whom Gulliver encountered in his travels working intently on the problem of extracting sunlight from cucumbers, the men of Yojana Bhavan, ensconced in their air-conditioned chambers, are mostly performing their labours in an atmosphere far, far away from reality.

The Prime Minister declared on Monday that the Planning Commission will be relieved of its executive functions and will henceforth concentrate on formulating plans and evaluating their performance.—Ed.

This unrealism has grown in direct proportion to the administration's inability to fulfil its plan aims in practice.

Today, the Planning Commission's very survival is at stake. With the Fourth Plan gone up in smoke, although nobody in office here openly admits it, and the Fifth Plan's fate, even on paper, very hazy, the question is being asked whether the commission has any purposive function to serve in its present form and size and whether the expense on it is merited. For the record, the commission has 1425 men and women on its payroll, including a deputy chairman, four

members, one secretary, five joint secretaries, one additional secretary, five deputy secretaries, four under secretaries, 20 directors and 164 research officers. The commission's budgeted expenditure for 1967-8 is Rs 1.74 crores.

The revised estimates of its expenditure for 1966-67 are Rs 1.63 crores, while its actual expenditure for 1965-66 was Rs 1.46 crores. Thus, in keeping with other Government institutions, the commission's costs have been rising in direct proportion to its declining usefulness as a vehicle of economic and social change.

The appointment of Dr D. R. Gadgil as its new Deputy Chairman seems to be the result of a belated

continued on next page

On your toes

EGGSHELL PROMISES

A RECENT report described how crores of rupees are sent by Indians in Malaysia to relatives in Tamilnad via illegal agents. The success of the racket is that the crooks are scrupulously "honest" about paying, even though transactions are verbal.

Even crooks have their honour. But this is not the case with those Congress hatchet-men pressing for abolition of privy purses for ex-rulers. Here involved is not a furtive verbal agreement but a solemn written promise backed by what some still regard as a sacred Constitution.

Of the 554 rulers who ceded to the Union in 1948 only 284 draw privy purses. Of these, 170 get less than Rs one lakh (one Orissa ex-ruler actually gets Rs 3.24). The princely states embraced 500,000 square miles and 86 million people.

The alternative to this settlement reached by a Congress Government could only have been military actions like Hyderabad costing twenty times the privy purses, apart from human lives. If the Government now disowns it the world will know a Congress promise is mere eggshell.

What about Bhutan and Sikkim? Could they regard their agreements with India as binding? What of foreign governments who drain their granaries and grant vast loans for India's welfare? Will they expect India one day to say, "The situation has changed. We can't pay."

The controversy is made more sordid by the motives of its authors. They are mainly back-benchers thirsting for limelight and desperate to be known as "progressives". The decision will not be theirs so their ranting costs them nothing.

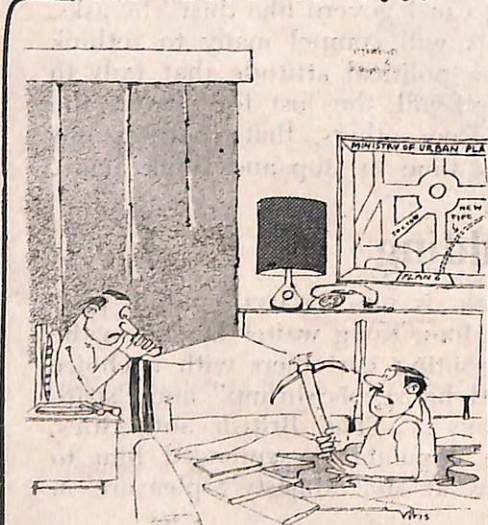
Others are prompted by pique. Some Congress bosses can't forgive the ex-rulers (or their wives) who trounced their nominees at the polls. They are also jealous of the place some princes and their relatives have in Mrs Gandhi's entourage.

The shouts will increase. The Home Minister may add his blessing. But in the end Mrs Gandhi knows she cannot go back on the promise her father made 20 years ago. She does have that much honour.

The princes may yield their perks. But they won't yield their purses and no clean Government can snatch them away.

Freebooter

CHALTA HAI...



"I'm only carrying out my orders from the Ministry of Urban Planning."

THIS WEEKLY FEATURE comes to you through the courtesy of the EAGLE VACUUM BOTTLE MFG CO (PVT) LTD

manufacturers of the Eagle range of vacuum flasks, jugs and insulated ware.



POMPADOUR

VERDICT!

This week HIMMAT...

REJOICES over India's share in the space satellite due to be launched over the Indian Ocean next year, part of a new world communications chain.

★

CALLS ironic Bombay's plan to house tourists in seaside tents during the International Tourist Fair in November, while lakhs of Bombay citizens lack homes of any kind.

★

IS STRUCK by Pakistan's official estimate that national production increased 5.2 per cent last year, agriculture 3.1 per cent and manufactures 9 per cent.

★

ENVIES the rats of Kerala, where according to an MLA, even the rat poison is adulterated.

★

CASTIGATES as out of touch with the real world British MPs who within a week passed bills legalising homosexuality and abortion.

★

FINDS its credulity strained by reports that white mercenaries, painted black, are taking part in the Nigerian fighting, and **SPECULATES** whether the Naxalbari rebels may not really be Chinese painted brown.

★

AGREES with Maharashtra Health Minister Zakaria's urging young doctors to work in villages and **ENQUIRES** what practical measures he is taking to encourage them to do so.

★

CONGRATULATES the organisers of India's pavilion at the Canadian Expo '67 international exhibition on its being rated one of the five best, but **EXPRESSES** surprise, to put it baldly, that the biggest item of business at the pavilion was for Rs 15 lakhs of human hair.

★

REGRETS the fall in Western economic aid to developing countries last year, and **COMPARES** it with the reported big increase in aid commitments by Communist countries.

PLANNING COMMISSION

—from page 5

effort to revive this moribund organisation. The Poona professor is believed to have been a second thought after the former Food and Agriculture Minister, Mr C. Subramaniam, one of Mrs Indira Gandhi's favourites who lost the general elections, but could not be fitted into it for "ideological" and other considerations, one of them being that Mr Subramaniam apparently did not want to accept a post which might very well become his political graveyard.

Another stalwart who was unhorsed in the electoral massacre of Congressmen in Madras, former Industries Minister R. Venkatraman, finds his way into the commission as a member of its board. Two more members have to be found. Since planning is at a complete standstill at the Centre, and both Congress and non-Congress States have served notice on New Delhi that they want to do their own planning, such appointments can really do no harm.

Serious in his work

But Dr Gadgil is a horse of another colour. From his writings and his occasional speeches in public and in the Rajya Sabha, it is clear that he takes planning very seriously and has a deep faith in his theories of co-operative socialism. What will therefore happen if, when he has been installed in Yojana Bhavan, he tries to give them practical shape and, inevitably, comes up against opposition both from top rankers among his staff and from

members of the Government who hold contrary views?

In the opinion of the Administrative Reforms Commission and senior Cabinet Ministers, the Planning Commission is to be downgraded. The first indication of this seems to be that henceforth there will be no Minister for Planning but that planning matters will be dealt with in Parliament by the Finance Minister. Does this mean, in fact, that the Commission will shrink into an adjunct of the Finance Ministry instead of continuing its hitherto autonomous existence as, in the words of some of its critics, a super-cabinet?

This is apparently the direction in which things are heading, for how can you conceive of a Commission whose writ does not run beyond the boundaries of Yojana Bhavan? Today, neither the ministries of the Central Government nor the state governments take more than a cursory note of the commission's existence.

In these circumstances, it is problematic how long Dr Gadgil will be able, if at all, to carry out the policies so dear to him. In the circumscribed atmosphere in which the commission functions, or has ceased to function, at present, he is scarcely likely to find himself at home.

According to people who claim to know him well, the moment of disillusion will not be far off, for this distinguished economist who does not hesitate to speak his mind will not be ready to provide an adornment to a Body reduced to a state of near-paralysis. And if he departs, the fate of the commission itself will also be probably sealed.

Intelligentsia's responsibility for the moral crisis

FOREIGN OBSERVERS, friendly to India and optimistic about our future, have often commented on the uninhibited hopelessness of Indian intelligentsia about the country's prospects. The US Ambassador, Mr Chester Bowles, obviously baffled by this negativism, took the trouble in the official "American Reporter" to call our attention to Indian achievements of the past 20 years, urging us to take a more positive view of ourselves.

There is no doubt about the present universality of this hopelessness. "Look at the scandals exposed every day in our Parliament. The Opposition has certainly done well in breaking through the administrative facade, untouched for nearly 20 years by Congress Party monopoly of power," remarked a high retired official of a State Home Department.

"You have no idea of the pressures we are subjected to in marking answer papers at the university examination," said a Professor of Economics. "We get the most fantastic requests to mark abject failures as top class answers."

"The biggest pressure comes from government officials who have the attitude that anything can be done," continued the Professor. "What is our country coming to?"

"I read your last article which ends

SAY THAT AGAIN...

Promises are not like pie-crusts to be broken. The sanctity of covenants should be respected.

ORISSA CHIEF MINISTER SINGH DEO

Kerala has developed an inferiority complex. Nobody talks about it any more, because its place as the country's problem State has been taken by West Bengal.

INDER MALHOTRA in "The Statesman"

Statistics establish that our famine is not rain-made and that people can perish in the midst of plenty.

K. LOBO PRABHU, Swatantra MP

Under the Lens

by R. VAITHESWARAN



part of what seems like a swindle of the Indian people. The record of the Congress politicians in amassing wealth is only slowly coming to light. But could a Bakshi Ghulam Ahmad (former Chief Minister of Kashmir) be accused of amassing the huge fortune of Rs 125 lakhs in 19 years without an array of civil servants, businessmen and politicians behind him? For every Patnaik, Kairon or Bakshi exposed by the continued pressure of political Opposition, there may be many who bask in the anonymity of lesser jobs. Moreover, the scandals involving some of India's big companies reveal a tie-up between officials and businessmen as well. The steel frame which was supposed to have ensured India's stability has been sadly revealed to be an unworthy clay model, crumbling, condemning with itself, Indian nationhood.

Slow degeneration

Businessmen are known to corrupt politicians in order to get their job done just as much as the latter expect "returns" for themselves and the Party for favours done. But less well-known has been the slow degeneration of the Civil Service and professional services, who have also been part of the system of mutual benefit, against the interests of the nation. I cannot help feeling that our hopelessness is a consequence of our sense of individual and collective guilt at our own moral failure.

The intelligentsia's responsibility for the moral crisis in which we are is the saddest aspect of our plight, because so much was expected of it. Instead of building a nation by hard work, we have acquiesced in its breakdown by our own compromises. Instead of safeguarding and helping to expand the values of freedom and responsibility, so little familiar to a nation more accustomed to centuries of foreign rule, the services have safeguarded their own threatened superiority by increasingly subserving the interests of political machines.

This is not the place to list the sins of the intelligentsia but rather to pinpoint the causes of its despair; compromise rather than conviction has been the practice, at least of the "do-

continued on page 20



NIGERIA: War may be long, bitter and bloody

FROM OUR WEST AFRICAN CORRESPONDENT

MAJOR-GENERAL GOWON, the Head of the Federal Government of Nigeria, has taken the fateful decision. On July 7 he ordered his forces, mostly Northern troops, to march on the break-away Eastern Region, the self-proclaimed Republic of Biafra, and to start a full-scale attack with the object of capturing Lt-Col. Ojukwu, its leader. He hopes that if "the rebel gang" can be defeated, the people of Eastern Nigeria will come to terms.

Posters throughout the rest of the Federation show Gowon proclaiming his objective: "To keep Nigeria one is a task that must be done." He is sincerely convinced that Eastern Nigeria must be kept within the Federation by force if necessary, and that Ojukwu is a rebel who is not supported by the majority of the people there.

Ibos fight for existence

The new state of Biafra consists of twelve million people of whom seven million are Ibos. They think of the war as a life-and-death struggle for existence. They point out with passion and hatred that some 30,000 Easterners, men, women and children, were slaughtered in cold blood by massacres in the North last year, that refugees totalling nearly two million, mostly Ibos, have poured back into the East from other parts of Nigeria and that the North wants simply to subdue and dominate the East in order to control the Federation for its own benefit.

It is probable that almost all Ibos are united behind Ojukwu and that the other minority tribes of the East are much less opposed to him than Gowon's advisers have led him to believe.

The war is likely to be long, bitter and bloody. The rains are on. The Federal forces, numbering about 10,000, are rather better armed than the 7000 in the East, but they have a long line of communications over poor roads. They may make significant penetrations at first, but they are likely to get bogged down. The Ibos will fight passionately on their own soil and a guerrilla war of ambushes and thousands of civilians with cutlasses assisting the regular troops may go on, with terrible atrocities on both sides.

This is not just a tribal war. It is a war between nations-in-the-making—peoples as different as French from Germans—with highly intelligent, edu-

cated and sincere men on both sides. It is the end product of a down-spiral from corrupt politics, from a struggle for power as to who would control the Federal Government, and from fear of domination of one people by another.

It is a tragic story. On October 1, 1960 the British handed self-government to a Federation of some 50 million people which many regarded as the greatest hope of Africa. It was a country with enormous assets—vast economic potential, a constitution worked out and agreed by leaders who had shown statesmanship and had achieved freedom without bloodshed. How did it happen?

First, self-government and the exodus of many British civil servants produced a gold-rush for jobs, for accelerated promotion in the services, for political party appointments. Party leaders found themselves unable to resist the pressure of "jobs for the boys". With disappointing speed there grew up in each of the three Regions a party with a vested interest in preserving and extending its power, which thought and fought regionally, not for Nigeria as a whole.

Struggle for power

Secondly, corruption led to an increasingly bitter struggle for power. The parties became the ruthless agents of regional and tribal interests—the NPA representing largely the Hausa-Fulani of the North, the Action Group the Yorubas of the West and the NCNC the Ibos of the East. It soon became clear that whoever controlled the Federal Government at the centre would control Nigeria. The Federal Cabinet was a coalition

Government which the assassinated Sir Abubakar T. Balewa, an honest Northerner and a distinguished Prime Minister, had tried to hold together. But its members were corrupt and he himself was unable to withstand the pressure from Northern interests.

Fear of domination

Thirdly, fear of domination. In the North an immensely powerful figure emerged—the Sardauna of Sokoto. He was a great grandson of the founder of the Fulani Empire which had established the Muslim kingdoms of the emirates of the North. His Region was, by comparison with the South, conservative and backward in Western education. He saw the North being overrun with southern (and especially Ibo) business and professional men; he feared the civil service, police and army would be controlled by them; and he regarded it as a vital interest of his people that his party should control the Federal Government.

These three factors led to a corrupt struggle for power which boiled up in one crisis after another from 1962 onwards, in spite of a hopeful start. Each was worse than the last until the Western Region elections of October 1965. These were nakedly rigged and when the pro-Northern Government of Chief Akintola refused to relinquish office, there followed widespread rioting.

On January 15, 1966, a group of young army officers, led by three Ibo majors, struck. They killed the Sardauna in Kaduna, Akintola in Ibadan and kidnapped Balewa, the Prime Minister, and his Minister of Finance—both of whom they later murdered. They endeavoured to shoot all their senior officers who would not go along with them. General Ironsi in charge of the Federal army, an Ibo, whom they tried to kill, miraculously escaped and succeeded in getting control of the army mutiny. The Federal Cabinet handed over power to a somewhat reluctant Ironsi.

General Ironsi sincerely tried for six months to build a united Nigeria. At first there was a wave of hope as corrupt politicians were put

continued on page 17

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

The Dodd Case: procedures need reviewing

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

WASHINGTON Now that the dust has settled after the seventh vote of censure in the history of the United States Senate, a few more words—on top of the millions already uttered—must be said.

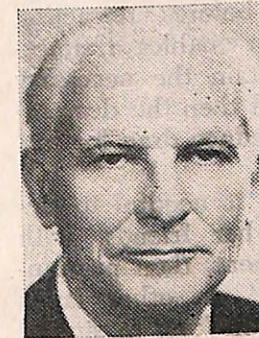
The Senate Ethics Committee after 14 months of deliberation, and the full Senate itself after two weeks of debate, have determined that Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut was guilty of wrongful financial practices. The Committee charged him with (1) billing on several occasions both the Senate and private organisations for the same travel costs; and (2) diverting political campaign contributions to his personal use. The full Senate dropped the first charge and voted 92-5 to censure Senator Dodd for the second.

What still needs airing is the appropriateness of the manner in which the charges came to light. When a sensational columnist can bribe a Senator's employees to steal his files and then proceed to tie up an important committee for 14 months and delay the entire Senate's other urgent business for two weeks, a review of procedures is in order.

It is common knowledge that certain columnists have bulging files on every prominent person in public life. Their history is that whenever

for their own political or propaganda reasons they wish to blow the whistle, they do so. Not only do they flatter in the public prints those who co-

operate in leaking to them important information and ink-smear those who do not, they go out after those whose political or ideological convictions do not jibe with their own.



Senator Dodd

Thus it is interesting that the first revelations about Senator Dodd were in connection with alleged wrong-doing on a trip to Europe where he was investigating a Soviet murder ring which was apparently causing to "disappear" key persons regarded to be in the way of Soviet world objectives.

The problem of finances in public life is a difficult one. Members of the House and Senate are often hard pressed to make ends meet, especially in this television era of sky-rocketing campaign costs. One hears on all sides that only a rich man can run for office and be elected. The result is all kinds of dinners, testimonials, funds, and money-raising schemes. Senator Russell Long in his defence of Senator Dodd indicated that many other Senators were also doing the things for which Dodd was being censured. Although Mr Long later apologised for his statement, it may well be true. A code of ethics and good procedures for enforcing it would be a healthy development.

It is also true that the free press is a powerful force for policing the

continued on next page

The week in ASIA

RAWALPINDI — The Jinnah era has ended with the death of Miss Fatima Jinnah, sister of the founder of Pakistan.

BANGKOK — Prime Minister Field Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn said more Russian-made helicopters had landed arms and ammunition for red guerrillas in north-east Thailand.

SAIGON — US Commander-in-Chief of Pacific Forces, Admiral Ulysses S. Grant Sharp, told Defence Secretary McNamara that the cumulative effect of air strikes over North Vietnam had begun to take a considerable toll.

TOKYO — A typhoon devastated south and west Japan. Over 360 died as floods poured mud and debris over vast areas.

MANILA — Asian Development Bank President Takashi Watanabe, addressing the consultative panel of the projected Asian farm survey, called it "the first operational step of the ADB in pursuit of its goal to promote economic growth in Asia and the Far East".

COLOMBO — An ultra high frequency link between Mannar in Ceylon and Dhanushkodi in India is to be completed in a year. It will ease congestion in Indo-Ceylon telecommunication traffic.

KARACHI — Pakistan will soon have a new port at Chalna in the eastern wing to relieve pressure on Chittagong. Two Yugoslav firms signed the agreement to build the port estimated to cost Rs 210 million.

PEKING — China's President Liu Shao-chi appears very much in saddle. A new wall poster which appeared last week carried a letter of self-criticism from Liu.

PEKING — The "People's Daily" reported that out of 1038 teachers who underwent criticism during the "cultural revolution", six killed themselves, 14 tried to and 61 died or disappeared during interrogation.

KARACHI — Russia will cooperate with Pakistan on a geological survey, under an agreement signed here.

TOKYO — Under a new capital liberalisation programme "automatic approval" will be given to foreign investments provided these do not harm Japanese interests.

French withdraw from "Swing-wing" project

FROM GORDON WISE

LONDON The British Government is annoyed with de Gaulle's latest snub in cancelling the Anglo-French project to build the "Swing-wing" variable geometry aircraft. But one suspects that the growls of annoyance may be heard as sighs of relief in some Cabinet circles. For this "Swing-wing" fighter-bomber plane would have cost about two million pounds apiece. The Labour Party traditionally has its heart more in hospitals and homes than it does in aeroplanes and artillery.

It is a false alternative, of course. The Soviet Union, hailed by the Left of Labour as an embodiment of social conscience, has simultaneously with the French cancellation unveiled exactly the same aircraft in all its operational glory. There were two versions of this plane flown in the Moscow Air Display, with both wings fully extended before retracting them. This design enables a supersonic plane to obtain the necessary lift for take off and then the decreased air surface to reduce drag for fast flight.

If Russia deems it needful to defend herself and her friends with such costly equipment, then presumably "progressives" in other lands would be excused thinking in similar

terms. The Russians are probably more realistic about China's long-term intentions and do not wish to be placed in an inferior position.

One effect of the French withdrawal—which they say is due to economic pressure rather than anti-Anglo-Saxon prejudice—will be to hasten the more sacrificial involvement of Australia and New Zealand in the defence of South-East Asia.

The Prime Minister of Malaysia has openly said that if Britain does pull out of her Singapore base then he hopes that Australia and New Zealand will step in. The ANZACs protest that they lack the resources to replace Britain. This is doubtless true but there is some hard thinking going on in that part of the world.

conduct of public officials. Senators tend to protect their fellow members of what has been called the "world's most exclusive club". The late General Marshall, America's World War II Chief of Staff, once termed Drew Pearson his most effective "inspector general". Whether the statement was made to keep the columnist on his side, and whether he regretted it after Mr Pearson led the public opinion attack that prematurely and precipitately dismantled the free world's greatest military bulwark within weeks after the close of World War II—the fact remains that the press has a great role to play in keeping public officials honest.

The problem with the Dodd case is that the political and ideological overtones were really by-passed by the Senate. The lesson is to set up machinery so that justice is made truly equitable and so that it is not only those who are targeted for political reasons that are brought to the bar of inquiry.

BRADY'S

NAME GUARANTEES THE PRODUCTS & THE SERVICE

Over seventy years of progressive participation in the various Industries:

MARKETING & SALES
Armstrong Smith Ltd.:
Representing several Indigenous
and reputable Eastern European
Agencies.

ENGINEERING
Brady & Morris Engg.
Co. Ltd.:
Manufacturers of
Morris Mechanical
Handling
Equipment.

PRINTING
G. Claridge &
Co. Ltd.:
Printers of
repute, with the
most modern
Photo-offset
and Letterpress
machinery.

SUGAR
The Belapur
Co. Ltd.:
Producers of
quality sugar
known through-
out India.

W. H. BRADY & CO. LIMITED

Bombay • Calcutta • Madras • Kanpur • Ahmedabad • Coimbatore • New Delhi • Bangalore

ajanta/WHB/65-67A

Australia's dock revolution

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

CANBERRA Revolutionary developments in the handling and shipping of cargoes now seem almost certain to eliminate the turbulence which has been so characteristic of industrial relations on the Australian waterfront in the postwar years.

But technical advances alone are not the only factor contributing to the new outlook. There also has begun to emerge a more responsible and realistic attitude by both the watersiders and the employees.

As a result the Waterside Workers' Federation has agreed to negotiate a new employment, a minimum weekly wage of \$A 49.50 (Rs 410), a pension scheme and protection for workers made redundant by mechanisation and container shipping.

The new proposals will usher in a new era in Australia's major ports—replacing traditional casual waterfront employment with a permanent work force in all major ports.

The background to this is that 15 years ago the Australian waterfront had 27,000 waterside workers employed in 50 ports around the coast. With the introduction of mechanisation the work force has been reduced to 20,000.

The use of fork-lifts, the bulk loading of sugar, coal and wheat and the pre-slinging of steel were just the beginning of what was to come. Today a number of "roll-on-roll-off"

and container ships are operating in the coastal trade and shipowners have announced plans to have six container vessels on the Britain-Australia run in the next few years.

Within five years it is anticipated that only 10,000 waterside workers will be needed to operate the new container ships.

But what do the watersiders themselves feel about these trends? For the answer to this I went to Mr Jim Beggs, one of the two vice-presidents of the Melbourne branch of the Waterside Workers' Federation.

He told me, "Our union is by no means opposed to progress in the industry and welcomes any changes that will help increase our trade as a nation and makes the work easier for waterside workers."

"There are things in the proposals that the Federation opposes and as a union we will fight to improve them. But overall we must realise that if we had rejected the proposals the Government would have implemented a scheme of its own."

The next step will be for all parties to make the new agreement work when it does come into force.

The week elsewhere

POUND DOWN

LONDON—Britain lost 36 million pounds in gold reserves last month because of the West Asian crisis. Arab states withdrew some of their reserves and so did businessmen, fearful for sterling's long-term future. The value of the pound fell, but observers did not think devaluation was imminent.

HALF MILLION US TROOPS IN VIETNAM BY 1968

WASHINGTON—Defence Secretary McNamara predicted more US troops would be sent to Vietnam and said allied countries might be asked to contribute. The 466,000 US servicemen now in Vietnam are likely to

be reinforced to half-a-million by the end of this year, say observers here. Gen. Westmoreland, US Commander in Vietnam, was reported to have asked for 100,000 more troops. North Vietnamese soldiers and Viet Cong guerrillas in South Vietnam now number 300,000—the highest ever.

ARABS DIFFER

CAIRO—Arab rulers streamed through for talks on what to do about Israel. Jordan's King Hussein was reported favouring a long-term armistice with Israel. Col. Boumedienne of Algeria (which was not directly involved in the recent war) was said to be pressing further military action. Algerian troops were reported in position with Egyptian forces on the Suez Canal.

The week in INDIA

CALCUTTA — After days of route marching, police swung in to action and held 75 extremists in the disturbed Naxalbari area. They encircled five rebel pockets and seized bows, arrows and spears.

SHILLONG — Several hundred people were left homeless as the flooded Brahmaputra submerged vast areas and cut off communications.

NEW DELHI — An uproar over the "Choti Sadri gold scandal", involving Rajasthan Chief Minister Sukhadia, forced the adjournment of the Lok Sabha—the first during the question hour in its history and also the first time for the current session.

BHUBANESWAR — The Assembly voted by a big majority to continue payment of allowances to dependents of ex-rulers. A PSP motion to end these allowances on grounds of economy was rejected.

BANGALORE — Following the scrapping of prohibition in neighbouring Madhya Pradesh, Mysore Finance Minister Ramakrishna Hegde told the Assembly: "When the time comes for removing dry laws from the entire State, we will do so."

CUTTACK — Half of Orissa was plunged into darkness, hitting all utility services including hospitals and water supply in five districts, when a boy shot a pebble with a catapult at a porcelain insulator on a transmission tower.

PATNA — 9000 teachers of Muzaffarpur district have gone without salary since April. According to Mr Jagdish Mishra, President of the Bihar State Primary Teachers' Association, the contingency had arisen due to shortage in the district education fund.

MADRAS — The State is to have a number of deputy ministers soon, according to Chief Minister Annadurai. They will receive petitions from the people, send them to departments concerned and keep track of them.

RAJKOT — Several thousand people attended the funeral of a monkey, which was electrocuted at Botad. Some devout people taking it to be an incarnation of Lord Hanuman, they collected Rs 151 for funeral expenses, chanted Ramdhun and shouted slogans.

TWELFTH KNIGHT!

Knight-in-shining-Boeing.
Charging to London twelve times a week.
Fair damsels your handmaidens.
Beauty and chivalry—the order of the way!

12TH FLIGHT TO LONDON

Twelve flights via the Middle East and Europe with the new capitals of Teheran and Brussels and a choice of flights via Moscow.



Al. 5933

AIR-INDIA

IN ASSOCIATION WITH B.O.A.C. AND QANTAS



They lift the blossoms from the dust

BOMBAY ABOUNDS with little boys who rush up to open your car door asking, "Me watch car, Mummy?" or "Me clean car?" and try to earn a few paise. These ragged boys are among Bombay's one million street-dwellers. Does anybody try to take them off the streets, to educate them, to give them some training?

When I went to the Anand Kendra Institute to find out about it I discovered that this was exactly what this Home does. I was shown round this airy, well-planned building for homeless boys by Mrs J.R.D. Tata, who is Chairman of the Board of the Anand Kendra Trust and by Mrs Sarita Mehta, a member of the Committee. Located on Dr Annie Besant Road at Worli, the Anand Kendra houses 50 boys who are literally taken off the streets of Bombay. Here they find security, education, training in weaving and carpentry and a good start in life when they leave the Institute at 18 years of age.

Beginning

Mrs Tata, a founder member and a dedicated worker for the Institute, described how it began 13 years ago. It was Mrs John Matthai, then Chairman of the Bombay Social Welfare Board and Convenor of the Bombay Pradesh Bharat Sevak Samaj who first had the idea. She saw these little boys eating from dustbins, scavenging for food in rubbish heaps and felt the urgent need to do something for them. She said to Mrs Tata and other ladies whom she knew were concerned for these boys, "If I give you a room, will you do something for them?" To begin with the ladies provided these young street-dwellers with milk, soap and games in the day time only. But they soon realised that this was inadequate. Some boys begged to be allowed to sleep in the room. The ladies felt they should be given work and so the conception of the Anand Kendra began to take shape.

How do you choose the boys?

"In 1954 we went round places like Colaba Causeway and picked

up the boys ourselves. Then as the Kendra became known people started bringing boys here. The first year we picked them up at 13 and 14. That was a mistake. They only stayed with us a few years and they were too set in their ways to benefit from the Institute. Then we picked them up from 5 or 6 up to 11 or 12. It gave us enough time to mould them."

The day-to-day management of the Anand Kendra is in the hands of a Committee under the Chairmanship of Mrs J.R.D. Tata. The younger boys go to the Municipal schools, the older ones work in the Industrial Section. Here they earn money. They give one-quarter of their salary for their upkeep. One sixth is kept in a bank so that they have something to start off with when they leave. This Section consists of weaving and carpentry.

How is the Institute financed?

"The ground for the building was bought with a Government grant. The building was financed by donations. We did get a lot of help from the Tata Industries. Each of the Committee works to get donations from their own communities."

First in class

As I was taken round I saw the boys at work in the Industrial Section and also at play in the big play-room-cum-dining room. Mrs Tata particularly pointed out one crippled boy who came into the office. He had the brightest face and most winning smile imaginable. He used to beg outside V. T. Station. With the money he received, he paid a man to teach him to read and write at night under a lamp post. He was so crippled that he could only crawl along — never stand up. He went along to an institute for the physically handicapped, and the lady who saw him was so taken by his spirit that she did everything in her power to help him. He was operated on and can now stand upright and walk, though he will always be a cripple. She brought him to the Anand Kendra and this year he came first in his class at the school

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets people

for handicapped children and also received a big cup for being the most outstanding boy in the school.

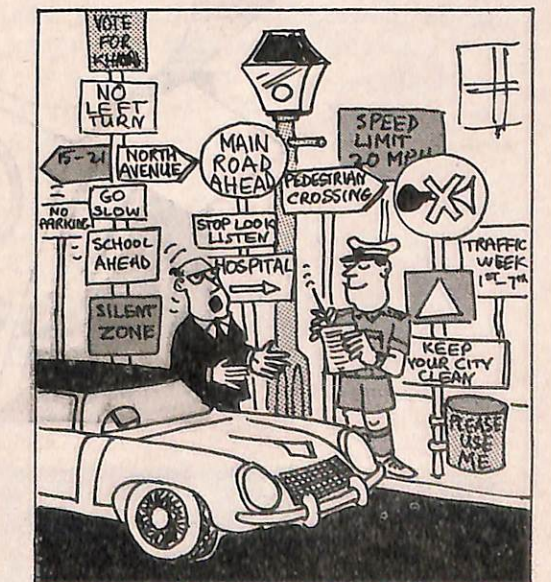
They have their problem boys in the Institute, of course. But during 13 years only four boys have had to be sent away. It was impossible to keep them because of the bad influence they had on the others. To begin with some boys ran away. They found they could earn Rs 2 to Rs 3 a day on the streets—even Rs 5 a day when a ship came in. Sometimes they came back asking to be forgiven. Now this rarely happens. Mrs Tata said that for punishment for continued disobedience of rules, they are fined from their salaries. This is a more effective remedy than long lectures.

Are there other Institutes like this?

"This was an experiment. There are Remand Homes, but we do not have police cases. There are other homes like ours such as the Sneshasadan at Andheri which is run by Roman Catholics."

One cannot but admire the work that the Kendra is doing. The boys feel they belong to a home, which they miss in their own families. This kind of care needs to be multiplied so that every child in India has a decent start in life.

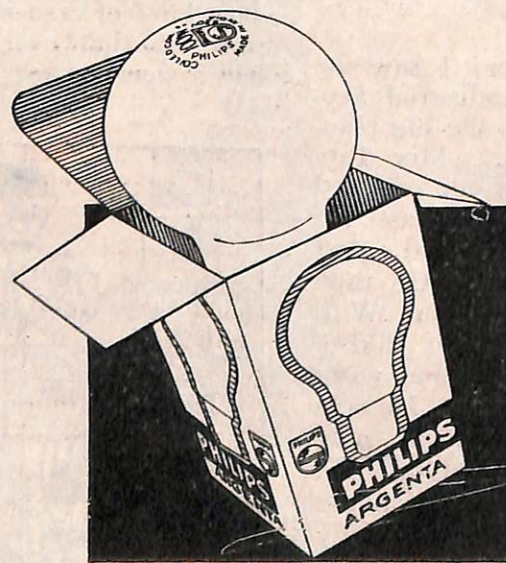
A.E.F.



"Did I see the 'NO PARKING' sign! What 'NO PARKING' sign?"

1. No glare.
2. No hard shadows.
3. Perfectly diffuse light.
4. No eyestrain!

...the 4 benefits which make **PHILIPS ARGENTA** the better lamp for your home



FREE!
Write to Philips India Limited, Advertising Department, 7 Justice Chandra Madhab Road, Calcutta 20, for free informative booklet "Guide to Scientific Homelighting"

PL 3841

KERALA

Colours of seven-hued alliance fade

FROM G. S. KARTHA IN TRIVANDRUM

STRANGELY ENOUGH, the worst-hit sections in Kerala, now ruled by the Communist-packed United Front Government, are the "weaker" sections of the people: the "have-nots" and the working class.

The people voted the United Front to power, hoping for better days and better living conditions. But prices of essential articles are rising day by day, beyond the reach of the limited-income people. The employers are reluctant to pay their employees a living wage for fear of their losing the profit-margin. In Government departments, "red tape" and officialdom deny justice to the ordinary man, unless some party man is willing to father his cause.

Front miserably failed

Discontentment stalks the land, despite the change-over to a "progressive and Socialistic" government. Nothing has been done to prevent hoarding, profiteering, and other anti-social evils. The consensus today is that the ruling United Front has miserably failed to remove the people's suffering and hardships.

It is interesting to observe the constituents of the ruling alliance trying to blame each other, while they unitedly blame the Centre and the Constitution for all that is wrong. A Left Communist Minister recently came to the conclusion that it was "the system" that should be changed. But the hackneyed slogan of blaming the system no longer holds good with thinking sections of the people who know that it is the selfishness and dishonesty of individuals that is the basic factor behind most of the problems. But the ideologies of none of the ruling parties care to go to the roots of the problem.

It took the breath out of many supporters when the Right Communist Kerala Secretary, Mr Achutha Menon, came out with a fairly impartial review of the three months' administration of the UF Ministry. He accused the Ministry of having let the people down. And the Right Communists are one of the major partners of the United Front. He

even quoted the people as saying that the Ministry was coexisting with hoarders and anti-social elements.

Perhaps he thought this assessment would safeguard the political halo around his Party. But, Left Communist Party Secretary P. Sundarayya recently named the Right CPI as one of the other constituents of the ruling Party that was "obstructing" what the Left Communist Party wanted to do to solve the rice shortage. He disclosed that



Chief Minister Namboodiripad—Front partners an obstacle

when his Party had proposed monopoly procurement from big cultivators and tightening civil supplies checkposts, the Left Communists faced obstructions from "Right Communists and others". In fact, Mr Sundarayya's remarks about the "other partners" had the effect of exposing them as the real obstacles to the Government programme to answer ills in food distribution and hoarding.

Black market booming

Alongside the political parties blaming each other, a major share of the blame goes to the officials of the Food and Civil Supplies Departments also. Everyone is out to find scapegoats for the Government's failure on the food front. Meanwhile, the black-marketers take full advantage of the situation and hold the people at their mercy. There is no scarcity of foodgrains in the open market if one is prepared to pay.

The Left Communist Party's remedy for the situation is two-fold: an agitation against the Government of India for not supplying the share of rice for Kerala, and "gheraoing" big landlords and hoarders to see that grains do not go into the black-market. It remains to be seen how

far other constituents of the United Front would back these moves. On gheraos and anti-Centre agitation, difference of opinion within the United Party has been reported.

Own interests first

Meanwhile, it is becoming increasingly clear that every party, whether in the opposition or in Government, has begun to think in terms of its own interests. Mr C. M. Stephen, President of the Kerala Branch of the Congress-controlled INTUC, told pressmen here that on the question of redressing the grievances of over 30,000 cashewnut workers unemployed for a couple of years on account of the closing down of a large number of cashew factories, a strike was called by the INTUC, AITUC (Communist) and UTUC (RSP) but there was no joint action committee or common understanding about demands they should voice!

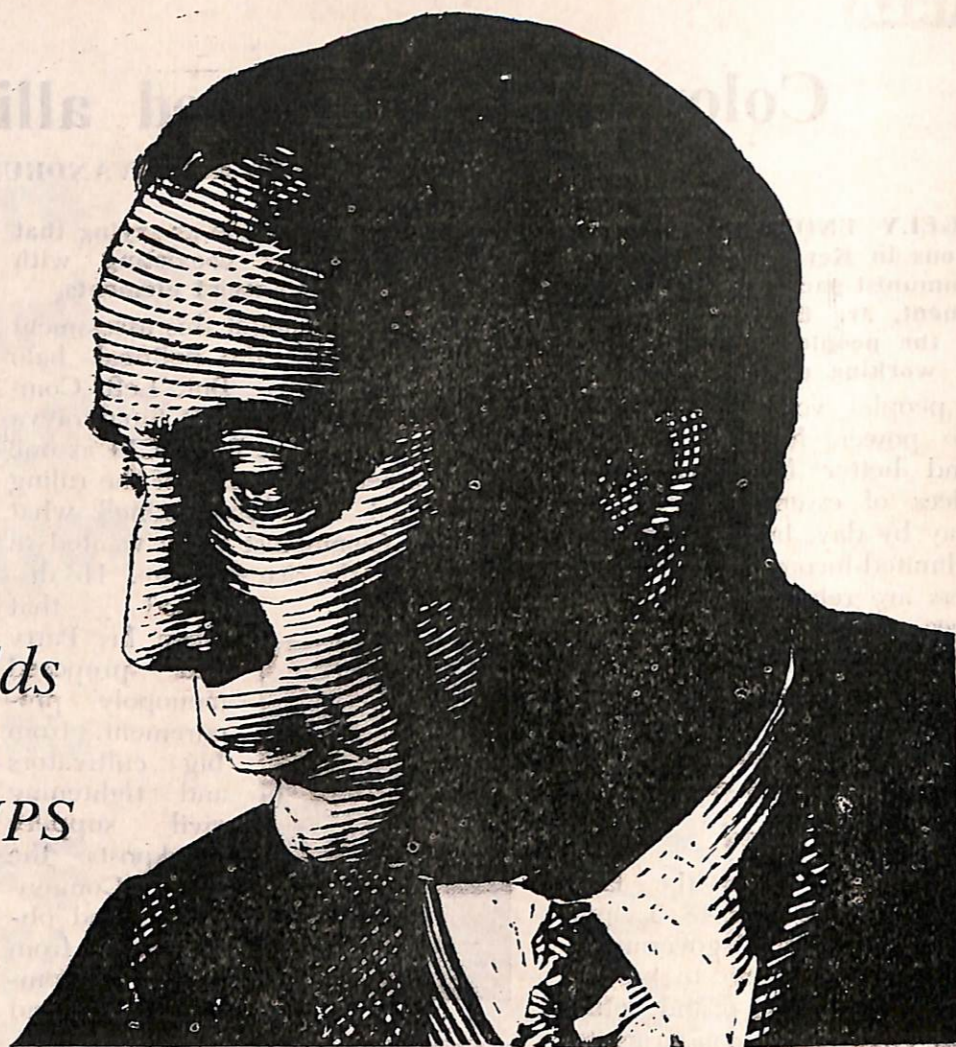
The criticism by the Opposition parties is that the ruling United Front's partners are more interested in using their positions and authority for partisan purposes than in taking care of at least those sections of the people whom they claim to represent, if not the people as a whole. On the floor of the Assembly, Oppositionists accuse the Ministers of patronising and protecting their parties at the expense of the general public.

Some political observers feel that if the United Front Ministry was able to rise above "narrow prejudices of party and class" and put the interests of the whole state before them, they could have set an example to the other states of the Indian Union, particularly to those having coalition governments. Perhaps that is what the people would have expected of the United Front when they voted the seven-hued alliance to power.

People who count read **HIMMAT Weekly**

INDIAN SUBSCRIPTIONS -
3 years: Rs.32 • One year: Rs.12 • 6 Months: Rs.6.50
from Himmat Weekly, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1

*For leadership
in many fields*
HOMI BHABHA
FELLOWSHIPS



Dr. HOMI BHABHA's interest in the country's steel industry led him to recommend the use of radio-active isotopes for the regulation and control of many metallurgical processes. In his honour, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi renamed the Trombay Establishment as the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre.

Another memorial worthy of Dr. Bhabha, whose genius and vision inspired and encouraged so many young people to strive for excellence, is the establishment by the Tata Trusts, jointly with the Ford Foundation, of the Homi Bhabha Fellowships Scheme. It is designed to assist brilliant young men and women between the ages of 25 and 38 to achieve the highest standards in any field of human endeavour. The Fellowships are tenable for a period that may extend to two years, the amount of the award being of the

order of Rs. 2,000 per month at the maximum for work in India and an appropriate amount for work or study abroad. Applications for these Fellowships may be sent with full particulars to Prof. D. G. Karve, Executive Director of the Homi Bhabha Fellowships Council, at No. 1, Mangaldas Road, Poona 1.

Homi Bhabha Fellows will, in time, include scientists, engineers, agronomists, architects, artists, educationists, writers and administrators and serve to provide for our country the kind of leadership it requires in so many fields.

TATA STEEL

THE TATA IRON AND STEEL COMPANY LIMITED

TN 3885

Nigeria—from page 8

on trial and of relief that the dead-end of political rule had been broken. But pressures soon began to surround Ironsi. Many Ibos held him to be too "pro-North" because he did not sufficiently serve their interests. He was pushed into taking steps which convinced the North that there was no future except "Ibo domination." Their ex-politicians began to organise the network of party agents, thugs and propagandists, who played on the emotions of a proud and sensitive people, stung by the open boasting of Ibos in the North.

General murdered

On May 29 last year, massacres of Ibos in the North broke out. On July 29, Ironsi was captured by Northern troops while on tour with his host, the Military Governor of the West, a Yoruba who honourably refused to give him up. Both were killed and attempts were made to murder every Eastern officer in the army. Lt-Col. Gowon, Ironsi's Chief of Staff, succeeded him.

Gowon, a Northerner, wanted peace and to solve Nigeria's problems by dividing the unequal Regions into twelve States of the same size. But he was not fully in control of the Army. A conference of representatives of all Regions was nearly reaching agreement when fresh massacres of Easterners in the North broke out at the end of September. Ibos were also killed in Lagos and Ibadan. This started a general flood of Easterners returning to their homeland from other parts of Nigeria—pouring back to an already over-populated Region.

Lt-Col. Ojukwu, the Military Governor of the East, was a man who until recently sincerely believed in one Nigeria. After the shock of the massacres, he did not want a separate state, but a looser Federation, in which there would be a "drawing apart" to give time for wounds to heal. But he found himself at the head of a mounting wave of Ibo nationalist emotion. Since the East could not take revenge any other way, a separate state of Biafra was their retaliation for what had happened—leaving the North and the rest of the Federation much the poorer.

In January 1967 there seemed hope of an agreement. General Ankrah, the Head of the Ghana Government,

ECONOMIC COMMENTARY

Sooner than expected

HARDLY A MONTH has passed since we hinted at an Incomes Policy (HIMMAT, June 23) if the monsoon failed again. However, an Incomes Policy—and the price, wage and dividend freeze that go with it—appears imminent in spite of reports of good rains.

The Finance Ministry is all set to prepare a blueprint. At the meeting of the Chief Ministers during the first week of July in New Delhi they were informally sounded. Divergent trends emerged. Still, there is no escape from a rigid financial discipline during the next 12 months—to begin with. The iceberg of recession has already raised its ugly head in Bengal and Maharashtra. It will soon spread to other regions. To combat it, we need an incomes policy with unanimous support.

Will the Union Government get such unstinted support from all the Chief Ministers? The present symptoms are not happy.

Co-operative obstinacy

"NO SUGAR" boards were displayed in a number of approved Co-operative Fair Price Shops in Maharashtra during the first fortnight of July.

played host to a conference of the Nigerian Military Governors at Aburi in Ghana. But the outline agreement reached there—on a looser Federation—was resisted by the Federal civil servants and various other forces in Lagos. The golden opportunity was tragically not followed up boldly and generously. The wave of hate mounting in the East broke out in ugly anti-Gowon demonstrations there in March.

From April onwards it became clear that nothing short of secession would satisfy the East. Ojukwu preferred to ride the wave rather than to resist it. On May 30, he proclaimed the Independent Republic of Biafra. Gowon replied by imposing a blockade which has sealed off the East from all shipping and all communications with the outside world. The oil from the East has ceased to flow.

Basically, the acute shortage is due to a steep fall (over 33 per cent) in production during the current crushing season.

The absence of sugar in the co-operative shops is directly due to the withholding of supplies by the co-operative sugar factories, who contend that the ruling sugar prices do not leave adequate return to the cultivator or the producer. This stoppage of supply is an act of utmost obstinacy. Sugar is an important nourishing agent. Already Indian children are starved of it.

A unit in the private sector adopting such tactics would have risked penalties under the Essential Commodities Act.

Costly rivalry

REPLYING TO THE DEMAND for grants of his Ministry in Parliament, Minister for Irrigation and Power Dr K. L. Rao said that during the last 15 years food production had increased from 52 to 84 million tonnes. Actually, authentic estimates for 1966-67 are around 76 million tonnes. That is not the point, however.

The real issue is: why are we far from break-through in agricultural production after three Five-Year Plans? The reason is to be found in interstate disputes on the usage of river waters. In the Krishna-Godavari dispute, Maharashtra and Mysore are involved. In the dispute over the Narmada River valley project, the contending States are Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. With all the talk of emotional integration, Dr Rao's predecessors have flatly failed to solve these protracted disputes. In the enthusiasm of the States to push forward their claims, the national cause of power generation and the creation of irrigation potential has suffered irreparably. The nation would like to know what specific measures Dr Rao intends taking.

His revelation that during 1956-65, against Rs 1460 crores spent on irrigation as much as Rs 1680 crores had been spent on food imports is shocking.

M.S.D.

Entrenched patronage cramps British tennis

BY T. C. "DICKIE" DODDS

WIMBLEDON The Annual Lawn Tennis Championships at the All England Club, Wimbledon, is the Mecca of the tennis playing world. This year a record 300,000 people paid to watch the two weeks of non-stop tennis.

Mysterious membership

The centre court at Wimbledon is an amazing construction with a stand that houses 17,000 spectators at a time. Most of them sitting. The social scales in the stands are a study in themselves. At one end is the Royal Box. Beside and behind are the notables of the land. You see the Cabinet there. The Generals. The authors. Perhaps the captain of the visiting cricket touring team. Then there are the members of the All England Club. Who can belong to this is something of a mystery. It is a private club so they reckon they can include who they like.

Then there is a section for competitors and their friends. Opposite the Royal Box are seats that can be obtained by old Wimbledon players, allocated in order of seniority. As members die off, so those that are left move nearer the front. (I have

been lucky enough to be given seats in this section by an old player, and in the last four years have moved down several rows!) Quite a large standing section runs down each long side of the court, open to the public.

In many ways Wimbledon reflects democracy as practised in Britain. All are included but some are more included than others. Wimbledon tennis has its Establishment as does the nation and woe betide the man who gets in that Establishment's bad books. Forgiveness is not one of the rules.

It is not perhaps surprising that in such a set up English tennis players have not in the last twenty years blossomed as they might. This year, however, there were signs of a breaking out by independent gutsy young British players and perhaps they will have the character to rise above the blighting effect of entrenched patronage and restore the country again to the front rank of world tennis.

This year was a year of great surprises in the results. Many seeded players were beaten by unknown youngsters. It began when Santana, the holder, was beaten in the first match of the tournament by Paserell

of America. Perhaps the outstanding young player to emerge was Miss Casals, also of America, the 18-year-old niece of Pablo Casals the cellist. Her quick aggressive play and brilliant strokes stamped her as a champion of the future. She reached the semi-finals of the singles and the finals of the women's doubles.

An Australian again won the men's title, this time in the person of John Newcombe. One newspaper wrote that both Newcombe and Mrs King, winner of the triple ladies' singles, ladies' doubles and mixed doubles' titles, realised the responsibilities that went with fame, and that they both conducted their private lives in a way that any youngster could respect.

India may surprise

India did best in the men's doubles. Krishnan and Mukherjea again showed the crowds tennis of individual quality. So much tennis nowadays is the big serve and volley. Krishnan and Mukerjea are different. They are touch players and tennis artists and it is refreshing to watch them at it.

Perhaps next year *India* will supply one of the big surprises.

BOOKS

"Hate—the energiser"

Viet Cong: the Organisation and Techniques of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, by Douglas Pike, Eurasia Publishing House, 474 pp.

"IF there was an essence of the NLF indoctrination effort," writes the author of this study of the South Vietnamese revolutionary movement, "if there was an *elan vital* that permeated its system, if there was one emotion the leadership found of greater utility than all others combined, if there was any personality trait that differentiated the Vietnamese of the two camps, indeed if one were obliged to write the history of the NLF in a single word, it would be hate.

"Every NLF act was surrounded by an aura of hate," he goes on. "The struggle movement, with its unspoken theme that there were no neutrals, only friends and enemies, attempted to lash villagers into frenzies of hate. The indoctrination system decreed that the best cadres were those with the greatest capacity for hate. 'To guide the masses towards the Revolution, the agit-prop arm must make the masses hate the enemy,' declared a (NLF) Central Committee directive, 'building on the hatred that already exists.' The cadre document added:

'Promotion of hatred must be permanent, continuous, and directly related to the struggle movement as closely as a man is to his shadow... Specific objects are useful in promoting hatred. The objects left behind by the enemy, such as a mortar shell or bomb fragment that killed a family, can be displayed at rallies and will promote hatred to the utmost. A corpse is very good to demonstrate the unjust cause of the enemy... If possible photograph the corpse so that the pictures can be shown throughout the country and abroad....'

Pike, a USIS official in Saigon, has mainly based this thorough survey on captured NLF documents and interviews with Viet Cong deserters. He is weakest on the late President Diem, where he follows the official US line that Diem destroyed himself, omitting all mention of US connivance at the overthrow of their ally. Nevertheless, Pike calls Diem's

government "as good as most Asian Governments at that time".

"The core of the drama" of Diem's fall, as Marguerite Higgins wrote in her book *Our Vietnam Nightmare*, "was, and is the cause and consequence of the momentous and controversial US decision to flash the green light that would topple an ally in the middle of a war against a common enemy. We had let allies go down the drain before. But we hadn't pushed them."

Few Viet Cong, according to Pike, are doctrinaire Communists. "If however," he continues, "a Communist is one who swears blind allegiance to the world movement whose loci of power are Moscow and Peking, from which in this instance via Hanoi he draws through a political umbilical cord sustenance and strength he cannot, and does not want to, supply himself, then most of the NLF's leaders,



South Vietnamese women and children crouch in a muddy canal to avoid Vietcong bullets near Saigon.

cadres, and true believers were Communists."

As for their driving force: "Hate did serve as an energiser as did no other emotion or appeal."

A. de L.F.

The best of "bandhs"

BY KERSI M. MEHER-HOMJI

SAY WHAT you may, I like "bandhs". The drudgery and monotony of life have become things of the past since these "bandhs" have come to abide with us. In these present times, no two days are alike what with "Bus Bandh", "Taxi Bandh", "Hotel Bandh", "L.I.C. Bandh", "Sachivalaya Bandh", "Bombay Bandh" and "India Bandh" following each other in quick succession. When there are no "bandhs", there are "morchas" and "gheraos".

And what adventures! Nowadays we do not have to resort to adventure story writers for vicarious thrills. Thrills have, so to say, come to our door-step. The thrills of travelling in a bus or a train on a "bandh" day with stones hurling in and out of the compartment cannot be surpassed even by the fiction of Edgar Allan Poe, R. L. Stevenson, Edgar Rice Burroughs or Ian Fleming.

Reaching your place of work only

continued on next page



FOR LOVE OR MONEY

Save and Earn for those you love. CENTRAL offers you a complete Savings Plan.

- 4% per annum on Savings Accounts
- Upto 6½% per annum on Recurring Deposits
- Upto 7% per annum on Term Deposits

Call on CENTRAL for that courteous service.



THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA LTD.
REGD. OFFICE: MAHATMA GANDHI RD., FORT, BOMBAY-1.
V. C. PATEL - GENERAL MANAGER



is so

VERSATILE

SO IDEAL FOR MODERN LIVING



Colourful, cleanable, virtually unspoilable, SHRIRAM PVC is proving a fast favourite for hordes of items...

TOYS FOOTWEAR UPHOLSTERY
 RAINWEAR WIRES AND CABLES
 PIPES AND TUBES ENGINEERING ITEMS

SHRIRAM VINYL & CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES, NEW DELHI-1

BEST OF "BANDHS"—from page 19

to find it closed will teach you the difficult art of taking a disappointment with a smiling face. A smiling face, because the exciting prospect of returning home amidst red flags, loud slogans and stones of different dimensions is facing you.

However, I admit that there are a few minor disadvantages. Because of such stoppages of work, industries and India as a whole lose lakhs of rupees a day. Also the law and order of the place are disturbed. A daily-wage worker loses his daily wage which he cannot afford to lose. And innocent employees who never wanted to join such "bandhs", sometimes lose their jobs for striking work.

But these are all minor mishaps. Just compare these trifling disadvantages with the stupendous ad-

vantages. Apart from being highly entertaining, these "bandhs" act as stepping stones to greater and loftier successes. Imagine that you are a small-fry politician aspiring to be a big-shot politician. What you have to do is very simple. Arrange a series of successful "bandhs" and the prospects are virtually unlimited.

UNDER THE LENS—from page 7

minant minority" who have shared power with the political rulers. They have sought protection of their "caste" position as a rule, and occasionally joined the rest of us in pursuing personal advance.

The answer to the nihilism of the Indian intelligentsia can come only from wiping out this burden of individual and collective guilt by setting new standards for itself of moral integrity, intellectual honesty and service to the nation. If it happens soon

You may even aspire to a Lok Sabha seat and become a giant-killer in next to no time.

I have decided to organise a novel type of "bandh"—namely, a "Bandh Bandh"! Are readers behind me? Ask not what the "bandhs" do for you, but what you can do for the "bandhs"!

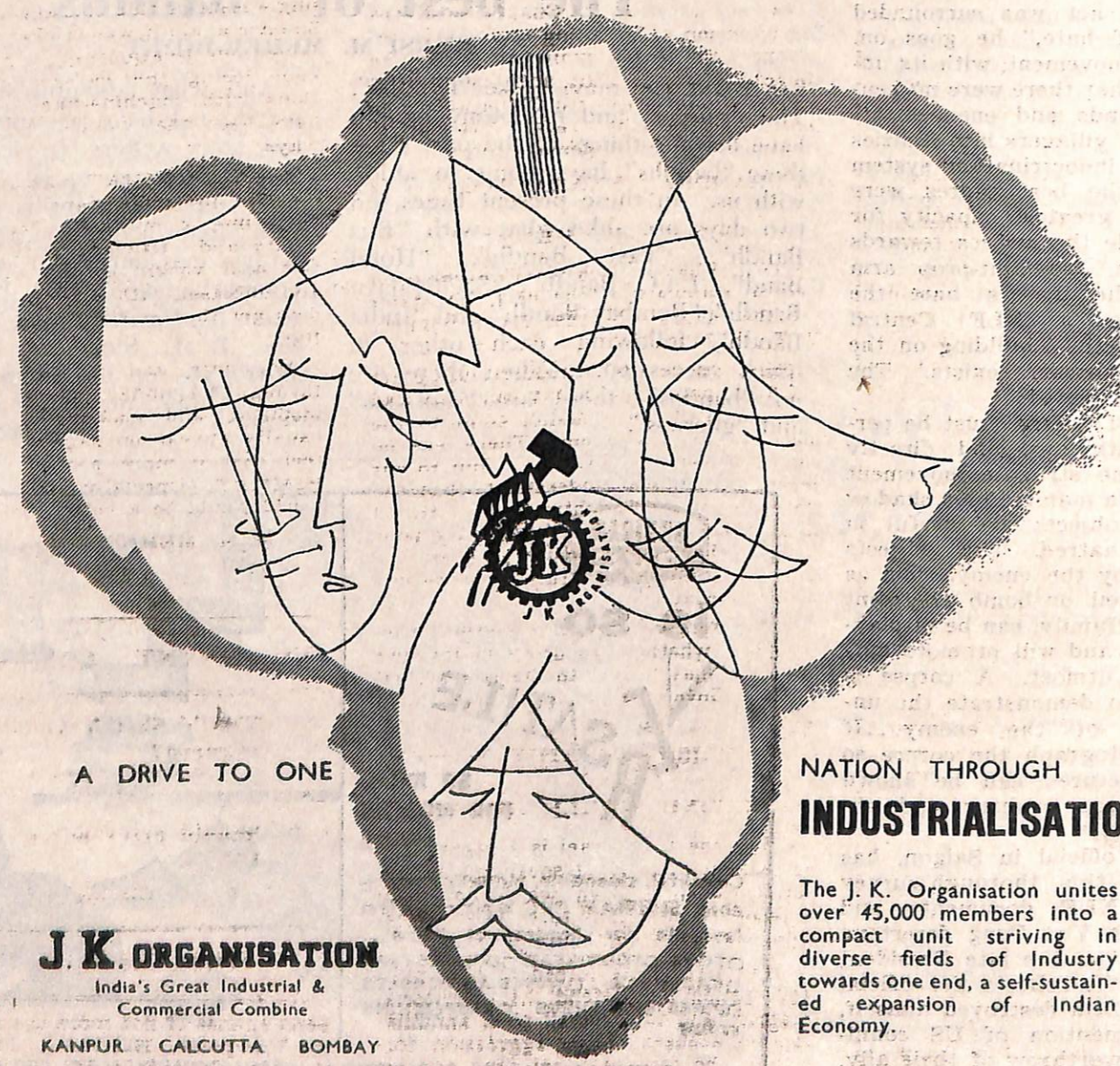
enough, it will save us the fire and turmoil that our nihilism, the frustration of the masses and the get-rich-quick mentality of so many of us, makes inevitable.

For the real news read
HIMMAT Weekly

INDIAN SUBSCRIPTIONS -

3 years : Rs.32 • One year : Rs.12 • 6 Months : Rs.6.50

from Himmat Weekly, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1



A DRIVE TO ONE

NATION THROUGH
INDUSTRIALISATION

The J. K. Organisation unites over 45,000 members into a compact unit striving in diverse fields of industry towards one end, a self-sustained expansion of Indian Economy.

J. K. ORGANISATION

India's Great Industrial & Commercial Combine

KANPUR CALCUTTA BOMBAY

JKO/E/66

This was a Life

SOCRATES

c. 469 — 399 B. C.

SOCRATES, the great Greek philosopher, was the son of a sculptor and a midwife. He served in three military campaigns, showing unusual strength, courage and hardihood. He also played some part in public life.

He is said to have had a bad-tempered wife, whom he bore with patiently, urging his eldest son to be grateful to his mother. Socrates was a small, odd-looking, even ugly man, whose brilliant brain astonished the handsome Athenians, liable to confound wisdom with beauty.

As a boy Socrates studied geometry, astronomy and science, and talked with the philosophers; but he was dissatisfied—he felt it was all unreal, and that what really mattered was to "know oneself". He loved to walk the streets talking to everyone, especially the young; and it was in these conversations, recorded by his friends, that he developed his philosophy.

Its basis was a strong belief in God; he spoke often of an "inner voice" which told him what to be and do. Men, he taught, should pray only, "Give me what is good for me"—not what I want. He believed he had received a special mission from God to help men find truth.

All virtues, said Socrates, are one thing—knowledge of good; and all vice is one thing—ignorance of good. Our task in life is to make the soul as good as possible—that is like God. The task of statesmen is to care for souls, and make them as good as possible. Democracy fails when its leaders are not sufficiently masters of themselves to be able to do this.

Such teaching was naturally not popular. Socrates was arrested and charged with corrupting the young and with "irreligious novelities", though the motive for the charge was really political.

He could have been set free by paying a fine, but would not accept the charge. He was condemned to die by drinking the poison hemlock.

"So died", said his pupil and follower Plato, "the wisest and justest and best of all the men I have ever known."

D. M. P.

SOVIET INTERFERENCE

I COULD not be more pleased with the precise and representative report on our foreign policy in your July 7 issue. Regarding India's non-alignment policy in the recent West Asian crisis, I recall having read that President Tito of Yugoslavia—an ally of the Arabs—has set another task for the so-called "non-aligned" nations. He wants such nations "to oppose local wars which are a means of achieving imperialist aims." Such nations—and India is one of them—were to bring about peace and settlement. How can they do so by standing against one of the fighting parties?

Moreover, how should the non-aligned nations take the Soviet interference in a war so "local" as the West Asian war, particularly when it lends a hand in repudiating the very existence of a free nation?

As for our policy, Mr Chagla reiterates the intention of breaking diplomatic relations with Israel, while at the same time preferring to wait, and just to send over a strong protest to China after she has accorded the recent barbarous treatment to our diplomats there.

S. CHANDRASHEKARA, Bangalore 12

RAILWAY DELAY

I WOULD like to seek clarification from Central Railway for the delay in starting the Madras Express from Bombay V. T. on June 16.

The train as per schedule must start at 2-30 pm but to my surprise and frustration the rake hadn't come to the platform up to 3-15 pm. There was no announcement for the delay. But to our sheer disgust we understood that the Governor of Maharashtra had to travel to Madras by the same train. We poor citizens thought immediately that the delay in starting the train must be due to his late arrival.

I therefore request clarification from the PRO, whether the delay in starting the train may be due to the late arrival of the Governor or to a mechanical failure.

G. KRISHNAMURTHY, Bombay 1

SECOND FIDDLE TO UAR

WE concede that Israel is a reality and we recognise her as a sovereign nation. But, curiously enough, we do not seem to recognise her right to co-exist peacefully with her neighbours.

When Israel was forced to take military action to defend her territorial integrity and to forestall total annihilation, we accused her of aggression, forgetting the fact that not long ago we ourselves took a similar step in march-

Letters

ing into Pakistan in the Punjab and Rajasthan sectors to prevent enemy aggression.

In the handling of this affair, we have failed to take a bold and independent line. We took no initiative to lessen the tension or to restore peace in the region. Instead, all along, we have played second fiddle to the UAR and its partners in their ill-fated adventure.

C. S. VAN

A WINNER

I AM a regular reader of HIMMAT for the last seven months. The first issue I bought was when there was a headline "Merchant on Cricket". Hence it was cricket which introduced me to HIMMAT. Shortly afterwards started the now popular "Find the Ball" competitions and since then I have never missed buying a single issue of this courageous magazine. So once again it was cricket which maintained our relationship. Though I have kept losing the ball-spotting competitions with machine-like regularity, I have been the winner in many other ways.

Reading HIMMAT regularly has made me like and understand politics for the first time in my life. The direct comments and criticisms which appear in this bold weekly are clear, to the point and unbiased with a result that the readers get the news in its proper perspective.

My wife and I also enjoy going through Rajmohan Gandhi's extremely inspiring and ennobling articles which usually appear on page 22. I sincerely feel that if more people were to read HIMMAT—especially its page 22—the world would be a better place to live in.

K. M. MEHER-HOMJI, Bombay 26

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

* Should Sheikh Abdullah now be released?

Closing date: August 4

** Should privy purses be abolished?

Closing date: August 18

Prizes: Rs 25, Rs 15

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



Thought versus hate

by Rajmohan Gandhi

London

WITHOUT A TOTAL CHANGE in their aims and motives the men who rule our nations are utterly incapable of performing their tasks.

This is not an attack on their intellectual brilliance, knowledge of facts or political skill. This is merely the conclusion drawn by any honest reader of the news.

America, land of fabulous wealth, yearly increasing, land of phenomenal brainpower where experiment and research daily produce fresh knowledge which is swiftly distributed to the masses, land of opportunity for the vigorous and enterprising, is in trouble.

Uncured by wealth

At least 22 have been killed in race riots in New York and New Jersey. More than 1100 people have been injured and more than 1600 arrested. A young Negro standing between two buildings set on fire shouts, "C'mon, help us murder this hell town." He portrays the hate and revanchism in America, uncured by all her wealth, knowledge and freedom.

Hate can have a smooth and unruled exterior and is not the exclusive property of one race or class. I know many rich men who deplore the poor man's hate or the black man's hate, but who are not free from it.

Asians and Africans who are quick to pounce upon evidence of unrest and violence in America have had enough examples of them nearer home. Nigeria's land seems daily to get its fresh soaking of blood. This giant of a nation—Africa's largest—occupies an African position in many ways similar to India's in Asia. Held out not so long ago as democracy's hope in Africa, with a promising civil service and a lively, patriotic spirit among its people, Nigeria could have piloted Africa's course to unity and peace.

Today Nigerian kills Nigerian, there is news of rape and massacre, and an official radio appeals to citizens to make sure that all food and water falling into enemy hands is poisoned.

Arab plots and snipes against

Arab in Aden, South Arabia, and throughout the Middle East. No agreement seems imminent between the Arabs and Israel.

Countries like Britain, if not the immediate target of hate and shooting, are almost always caught in the crossfire. Thousands of Britons and Americans are fleeing Biafra by road and across the Niger River in canoes, ferries and other craft.

One used commonly to hear that the old imperialist nations were keen to see Asians divided, Africans divided and Arabs divided. From my knowledge of Britons and Europeans it is obvious that most of them have wanted, and many of them have tried, to unite Asians, Africans, and Arabs. They have not always been successful, their methods could often have been better and many lost their lives in the process. Those who thought that Indians were by nature united and that the white man divided us were blinded by pride and prejudice.

They do not change

In Hong Kong Mao's followers continue their on-and-off programme of rebellion.

India seethes with the passion to hate, destroy and kill. Naxalbari is neither the first nor the last attempt of its kind. Appeals to preserve ancient Indian culture or modern Indian democracy will not have the slightest effect on angry men consumed with hate, fascinated by Mao's determined struggle and desperate for a change to do what they want. Accusing certain politicians of alien loyalties certainly does not change them. It doesn't seem to affect their vote-getting power either.

The conventional methods of politics and administration inside a country and of diplomacy between nations and peoples are hopelessly out of date. UN resolutions, pleas for reason, displays of force, economic aid to bribe people away from violence, all these have systematically failed.

Rulers of nations may need to reflect, as they and their nations move from crisis to crisis, on a simple and obvious truth. This is that it takes a passion to cure a

passion. If there is to be any answer to the epidemic of violence, the people of different nations will want to see before them men and women who are more revolutionary than any man driven by hate or revanchism. A unilateral declaration to change is required on the part of those who want to end or avert killing.

Are there people prepared to live and say the following? "I hate poverty and injustice every bit as much as any Communist, but if I want exploitation and tyranny to end I must end the roots of them in my heart and life first. If there is jealousy and hate in my heart I will change on the points, and even seek forgiveness of those I have wronged by jealousy and hate. I will ask God to cross out the big 'I' in me which wants people to carry out my will instead of helping them discover God's will.

"My time, money, life and family will no longer be my own. My energy will be spent only on tackling the selfishness and greed in men which create the hate that wants to destroy. It will be my aim so to live that the hungry, despairing and cynical peoples of the earth will say: 'If men can become unselfish like this there is no need to liquidate them. How much more exciting to change people than to kill them'."

Stop in tracks

It is this new type of man that has to be demonstrated. The man who will stop hate-filled men in their tracks and cause them to exclaim "We never knew that human nature could change like this."

An engineering student from Bihar told me recently, "Today a handful of privileged Indians are massacring the masses. All that is needed is to reverse this and let the masses massacre the handful." This man knew that the physical destruction of a few influential Indians at the top would have no effect on improving the conditions of the masses. Yet his hate had numbed his power of thought. When he heard the evidence of the revolution of Moral Re-Armament at work, his views changed. "I am with you," he said.

FIND THE BALL Competition No: 29



2nd Prize:
HIRA LUXURY RAZOR
(With magnetic stem for picking up blades)

HOW TO PLAY

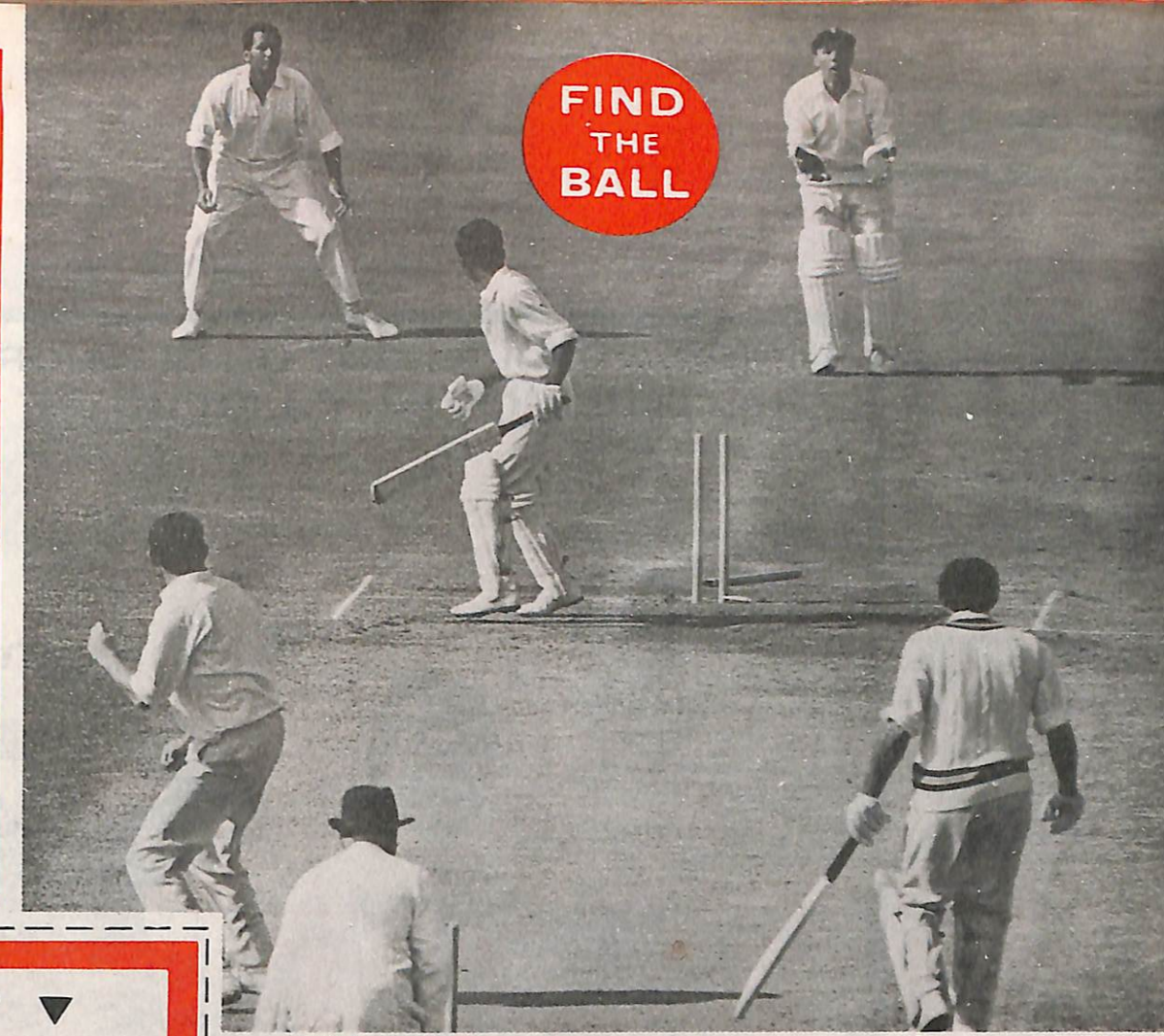
The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is mark a cross where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1, by noon Monday July 31. The winner will be published in August 4 issue.

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.

Nearest entry wins Rs. 25
On the ball wins Jackpot*

*Each week half the prize of Rs. 50 will be awarded to the nearest entry. The other half will be carried forward to a "Jackpot" to be won by the first competitor who marks the ball EXACTLY. This Jackpot will accumulate Rs. 25 per week until it is won.

Name _____
Address _____
I agree to the rules of the competition as outlined above.



FIND THE BALL

WINNER OF COMPETITION 27

is Anil B. Patkar, 40 Jaiprakash Nagar, Goregaon (East), Bombay 63. Rs.25 for nearest entry (1.5mm from ball).
2nd Prize to Gujar Ajit Vasant. 6/150 Ram Chhaya Road No.9 Wadala. Bombay 31 (2mm from ball).

NEXT WEEK'S JACKPOT: Rs 150



FROM INDIA'S LEATHER

Made in New Zealand

by Z. K. Fias

1 Dowling St. Dunedin New Zealand

Suede and leather clothing

Sold over the world direct or through your local agent.



HIMMAT AIR-SPEEDED TO 66 COUNTRIES

Sterling and Dollar cheques may be sent to:
HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay-1.

	6 Mths.	1 Year	6 Mths.	1 Year
East Africa, Middle East,	£ 2.5.0	£ 4.0.0	USA, Canada,	\$ 9
France, Germany, Finland,	Rs. 47	Rs. 84	South America	Rs. 67
Italy, Switzerland, Japan			New Zealand, Nigeria,	£ 3.0.0
			Ghana	Rs. 63
United Kingdom	£ 1.15.0	£ 3.5.0	Holland, Norway, Sweden,	£ 2.15.0
	Rs. 37	Rs. 68	Denmark	Rs. 58
Aden, Iraq, Philippines	£ 1.5.0	£ 2.5.0	Australia	\$ A 6
and rest of Asia	Rs. 27	Rs. 48		Rs. 50
				\$ A 10
				Rs. 84

BE IMPOSSIBLE...BUT BE GLAMOROUS!
...IN THE LOVELY LOOK OF SRM



FULL VOILES
2 x 2 BUTTA
PRINTED VOILES
DYED VOILES
SCREEN AND M/c PRINTED POPLINS

DHOTIES
MULLS
LENOS
HANDKERCHIEFS

Shree Ram Mills Ltd.
Fergusson Road, Bombay 18



SRM-4



Mrs Indira Gandhi Rajmata of Gwalior
"Now please bid him go"



Chief Minister D.P. Mishra

MADHYA PRADESH

FALL OF A WARLORD

RAJMOHAN GANDHI STOP ANIMALISING INDIANS