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KMS-SISTA'S 337

# HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

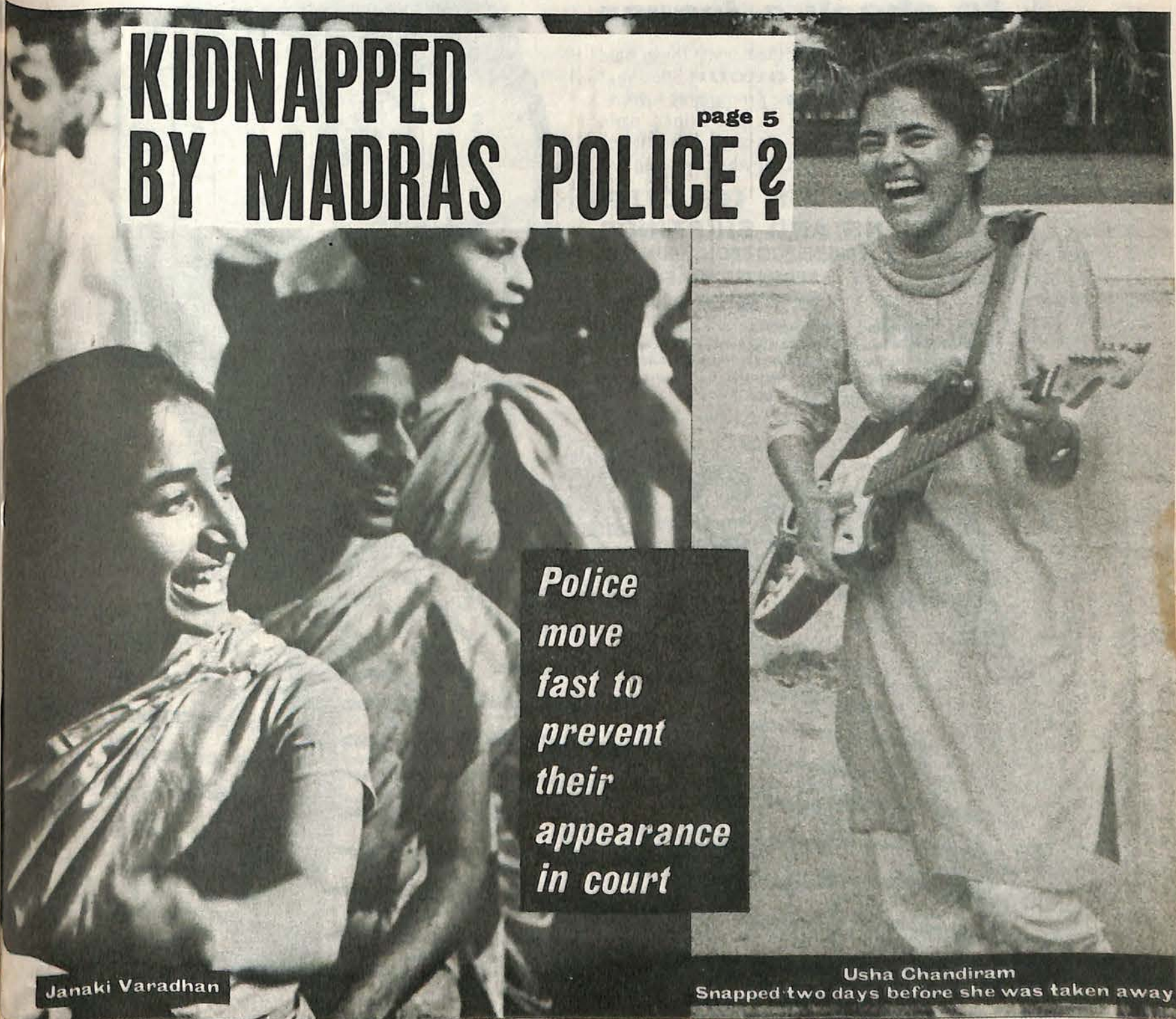
VOL 2 NO 46

Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY 16 SEPTEMBER 1966

## KIDNAPPED BY MADRAS POLICE?

page 5



*Police  
move  
fast to  
prevent  
their  
appearance  
in court*

Janaki Varadhan

Usha Chandiram  
Snapped two days before she was taken away

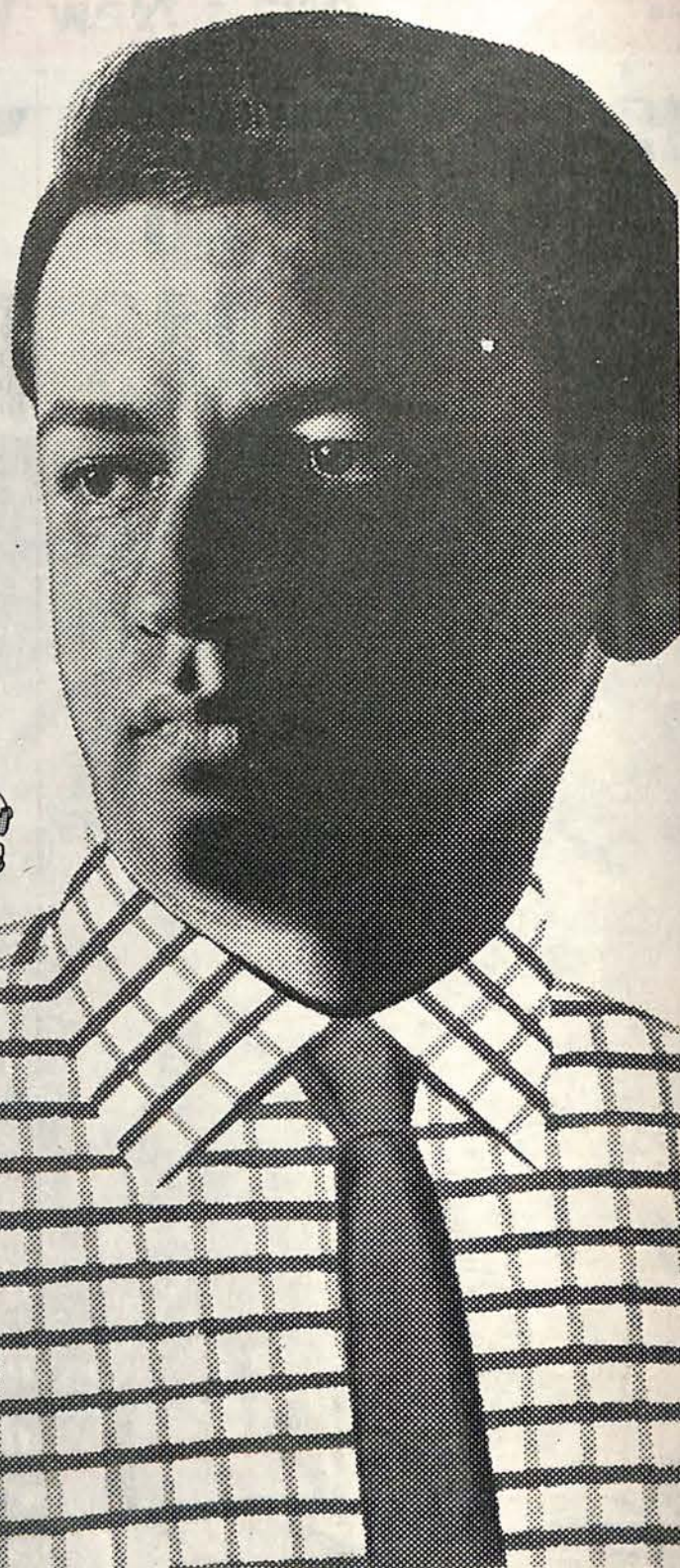
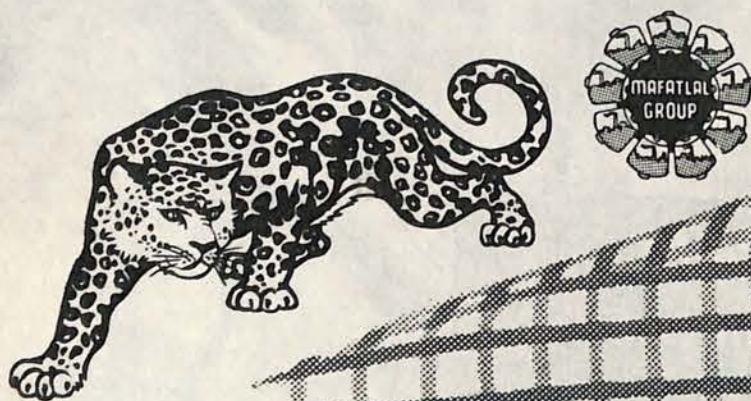
Rajmohan Gandhi  
**CONGRESS REVELATIONS** Orissa Chief  
Minister's letter

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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday September 16 1966

## The Time Is Now

*"When bad men combine the good must associate; else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle."*

EDMUND BURKE

ANOTHER CONGRESSMAN of note has resigned from the Party. Professor Humayun Kabir, MP, former Union Minister, has charged that "a corrupt and unprincipled coterie" has captured the Congress organization in West Bengal and violated every principle enunciated by the Congress. In a letter to the Congress President he says, "the Congress is completely isolated in West Bengal and enjoys nobody's confidence. Disgust with the discredited leadership and its hired supporters has led to total loss of confidence in the organization itself."

He alleges that organizational elections have been "reduced to a farce". He concludes that "certain defeat" awaits the Congress in West Bengal.

The letter of Chief Minister Tripathy of Orissa to Mr. Kamaraj is also worth noting. "There is a limit," says the Congress Chief Minister to his Party boss, "to a person's capacity to put up with things his conscience does not approve of and in my case that limit has been reached." He says earlier in the letter, "I am also finding it extremely difficult to approve of or acquiesce in many things that my friends are doing."

For every one Congressman who speaks like this, there are at least 50 others who feel the same way, but they wait until the time the shoe begins to pinch them. They feel that somehow they can do their little bit, compromise here and there, keep themselves going and hope somehow something will happen. But nothing will happen unless those Congressmen who still care for the country decide today that they will either remake the Congress Party within a foreseeable period or leave it and join an effective opposition. The next elections are the crossroads.

## Bullets Versus Ballots

MONDAY'S ELECTION in South Vietnam destroyed the Viet Cong's claim to represent the people. Despite Viet Cong threats and violence over 60 per cent of the five million electors voted, showing clearly their preference for the democratic way of deciding their future.

The Viet Cong attempts to prevent voting by terrorism gave away their own case. If most South Vietnamese backed the Viet Cong what need to use terror to prevent voting? The people could have boycotted the polls or returned blank ballots of their own accord.

While the Viet Cong tried to wreck the election in over 90 attacks, American troops, under orders, stayed off the streets. Buddhist, Catholic, independent and military candidates contested the South Vietnam election; one party, the Communists, was banned. In North Vietnam by contrast, what party other than the ruling Communists is permitted any chance to bid for power at all?

The South Vietnam election, which was to choose an assembly to draw up a new Constitution, is a victory for men's right to choose their government unfettered by force and violence.

## Inviting Trouble in Orissa

CONGRESS PRESIDENT KAMARAJ must be a singularly ill-informed man if he did not know that Biju Patnaik—who fancies himself as Orissa's king-maker—had fallen out with Chief Minister Tripathy.

If Mr. Kamaraj did know the facts, he was inviting trouble when he wrote his letter to Patnaik on August 23. The tone of Mr. Kamaraj's letter makes it clear that it was more than a personal communication and was meant for publication. He wrote that "pressure" was being brought on him "to appoint Patnaik as Chief Minister". Kamaraj also wrote, "Since you were of the opinion that it was not proper to change the Government so frequently, particularly in view of the General Election being so near, I had to agree with your views. (Italics ours). Nevertheless as a member of the Congress Working Committee you have to assume full responsibility of the State Congress during the coming elections."

Mr. Patnaik moved fast. He showed Mr. Kamaraj's letter to Mr. Tripathy and interpreted it as an invitation to Mr. Tripathy to resign. He also took the trouble of publishing the communication from the Congress President in his local daily in Orissa.

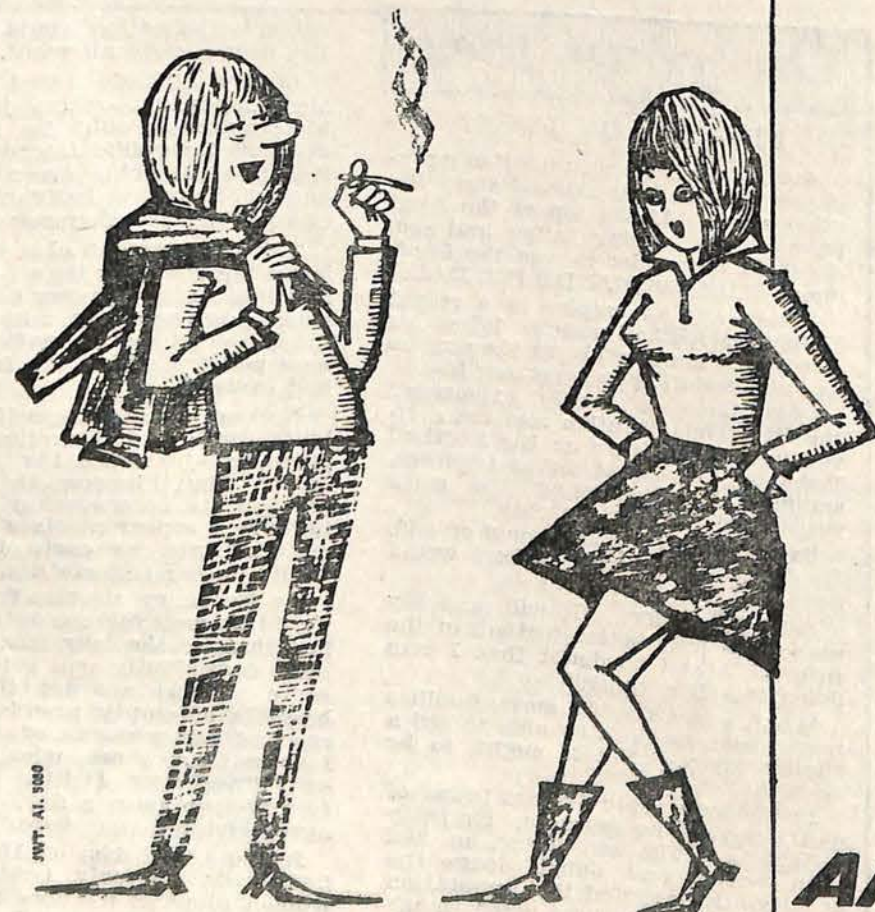
Mr. Patnaik no doubt expected the Chief Minister to slink quietly away. But Tripathy was made of sterner stuff. He stood his ground. Patnaik struck back. He engineered the resignations of 12 Ministers. Tripathy rang Kamaraj and laid the onus on the Congress President to tell him to quit. Kamaraj wanted no responsibility for toppling one of his own Chief Ministers before the election. He advised the Chief Minister to persuade his colleagues to withdraw their resignations. The ministers have, to date, refused to comply.

Recent Orissa events are an exercise in political misadventure. According to a source in New Delhi, the Congress President wrote the letter in response to Patnaik's persistent requests, hoping that the "good chit" would "contain" his ambitions. It was a political miscalculation on the part of the Congress President to issue such a letter to a man who has been discredited both in his own State and on the floor of the Lok Sabha. Mr. Patnaik claims he has no desire to be Chief Minister of Orissa now or ever. People may believe him if they see him in sack-cloth and ashes marching towards the Himalayas, but not while he still has both feet firmly in Bhubaneswar and an eye cocked to New Delhi.





BEAT IT TO **LONDON 10** TIMES A WEEK!



**AIR-INDIA**  
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## Rhodesia Dominates PMs' Talks

From Our Correspondent in London

THE RESOLVE to get to grips with the Rhodesia issue remains the main issue of this Commonwealth Premier's Conference. At present probably no one in the British Government still believes the Rhodesian establishment will one day crumble like a pack of cards. However, a few cherish the belief that within six months or so Smith's supporters will become convinced that economic hardship is upon them. Meanwhile, quantities of Rhodesian products continue going to America, France, Germany, Switzerland and other places.

The Commonwealth Sanctions Committee's report shows that after ten months of blockade all that has occurred is that Rhodesian life is slightly more uncomfortable for everyone.

In the face of this President Kaunda of Zambia's assertion, which he has consistently upheld, that force is the only language Smith will understand, has lost none of its weight. Prime Minister Holt of Australia, speaking at a public luncheon during this week said, "It is a question of whether the British Parliament would support a Government which directed force against the people of Rhodesia." In the case of Rhodesia, the policy of force might reduce the country to a rubbish heap. To go this far in order to crush rebels cannot be called "justice" in British eyes. And in the eyes of Britain's creditors might be called something else altogether.

### Africans Want Action

The alternative is a policy of sanctions if they can be made effective. The truth is that the weakness of the pound is preventing Britain having a strong sanctions policy. She cannot push the policy to its logical conclusion and no other Commonwealth countries are rich enough to do so.

But time as well as money is not on Britain's side. The African nations want action now and get impatient listening to statements beginning, "By the middle of next year when the tobacco sales..." Yet paradoxically the African nations which publicly demand the use of force also publicly state they do not

want the Commonwealth to break up.

The establishment of a Commonwealth Secretariat has given this association of nations a new look. Should any nation decide to leave it will be a slap not just in the face of Great Britain, but in the face of all.

Prime Minister Holt referred to various press comment that Australia was moving away from Britain and closer to America. "We are not going American—we're going Australian."

Holt said Australia wanted Britain

to be present east of Suez. It was more than a military matter, he continued. Malaysia and Singapore also wanted her to stay. It was not a matter of having larger forces, but Britain still carried considerable influence.

However fierce the disagreements amongst members of the Commonwealth, all agree it is beneficial to their economic health to remain together.



Prime Minister Holt

## Will Verwoerd's Death Change South Africa's Policy?

From Our Correspondent

DR. HENDRIK FRENCH VERWOERD, the man whose name stands to the world for the policy of apartheid, has died at the hand of an assassin. Born in Holland, raised in South Africa and Rhodesia, head student at the University of Stellenbosch, Professor of Applied Psychology, newspaper editor, for eight years Minister of Bantu (African) Affairs, for eight years Prime Minister, he more than any other man translated apartheid or separate development from a slogan into a policy.

His sixteen years of public office saw a steadily increasing control of the state over the daily lives of its citizens. They saw the detention laws come into being. They also saw the creation of the first "Bantustan" in the Transkei where, in contrast to the rest of the country, the interest of the black man and not the white man is paramount. A black Prime Minister and Parliament run the internal if not the foreign affairs of the land.

Dr. Verwoerd stood unmoved before a massive pressure from the outside world. At the same time he faced considerable pressure from the right-wing of his own people whose cry was that he was spending too much money on the Africans. They formed a new political party at the

last elections, and though they got no parliamentary representation they were a force Dr. Verwoerd had to reckon with. As he weighed how far and fast to go in those aspects of apartheid where the whites had to sacrifice, such as giving up land, it was those to the right rather than those to the left of him that he had to consider.

It is generally believed in South Africa that he had very far-reaching conceptions about the redistribution of land to the Africans that he could not yet, for political reasons, afford to publish. It is to his credit that African urban slums have been well-nigh abolished.

### Self-Confident

Tall, white-haired, heavily built, Dr. Verwoerd was supremely self-confident and despite the opposition of the world seemed never to be plagued by doubts as to the rightness of his policies. He was a devoted husband and father of seven children. He neither drank nor smoked. No breath of scandal is attached to Dr. Verwoerd's name. He pursued his policies with relentless logic. Yet many Africans who were totally opposed to his policies preferred to deal with him because of his frankness

Continued on page 20

# VERDICT!

This week **HIMMAT**

**SALUTES** the spirit of the Buddhists of Ladakh for protesting against cancellation of the Dalai Lama's visit, resorting to a hunger strike of 20 monks, and reversing the decision of Delhi to put off the trip.

★  
**POOH POOHS** Indulal Yagnik's plan to revive the "Swadeshi spirit" by boycotting all foreign goods including terylene cloth, soap, tea, shoes manufactured by foreign firms in India, and **ADVISES** he uses his energy developing consumer resistance to all goods highly charged for by retailers.

★  
**GIVES A SIXER-OF-A-GREETING** to Garfield Sobers for his test series score in England: average of 102 Test runs; 20 Test wickets at 27 runs apiece; and 10 catches for good measure.

★  
**MARVELS** at the tenacity of 18 year-old Russian farm-girl Tamara Bukhal for hanging on to the tail of a flying plane for 15 minutes and does not blame her for fainting when the plane landed.

★  
**HAILS** the statesmanship of Tunku Abdul Rahman for his initial speech which set the tone of understanding and friendship at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

★  
**VIGOROUSLY DISAGREES** with Union Minister S. K. Patil that "Small cars produce small mentality" because the opposite is not true of his colleagues, some of whom have rolled along in big cars for the last 17 years—and with what results?

★  
**RAPS** K. D. Malaviya for saying that he would rather see people starve than live on imported food grains and **STRONGLY RECOMMENDS** that instead of condemning innocent millions to starvation he might experience it by missing a few meals himself.

★  
**ACCLAIMS** another honest taxi driver, Mr. Chotalal S. Sharma, for handing into his Union office Rs. 8000 left in his vehicle.

## BREACH OF PRIVILEGE

WHAT WE ARE WITNESSING today in our midst is one phase of a ding-dong struggle for power in which the intended or accidental victims are democracy, the parliamentary system of government and the collective responsibility of the Cabinet. The leaders of the ruling party are systematically and cynically abusing their privileges under the protective shelter of a majority, while at the same time they blame the opposition for what, in effect, has turned out to be its legitimate attempt to expose them.

### Immiscible Outlook

The Opposition may be both insignificant in numbers and immiscible in outlook, but neither of these considerations is relevant to a question of privilege. For it is a narrow and untenable notion of parliamentary government to suppose that a ministry should hold on for as long as it can muster a majority anyhow. Such a view would knock the bottom out of the rational and ethical sanctions which alone can sustain good government.

It is strictly as a trustee that the supreme legislature is allowed to enjoy certain privileges with corresponding obligations flowing from them. Such privileges are as much the indefeasible right of the Opposition as of the ruling party, for the constitutional position is that the House as a whole is the custodian of the people's rights, not any section of it in particular.

### Opinion or Fact

When a question of privilege is raised, it is always on a matter of fact, never of opinion; and in the determination of it, the notion of a majority has no place at all. When a minister evades a straight answer to a question, he is guilty of a breach of privilege; he would have been technically in order if he had refused to answer in what is called the "public interest". Or a misleading reply may be given as when a minister who had met a party on many occasions admits to having met him only once; this is also a breach of privilege of another kind.

The recent debate on the PAC report may go down in our parliamentary annals as having produced the most luxuriant crop of such breaches of privilege. Why should the government wait for mistakes to be pointed out by an opposition which has to function under a hundred handicaps incidental to its existence? What are the ministers doing while dealing with files or evolving policy or issuing directives? Is it not their duty to act in such a way as to safeguard their own reputation for integrity even if they cannot all claim the same degree of efficiency?

The PAC being a precious limb of the parliament itself, its proceedings cannot be remitted for further consideration to any authority outside it. What has to be done if the government wishes to honour the PAC is to go into the irregularities at cabinet level, locate them precisely and sack those responsible for them. But instead of resorting to such a simple and expeditious method of dealing with the matter, the appointment of another committee looks suspiciously like a dilatory proceeding.

### Public Suspicion

The suspicion in the public mind—amounting to a certainty—is widespread that the root cause of the whole vicious circle is the charmed secret of who collects funds for the Congress *tamashas*, from whom, how often and how much.

If we could trace through their labyrinthine ramifications the flow of funds in one direction and of patronage—normal and abnormal—in the reverse direction, we might get a picture of the sordid thoroughness with which the party and the government have dealt a shrewder blow to democracy than the Opposition parties together could ever dare to or hope for.

To ignore an opposition or treat it with disdain is far worse than to abolish it outright. For in the latter case, we would see without blinkers that an autocracy is at work. But by using the opposition as a scape-goat and exploiting the trappings of democracy at the same time, the ruling party hopes to kill two birds with one stone.

Continued on page 20

HIMMAT, September 16, 1966

## Youth of Japan, Korea, China forge tomorrow's Asia

Tokyo

A group of Chinese youth attending a recent conference for Moral Re-Armament in the Asian Centre at Odawara, Japan, were being taken around the country on a short sightseeing trip. The Japanese, Taiwanese, Koreans and Vietnamese were also with them on the trip. At one of the many hill stations in Japan, they were treated to a great banquet. The thoughtful host had had the dining hall decorated with the national flags of many nations.

It was not noticed until the reception was well under way that the flag of China was missing. The Chinese, of course, immediately observed the fact. Soon they were huddled together in conference. Some minutes later they together carried a small Chinese flag, hand-painted by one of them, and put it ceremoniously among the flags of the nations. The whole banquet rose on their feet as they sang the Kuomintang anthem.

### Taught to Hate West

I met these Chinese. They represent the spirit of modern China—whether it be Taiwan or Hong Kong or the mainland. They feel the hurt and humiliation of 200 years. In them has come alive once again the pride of an ancient and great nation which has the longest history in the world. They represent the resurgent nationalism which transcends ideology. They are conscious of the rising destiny of Asia coming into its own after many centuries of chaos and oppression. Their parents taught them to hate the West. They themselves have little experience of the humiliations afflicted on their fathers by imperialism, but their historic memory has been kept alive by the older gene-

### SAY THAT AGAIN...

*I hope it does not happen to any one of us (referring to Verwoerd's assassination).*

DR. BORG OLIVIER  
Prime Minister of Malta

*It will be a sad day for India when linguism deprives the Centre of its plenary powers.*

K. M. MUNSHI

HIMMAT, September 16, 1966

ration to whom the superiority of the West was a galling fact.

However, though nationalism is a powerful force in the lives of these men and women, they are not bound by the events of the immediate past. "There have been many wars between China, Japan and Korea in history," declared one of these young men. "But these lie in the past. Our cultures have the same roots. In the future we will live at peace. There will be no war." There is a certainty in their minds about the future. That is in refreshing contrast to the pessimism of our times. Unity is as much a necessity in their outlook as peace.

Moral Re-Armament has sparked the hope for peace and unity in the Far East. In the immediate post-war years, it brought the leadership of the governments of Japan and South-east Asia together in a spirit of humility and forgiveness. "The statesmanship of the humble heart" led to a settlement of all outstanding questions between the former enemy powers such as reparations, resumption of diplomatic relations, etc.

Now in the most natural way, it is bringing the youth of the continent together in a common effort to unite and serve Asia and restore her to her rightful place in civilization.

### Event of Year

The most recent incident of success is the restoration of relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea. I leave today for Seoul with 65 youth from Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Their unity is the most natural thing to them and they are determined to multiply it and take it to the whole continent. "We cannot stand by and watch the destruction of the world," says the invitation to the Asian Assembly for the Modernization of Asia in Seoul, Korea, from September 8th to 11th, 1966. "We must take action together for building a united, rich Asian continent through our demonstration of the modernization of Asia."

This unity of the Far East and the leadership of Japan may be the most significant event of this year. In far-away India, it is difficult to realize the implications of the end to the age-old bitterness between Japan and Korea.

I do not know much about Korea, but when I left Madras, I told a young Korean man with the MRA

## Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

musical "India Arise" that I would soon be visiting his country.

The next afternoon he brought me a closely written, 20-page report in English on Korea. I knew that he was not too familiar with English. He had obviously spent all night doing the report. He wanted to be certain that he helped me understand his country before I arrived there. I was, of course, deeply touched. Even more, I was struck by the passionate love of country that moved this young man. I am told all Koreans love their country as deeply. A Korean girl studying in Tokyo told me yesterday that during all her childhood she had been fed by her parents on the horror stories of the Japanese occupation. She inherited her hatred of Japan from her parents. "But," she said, "it is so senseless to live in the past. Japan and Korea must live together and work together. This is our future."

This is the refreshing wind that is blowing from the youth across the continent of Asia, and in time it will produce as significant a revolution as the 1949 revolution of Mao.



From India's Leather

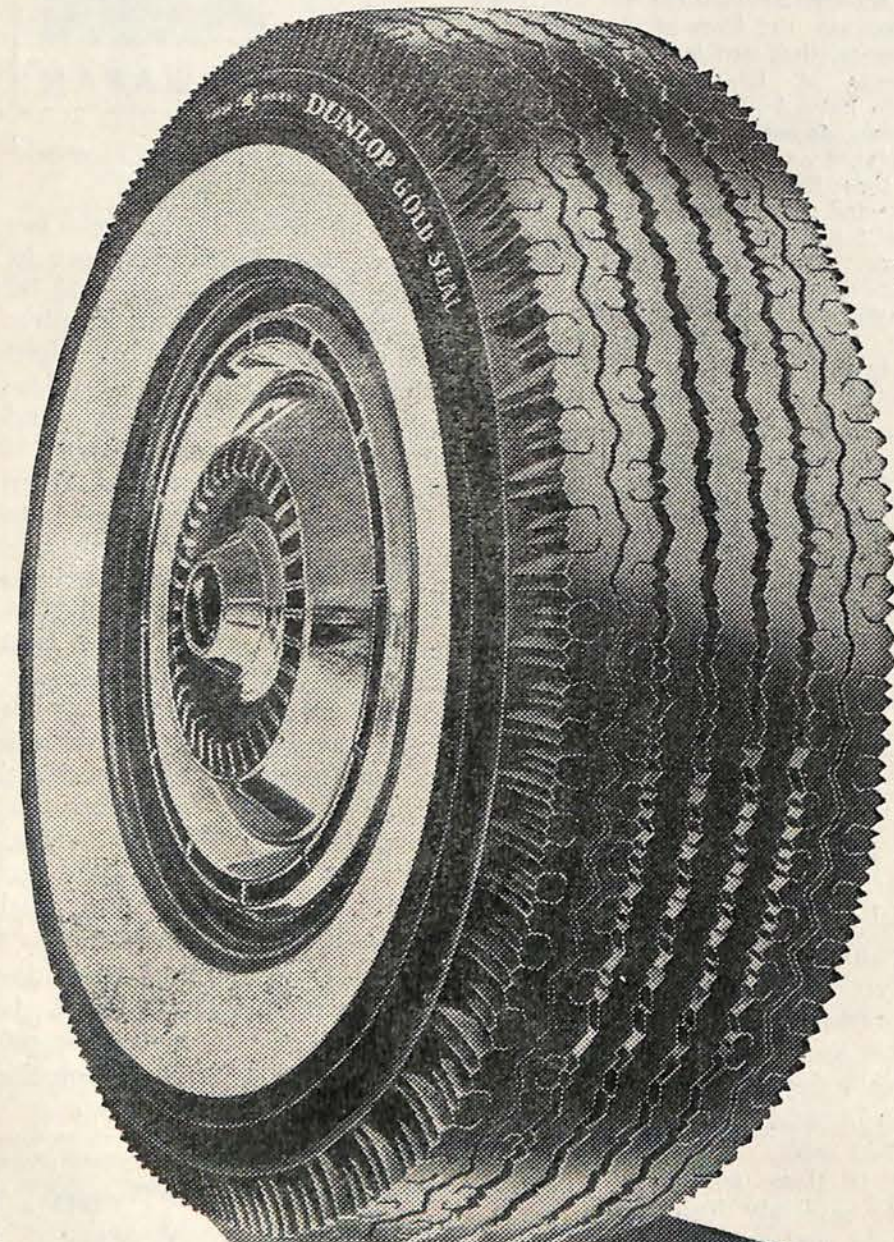
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## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Why Selassie Met de Gaulle

FROM VERE JAMES

Addis Ababa

As President de Gaulle's Caravelle arrived in Addis Ababa, escorted by F5 jet fighters of the Imperial Ethiopian Air Force, he was greeted by a 21-gun salute.

His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I, then accompanied the General in a state drive to the Royal Palace. They rode together in a gilded coach drawn by magnificent white horses and accompanied by an escort of the Household Cavalry. It was a regal welcome.

Since the early 18th century the French have been among those indomitable adventurers who have journeyed to the headwaters of the Nile and thence to the court of the Kings of Ethiopia.

Like all the long line of visitors to this strange and paradoxical land

Ababa which is jointly owned by the two governments. Strategically placed at the southern entrance to the Red Sea, the port is a coveted prize in the present struggle for control of the gateway to Asia and Eastern Africa.

Somalia, which continues to receive massive Russian military support, has its eyes on Djibouti. The Somali "right" to the area is incorporated in the (Greater Somalia) five-pointed star symbol of the national flag. The Mogadishu Government demand for a debate on the question at the U.N. and the O.A.U.



Royal welcome for a President: de Gaulle arrives in Addis Ababa.

the tall General had his reasons for coming. As indeed the diminutive Monarch had his reasons for inviting him. In a word the cause was Djibouti.

President de Gaulle flew into Addis Ababa direct from the Red Sea port. Riots in the name of "independence" had marred de Gaulle's visit to this last remaining possession of France in Africa. They had been organized, no doubt, by a "liberation front" whose leader recently returned from Cuba.

The port of Djibouti is Ethiopia's principal trading access to the sea. It is linked with a railway to Addis

coincided with President de Gaulle's arrival here.

Neither France nor Ethiopia will yield their claims or their control over the area. They are carefully observing the way in which Britain seems prepared to terminate responsibility in Aden, just across the narrow straits.

Storm clouds are gathering in the Horn of Africa. It will take the combined wisdom of General de Gaulle and Emperor Haile Selassie to evolve a workable solution for the future of Djibouti, and thus avert an international crisis or even the possibility of armed conflict.

## The week in Asia

**TOKYO** — Three Japanese firms sponsored by the Japanese Communist Party have been expelled from Peking because of the Japanese Communists' attack upon Chinese "dogmatism".

\*\*\*  
**HONG KONG** — Chinese troops are on the Sino-Vietnamese border to guard against invasion and aid Vietnam if necessary, said a Chinese military instructor who recently fled to Hong Kong.

\*\*\*  
**BANGKOK** — Over 50 people died in north-east Thailand in the Mekong River plain's worst floods of this century. US helicopters are reported to have flown 10,000 people to safety.

\*\*\*  
**TOKYO** — China has not dismissed the possibility of discussions with the US on Vietnam, said Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi to a Japanese delegation in Peking.

\*\*\*  
**KUALA LUMPUR** — Malaysia and Pakistan have resumed diplomatic relations which were broken off last year during the Indo-Pakistan conflict following anti-Pakistan remarks by Malaysia in the UN.

\*\*\*  
**SAIGON** — Viet Cong terrorist grenade throwings and assassinations were stepped up in an attempt to prevent the elections for South Vietnam's Legislative Assembly on September 11. Over 60 per cent of the voters went to the polls nonetheless.

\*\*\*  
**KUCHING** — Sarawak's ex-Chief Minister, Dato Stephen Kalong Ningkan, resumed his Chief Ministership in Kuching after the Sarawak High Court ruled his dismissal invalid.

\*\*\*  
**KUALA LUMPUR** — Indonesia and Malaysia agreed to establish liaison posts to coordinate operations against Communist guerrillas on their borders.

\*\*\*  
**CAIRO** — The Supreme State Security Court banned the Egyptian Communist Party and confiscated its funds. General Secretary Mustafa Agha was imprisoned for life. Eleven Party members were accused of plotting to overthrow President Nasser.

\*\*\*  
**SINGAPORE** — Ten Chinese daily papers in Indonesia have been closed, reported Radio Djakarta. Two Chinese dailies, in Djakarta and Medan, are still published.

## Ceylon Government Under Fire

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT Colombo

Even keen government party workers admit the Senanayake regime is passing through bad weather. Their textile price control measure, while aimed at fraudulent non-national traders, has alienated many from the private sector and has been severely attacked in the usually pro-government press. Some MPs who do not work for their constituents are also losing public support.

Now even leading UNP parliamentarians are attacking their own government. The Junior Minister of Industries, Mr. Shelton Jayasinghe, told the House of Representatives that "the pattern of trade has been just drifting". It was the height of absurdity, he said, to concentrate on traditional markets for securing better markets for Ceylon's primary products. The tea market had collapsed and the country was now getting very low prices for its exports. He also revealed the startling fact that 20 per cent of foreign aid was being spent on freight charges. Setting up committees to investigate, he maintained, would not help, as this was

usually a method of dodging issues.

The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Dr. M. V. P. Peries, has also said the economic situation is "grave". He was speaking to a special seminar called to grapple with the tea sales crisis, attended by leading representatives of the industry and two Cabinet Ministers. India's devaluation, the Minister of Trade said, had not yet undercut Ceylon's tea sales, but might yet do so.

One promising suggestion that was put forward by the representative of the Tea Traders' Association was the setting up of a Standards Bureau. He pointed out that this would maintain Ceylon tea's quality. Since

it is the deterioration in quality and the concentration on growing quantity that has undermined the country's selling position, it is to be hoped this proposal will be implemented.

## Wilson Warns: Mass Unemployment Danger

FROM GORDON WISE

Blackpool

When Prime Minister Harold Wilson spoke to the 2,000 delegates to the nine million-strong Trades Union Congress about Britain's economic crisis, and sought support for the Labour Government's drastic remedies, it was difficult for him to find fresh ways of reaching the motor nerve of his audience.

Wilson, bronzed by a respite in the Scilly Islands, was only politely applauded when he arrived in the middle of the debate.

But there was a standing ovation for Mr. Wilson as he drew to a close, when hard economic facts gave way to something more of a peroration and appeal to the heart as well as to the head.

There was a pin-drop silence when the P.M. warned of the consequences of failure to arrest Britain's economic decline, if incomes continue to outstrip productivity. The punch line came when he said that Britain could well be plunged into a depression with one-and-a-half to two million unemployed.

But though the Government will win its vote of confidence, the hard

## Mao, Lin and Army Plan New "Leap"

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Hong Kong

So predictions have come true and the new successor to Mao Tse-tung is Marshal Lin Piao, comrade in the Long March and successful leader of the Fourth Field Army which drove the Nationalists out of the Yangtse Valley and eventually out of South China in 1949.

Lin has just appeared together with Mao at a major rally in Peking, both of them in military uniform, where he addressed the masses "on behalf of Mao Tse-tung".

No mean intellectual, Lin graduated with honours from the Whampoa Military Academy near Canton where Chiang Kai-shek was one of his instructors, and in 1936 he was appointed Director of the Communist Anti-Japanese Military and Political University.

Current Scene, published in Hong Kong to give news of Mainland China, has devoted its last two issues to: "Lin Piao's Army and its Role in Chinese Society". In them, Chalmers Johnson, an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of California, puts forward the idea that the emergence of Defence Minister Lin Piao is the result of two major influences. First, the persistence of a "guerilla mentality" in Mao and his associates due to that strategy which brought them victory over the Nationalists in the long struggle from 1927 to 1949. Second, "The Great Leap Forward", Mao's theory that "China could make a dramatic breakthrough in economic construction by mobilising the will and spirit of the Chinese masses."

### Guerilla Heritage

During the middle and late 1950s, the People's Liberation Army—due to Russian influence—was being transformed from a guerrilla into a professional army and so becoming divorced

core of opposition led by Frank Cousins, the General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, did not shift a bit.

Talking of Britain's historic role in the world in contrast with her present economic situation, the Prime Minister said, "We pass resolutions calling, and rightly calling, for more and more aid for developing countries for a war on world hunger, but we resist the efforts that are necessary to produce the munitions for that war."

## The week in India

**SURAT**—Oil has been discovered in Broach District of Gujerat by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission. Experts believe the find is commercially viable.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—University students, 5-6000-strong, burnt a bus, man-handled a professor and threw stones in a four-hour demonstration against police handling of a student demonstration outside the Union Law Minister's house.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—An agreement with the US to import 360,000 tons of sulphur over the next year for manufacturing fertilizer was signed here.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh is to visit Indonesia after an invitation from his Indonesian counterpart, Dr. Adam Malik, who recently visited India.

\*\*\*

**BHUBANESHWAR**—Twelve members of the 13-man Orissa cabinet resigned over the reallocation of portfolios by Chief Minister Tripathi. Ex-Chief-Minister of Orissa, Biju Patnaik, is also said to be involved in the resignations.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—An agreement to import four million pounds of Australian merino wool worth Rs. 33,200,000 was signed here.

\*\*\*

**CALCUTTA**—A mob set fire to the Balurghat Congress office and damaged two government jeeps when police lathi-charged and tear-gassed demonstrators at a meeting addressed by West Bengal Chief Minister Sen.

\*\*\*

**SRINAGAR**—About 75,000 people and 100 villages have been affected by the flooding of the Jhelum River. Floods have also caused havoc in neighbouring Jammu and the Punjab.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—Yugoslav President Tito and UAR President Nasser will attend "non-aligned summit" talks here next month with Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi, it was reported.

\*\*\*

**CALCUTTA**—Nearly 50,000 West Bengal teachers went on indefinite strike for more pay, affecting 4000 schools.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—Plans for rubber-growing in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, covering 30,000 acres, were announced here.

The army has now become the first rung on the ladder for advancement in other fields. It has taken the lead as a "major producer of contemporary art and literature, has carried out the most important land reclamation and water conservancy projects in China, governs and is in charge of economic development in much of

Continued on page 15



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## JAMSHEDPUR STEELMEN WIN SHRAM VIR NATIONAL AWARDS

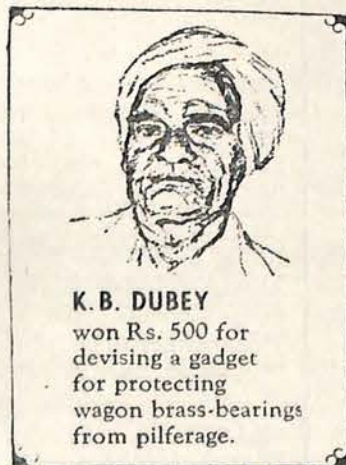
In March 1966, the Government of India held the first ceremony to honour the country's new heroes—technicians and industrial workers—with *Shram Vir* National Awards. These awards will be made every year in recognition of suggestions leading to higher production at less cost.

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

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

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

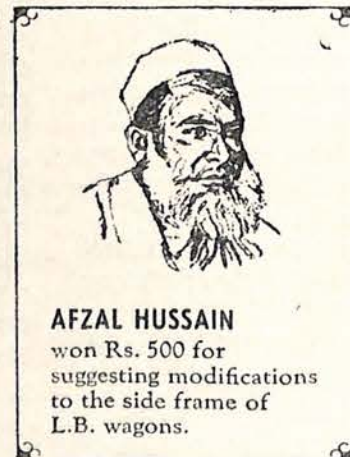
### TATA STEEL



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

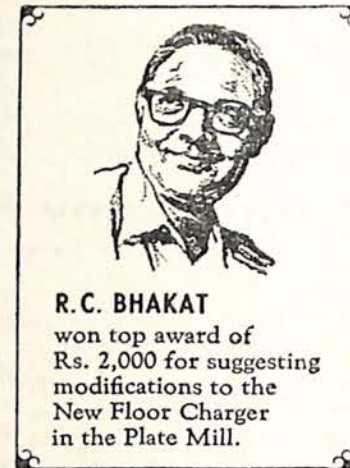


**BALWANT SINGH**  
won Rs. 500 for suggesting modifications to top coolers of open hearth furnaces.



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

The Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited



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



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

JWTTN 3274AR

### FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Sinkiang and Tibet and in addition offers instruction to virtually the entire population in Communist morality and ethics."

In all these activities, claims Johnson, is the key to understanding the present power of Lin Piao and the People's Liberation Army. The army is in fact more than an army. It is not only responsible for defence but also "intervenes in domestic politics probably more than any other armed force in the world today, including those in nations openly ruled by their armies". The army is the guardian of true Communism which is Mao's Communism. The army alone can be trusted and the people must copy the soldiers in their dedication to and practical application of Mao's thinking.

There are indications that despite

the failure of the Great Leap Forward, everything is being prepared for another leap forward and this time the PLA is to play the major part as the "chief model and organizational instrument to create an artificial civil war atmosphere in the Chinese economy." The "People's War" of the fight against the Japanese and the Nationalists must become the "People's War" for agricultural and industrial production.

Johnson concludes: "The present campaign does, however, contain a serious flaw... During the revolution the people were genuinely mobilized by the Japanese war. Today... it is highly doubtful that the average Chinese citizen seriously believes that China's development can best be advanced by treating capital formation as a type of guerilla warfare."

### The week elsewhere

#### COAL FIND IN E. PAKISTAN

**RAWALPINDI**—Coal deposits capable of yielding 2.5 million tons a year are reported to have been found in Bogra, East Pakistan. A West German firm, Krupp Rohstoffe, is helping develop the coal and nearby limestone deposits, estimated at 2,700 million tons. Exploitation of the coal, expected to begin in about five years, should enable East Pakistan to meet

its requirements of coal—currently about 1.5 million tons a year. Imports from India having stopped, East Pakistan now imports coal, largely from China.

#### JOHNSON OFFER

**SAIGON**—President Johnson said he would set a timetable for withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam when a similar commitment had been obtained from the North. US troops would leave Vietnam, turning over their bases to peaceful use, "as soon as that vicious aggression stops".

#### ZAMBIA SHUTDOWN

**NDOLA**—Zambia's vital copper-mining industry shut down when 35,000 African miners went on strike. The strikers want their savings, which are held by the mining companies, refunded before they start contributing to a compulsory government saving scheme.

#### US AIR STRATEGY

**WASHINGTON**—The Lockheed-Georgia aircraft company said it expected its initial order from the US Government for 58 C5As, a giant military air transport, to be increased to 120. A single C5A will be able to carry 700 troops and their equipment across the Atlantic. 120 of them could carry 84,000 men. The C5A is key to the reported new American strategy of basing a large strategic reserve in the US and cutting down on commitments in other continents.

#### UK's "HYDROCAR"

**LONDON**—A "Hydrocar", capable of 75 m.p.h. on land and 30 m.p.h. on water, is being developed in Britain. It is expected to be in production in two years and will cost 3,000 pounds. Retracting wheels give it more speed in water and it is said to be nearly unsinkable.

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## PROF. C. N. VAKIL ON FOURTH PLAN DRAFT

The object of this series of articles is to explain in simple language the implications of the draft outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan so that it may be possible for one to take an intelligent interest in the discussions on the same which are going on and form one's own judgment. For this purpose only some major aspects will be dealt with in these articles.

It would be appropriate to refer to certain basic ideas in connection with the method of economic planning which has been adopted in the country since 1951 as the means for the development of the country. The Planning Commission is an advisory body. In practice however the constitution of the Planning Commission is such that it has substantial political support in as much as the Prime Minister is the Chairman and a few other Cabinet Ministers are also members of the Commission.

### Democratic Planning

In making five year plans, besides taking expert advice on different aspects of development, the Commission has consultations with different ministries of the Central Government, with different State Governments as well as with various other parties such as organisations representing trade, industry, labour and so on. There used to be a Panel of Economists which was consulted when formulating the earlier Plans. That body has now become defunct, though there was room for improving the nature of consultations and discussions. More recently there is a body called the Planning Council which, among others, includes a few selected economists. This body is consulted by the Planning Commission from time to time.

The Plan as it emerges from the Planning Commission is first approved by the National Development Council which is a political body consisting of the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers of the States including some Central Ministers. After the approval of this body is obtained the Plan is submitted to Parliament for discussion and sanction. Though the Plan gets approval at various stages in this manner, it

is still a series of recommendations to the different Governments in the country.

The annual budgets of the Central and State Governments are in two parts—a Revenue Budget and a Capital Budget. The plan expenditure of each Government for a given year is included in the Capital Budget, which is approved by the Parliament or the State Legislature as the case may be.

### Deciding Priorities

The Plan is thus a statement of public expenditure; though that part of the Plan which is intended for the private sector is in the form of suggestions of targets of production in different items which the private sector is expected to achieve. It is obvious that for this purpose the Planning Commission has to think in terms of priorities. Things which are considered more urgent or more vital in the national interest will receive greater priority or emphasis and therefore greater allocation of resources. This explains in brief the nature of democratic planning that we have in as much as there is consultation at various stages in making the Plan and approval of the legislatures from year to year in spending resources for the Plan. Though it is convenient to refer to the Plan in financial terms, physical targets are laid down by the Commission.

So far as the resources are concerned they are obtained from (1) taxation; (2) loans; (3) foreign aid; and (4) deficit financing.

Taxation in the country has rapidly increased since Planning started. This is partly due to the several welfare activities that the Government has undertaken, but more due to the desire to spend substantial amounts from the savings of the people for the purposes of developmental schemes. The justification of such taxation is that the State is supposed to be in a better position to decide the nature of the development for the country as a whole, and to undertake the implementation of such development, and therefore it is assumed that the State is justified in drawing resources from the people by way of additional taxation for the purpose.

### Deficit Financing

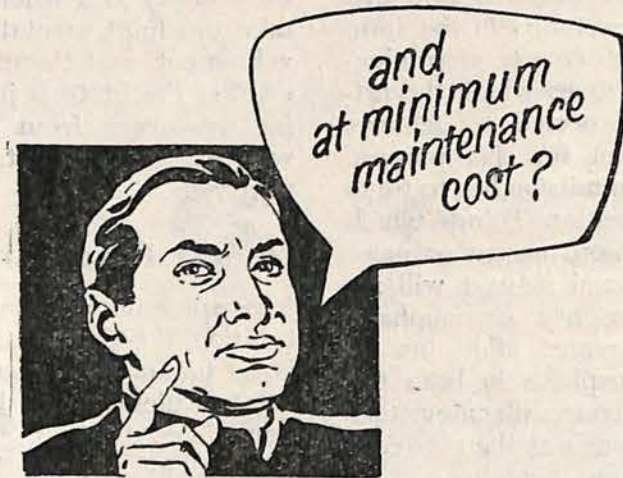
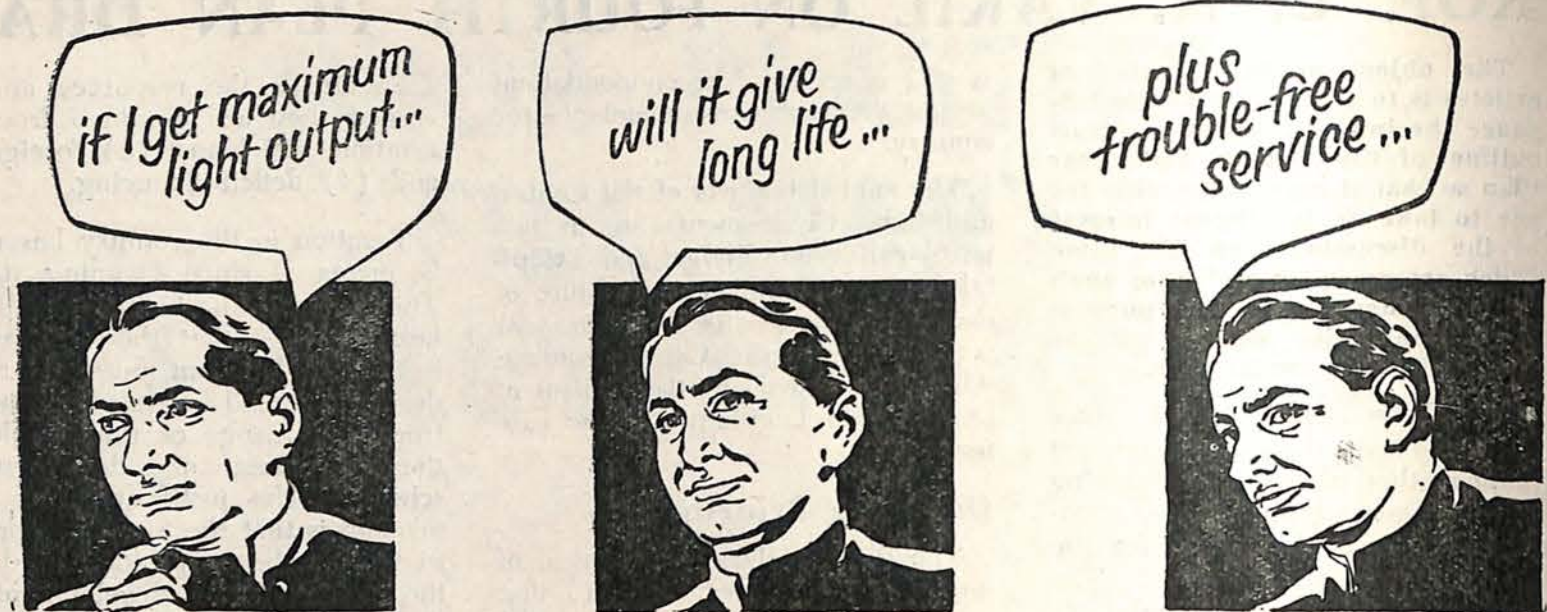
In spite of substantial addition to taxation, the Government has to raise loans to finance some of its requirements which cannot be met by taxation alone. Besides, for the purpose of development we have to import capital goods or machinery and technical skill in increasing quantities. As our exports are not adequate to earn enough foreign exchange for the purchase of such things from abroad,

Continued on page 21

AN  
IDEAL  
COOKING  
MEDIUM


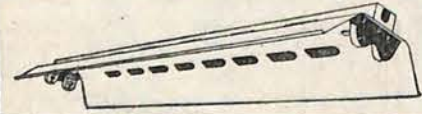





RATH  
VANASPATI

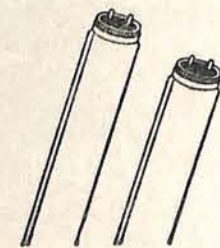


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## LETTERS

### EXECUTIVE GOVERNORS

Even for an efficient and honest Chief Minister, it is difficult to govern properly as he has to please the different warring factions of his party and take incompetent people into his cabinet.

Will it not be better if the Constitution is amended and we disband the Legislative Assemblies and Legislative Councils and elect a Governor by popular vote who will combine the roles of Governor and Chief Minister? He can, once elected, choose efficient people for his cabinet. This will also save our Treasury a lot of expense.

DR. I. S. MENON\*  
Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, U.K.

\* This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

### "IS SECURITY SAFE?"

I was much impressed by the article "Is our National Security safe in Congress Hands?" I endorse the view that Congress President Kamaraj and Home Minister Nanda owe an explanation for the procrastination in taking action against Mohit Chaudhuri and Sunil Das.

What has happened to the nation's security apparatus when Pakistani agents are flourishing within the Congress? If immediate counter-steps are not taken, the public's faith in the ruling party may start dwindling.

S. SINGH  
Siliguri

### WHEN ELECTIONS COME

Our Prime Minister's claim is that we are heading towards a Socialistic goal; yes, perhaps, Socialism with equal distribution of misery.

The downtrodden citizens of India should no longer tolerate this unhappy state of affairs. They should throw out all the persons incapable of governing the country and replace them by people who can.

ANIL DEEP PRADHAN  
Dharwar 3

## VIEWPOINT

### COMPETITION

\* Should Congress resign three months before the election?

Closing date: September 30

\*\* Are politicians using police for political ends?

Closing date: October 14

Prizes: Rs. 25, Rs. 15

Send entries of 500 words or less to: Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1.

### "GOODBYE COMMUNISM"

Hats Off to Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi for his brilliant "summing-up"—"Goodbye Communism". Mr. Gandhi has that inward eye and has magnificently given vent to everyone's feeling. Yes, Congress has miserably failed to give the lead to the nation—the party has simply betrayed us.

There is no alternative party to form a government on which the people can have absolute faith. Of all the leftists, Communists are most powerful. But what is their actual colour? So far as I know there is no such term as "hatred" in the Communist dictionary. But my Communist friends here are so much obsessed with this "hatred" that they look down upon all who do not see eye to eye with their doctrine.

No, the Communists are not the party to successfully take over the reins of administration. So, all of us who believe in "Moral Re-Armament" should join hands with Mr. Gandhi to find out men who live by absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love, men who have cured hate, fear and compromise in their own lives. They should help bring in the renaissance throughout the length and breadth of the country.

MANTU DAS  
Howrah

### "OLIGARCHY OF CATTLE-DRIVERS"

Communalism in the cloak of progress is the sad spectacle of South India today. Under the pretext of "Social Justice", intellect and efficiency are pushed into the background and the nation has suffered. This novel experiment of democracy in India has ushered in an oligarchy of cattle drivers.... They have neither the will, high purpose or courage of conviction which are the three essentials of right leadership.

T. S. PRASAD  
Bangalore 10

### BOMBAY CONGRESS

Mr. Gandhi's article on the Bombay resignations in HIMMAT of September 2 reflects very correctly the feeling of vast numbers of Bombay people.

As political leaders the Ministers and others ought to have opposed the Bandh move politically and given a lead to the people instead of waiting for the police to crush the movement by sheer physical force.

But it is too much to expect people who are interested only in office for their party men to go to Chowpatty or Shivaji Park and tell the public why they should not support the Bandh.

The withdrawal of the resignations was nothing unlooked for.

E. P. MENON  
Bombay 4

### FRUSTRATED AMBITIONS

The ambitions of the younger generation have been greatly frustrated by the over-experienced power-conscious

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

people who give them no opportunity. The virus of politics has been injected so deeply in the field of education that the energy of the younger generation is directed towards anti-social activities, such as massive destruction of public properties, strikes, at the cost of their education and career.

A day will dawn very soon when the younger generation will wake up. What is lacking at present is dynamic leadership.

R. NARAYANAN  
Calcutta 1

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Sydney, Australia

### PROSPECTS OF MRA

Please let me know the features and prospects of your Moral Re-Armament team in India by return of post to enable me to take part with my entire family consisting of six daughters and one son.

S. SUNDARAM  
Ex-Sub Inspector of Police  
Tiruchirappalli Dt., Sept. 6, 1966

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## HONORARY MAGISTRATE RESIGNS Protest against Police Intrusion

Mrs. Malathi Rangaswamy, Honorary Magistrate, Madras, has resigned her post in protest against the police action involving MRA full-time worker Janaki Varadhan. In her letter of resignation to the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Madras she says that the conduct of the police in "forcibly" entering her home and removing Miss Varadhan from it was "high-handed and illegal".

### POLICE MOVE—*from page 5* the ends of justice in jeopardy.

Mr. Gandhi prayed that the petition of the State Public Prosecutor be dismissed and justice rendered.

\* \* \*

On Tuesday, September 13, arguments were advanced by Mr. R. M. Seshadri for Mr. Gandhi, and the Public Prosecutor for Madras State.

### VERWOERD—*from page 7*

than with those who said one thing and meant another.

What will be the effect of his death on the political scene? No major disturbances are expected. There are two reasons for this. One is the very strong security system of the government which makes defiance more than hazardous. The other is the unprecedented level of affluence the country is enjoying.

The minimum wage for the unskilled African in most factories is a pound (Rs. 21) a day. By European standards this is very low, even if the pound buys more in South Africa than in Europe. But by African standards it is very high. Consequently while most Africans would like to see apartheid abolished, very few would like to see change by a violent

In course of the hearing the Judge asked the Deputy Commissioner of Police who was present in the Court, "When did the girls leave for Bangalore?" The Deputy Commissioner replied, "They were dispatched on September 2 evening."

Mr. Justice K. S. Ramamurti of the High Court reserved his judgement.

revolution that would disrupt the economic advance of the country.

There is in fact more sentiment for violent change in the South African situation from Africans outside South Africa than from Africans inside the country.

Nor is there any reason to expect any change in the policy of apartheid. From Dr. Malan to Prime Minister Strydom to Dr. Verwoerd South Africa has moved steadily to the right, and there is no reason to believe that this will be reversed by the next Premier.

Perhaps the only lesson of the sad event will be that nothing is changed through assassination.

## Chink in Windies Armour?

*Our Cricket Correspondent, Dickie Dodds, comments on the recently concluded Test series between England and the West Indies:*

"It has been an excellent series to watch. The West Indies remain world champions. England can take some hope for the future. Now it is India's turn to see if they can topple the champions from the summit. They can take heart for if there is a visible chink in the West Indies' armour it is that some of their batsmen appear unable to read wrist spinners and play them as best they can from the pitch. And wrist spinners are usually India's great strength."

### PRIVILEGE—*from page 8*

Dictatorships have always come out of corruption to which supine majorities organized by adventurers for adventurers have generally succumbed. Every time it was a caucus that crucified democracy after giving it a bad name. Not till there dawns a livelier sense of fundamental identity of interests, convictions and hopes for the country as a whole between the ruling and opposition parties, can we hope to see democracy at work in conditions of reasonable efficiency, integrity and public spirit.

P. M.

## This was a life AKHNATON

Circa 1375—1358 B.C.

AKHNATON has been described as the first individual in history, the first monotheist and the first prophet of internationalism.

He succeeded to the throne of Egypt, while still a boy, as Amenhotep IV; but he altered his name to Akhnaton when a remarkable change of heart took place in him, and he forsook the superstitious worship of ancient Egypt, with its many gods and its cult of the dead, for allegiance to one god—Aton, the sun, "the father and mother of all that He has made".

### "LIVING FOR TRUTH"

The result of this change was a great passion for truth—he adopted as one of his royal titles, "Living for Truth". This concept he taught to his people, and it bore fruit in a wonderful naturalistic art, unique in ancient history. Royal portraits showed men and women as they really were, with all their imperfections, instead of idealizing them as was customary. A magnificent school of architecture arose, and he moved his capital from Thebes to a beautiful city, today called Amarna, which arose in a few years from the desert sand.

Akhnaton had a happy family life with his lovely wife, Nefertiti, and his six daughters; and this life he shared with his people, as is shown in many pictures which survive, and which show the family in happy and intimate scenes of family life.

### AHEAD OF TIME

Akhnaton was able to convert many of his subjects to his thinking; his chief sculptor, Bek, in his tomb inscriptions proclaimed it as his proudest boast that he was one "whom His Majesty himself taught". But others were not convinced, notably the priests of the old religion. He was a man ahead of his age; and soon after he died—he suffered from some mysterious disease—the old gods took over again.

The glorious city he and his wife had built was razed to the ground, and their names were erased from all records. It was not till 3000 years later that the city was rediscovered, with all the evidences of what this remarkable young king achieved in his short life.

It may even be that his influence spread in his own life-time beyond his own country. He was a poet, and one of his hymns, preserved in a tomb, has a very close parallel in a Hebrew psalm. His thought may have found its way to inspire other seekers after truth.

D.M.P.

### VAKIL—*from page 17*

we have to depend on assistance from several foreign countries and international financial agencies for loans for the purpose. In spite of these resources, it is found that they are not quite adequate for the necessary expenditure undertaken for a given Plan.

To meet such gaps the Government goes in for what is known as deficit financing. This means that the Government takes credit from the Reserve Bank of India. An individual wanting a loan from his bank would have to give some security satisfactory to his bank for the loan. The bank would make sure that if the debtor is not able to repay the loan, it would be in a position to make good the loss by disposing of the security. In the case of the Government taking credit from the Reserve Bank, there is a formal arrangement, namely the creation of what are known as "ad hoc" treasury bills. These are IOUs or promissory notes of the Government of India without any backing.

These *ad hoc* treasury bills are treated as securities by the Reserve Bank and against the same, the balance of the Government is credited with an equal amount of funds. This makes it possible for the Government to issue cheques to that extent on Reserve Bank. In other words, the Government is thus able to create artificial purchasing power in its own favour and spend the same for goods and services like other genuine resources, which it may raise by taxation or loans.

### Inflation Risk

The justification of loans, internal or external, is that the Government would be able to create substantial earning assets with the help of such loans, from which it would be able to repay the debt with interest and have a surplus. Similarly the justification for deficit financing is that there may be urgent desirable schemes of development, which if carried out with the help of deficit financing, would create new assets to help the development of the country.

It is possible, however, that because of mistakes, inefficiency or corruption such new assets may not come into existence as expected, and if this happens we may have a situation in which there may be increasing quantities of money in circulation because of the expenditure without the production of expected goods. Such a situation is known as inflation and would result in rising prices.

### NEXT WEEK

Next week "On the Spot" is BHAILALBHAI PATEL leader of Gujerat.

Due to pressure on space this week "On the Spot" is held over.

So far as the foreign debt is concerned we have the additional problem of having to repay it in foreign currency which can be done only by increasing our exports. Unless we are able to plan our production in such manner that we have an adequate surplus and arrange to export the same, we shall not be able to earn enough foreign exchange to meet the payments due on increasing quantities of foreign debt. Whereas foreign debt when it is raised may give substantial help to the country, for repayment it involves a net deduction from the current resources or production of the country in the form of exports by means of which alone repayment can be made. We shall thus have to produce things suited for the export markets and see that they are good in quality and cheap in price to stand competition in the international market.

### Citizen's Wishes

From the point of view of the ordinary citizen, he cannot be enthused for the Plan by being told that his average income has risen in money terms. He wishes to have adequate quantities of essentials of life such as food, cloth, shelter and other amenities for his family. If he finds that prices are rising to such an extent that it is difficult for him to obtain his essential requirements in spite of some increase in his money income, he is bound to feel unhappy. It may be worse because of the frustration of his high hopes raised by politicians regarding the economic progress of the country.

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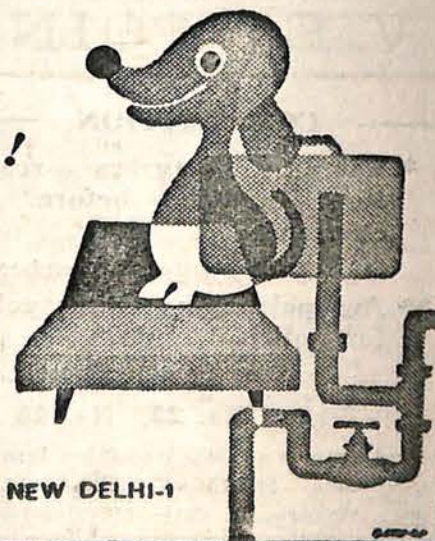
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# The Wish Without the Will

By Rajmohan Gandhi

THE NEWSPAPERS have published two statements about the Congress Party during the last days. They provide a fascinating yet painful contrast.

One is a statement of the Orissa Chief Minister, Sadashiv Tripathi, the other is the draft manifesto of the Congress Party prepared after considerable deliberation by senior Congress luminaries.

Mr. Tripathi's statement, or rather his letter to Mr. Kamaraj, the Congress President, is a live and moving document with a heart behind it. The Congress manifesto is cold, dull and dead.

Mr. Tripathi, who is the Congress Chief Minister of what some people regard as our most backward state, has not been in this responsible office for too long. Compared with the big shots who have painstakingly produced the lifeless manifesto, Mr. Tripathi, at least to some eyes, is a small figure.

## Scalding Indictment

Yet there is a greatness apparent in his letter which is altogether missing in the other heavy, if not weighty, message.

Mr. Tripathi's honesty turns out to be a scalding indictment of Congress rule.

Remember as you read the following paragraphs that you are reading the words of a Congressman, an experienced Congressman, a Congressman in office, in fact the Congress Chief Minister of an Indian state. And remember that the words are from a letter to Mr. Kamaraj.

"As the General Elections draw nearer and nearer, influential members of the Party are honestly feeling that with my rather old-fashioned ideas about administrative proprieties and political fair play, I shall be of little assistance to the Congress Party. To be very frank with you on my part I am also finding it extremely difficult to approve of or acquiesce in many things that my friends are doing.

"Since it is now clear from your letter and from what Biju (Mr. B. Patnaik, Orissa Congress boss) told me that you would now like him to take over leadership at his earliest convenience I would strongly press you to permit me to resign immediately and not prolong the present very unsatisfactory state of things.

There is a limit to a person's capacity to put up with things his conscience doesn't approve of and in my case that limit has been reached."

Yes, gentlemen, what you have read is true. It is actually a Congress Chief Minister admitting that his devotion to propriety and fair play makes him of little assistance to the Congress Party. And he admits that he has been pressured for long to put up with things his conscience has not approved of.

## Time-honoured Phrases

The task before Mr. Tripathi now is to use the national platform he has obtained by his frankness and insist on a real clean up of Congress. If he does not achieve a sufficient and speedy response, he should use the courage he obviously has and quit Congress.

I shall not strain readers by reproducing the paras from the draft election manifesto of Congress. Those looking out for time-honoured phrases will not be disappointed. Democratic Socialism is of course fearlessly mentioned, the need is stressed for a comprehensive programme of decentralized industry in rural areas. The nation is reminded that "hard decisions" and "bold innovations" will be necessary.

"Unification" and "integration" have not been left out. Lest people become over-optimistic, the manifesto warns that "though the general picture of economic growth is doubtless encouraging, it should not be forgotten that during the whole of the Third Plan India had to go through a series of crises".

Apparently "the stage has now come" when there should be a new movement towards self-reliance and "Swadeshi". The manifesto has not failed to refer to "the important role which the co-operative movement can play in the development of the country".

"Peaceful co-existence" and "non-alignment"? They are there, intact and untarnished.

There are many whiles and whereases, but I must not indulge. It would be dishonest to pretend that the manifesto is a shock. It is what was expected.

It fills a patriotic Indian's heart with shame to face the negligible

progress of our country in the 19 years of freedom compared with the conspicuous and sustained progress of many of the smaller Asian nations such as Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Korea and Taiwan. We have got stuck while others have cut themselves loose from their time-worn shackles and raced forward.

It is not all Congress's fault. But a great deal of it is Congress's fault. And it would be dishonest as well as irresponsible if Congressmen were to say that opposition leaders and men plus a few foreign countries have created the Indian mess.

Will Congress recover its pre-freedom stamp? It would need brave fighters of unusual mettle to have even a remote chance of doing so. One does not see the signs of their emergence.

What will Indira Gandhi's role be? One senses in her a zeal and an earnestness as well as a pride in her country which are not instantly recognizable in many of her colleagues. When you hear her on the radio you feel she really longs to do something. The key question is about the strength of her will. Does she have the wish without the will? If so she does not really have a chance when pitted against the resolve of many party bosses to keep things exactly as they are.

## Trust the Public

If Indira were to take all the risks she should, heed party bosses less than she does and trust the Indian public more than she seems to do she will get a response that will surprise her in its scale and warmth. She will not be in serious danger because the Congress Party needs her more than she needs the Party.

I have a notion that a replacement of Congress rulers by constructive and democratic opposition groups in a few states will not greatly displease her. She may welcome it as an incentive for Congress reform. It may even strengthen her hand in dealing with her colleagues.

In any case whatever she might feel about it, India's common man would be glad for such a development.

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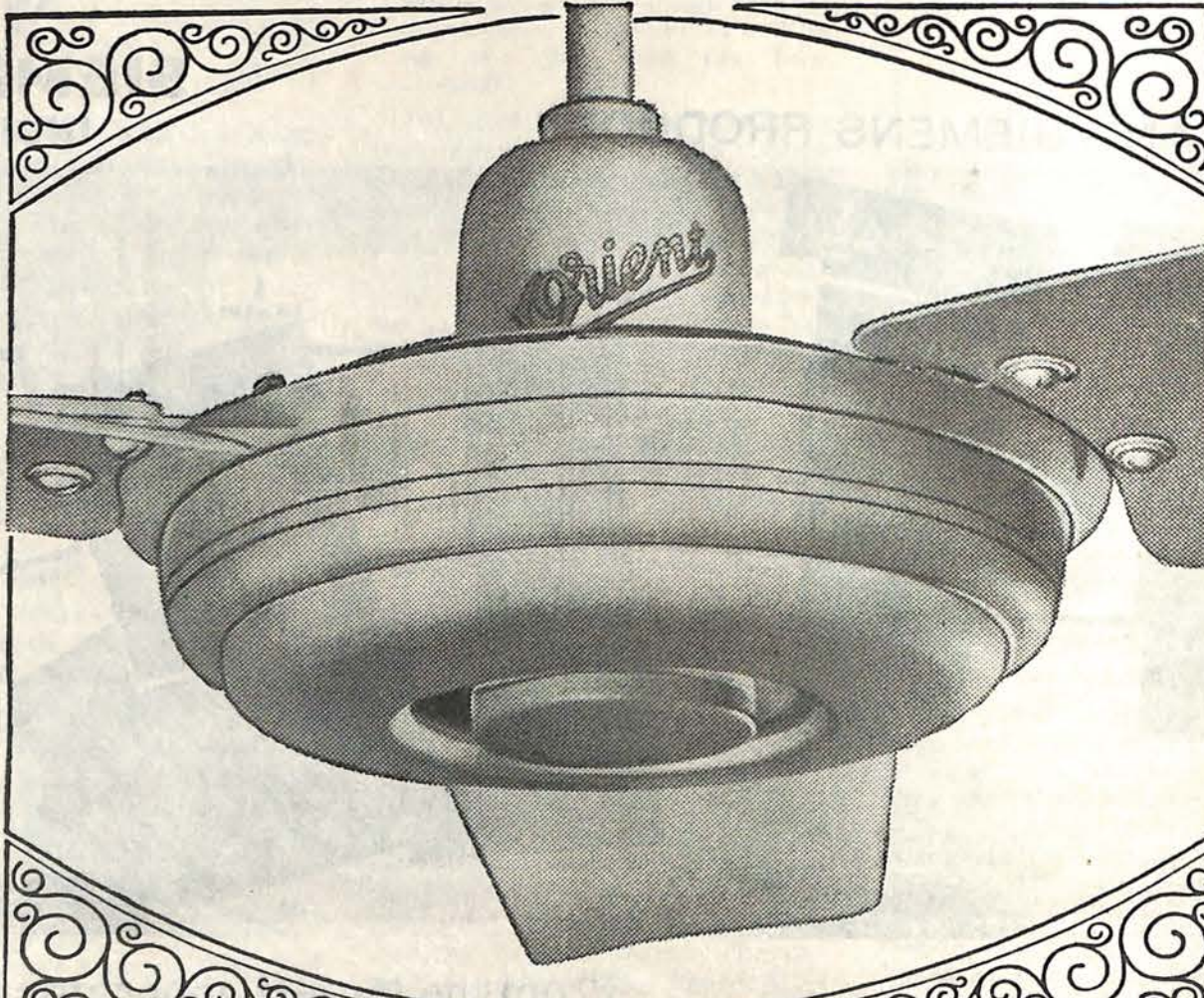
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