

TALL AND STATURELY



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HIMMAT

WEEKLY 30p.

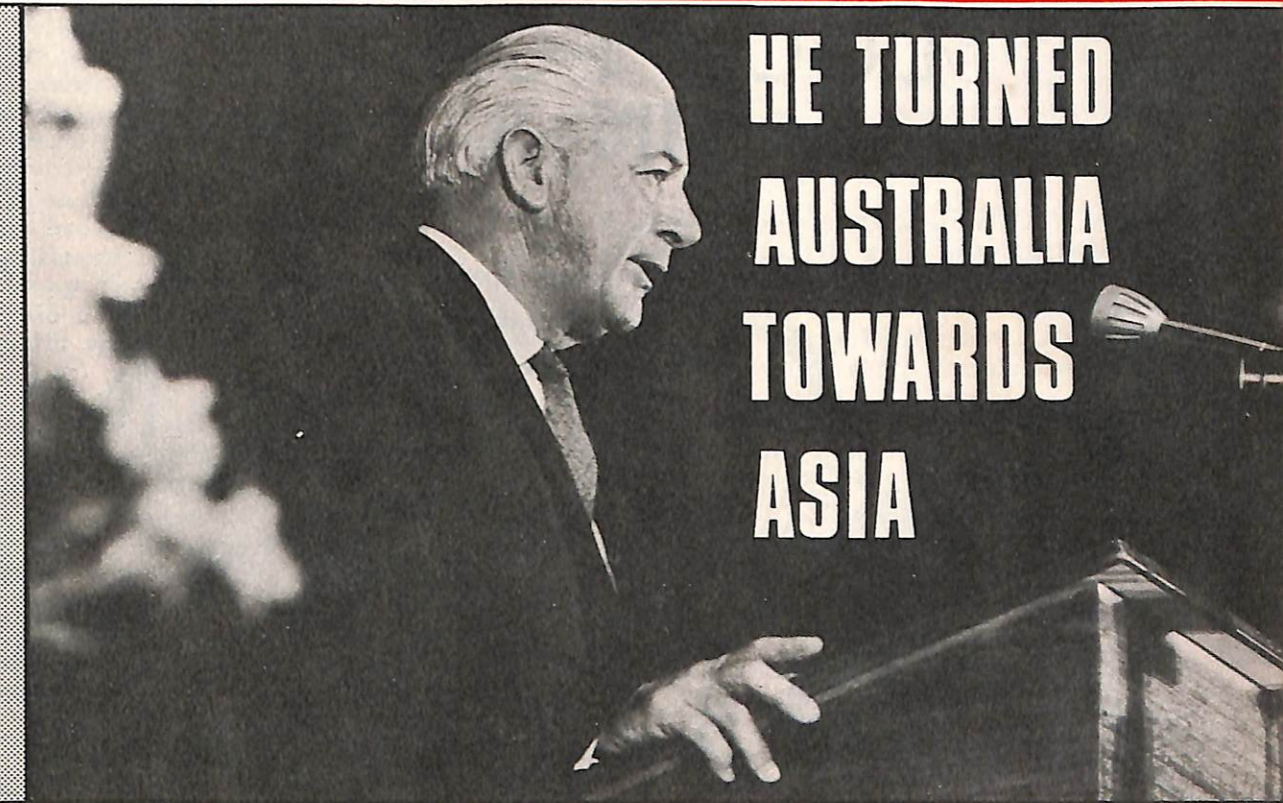
ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY DECEMBER 22 1967

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R.M.Lala recalls meeting

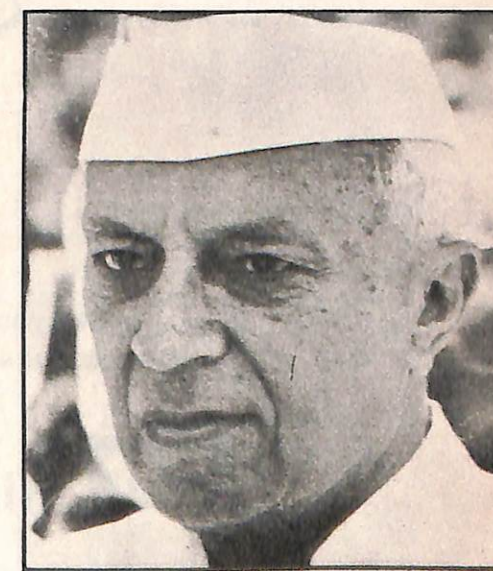
HAROLD HOLT



HE TURNED AUSTRALIA TOWARDS ASIA

ENCOUNTERS WITH NEHRU

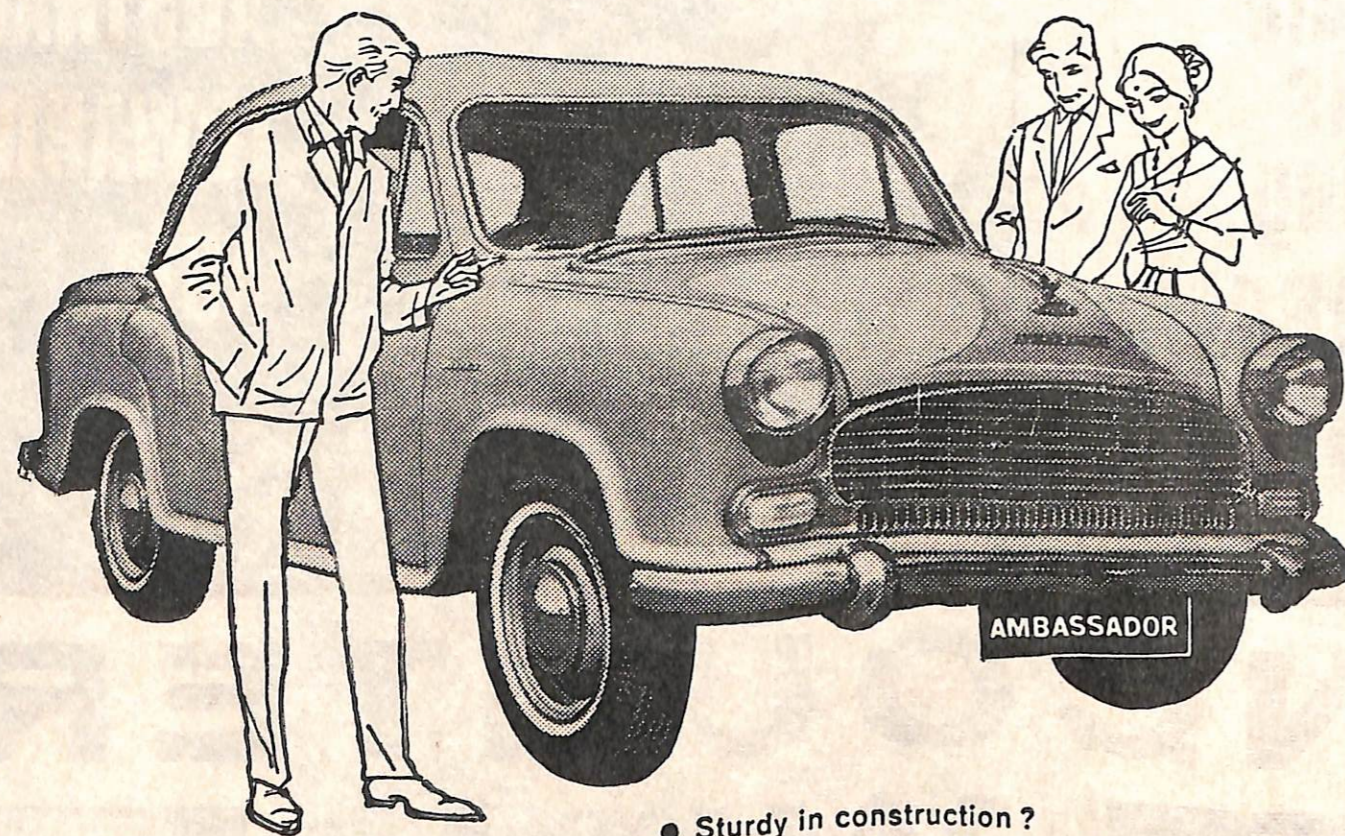
from President Ayub Khan's autobiography



Exclusive from M. Jean Rey

EUROPE LOOKS OUTWARDS

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Editorials

How long will we tolerate it ?

SOMEONE in the Soviet Union has jumped the gun. Drunk with self-confidence about their strength in India, Soviet authorities thought they could with impunity whip up hate against the US here and create suspicion against those of our leaders not subservient to Soviet objectives. For their purpose, the Soviets picked a disreputable double-spy to write three articles in the *Lit-raturnaya Gazetta*.

Even after the first storm broke in Parliament at the end of November, John Smith's broadcast on Radio Peace and Progress Tashkent continued to be beamed on India. This presumably is by way of a "thank you" for the handsome compliments paid a few days earlier by our less wary leaders on the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Revolution.

Smith purports to have been a CIA agent in India from 1955-59, when he defected to the Soviet Union. Among other things, he claims to have handled in Delhi the bombs that finally exploded Air-India's "Kashmir Princess" on a flight to Bandung (with Chinese aboard). This spy boasts knowledge of CIA men meeting Naga

leaders in Imphal in 1956, and other "secrets" right up to 1966.

He casts aspersions on the integrity of leaders like the present Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Dr Ram Subhag Singh, Swatantra Party Chairman Prof. N. G. Ranga and ex-Congress President Kamaraj. The documents Smith has to "support" his articles have been branded by Union Home Minister Chavan as "forgeries".

Mr Chavan knowing many facts and publicly exposing some, unfortunately did not go a step further and warn the Soviet Union to stop meddling in our affairs. Surely Indian public opinion will not be satisfied with a Third Secretary of our Embassy in Moscow pushing to the Soviet Foreign Office notes which Moscow does not even care to answer.

The Prime Minister, who showed such agility in packing up at short notice and going to Moscow for the November celebrations, seems singularly tardy in speaking out publicly on behalf of Indian interests when her voice is needed.

Mediterranean fall-out

THE FALL-OUT from the June war in West Asia has yet to settle. Its most important result was not the Arabs' defeat, but the fact that Russia has for the first time become a major power in the Mediterranean.

In the UAR, Soviet conditions for rebuilding the army have been accepted. Writes an Indian newspaper correspondent, "There are several thousand Soviet instructors now teaching intricate skills to the Egyptians." UAR ports and airbases are open to Soviet warships and bombers. Continued closure of the Suez Canal weakens links between Europe and Asia. It also contributed to devaluation of the pound and the present assault on the dollar.

In Algeria, where last week's coup failed to unseat Col. Boumedienne, it is reported that the French-built naval base of Mers El-Kebir may be handed to the Russians. Moroccan papers say a Soviet missile base is being built at Oran, nearby. The Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean has caused tremors in Italy, with its long coastline and strong Communist Party; turned the southern flank of NATO and threatened links between Europe and Africa.

For propaganda, Soviet leaders sometimes link the West Asian crisis with the war in Vietnam. But is distant Vietnam merely a stalking horse for Russia's thrust into the nearby Mediterranean?

Time to ask the Oracle

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER Patakos put it nicely when he told an Athens press conference, "The King did not abdicate, nor was he ousted, therefore the throne is his own." However, if the King wishes to return, "certain procedures will have to be observed because in these cases dislikes build up." Dislikes hardly describes the recriminations tensing the air between King Constantine in Rome and the military regime in Athens.

In royal fashion, the 29-year-old King is displaying nonchalance to the many approaches made by the Athens junta. He was reported to have kept Foreign Minister Pipinelis waiting over seven hours before receiving him on his way back to Athens from a Brussels NATO meeting. Prime Minister Papadopoulos had tried unsuccessfully to speak by phone with the King but Constantine, it is said, refused to oblige. The Court physician and even Archbishop Ieronymous, the Primate, have all beaten a path to Rome.

The paradox is that both the King and the military would appear to need each other at this point. The Colonels can hardly expect to present a respectable image of their regime, especially to their Western allies, with the democratically-minded monarch in exile. Nor will the King see his throne again without the consent or removal of the Colonels.

If either side drives too hard a bargain the long-feared renewal of civil war in the birthplace of democracy may be hastened. The involvement in his country's affairs has won for Constantine admiration in certain quarters, more especially abroad. Others lend their sympathies to the Colonels who intervened after years of instability and horse-trading in Greek political affairs.

One thing is sure: without the moderating influence of the throne, the fierce extremes of left and right, so very evident in Greece, will inevitably be brought face to face with results that only the Oracle could predict.

Briefly Speaking...

Vigilance needed

WHEN the big tremor hit Bombay early on a Monday a 12-year-old schoolboy commented; "God is shifting the burden of the Earth from one shoulder to the other." The damage by the earthquake has been vividly portrayed in the daily papers and but for good fortune it could have been far more catastrophic had the Koyna Dam burst.

Either our seismologists have been tricked by nature into believing that the area near Koyna is not an earthquake zone or they have failed to heed nature's warnings well enough, as according to one report local people have been feeling sizeable tremors since September 13.

News of the disaster at Koynanagar, 160 miles from Bombay, took more time to reach the State capital than news of Mr Harold Holt's loss at

sea 7000 miles away. Although most Ministers happened to be in that area nobody was particularly concerned to send word back to the State capital. However, one can have only admiration for Union Minister for Irrigation Dr K. L. Rao who with his experts from Delhi was on the dam 1000 miles away within 24 hours. The suffering of people has been great and it is up to the Government to make sure that no risks are taken in future or warnings ignored as they appear to have been on this occasion.

Though some buildings in Panchgani suffered damage, the steel and concrete buildings of the new MRA Centre, due to be opened next month, escaped unscathed.

Diplomat extraordinary

JUDGING by the following letter in *The Times of India* last Saturday the new Congress President is well versed in the art of being all things to all men:

On November 28, Mr Nijalingappa told the World Vegetarian Congress at Madras: "To indulge in eating meat and flesh of any kind is not human at all." On December 5, inaugurating the Maha Mysore Fishermen's Parishad at Mangalore, Mr Nijalingappa said: "Nature has given us immense wealth in the form of fisheries and the solution of the food problem depends on the exploitation of these resources."

What a marvellous change of view within a week!

D. V. NADKARNI, Dharwar.

No space for news

IN INDIA today the majority of advertising is placed with the few large and prestigious newspapers and periodicals. Often the volume of advertising has no relation to the value of the space offered. One large-circulation monthly carries page after page of advertisements all facing each other. Most readers, of course, skip the advertising.

Recently one large daily newspaper in Bombay carried advertising in 76 per cent of its space. It followed it up last week with an issue containing 64 per cent advertising. In a period when newsprint is so short and the size of papers is strictly limited for this reason such a practice is unethical and robs both the reader and the advertiser.

The assurance therefore of Information and Broadcasting Minister K. K.

I possess no talent. I only have the stubbornness of a mule and ardent curiosity.

ALBERT EINSTEIN, 1879-1955

Shah that the Government would do everything in its power to help small newspapers grow is to be welcomed. Mr Shah said this in the debate last week in the Rajya Sabha on the Small Newspapers Inquiry Committee Report. One of the Committee's recommendations, which Mr Shah said the Government had accepted, was that the ratio of news to advertisements should be 60-40. On this basis quite a few of the large newspapers in the country will have to increase their editorial space.

He should know

A PEKING Red Guard newspaper has just published what is described as the clearest indication yet of the failure of Mao's cultural revolution. Mr Hsieh Fu-chih, China's Minister for Public Security and head of Peking's Revolutionary Committee, said: "There must be discipline. In the factories at present there is none. I went to a coal mine in West Peking. The miners went to work and left work at their own sweet will. If this is the result of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution it has really failed."

Perhaps Mr Jyoti Basu and Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, who said in Kerala recently that he wanted to study more carefully the thoughts of Mao, should study the thoughts of Hsieh.

Yes, why not?

IN A four-page glossy advertisement, BOAC asks the question, "Why don't other airlines fly lots of VC-10s?" Perhaps the real answer is, "Because BOAC doesn't either."

This advertisement is part of a continuing series praising the virtues of this British jet-liner. It is a superb machine, as the copywriters point out. But the worst advertisement of all is the fact that in spite of their advertising BOAC does not appear to believe in the aircraft. BOAC backed out of their contract to buy more VC-10s in preference for Boeing 707s. But though the cost per passenger mile may be marginally higher than the Boeing jet, surely the VC-10 would be worth the extra operating cost as a flag carrier and flying advertisement for the ailing British aircraft industry.

Birbal

WEST BENGAL

Atulya Ghosh comeback

FROM S. K. MUKHOPADHYAY IN CALCUTTA

TO JOIN or not to join the P.C. Ghosh Cabinet seems to be the question agitating the minds of the Congress members ever since the new Progressive Democratic Front Ministry came into existence on November 21. The issue has assumed a new poignancy after Mr Atulya Ghosh's re-emergence as the de facto boss of the Congress Party in West Bengal.

Astute Atulya, who temporarily went into political seclusion after his rather ignominious defeat at the last General Election, has staged a somewhat spectacular comeback into the disturbed political arena of this State.

A few months back, quite a number of Congress workers, including then Chief Minister Sen, worked feverishly to remove Atulya from party leadership. The image of the Congress Party, they argued, had been badly tarnished due to the rule of Mr Atulya Ghosh and his henchmen. Initially they succeeded in getting an Ad Hoc Committee of the State Congress Party formed without Atulya Ghosh.

Then things started happening. Atulya sensed that the days of the United Front Government were almost over and, sooner or later, it would collapse. He knew it would fall because of its internal dissensions. He started playing his cards to emerge once more as the strong man in his organisation. While other Congress leaders were getting so restive that they failed to see the imminent fall of the United Front Ministry, Atulya Ghosh decided to wait and watch its fall.

He sat tight in New Delhi, manipulating things and one fine morning people saw that the much-boasted Ad Hoc Committee in West Bengal had vanished into thin air. The majority among the newly-elected members in the various committees of the State Congress Party had "Atulya Ghosh" heavily stamped upon them. Its newly-elected President, Dr Pratap Chandra Chunder, is reported to be a favourite of Atulya, although he is widely respected for his sharp intellect, scholarliness and some influence over the young community. By making such a young man President of the organisation, he wanted to prove that he was not

opposed to new blood. Clearly the old boss is back again with renewed power and venom.

This dramatic re-appearance of Atulya obviously did not satisfy men like P. C. Sen. This former Chief Minister, crestfallen and dejected, was reported to have wished to be off from the political scene. Hectic persuasions followed and only at the request of some of his old comrades, Sen reconsidered his decision and, temporarily, the crisis is averted.

Having established his "elan" once more, Atulya now wants to move with tact. He is not keen that his Party join Dr P. C. Ghosh's cabinet hurriedly. He realises that public opinion, which had a year ago reached an all-time high against the Congress, may be adverse if it immediately joined P. C. Ghosh's Progressive Democratic Front Cabinet.



Atulya Ghosh

Congress fold rather than align his Party with a group of defectors. Besides, even if he pledges his support to Dr P. C. Ghosh, their differences since 1942 may not be altogether forgotten. Exigencies may prompt them to move together in the future but how long their rapprochement will last is questionable.

If Ajoy Mukherjee on whom everyone had pinned their hope and faith faded out by falling prey to the Communists, people feel the same fate may await Dr P. C. Ghosh under the spell of Atulya. Dr P. C. Ghosh, however, is known to be a more tough and obstinate character. Will he succeed in holding fort against the subtle but powerful clutches of Atulya? One wonders.

On your toes

EYES RIGHT...AND LEFT

WHAT the police have failed so often to do — protect the citizens — is now being undertaken by private "armies", with various motives.

During the Peking-encouraged disturbance in Naxalbari, there was talk of a volunteer force to be raised against the Left-Communists in the face of inaction by the West Bengal Police. The then Chief Minister, Mr Ajoy Mukherjee, in an unguarded moment, admitted that his coalition bed-mates (Left-Communists) had a force of 6000 ready to create other Naxalbaris.

In Kerala, Bengal's long-standing ideological twin, there is now a melee of armies. Again, there is the spectacle of the police standing by while the Government's political favourites brew up anarchy.

The attacks upon the premises, vehicles and personnel of the Kerala newspaper *Malayala Manorama* are well documented. Complaints to the police produced little action.

Last week in Kottayam, there was a massive parade by the newly-formed Citizens' Council composed of an unlikely alliance of Congress, Kerala Congress and Swatantra supporters. The march was led by a corps of volunteers — the Samrakshaka Sena or "Protection Army".

Dangerous though it is for citizens to form a private army like this, it has come after great provocation. Facing Kerala's "SS" is a 30,000-member Marxist volunteer force. Left-Communist leader A. K. Gopalan, MP, says his "Gopala Sena" are trained to even shed blood and sacrifice life in the "final" battle to overthrow the bourgeois Congress Government in New Delhi.

Gopalan is said to have enlisted retired or dismissed members of the Malabar Special Police as well as ex-servicemen to give instruction in bayonet drill and grenade handling.

The Muslim League is raising a force of "Green Shirts", while the Revolutionary Socialist Party has announced formation of the "Kerala Red Guards".

On the other side stands the million-strong Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) whose enthusiastic recruits drilling with sticks and taking oaths before their yellow flag are a common sight throughout India.

The Home Minister may "Tut Tut" about the "Gopala Sena", "Shiv Sena" or "Hindi Sena", but until the police are truly free to uphold the law rather than be fettered by their Minister's friends, the rash of political shoguns with their own legions of strongmen will spread.

Freeboster

CHALTA HAI...



"Sir, on your arrival, don't give your big speech about our great country. The next stop is our great country."

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MIKADO

This week HIMMAT...

BRANDS as humbug the Congress Party's announcing that the January AICC session in Sangli, Maharashtra, would be moved elsewhere because of the Koynanagar earthquake and **DETECTS** tremors created by Mysore-Maharashtra border agitators as the more likely reason.

COMMENDS the example of Mr S. B. Almeida of Kirloskarvadi who gave earthquake victims food for 125 people intended for his son's marriage plus money that he would have spent on the reception.

AWARDS the Order of Lenin to Communist MP R. Ramamurti for remembering, and successfully pronouncing, the Sanskrit word "Thathreyavichithrasakthkambasthbhagraprathyapragrathfitickhalashalabanjukarthlithkankalshumugahth."

FINDS it odd that, despite pro-Hindi demonstrations, most students in Delhi University prefer English, and **NOTES** a report that out of 20,000 sections in the Government only 1300 used Hindi.

CONTRASTS the stir over last week's UN resolution condemning race prejudice in South Africa with the lack of stir over a report by the Chairman of the Untouchability Committee that Harijans were killed recently for wearing chapals or growing moustaches "the wrong way".

REGRETS Pakistan Trade Minister A. G. Khan's linking resumption of normal relations with India to a solution of the Kashmir problem, and **REMINDS** him that historically trade has been a powerful improver of relations between nations.

OBSERVES that the "hippies" who have descended on Nepal as their chosen spiritual home, seem to be less than welcome to the Nepal Government, who recently deported their leader found smoking hashish in a Kathmandu restaurant.

DENOUNCES the Maharashtra Government's serving legal notice on the Andhra Government concerning the Krishna-Godavari water dispute as bad and divisive.

Makers and breakers of law

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN LUCKNOW

IN POSING constitutional conundrums the massive State of Uttar Pradesh occupies the foremost place. Since the first general elections, its State Assembly had witnessed the largest number of walk-outs in India. In no Assembly were so many members bodily lifted and thrown out by the Marshal at Arms as in UP. The wrangles culminated in the Assembly issuing a warrant of arrest against the judges of the honourable High Court "to be brought under custody before the bar of the house for trial". Neither the Marshal executed the warrant nor the judges complied with it. The President had to refer the issue to the Supreme Court for advisory opinion.

The State today added another feather to its cap when two of its Cabinet Ministers courted arrest by defying the prohibitory order in the country's capital in their campaign to banish the English language from the land. Can a minister who has taken an oath to the Constitution and to uphold its provisions, defy the law and yet continue to be a minister? In West Bengal ministers defied the law but there was no outside authority to haul them up. But in Delhi the UP State Government's writ does not run. They were arrested and a magistrate sentenced them to imprisonment till the rising of the Court.

While the Congress opposition in UP and government employees demanded the dismissal of the two ministers, the legal department and the Chief Minister ruled that a minister who defied the law incurred no disqualification. The conduct rules that applied to government staff did not bind the ministers. They were governed only by the Representation of the People Act which prescribed qualifications and disqualifications for a member of the Legislature.

But what is of greater interest in UP is not the ministers defying the law and getting away with it, but the daily defiance of the Constitution by the State Government. Neither the Central Government nor the people murmur over it. The Constitution has prescribed international numerals for usage and the Motor Vehicles Act insists on vehicles registered under it having Roman letters and in-

ternational numerals, but the UP Government has gone in for Hindi numerals. This flagrant violation of the Constitution—the Chief Minister admitted that they were doing it—encouraged car owners to have their number plates in different languages, Tamil, Telugu, Bengali, Urdu. In UP today if a car or a bus runs over a man it is impossible to note the number of the offending vehicles either for the police or the public.

All this is part of the campaign to oust English, and replace it by Hindi. But the Hindi movement is replete with numerous paradoxes, which is typical of UP. Its champions campaign for Hindi in English. They seek more publicity in English newspapers than Hindi ones. A youngster in Allahabad after ransacking a shop went straight to an English newspaper office and asked whether what he had done was enough to deserve front page publicity in English newspapers! Many ministers in UP send their children to English-medium schools. Even when English was made an optional subject for undergraduates in Lucknow University, over 90 per cent of the students opted for English.

Blind devotion to Hindi

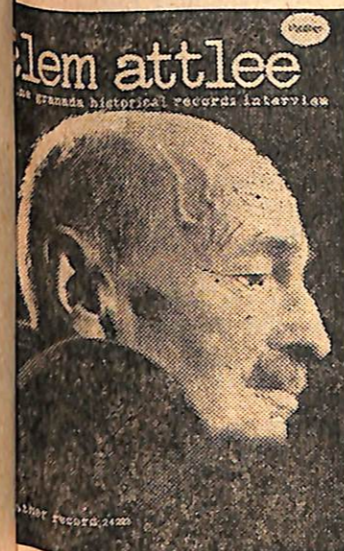
The Constitution has made Hindi the official language, but what has UP, the biggest Hindi region, done for Hindi in the 20 years of freedom? Of all the states in India the percentage of literacy in Hindi region is the least. It stands at 17 while in Bengal it is 29, Tamilnad 31, 30 in Maharashtra and 47 in Kerala. There are only five newspaper readers per thousand in Hindi areas whereas the corresponding figure for English is 125.

Economically the State is one of the most backward regions in India. Economists point out that it is one plan behind others. Its leaders are fully aware of it. They derive satisfaction by unending discussion on the backwardness of the State and blaming the Centre for all their ills. Love for Hindi apparently covers up all foibles. It is not only a safety valve but an escape route. Its leaders want others to learn Hindi, but themselves will neither learn nor improve the language. This is Uttar Pradesh!

IN recent weeks the words of two heads of government on Mr Nehru have been published. The first is by President Ayub Khan in his controversial book "Friends Not Masters". The other is from a recorded interview with Lord Attlee, who was Prime Minister of Britain at the time of India's independence and for the immediate years thereafter. HIMMAT does not necessarily agree with all that these two statesmen have said but, aware that history will pass its verdict on Mr Nehru also on the basis of what his contemporaries abroad say, we feel it important that the views of both President Ayub Khan and Lord Attlee are known — Ed.

Lord Attlee

GRANADA Historical Records of Britain have interviewed eminent people at which they talk freely about their lives and opinions of the part they have played in the history of their times. Those interviewed have the right to stipulate that the recordings, or any part of them, shall not be released until after their death so that they are in a position to make their frank assessment.



Denis Pitts interviewed for this series Lord Attlee. It was at the time of the Indo-Pakistan war.

Q: "You must have met Nehru on frequent occasions at Prime Ministers' conferences?"

ATTLEE: "Yes."

Q: "What was the relationship between you?"

ATTLEE: "Very good."

Q: "Lord Attlee, now in September '65 India is at war with Pakistan. This must be a tremendous disappointment to you."

ATTLEE: "Yes, it is. I hoped when Nehru went, because he had a fixation, being by descent a Kashmiri Brahmin, that the next man might be more reasonable."

Q: "Do you regret at all the decision in terms of Kashmir itself, do you think that we should have forced Nehru's hand in this?"

President Ayub Khan

RECENTLY PUBLISHED in India by the Oxford University Press, is "Friends Not Masters" by President Ayub Khan.

On the Indus Waters Treaty President Ayub Khan pays a handsome tribute to the World Bank "who made this dispute an issue of technical skill and human needs and lifted it from the plain of political controversy". He continues:

"I must also say that in the final stages of negotiations Mr Nehru's personal intervention helped to remove certain differences which had arisen over arrangements during the transitional period."

On his meeting with Mr Nehru at Palam Airport for two hours on September 1, 1960, President Ayub writes:

"I did not get the impression that Pandit Nehru was extraordinarily pleased to see me, but he was quite moved by some of the suggestions I made to him. He struck me as a tired man, though he still had a reserve of fight and political acumen. I missed the idealism or starry-eyed thinking which is often attributed to him. I told him I considered that relations between India and Pakistan had been dictated by drift

ATTLEE: "I don't think so. We tried over and over again when he was over here. I argued with him for hours. So did Bob Menzies (former Prime Minister of Australia) and several others. He agreed to have a plebiscite but he would not accept any conditions. We offered him a Commonwealth force, a UN force, we offered every kind of impartiality. No, he knew as a matter of fact that the plebiscite would be the best thing. He resolved to hang on as long he could I think."

rather than by any rational design.

"We took up the threads during the second meeting in Murree, on 21 September 1960. [The Indus-Waters Treaty was signed on September 19, 1960 — Ed.] I again broached the subject of Kashmir. I told him that this was the most propitious moment for settling this dispute, to bring peace to India and Pakistan. He was an accepted leader in India and perhaps people in Pakistan would be prepared to listen to me, too. Such a coincidence might not occur again for a long time, so it would be a great pity if we were to lose this opportunity..."

"On this occasion Pandit Nehru started replying haltingly but with deliberation. He said that the Kashmir problem had become very complicated with the passage of time. Hard positions had been taken up and it was not easy to go back on them. Two elections had been held in Kashmir and a third was in the offing. India had spent an enormous amount of money, apart from military expenditure, on development work in Kashmir. There was also the question of a large Muslim minority in India which was being integrated. Any hasty action on Kashmir, he thought, would upset this process.

"Nehru finally asked what, accepting the fact that there was need for peace between the two countries and also that the room for manoeuvre for settlement of the Kashmir dispute was limited, I thought should be our first step. I told him that this would depend on the objective we had before us. Once the objective was determined, an organisation could be established to work out the method. Mr Nehru said that he foresaw serious political opposition in his country..."

"I did not get the impression that Nehru was interested in any long-term and lasting solution."

MOHAMMAD AYUB KHAN
PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN

Friends Not Masters

A POLITICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1967 saw democracy and Constitution under strain

1967 WAS A YEAR of agitations; it was a year of recession; it was also a year when a historic wind of change convulsed the country.

Strange things happened — Naxalbari, gheraos, defections, starvation, political horse-trading, interstate disputes and the threat to nationalise banks. Many of these issues diverted the attention of men in power from doing things tangible for the uplift of the people.

By the year-end most people wonder whether democracy will ever take deep roots in this country and whether the Constitution will survive at all as an instrument for fulfilling the aspirations of the masses.

RIOTS AND AGITATIONS: An all-purpose national game is clearly evolving. Stone-throwing, burning buses and trains and damaging public property have become the pastime



Police battle with demonstrators in a Calcutta street

of students and politically-inspired elements.

It is difficult to pinpoint the "most riotous" day of 1967. New Year Day itself began on a stormy note. Calcutta witnessed an unprecedented fury at the Eden Gardens when police are alleged to have assaulted a spectator at a cricket match. Trained elements set fire to the stadium. Vice Captain Conrad Hunte, in a feat of bravery, rescued the baggage of the West Indies Cricket Team and the national flags.

Spread over two months was the strike of the UP Government's staff as also the anti-cow slaughter fast of the Shankaracharya of Puri. In the week of the February general elections a Jaipur mob, protesting against

the Governor's move to have Mr Sukhadia form a government, was tear-gassed. In Delhi, policemen went on strike. In Kashmir, the Pundits agitated. On July 15 a mob sacked the treasury in Bhavnagar over the location of the Saurashtra University.

There were protests later in the year on the Mahajan Commission's report in Maharashtra but Mysore accepted the findings. This month anti-English riots swept through the towns of Uttar Pradesh to synchronise with the Official Language Bill before Parliament. They culminated in the arrest of two SSP Ministers of UP in the capital, the first time Ministers had been arrested in free India.

ELECTION AND DEFECTION: The Fourth General Election was history-making in every sense. Some of the giants of the Congress suffered ignominious defeat, including four Chief Ministers and the Congress Party President.

Non-Congress Governments were formed in Kerala, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, West Bengal and Bihar and, after some floor-crossing, in Madhya Pradesh and Manipur. With some "deft" floor re-crossing Manipur became Congress again.

The post-election period brought into full play the phenomena of defections, power struggles and uneasy coalition governments. Of the 3447 members elected in States — excluding Himachal Pradesh and Tripura — 314 changed parties or, if they were independents, joined one party or the other within 10 months. No members of the Lok Sabha have defected — so far.

Defections led later to toppling of governments in UP and MP, Punjab and West Bengal, and imposition of President's rule in Haryana. Defections are also currently threatening the existence of the Bihar Ministry.

Haryana gets the prize for fickle-minded MLAs — 30 out of a total of 79 defected. One crossed the floor four times. There were also defections in Rajasthan and on a negligible scale in Orissa, Mysore and Gujarat.

One of the major tussles between the Congress and Opposition parties soon after elections, was over the election of the President of India. Congress-sponsored Dr Zakir Husain won a clear majority over the Opposition candidate, former Chief Justice of India Mr K. Subba Rao.

An assortment of former Congressmen formed the Bharatiya Kranti Dal. At its first conference they wrangled over its name. One of its first acts was to expel its co-founder, Professor Humayun Kabir.

For the first time since independence governors became controversial figures. The Rajasthan Governor was attacked for installing Mr Sukhadia as Chief Minister although his strength was in question. Governor Dharma Vira dismissed the Mukherjee Ministry in West Bengal as the Chief Minister refused to summon the Assembly and test his majority. He installed Dr P. C. Ghosh as Chief Minister. In Punjab Governor Pavate abruptly ended Chief Minister Gurnam Singh's mandate and installed the Government led by defector Lachhman Singh Gill.

The Andhra Government's plan to install crest gates over the Nagarjunasagar Dam invited a Maharashtra threat to take the issue to court. Punjab, Haryana and Himachal were locked in feuds over the future of Chandigarh and control of the Bhakra Nangal Dam.

NATURAL CALAMITIES: April saw Bihar's woes at its peak with the Government declaring famine in two districts. Thanks to many national and international organisations, massive food aid by the United States and other countries, and the timely rains, a catastrophe was averted.

A cyclone battered the Orissa coastline in October, inflicting mass misery in the wake of acute drought. Another cyclone rendered 10,000 homeless in Madras in early December.

Over 200 died and more than 2000 were injured when the "quake of the century" hit Koyanagar in Maharashtra, rocking Bombay and several cities.

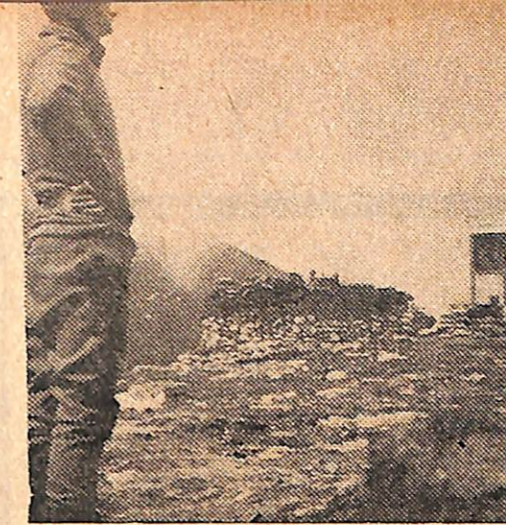
RECESSION: The paradox of idle capacity amidst rising prices was also witnessed this year. Governments at the Centre and in some States were more concerned with irking industrialists and containing monopolies than in enlarging scope of national production. Talks of a wage freeze, profit freeze and price check ended in mere conferences. Compromises marked the nationwide threat of Central Government employees demanding higher dearness allowance.

GHRAOS: An unusual word crept into the national lexicon — *gherao*.

It was a new weapon in labour's armoury. It slowed down industrial production in West Bengal and created insecurity to life and property. Enforced confinement of managerial personnel became the order of the day. There were over 200 *gheraos* in the space of two months and the longest of them lasted six days.

NAXALBARI: In the Communist-inspired uprising in Naxalbari in West Bengal, peasants were encouraged to occupy lands forcibly and plough them. Standing crops were destroyed. After weeks of painful officially-inspired patience, policemen went into action seizing the extremists and their camps. But Chief Minister Mukherjee's determination to put down this lawlessness was the first open evidence of his rift with his Communist ministers.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS: The Government gave a strong rebuff to the Chinese Government's ill-treatment of Second Secretary Raghunath, and Third Secretary Vijay, who were tried by a "people's court" in Peking *in absentia*. Delhi stripped the Chinese First Secretary, Mr Chen Lu-chih of his diplomatic status and deported him. The Third Secretary was declared *persona non grata* and ordered out. Violent demonstrations



An Indian Army officer watches a Chinese observation post on a border pass

took place around the Chinese Embassy in Delhi.

Another instance of determined action was the Army's reply in kind across Nathu La pass on September 11 and at Cho La on October 1, where China attempted to probe India's defences.

On West Asia, India's solid support to the Arabs exposed flaws in the so-called impartial stand of the Government.

PRIVY PURSES: The constitutional pledges of privy purses and other privileges to rulers of erstwhile

States were sought to be taken or whittled away.

EDUCATION: Union Education Minister Triguna Sen and State Education Ministers decided to adopt regional languages as the media of education at all levels and in all fields in five years. It led to the resignation of Foreign Minister M. C. Chagla from the Cabinet. Amendments to the Official Language Bill gave statutory standing to Mr Nehru's assurances that the English language would remain an associate language so long as non-Hindi States want it to be so.

NATIONALISATION: The proposal for nationalisation of banks which formed part of the 10-point plan before the AICC session at Jabalpur was modified to one of "social control". It was also decided not to bring general insurance under the public sector.

SALUTE: The passing away of Dr Rammanohar Lohia cast a void in the ranks of the Samyukta Socialist Party, and Parliament lost a watchdog of the interests of the masses.

Will democracy come out of these trying days in which politicians still have a merry time? If the events of 1967 are to be repeated, the people may not forgive them.

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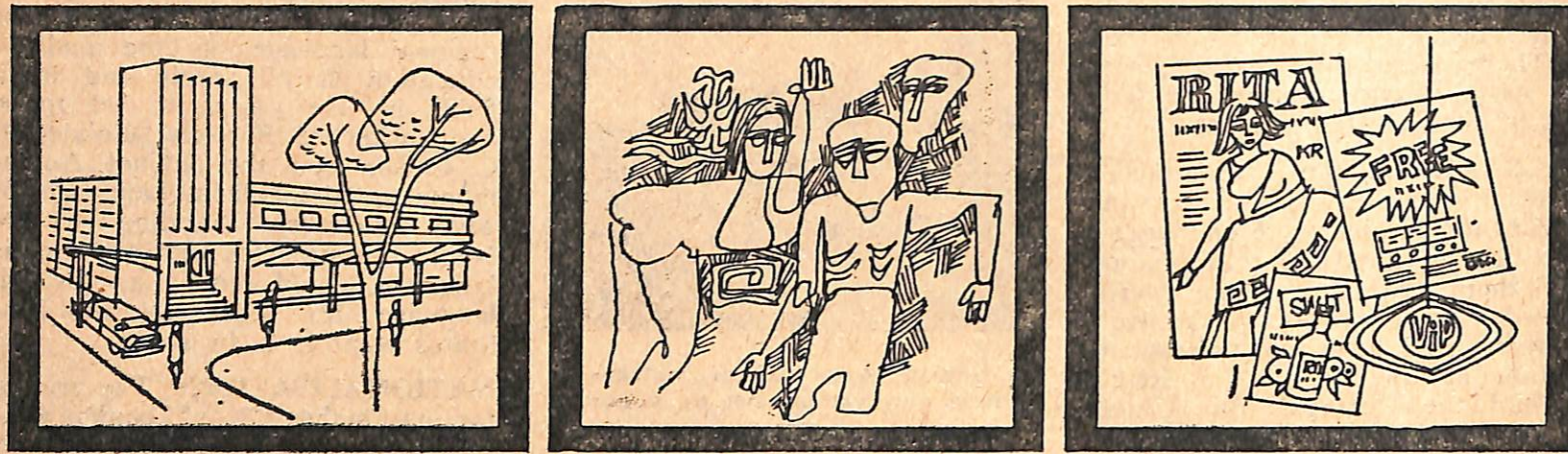
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PRATISHA 676

He turned Australia to Asia

BY R. M. LALA

"I FEEL very pleased with myself. I went spear fishing this morning and got a 5lb fish." These were among the opening words of Prime Minister Harold Holt as he sat at lunch with some of us during his last Christmas vacation. It was on a swimming trip that he went last Sunday and failed to return. The search by Navy and Air Force units was in vain. The blue waters of Victoria he so loved, had claimed him.

I remember that morning at Monash University at its sprawling new campus outside Melbourne. The Prime Minister was due to open the Moral Re-Armament conference "It's Our Job Australia". He drove to the conference from a summer resort at Portsea, sun-tanned and relaxed. He was greeted by a Maori welcome dance with all its shouting and thunder. The Maori threw a twig at his feet and dutifully he lifted it as a sign of acknowledging the friendship offered to him. Later he told them in good humour, "If that is your welcome dance, I dread to think what the war dance will be."

Commenting on his speech next morning a paper, *The Australian*, often critical of him, said, "The Prime Minister, Mr Holt, flexed his new muscles in a surprisingly statesman-like manner yesterday. Confidence, even foresight, shone through

his major set-piece speech since the election. Perhaps the occasion — a Moral Re-Armament conference — had something to do with it, but it was one of his best for a long time.

"If his remarks are anything to go by, there are to be some refreshing lines of approach to affairs in the future, particularly in Asia."

"Our goal in Asia," Mr Holt said, "is one of stability. We don't mean by that something passive or conservative or resistant to change. That in itself carries the seeds of instability...our concept of stability is a progressive one. Stability brings progress. In South East Asia it is in countries enjoying stability where conspicuously we find development occurring."

In a fighting speech, he continued, "We live in an age of debunk. We live in an age in which the disposition is to cut those in leadership below life-size rather than build them up into a heroic dimension. Just as the individual comes under this process, so do some of those great concepts which have helped to mould lives and give standards of conduct of earlier times."

"Lights to steer by"

Turning to his hosts in Moral Re-Armament, he said, "You have come up with a statement of standards which represent in your judgement a degree of perfection which should be pursued and I myself do not retreat from that nor criticise that. Here are lights to steer by and we all need those lights. And if they can be spread throughout the world, then it will be a better world that we shall live in."

He spoke most sensitively about Asia and you felt that Asians had in him an equal friend who wanted to build a new Asia and not a patron from abroad. Of all leaders of government he most realised that technical aid was not enough, but that the character of men who went out to developing countries was important. He quoted a Ghana official saying to a superior, "Please do not send under-developed people to under-developed countries."

As we went to the spacious dining room for lunch later he found my name card on his right and took the trouble to call me. The talk at table was lively. In answer to a question



Mr Holt addressing MRA conference in Melbourne with Editor R. M. Lala

he replied that he could hold his breath under water for three minutes. I inquired of him about Sir Robert Menzies, his predecessor, and he spoke about him with great love and loyalty. "Bob is writing his memoirs in America."

After lunch, speaker after speaker from various tables rose to go to a microphone. They included young Australians, a senior Papuan statesman, Melbourne dockers and Asians. As each one walked back to his seat after his brief speech Harold Holt's eyes followed. His hands were clapping and his eyes were glued to them until they sat down. I asked myself then: "How many Prime Ministers would take that trouble?"

Feeling and touch with people

One of the men who spoke on that occasion was a militant Bristol docker, Jack Carroll. Last week Carroll arrived in India. When he heard the sad news of Mr Holt he said, "What impressed me most was his care for people and for the developing countries of the world. To my mind we have not only lost a great statesman but a great friend."

He wore his office of Prime Minister lightly. His heart was as large as the vast continent he ruled. As an Australian he worked hard and played hard. They said that his greatest political asset lay in the fact that he was a typical Australian. He had a feeling and a touch with people. In the last election campaign he gave as hard as he got.

In two years of high office he help-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

SO THEY SAY

The age of the super-powers is over. Only the illusion remains.

PROF. ARTHUR SCHLESINGER
Adviser to late President Kennedy

In anger they speak in English.

ACHARYA KRIPALANI, MP,
referring to Hindi protagonists

Naya board banega, naya board lagega.

Notice hurriedly draped over
English signboard in Jaipur

If you could amend the Constitution 20 times in the last 18 years, why not once more?

K. MANOHARAN, MP,
to Congress benches in language
debate

Did the three wise men come from India?

"Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came three wise men from the east to Jerusalem. ... And they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down and worshipped him: and when they opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense and myrrh."

—MATTHEW: CHAPTER II

THE BIBLE gives a sketchy reference to the three wise men from the east who came with their offerings to Infant Jesus and Mother Mary. The Bible does not state the country of the wise men's origin.

Early Christian art, as in the catacombs of Rome, depicts the wise men in Persian garb. Hence it is generally concluded that the three wise men came from Persia.

This theory was discarded by an eminent Catholic historian in India, Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay. In a booklet of 72 pages published in 1954, he makes out a strong case that the three wise men came from India.

The iconographic evidence of Persian origin is discarded because, as the Roman poet Juvenius says, to the Romans all Orientals were Persians.

The great astronomer Kepler, after a conscientious study of the movements of celestial bodies, came to the conclusion that Jesus Christ was born in the seventh year of the Christian Era. Precisely during that

year in the months of May, October and December occurred the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, to which in the beginning of the following year Mars was also joined.

According to Kepler, this conjunction could well have been the star of the Magi.

Then, Fr. Heras goes on to show that a rare conjunction of three heavenly bodies was prophesied in the Mahabharata and the astronomers of India were on the lookout for such a conjunction.

The Mahabharata states that at the end of the age of Evil (*Kali Yuga*) an *avatar* (an incarnation of God) an *avatar* (an incarnation of God) of Perfection (*Krita Yuga*). It calls the *avatar* *Kalki* and adds:

"When the sun and Moon and Jupiter enter into the constellation of Pusya, a Brahmana called *Kalki Visnuyasas* will be born."

The conjunction of three heavenly bodies as the sign of birth of an *avatar* is clearly made out.

Furthermore the *Visnu Purana* prophesied:

"When the sun and the moon and the (lunar constellation of) Tisya and the planet Jupiter are in the same house, the *Krita Yuga* (Age of Perfection) will be restored."

Fr. Heras, who has relied on Swamikannu Pillai's "An Indian Ephemery," calculates that Indian sages beheld the entering of Jupiter in conjunction with the sun and the Moon in the constellation of Pusya during the first days of February in the seventh year of the Christian Era; that the three wise men were

Indian *rishis* (holy men) who set out some time in March of the same year. Fr. Heras believed that they travelled by night and rested by day.

Saturn was each day approaching Jupiter more closely and on May 13, Jupiter and Saturn were little more than a degree apart from each other. Such a conjunction of the two brightest planets occurred once in 800 years. It was also a most luminous spectacle.

Fr. Heras calculates that the three wise men came to Jerusalem on March 15 and a few days later reached the cradle of Jesus.

Jesus was then a few months old. The Magi took out their precious gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh and threw themselves in adoration of the Child.

Indian gifts

It is in connection with the gifts that Fr. Heras plays his trump card.

He says that the late Archbishop of Poona, Dr Henry Doring, S. J. drew his attention to the fact that the Mahars of Sangamner district in Maharashtra, (who are not Christians) offer exactly the same three gifts to newly-born children.

Further research by Fr. Heras showed that the same three gifts are offered in many parts of South India.

Fr. Heras concludes:

"It is not to be wondered at that they (Magi) offered gold, frankincense and myrrh to the Infant and his mother, since these were precisely the gifts that from the ancient times were offered in India to the parents of the newly-born.

"The custom of offering these three gifts does not now exist in Persia; nor do any scholars know that any such custom ever existed in that country."

Finally, it is recorded by St. Jerome that St. Thomas preached the gospel to the Magi and died in India. And near Madras is a hill where St. Thomas is believed to have been shot by an arrow.

The *Opus Imperfectum* also states that St. Thomas "went to that province; they (the Magi) joined him, and were baptised by him, and came to be companions of his preaching".

St. Thomas was one of the twelve apostles and introduced Christianity in the South of India where the Syrian Church exists to this day.

VARUNA

HIMMAT, December 22, 1967

Europe looks outwards

BY JEAN REY

President of the Commission of the European Community

It is only perhaps during the last few years that the European Communities have become fully conscious of the extent of their international economic importance. As the tariff barriers between the six member States have progressively fallen and other elements of common policy, particularly in agriculture, have been erected, the European Communities have become more of an obvious and tangible reality. And not least in importance, this has become a reality to the Communities' world trading partners.

The Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations — an exciting if often agonising event in which I was very personally involved as head of the Community delegation — brought this development of consciousness to a head. No longer could the Six negotiate purely as individuals. The accumulated reality of the Communities' economic integration required a Community position in these historical negotiations which had the side-effect of highlighting the Community's place in the world.

But there is another side to this coin. If the Community has become conscious of its potential power and influence it has become equally conscious of the greater world responsibilities which are the automatic corollary of this enhanced position. It is essentially upon this theme that I wish to dwell. It is also possible that a new dimension may shortly be added to this trend.

Britain's entry

A great discussion has now been launched both within and outside the Community about its possible enlargement to include Great Britain and other European states. Such an enlarged Community would have even greater powers — its new international responsibilities would be greater still and particularly to the economically less fortunate regions of the world. Indeed, it may well be that only an enlarged Community will be in a position fully to marshal Europe's available resources for a greater effort towards the stimulation of the less developed world.

Before looking more deeply into these fascinating perspectives let me attempt to examine what we have accomplished — or tried to accomplish

Monsieur Jean Rey, President of the Commission of the European Community (the Common Market), is more popularly known as "Mr Europe". In this article HIMMAT invited him to write, Monsieur Rey says that the European Common Market has recommended to its member nations far-reaching tariff reductions on industrial products from developing countries like India, and that they hope to play an active part at the UNCTAD conference in New Delhi. —Ed.

so far — in our relations with the less developed world.

It is undoubtedly in Africa that our efforts so far have been most formalised. When the European Economic Community was established in 1957/58 some of the member states had particular overseas responsibilities stemming from their positions as colonial powers. Clearly the economic aspects of these long established links could not be jeopardised by the preferential links established for the Communities. This responsibility did not change with the attainment of independence by these territories. The solution was that the links and responsibilities of the former colonial powers towards these nations was to be replaced by a wider context of links with the new European Community as a whole. In the case of these countries a series of institutionalised relations existed already and these had to be respected.

For the African states involved this Association in its present form was established in 1963 by the Convention of Yaounde. As these states were by then independent the Convention of Yaounde was the result of a normal negotiation between themselves and the Community. It can justly be claimed that this association is an interesting model of multi-form aid. It aims at a comprehensive approach towards a development policy for the countries concerned in that it takes into account the developmental balance of all the factors concerned — trade, technical assistance and development, financial aid and economic assistance in the widest sense including a programme for diversification.



M. Jean Rey

Since the establishment of the Community in 1958, aid to the African and other overseas associates by the Community's Development Fund and Investment Bank has totalled \$1005 million. During this period Community imports from these associates have risen by 42 per cent to \$2276 million — whereas the Community exports to these states have in fact declined over this period 11 per cent to \$1702 million.

But if there were special historical and economic factors which eventually caused the Community specially to institutionalise its relations with these countries in the form of Association, the traditional trade links of the Community with other developing regions of the world were also real and also had to be taken into account, a principle, moreover, that is embodied in the Rome Treaty which gave birth to the European Economic Community. At the very least it was incumbent upon the Community to ensure that access to its markets, and to a share of their growth, by other developing countries was maintained. Of particular interest to India, for example, has been the specific case of institution of nil Community tariffs on tea and the renewal during 1967 of the international cotton textiles agreement. Aid programmes to non-associates by member States remain on a bilateral basis for the time being.

Active role in Delhi

But perhaps the time has now come when, as a Community in concert with the other industrialised groups and nations of the world, we must undertake a more profound appraisal of the salient features of our trade and aid policy towards the developing world. I mentioned the success of the Kennedy Round. I should now perhaps outline the points where we believe this negotiation was less than successful. Its basic weakness lay in the poor results achieved in agricultural produce. As we see it international co-ordination in trade in agriculture

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

HOLT - FROM PAGE 11

ed Australia to turn her face towards Asia. He knew that the roots of Australia's strength lay in the security and the goodwill of her neighbours and whether it was a gift of wheat or a project in a South East Asian country one felt his heart was with the people less privileged.

He strengthened links with the White House to an amazing degree and was perhaps closer to President Johnson than any world statesman. He was twitted in Australia for his expression during Johnson's Australian visit, "all the way with LBJ", which Holt claimed was taken out of context.

Holt had a vision for Australia. "We have a country the size of the United States to develop," he said.

But he knew that to develop the full resources of his country Australia needed to:

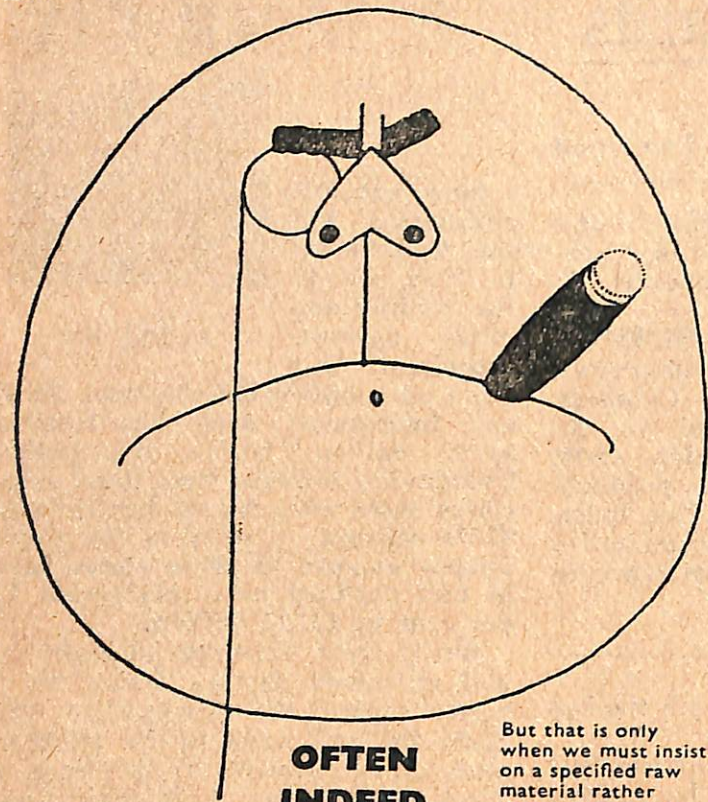
1 help her neighbours to attain stability and progress;

2 have absolute standards in national life as "the lights to steer by".

If Australia heeds his words she cannot go far wrong.

When Holt heard from an assistant that a surly Australian journalist had asked, "Why must the Prime Minister make a policy speech to an MRA conference?" Holt replied, "If they ask next time tell them: 'It's all the way with MRA.'" Holt knew what was right and had the courage of his convictions.

In God's heaven there may be no high offices but I would like to believe that there will be an honoured place there for Harold Holt.



**OFTEN
INDEED
A SNOB**

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

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

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

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

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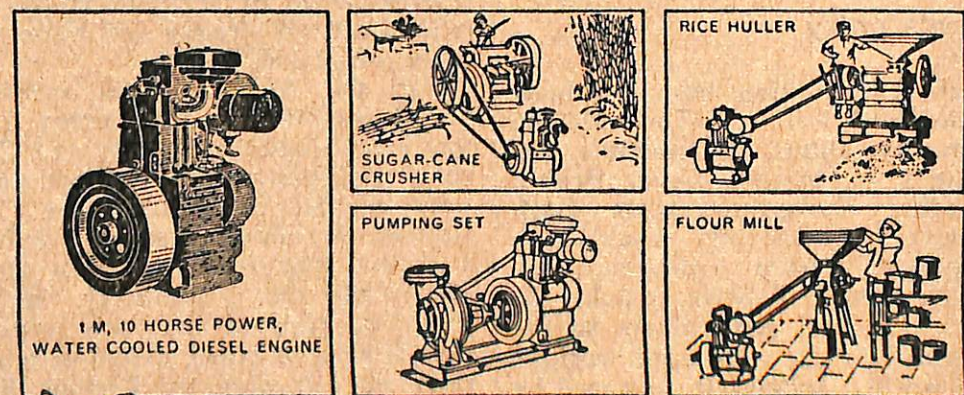
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Singapore boom

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

SINGAPORE "After two years of independence, the Republic of Singapore continues not only to survive but to flourish, to the surprise of many observers," stated Finance Minister Goh Keng Swee in his budget speech before the Singapore Parliament recently.

There was an overall growth of eight per cent in the economy. The increase is the more impressive considering the sharp decrease in rubber prices during the past year.

Dr Goh gave three reasons for the Singapore boom:

- 1) Increased trade with Indonesia. He said the total merchandise shipped to Indonesia this year was likely to exceed the pre-confrontation level.
- 2) Continued expansion of exports to South Vietnam.
- 3) A very substantial increase in the flow of Hong Kong capital to Singapore.

But there are flies in the ointment. The biggest one is unemployment. According to the Economic Research Centre of the University of Singapore there are 52,630 unemployed out of a working population of 524,025 — or 10.1 per cent. Every year jobs

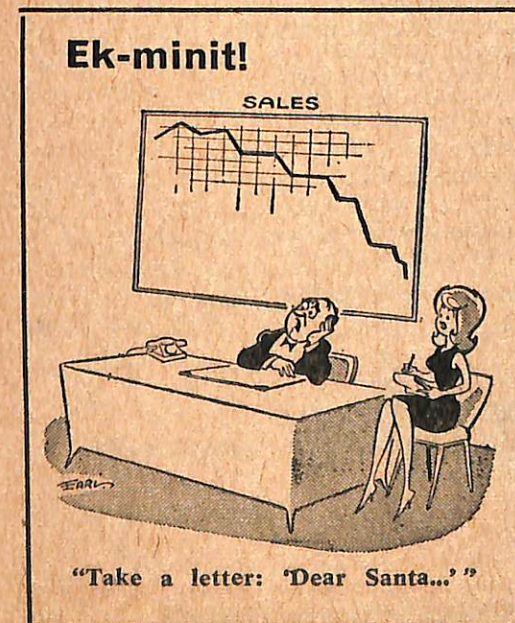
have to be found for 25,000 school leaving teenagers. On top of that, by 1971 16,000 people working in British defence establishments will have to be retrenched as the British base is being dismantled.

Since 1963, when industrialisation in Singapore really got going, there has been a net increase of 5000 to 6000 jobs each year. Obviously this is not enough to answer unemployment. But tourism is expected to provide a good number of jobs in the future. Right now all first class hotels in Singapore are booked out months ahead of time. Five new large hotels are being built. Dr Goh estimates that the number of jobs created by the growth of tourism in the next three and a half years would equal the number of people to be retrenched from the British bases in the same period.

After affluence — what?

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

VIENNA Once upon a time, the only way the European economy could go was up and up. Every year brought new records. New factories were created. After the "economic miracle" in postwar Germany, similar miracles followed in many other countries.



Employment was so high that countries with a vast manpower reserve, (in other words, with a large number of permanently unemployed) could send their workers to other countries to find work. A new type of migration was the result. And everybody, workers and employers, saw a steadily rising living standard growing out of this evolution.

But fifteen to twenty years after the war, symptoms of crisis started to appear. And suddenly an old ghost reappeared again. The older people who had lived through the world economic crisis of the 'thirties were the first to talk about crisis again, but the talk became more and more general. The ghost of unemployment raised deep fears in Britain,

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

The week in ASIA

DACCA — The National Assembly approved a Bill raising from 80,000 to 120,000 the number of people who can choose the President and the legislature in Pakistan.

KABUL — Afghanistan will have to depend on imported wheat for another five years at least to meet its food needs, according to the *Kabul Times*.

MOSCOW — *Pravda* charged that unidentified American generals had proposed a United States invasion of North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

BANDUNG — 40 poisonous snakes have struck terror in this West Java city after breaking loose from a snake-bite serum manufacturing centre. They were being brought in to have their venom milked for serum.

JAKARTA — Acting President General Suharto told his Cabinet Ministers that 1968 would be the year of "last hope" — for the Government to implement its basic economic strategy.

BRUNEI TOWN — Brunei lost 117 million dollars (about 15 million sterling) due to Britain's sterling devaluation. Legislators criticised the Government for not heeding their warnings of imminent devaluation.

COLOMBO — While Afro-Asians at the UN demanded a trade boycott against South Africa and Portugal, Ceylon's trade circles wanted "useful links" with South Africa — the third largest buyer of Ceylon tea. They urged coal imports from South Africa instead of India to "build up goodwill".

KUALA LUMPUR — Malaysian boys could be trained in any field in India and there is no need to look to others for help, according to a Malaysian official who returned from a tour of India.

MANILA — A wayward Philippine sea gull returned to Manila after it was earlier refused entry because it did not have a health certificate and an entry permit. The bird was found shivering in Osaka Bay by Japanese fishermen and an airline decided to fly it back home.

PEKING — China plans to form a new "revolutionary Communist international" under the leadership of its Communist Party. It will support world revolution, armed with the thoughts of Mao.

SAIGON — US aircraft losses in the Vietnam war have crossed the 3000 mark, according to figures released by the American headquarters.

in the German Ruhr, in some parts of France, in Belgium and even in Italy.

The industry hit most has been coal. American coal is cheap in European markets. The coal seams in America are broader and the methods of production more modern than in Europe. A miner in the Ruhr or in Lorraine discovers that coal mined in America, transported over the Atlantic and brought overland to his town, will still be cheaper than the coal he digs out of his own ground. In addition, natural gas, oil and now even atomic sources of energy will steadily replace coal.

The situation in the coal mines has more than any other influenced the unemployment figures. In Germany there is an estimated 400,000 unemployed; in France about the same number. In Britain, the announcement that employment in the mines may fall from 387,000 to 65,000 during the next 12 years has shaken the public as a whole. Even in Russia, the number of miners is going down.

But besides the coal crisis, there

has been a general mood of recession. With orders falling back, some factories have stopped reinvestment. Some industries, like textiles, have been threatened in their very existence. And with the recession, the toughness of competition by larger concerns, sometimes backed by big capital from other continents, has loomed larger than before.

Unreal expectations

During the last weeks, editorials and comment by political and economic leaders have tried to deal with some of the deeper causes behind the present economic troubles. In the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, one of the most respected dailies of Germany, one of the editors in an article "Take Courage with Coal", dealt with the situation in the Ruhr.

He wrote: "The tragedy (of coal) is bound up with the industry's inability to carry through uncompromising, unpopular reforms against the will of those who stand to lose by them... Ever increasing numbers of politicians think of themselves as Father Christmas... Unreal expectations and false hopes have been allowed to dominate the mining con-

trovery too long. The miner who is to be redeployed must be offered every assistance to find a new job... Credit will be paid to those politicians who have the courage to call a spade a spade and take whatever unpopular measures are necessary."

In Lorraine, the French region where both the coal and iron mines will have to close in the coming years because their products are no longer competitive, and in Austria, where the situation is similar, your correspondent heard a similar tale: Why have not some men in the government told us the truth earlier? The details may be different but the basic issues seem to be the same everywhere.

Open dialogue

Wherever government, employers and trade unions have kept an open dialogue and found a common concept for the whole of industry, plans have been developed which have kept unemployment figures down.

The urgency of the situation demands that such a dialogue be established on an even larger scale: between the different economic groups of the countries in the whole of Europe.

The Yugoslav way to revolution:

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

BELGRADE On November 29 Yugoslavia celebrated her National Day. Everywhere the red-white-blue national flags with the red star mingled with the red flags of the Communist Party. President Tito gave a brilliant reception in Belgrade and the provincial governments did the same in their capital cities.

But this National Day demonstrated to the neutral observer some of the problems present-day Yugoslavia has to face. For the Zagreb celebrations very few people turned up besides ministers and party officials. The youth were almost completely missing. The message of the evening also was turned more towards the past than to the future. There was neither enthusiasm nor great emotion visible in the faces of the audience.

The other visible element was the passion of the ordinary Yugoslavs to use to the full every chance of a holiday. Not by chance, two of the most used words nowadays are *fico* and *vikendica*. The first word represents a little Fiat car (the most popular make now being produced in Yugoslavia). The other is pronounced "weekenditsa" and represents a little house either in the mountains or by the Adriatic Sea for holidays.

The passion for *ficos* or *vikendicas* reflects a trend, not unknown in other parts of Europe, to demand as many consumer goods, and even imported goods, as possible whatever the economic situation. And in the case of Yugoslavia, this economic situation is everything but rosy.

After a period of absolute State-control, the Yugoslav leaders have started to experiment with new methods leaving considerable latitude to the managers and workers' councils of individual enterprises. The new measures decreed by the Government are commonly known as the

Economic Reform with big letters. Some of the Yugoslav leaders say that the Economic Reform represents a whole new chapter in the history of Marxism and Communism.

What is obvious to a visitor is that there is a passionate quest for new ways and methods amongst the Yugoslavs unknown in any other country in Eastern Europe. Some of the more doctrinaire in the Government try to slow down this process. Others try to speed it up. Nobody, except prophets or fortune-tellers, can predict what the Economic Reform will finally produce. In any case, there is a sense of expectation in many circles.

Two of the national problems which will of course influence the economic evolution also, are being talked about quite openly. One is the lack of political interest amongst the youth (the son of one of the main leaders of Yugoslavia is spending most of his time in a beat-club), and the other the tension between the different nationalities inside the Yugoslav federal structure.

People speak openly about their national problems and do not hide the points where they need help. In an interview with a German weekly, Vladimir Bakaric, one of Tito's most trusted friends, dealt with the economic and political problems one by one and ended with the statement: "The Socialist world and the Russians are too much enclosed within themselves. They must open themselves and take a greater part in international co-operation. They must play a greater role in the development of the developing countries, but without political conditions..."

This kind of open talk may not be liked everywhere, but an honest flow of ideas in both directions may open some new perspectives for the peoples of the West as well as for those in Eastern Europe.



President Tito

The week in INDIA

KOYNANAGAR — Over 200 people died and 2063 were injured in an earthquake which flattened Koyna. Hundreds of houses in nearby villages were damaged while Bombay was rocked by a tremor described as the worst in the century.

NEW DELHI — The Bill for social control of banks will provide for the nationalisation of erring banks, according to Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai.

MADRAS — Congress President Kamaraj announced the postponement of the Sangli session in view of the situation caused by the earthquake all over Maharashtra.

TRIVANDRUM — Parties in the United Front Government are setting up their own private forces. The Samrakshaka Sena ("SS") is the latest corps to be drawn from the Congress, the Kerala Congress and the Swatantra parties.

PATNA — PSP members of the United Front Government resigned, since the Government failed to stop shifting a sugar plant to Mysore. The SSP Deputy Chief Minister is also planning to quit due to a rift over the selection of new ministers.

NEW DELHI — Two SSP Ministers were arrested for violating the ban orders in the capital and were sentenced to imprisonment till the rising of the court. This was the first time ministers had been arrested since Independence. A youth who threw leaflets from the visitors' gallery of the Lok Sabha was committed to prison by a unanimous verdict of the House.

RATLAM — An MLA was *gheraoed* at his residence by 500 students who wanted him to oppose the Language Bill. He was *gheraoed* again while he attended a meeting at the Collectorate.

CHANDIGARH — Mr Mehr Chand Mahajan, former Chief Justice of India, who went into the boundary dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore, died after a heart-attack.

GAUHATI — A "divine" banana bearing the word "Allah" in Arabic is attracting crowds here. The word appeared to have been etched on it by an insect responsible for a variety of fruit diseases, according to the district agriculture officer.

SULTANPUR — The UP Samyukta Socialist Party will raise an "Anna Sena" (food army), composed of volunteers who possess the zeal and devotion to work for the uplift of *kisans*.



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The week elsewhere

FISHY BUSINESS

NEW YORK—A US-Soviet agreement on fishing rights is causing concern to other nations. Under the

agreement, effective from January 1, Russian fishing boats may operate within six miles of the US coast at two points, one off New Jersey, the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

other off Long Island, near New York. In return the Soviet has said it will not fish a wide area 100-250 miles off-shore, believed to be the breeding ground for many fish. Some Asians at the UN fear the agreement will undermine the 12-mile fishing limit set by many Afro-Asian nations. US maritime interests including the powerful seamen's union have denounced it as "a sell-out".

HOUARI SMASHES COUP

ALGIERS—Algerian head of state Houari Boumedienne said his Government had smashed an attempted military coup. The revolt, he said in a broadcast, was confined to two towns near Algiers.

AMRY YEMEN RULER

SANA'A—Army Commander-in-Chief General Amry emerged as virtual head of the Yemen's Republican regime following the checking of a

Royalist bid to besiege and capture Sana'a. The real head of state, Abdel Rahman Eriana, who is weak in health, fled to the port of Hodeida during the Royalist attack. Foreign embassies also evacuated Sana'a.

The last Egyptian troops left Yemen last week.

DRASTIC AID CUT

WASHINGTON—The US House of Representatives cut nearly one billion dollars from President Johnson's foreign aid Appropriations Bill, rejecting a compromise agreement with the Senate which had earlier restored half the cuts. The final Bill totalled 2.2 billion dollars, out of which development loans, from which India receives most aid, were reduced to 435 million dollars.

ROYAL REBEL FLEES

ATHENS—King Constantine, 27-year-old Greek monarch, flew to Rome after the failure of a bid to oust the eight-month-old military regime. The coup failed because the

Greek armed forces remained substantially loyal to the Government. Constantine was accompanied into exile by Queen Anne-Marie, their two children, and the Queen Mother, Frederica. Later, the Greek Foreign Minister and the Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church flew to Rome to discuss with the King his possible return to Greece, where the ruling military junta says he is free to come back any time.

Britain's Lordly revolution

BY PHILIP HOWARD

WHEN THE HOUSE is on fire, it is an odd time to start painting the sitting-room. Only an unconventional sailor bothers to shave when his ship is sinking. In the same way it seemed mildly eccentric of the British Government, ship-wrecked in a storm of devaluation, deflation, disillusion, and that old octopus de Gaulle, to decide to reform the House of Lords.

Yet there it is, high on their programme for next year, "to reduce the powers of the House of Lords, and to eliminate its present hereditary basis". Shaggy British eye-brows are raised. What have the poor old Peers, with their Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod and their Lord Great Chamberlain, done to deserve such a drastic fate?

It would have been different nine hundred years ago, when the House of Lords had power. Then it was the Great Council of the Norman Kings combined with the Saxon Witenagemot, which occasionally forced its will on the gangster Kings of England. Its voice thundered. It chopped people's heads off. But in this century the House of Lords has done nothing in particular, and done it very well. Most of its powers were removed in 1911. Today the only important power it has left is that it can delay legislation from the House of Commons for 12 months.

In theory this means that the Peers can rob a Labour Government of its last year of office; the Lords are mostly Conservative. In practice the Peers are much too timid to use their limited veto even on the Private Member's Bill on abortion this year, of which they heartily disapproved.

Dead or alive?

As somebody said, roughly, the cure for thinking that the House of Lords is alive, is to go and look at them. Heredity embarrasses them. The mood of this century, in spite of some obvious exceptions, is that being one's father's son is no longer a sufficient qualification for holding a political position.

In the House of Lords at the last count there were 156 "Life Peers" — a fairly new species of bird, who earn their titles themselves, and whose titles die with them. They were invented a dozen years ago in order to produce a few Labour Peers, and they

tend to be aged, decaying politicians and trade unionists whose fires have burnt out. Then there are 26 Bishops of the Church of England. There are 124 hereditary Peers of first creation who have been given titles for their own merits. And there are about 600 assorted viscounts, earls, marquesses and dukes who inherited their titles from an ancestor.

The Government now proposed to get rid of this hereditary element.



Queen Elizabeth breaks the news to the Lords last month

One odd result of this will be to eliminate youth entirely from the Lords. The only young men there are a few stripling viscounts and other hereditary Peers. The Life Peers are ancient political war-horses who have been pushed upstairs to the Lords after they have bored everyone to tears for years in the Commons. Once the hereditary Peers are removed it will become an old folk's home.

The answer is probably to bring in ex-officio Life Peers, like the Bishops, from the law, trade unions, the other churches, industry, medicine, the arts, the immigrant populations, perhaps from Gibraltar and the Isle of Man. The regions of Britain might elect Peers to represent their interests. In this way you might get a house of fairly impartial experts. One thing that will not do is for the Prime Minister to retain the sole power of nominating Life Peers, for this will put a power of patronage into his hands unknown since the 18th century. Incidentally, if the hereditary principle is removed from the House of Lords as an indefensible anachronism, it will isolate the Queen and the Royal family in a drafty position as

the one section of Parliament still using heredity.

What makes absolutely no sense at all is the Government's proposal to reduce the powers of the Lords at the same time as eliminating its hereditary basis. There is no point in turning the tame kitten of the House of Lords into a non-hereditary tiger, and then pulling out all its teeth. There is no point in creating a more authoritative Second Chamber, and at the same time reducing its power.

Of course the truth is that in an age of huge, powerful Government, the delaying power of the Lords becomes more, not less, important. The thin scarlet and ermine line of the

Lords is an important defence against the encroaching tyranny of the Executive. Any reformed Chamber must have the power to reject and revise, otherwise it is as pointless as a paper hat in the monsoon.

The Government's plans to reform the Lords can be presented as a Peers versus People row, with the purposive, modernising democrats fighting against the stuffy defenders of archaic privilege. As such it may be a jolly red herring to distract attention from the Government's difficulties and lack of direction. But of course any power that is taken away from the Lords will go not to the legislature, not to the "people", but to the Executive.

Behind the tribal cries about heredity and privilege, the administration is busily acquiring itself more power, and getting rid of one of the last feeble checks on the will of the majority. But there need to be checks in a democracy. Otherwise a majority can become a tyranny. And that is why many people, not just Peers, and not just Conservatives, look on the Government's intentions to reform the Lords with suspicion and foreboding.



WHAT A FUNNY STORY!

Shorkar screamed at the top of his voice, mother couldn't stand the noise, yet Sotey Chacha was snoring. Mory Rani fell in Patley Miya's Lap; Ooperwalla was stealing Tomatoes; Bachan Singh squinted as his legs were pulled, Chhotu was enjoying his swing...! In this crowded compartment could things be better? Certainly! If they all tried together.



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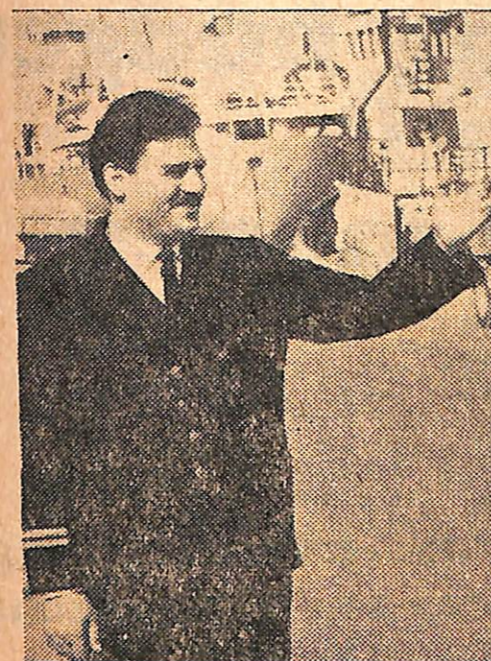
DUNLOP INDIA — keeping pace with India's export drive

SPRC-24

He creates unity in strife-torn Cyprus

WHEN Turks and Greeks were intensely divided in most of Cyprus, in the port of Famagusta, visitors are surprised to find them working together. Foreign diplomats told me, "This is so striking that I take my guests there to show them that unity in Cyprus is possible!"

What is the reason for this miracle of Famagusta? Many say it lies



Spyros Stephou at Famagusta port

in the action taken by a black moustached and cheerful customs officer, Spyros Stephou.

Stephou was one of the trusted fighters for the freedom of his country. His job was to explode bombs in the port during the four years of Cyprus' war for independence, 1955-59. He himself had to carry the bombs through the gates of the harbour. And when the British built a long, high wall around the whole area and began to search the port officials when they arrived at work, Stephou had his wife conceal the bombs in her clothes or handbag and bring them to the port. Every day a bomb went off in spite of the British measures, and their detonation was to tell the world that the Cypriot people were determined to get their freedom.

At the same time as Stephou was being congratulated by his superiors in the freedom struggle, they also threatened him: "If you do not stop your gambling, drinking and

womanising, we will execute you, in spite of your good work. We cannot afford to have secrets of our struggle leak out to the enemy through your nocturnal activities." But these threats did not make Stephou change his ways, nor stop his wife going to see a lawyer to get a divorce. Then Independence came. When I met Stephou in 1960, he had committed his salary for 13 months ahead for his gambling debts. He was going faster than ever.

Almost by coincidence, he arrived one day at Caux, the world centre of Moral Re-Armament in Switzerland. He wanted to travel and see the world and had accompanied a Cypriot couple on their journey. Although a world conference was in full swing, Stephou spent most of his time in a nearby cafe and tasting Swiss wines. Before his departure he was asked what he intended to do about the striking evidence at the conference of people changing for the sake of their nations. He replied, "I know that this could also work in my country. However, I myself have gone too far in the wrong direction and cannot turn back". Then, he took a small note-book from his pocket: "I've written down all I know about myself and it has convinced me that it is too late for a man like me to change." With those words he returned to his country.

Five weeks later I knocked at the door of the Stephous' small house in Famagusta. His wife opened it. When she heard I had met Stephou at Caux, tears came to her eyes and she said, "You all have given me a new husband!"

Spyros then told us how in the plane back to Cyprus he was turning over and over in his mind all he had heard and seen in Caux. He was thinking of what kind of future lay ahead of an independent Cyprus, when responsible men like him lived the way he did. He felt that he had spent all the money he had brought to Europe on himself and had not brought his wife even the smallest present. And when he set foot on Cyprus soil he had decided: "I shall bring to my wife the gift of a new kind of husband."

He was absolutely honest with his wife and had read out to her from the note-book his own account of his life. This brought unity between them and to his whole family. His



two brothers to whom he had not spoken for a very long time came to stay with him and caught his new convictions. Together they decided to reach Cyprus with this spirit.

Next Stephou rented the biggest cinema in town and personally invited Greeks, Turks and even the British to come and see a Moral Re-Armament film and hear his story. There were 1200 seats and every one of them got paid for and filled. During the months which followed, Stephou took films and literature of Moral Re-Armament to over a hundred Greek, Turkish and mixed villages and towns all over the island. Teachers and children, trade union leaders, orthodox priests and Muslim *hodschas*, young and old, everyone wanted to know more. When at the end of 1963 a fresh conflict erupted in Cyprus, one of the cabinet said that it was due to these actions of Stephou and his friends that the new clashes had not grown into an island-wide civil war.

General Thimayya of India, until his death Commander of the UN Forces in Cyprus, said about Stephou's work, "This is the kind of work the UN cannot achieve. This is what's needed to find a lasting solution. You must multiply this across the island." Cyprus today needs more than ever determined men like Stephou. Through them Cyprus could still become an example of how hatred and division can be healed and how a small country with the right idea can play a big part in the world today.

M. G.

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

* Should all private schools in India be abolished?

Closing date: January 5

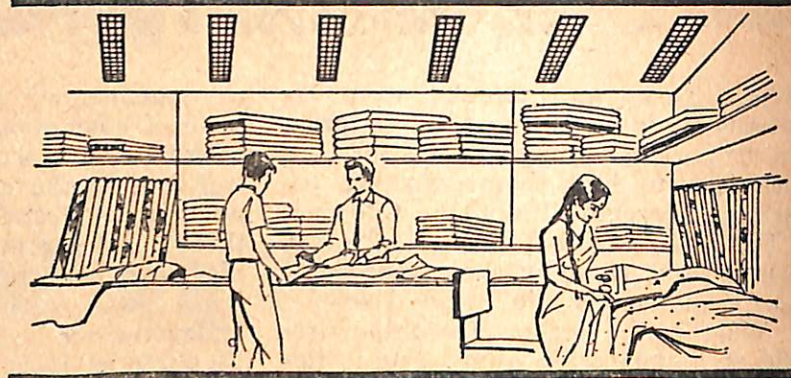
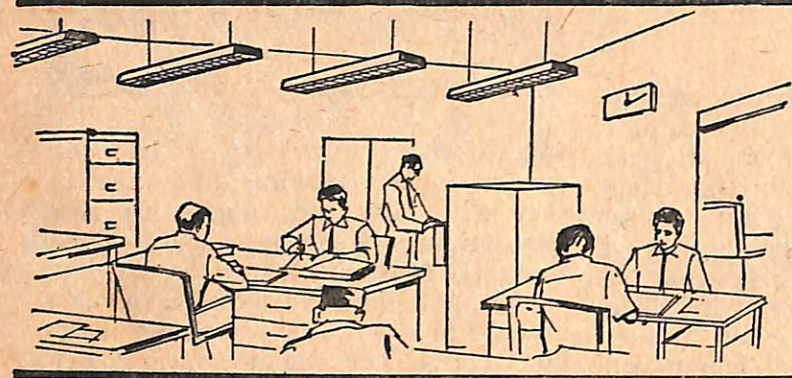
** Nasser's closure of the Suez Canal must end, unconditionally.

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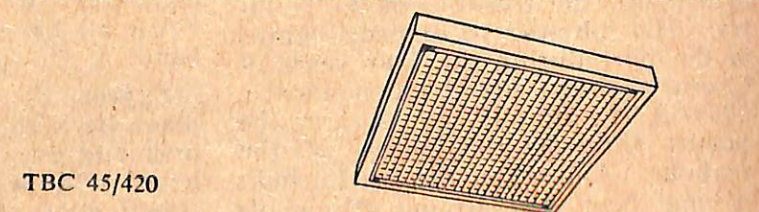


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FILMS

"The Spirit is Willing"

NEW EMPIRE, BOMBAY

DOORS THAT CREAK open, haunted cellars, grave-yard incantations and Technicolor ghosts ensure this light-hearted spoof has all the trappings of the conventionally-erie ghost story.

The plot concerns the old eternal triangle, but with a difference. Here the unfaithful husband, jealous wife and pretty chambermaid are all ghosts who continue their battles at the expense of other people's pottery, crockery and (very nearly) sanity.

Much of the humour in this adaptation of Nathaniel Benchley's novel "The Visitors" is predictable, but carried out with a zest that almost holds the attention.

Sid Caesar and Vera Miles play straightforward roles as patient parents of a truculent teenager (Barry Gordon) who come on vacation to the haunted house. Yacht-owning plutocrat Uncle George is played with vigour by John McGiver. Best by far, though a minor part, is Mary Wickes' Gloria, the rather masculine charwoman. Her narration of an



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encounter with the ghosts to a credulous all-male audience at "Mother's Bar" is about the most spooky thing in the film.

If you are the type who prefers to laugh off ghosts, this is definitely the film for you.

"Reluctant Astronaut"

METRO, BOMBAY

THE TITLE conjures up all sorts of rib-tickling prospects. The story gives sure-fire scope for real comedy in the hands of a director and comedian who have the talent. But the director (Edward J. Montagne) and star (Don Knotts) of "Reluctant Astronaut" regrettably display none. They would do better to remain in television where they have had their grounding.

Roy Fleming (Don Knotts) is an "astronaut" in a n amusement park where he takes children for simulated space-rides. He is so fearful of heights that he has to climb backwards down the six-foot entrance steps with his eyes closed! Nonetheless, a proud and doting father nominates Fleming for training at Houston in the American space programme.

After a series of amateurish attempts to extract some comedy from the script Fleming is sent aloft as the first passenger in an automated capsule. When death in outer-space seems inevitable, the space-shot controller on the ground mutters, "Poor Fleming. We should have sent up a monkey."

And that just about sums up the problem. Universal Pictures might just as well have done that.

But that is not to say the children won't love it. They probably will, because they won't expect more than they get.



SCREENER

This India

SERVANTS AND MASTERS

AN AUSTRALIAN businessman recently in India remarked, "I can understand your suffering of famine which is physical and caused by nature. I can understand your poverty. But what I cannot understand is the way Indians treat one another."

One blatant everyday example is the way we treat servants in our homes. After thinking a lot about the subject, I have come to the conclusion that servants, especially in the middle class families of India, are largely responsible for the softness and spinelessness that is setting in. Children don't make their own beds, never polish their shoes, and even shout for a glass of water. The servants become a convenient cushion bearing the brunt of bad moods, feelings and anything that goes wrong. No wonder the increase in dependent, self-centered and pampered individuals.

I asked our servant his idea of good and bad masters. "Good masters pay you well but also help in the kitchen and treat you properly," was his brief comment.

"No Indian woman would like to stay in Europe because she will have to work very hard without servants," was a remark overheard a few days ago from a conversation between two men.

I have heard many argue that to have servants is to give employment to our unemployed millions. That may be so. What is so wrong is to use them as an excuse to be lazy in a cheap way. What is more wrong is to expect others to do what you are not prepared to do yourself, and consider beneath you. Working with hands is termed menial, hence a profession like agriculture, so vital to the country's economy, is considered below the nose level. No country has ever prospered without work and the idea of service prospering in it.

It is a great responsibility to have servants. Either it creates bitterness and class war or it makes them feel what they are doing is worthwhile and needed, enabling their masters to do something else.

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SPORT

Rough play mars soccer final

BENGAL, which claims with pride to be the home of Indian soccer, did substantiate that assertion to some extent by getting its two famous teams — Mohun Bagan and East Bengal — into the final of the tradition-ridden Rovers Cup Tournament of Bombay. But the manner in which these age-old rival clubs conducted themselves in the deciding match for honours left a bad taste in the mouths of the packed-to-overflowing Cooperage spectators.

Though both these teams have figured individually and jointly in rough-house engagements in Calcutta in the past they had never indulged in blatant rough tactics in their many previous appearances in this 75-year-old competition. Both have won the Rovers Cup before; and Mohun Bagan were defending champions this time. But it was the first time both had reached the final together.

There was nothing superlative or even brilliant in the individual or collective displays of the two giants of Indian soccer at their first meeting. The defences gene-

rally held sway and the 90-minute match failed to produce a single goal. But at least there were some good moves by either set of forwards, and play was clean though mustard keen. The replay, last Saturday, was not only scrappy but also boisterous. Foul tactics, including kicking, knee-tapping and hustling, caused many stoppages, warning of culprits, ordering out of one, the awarding of a penalty and display of bad sportsmanship.

That East Bengal won the match by two goals to nil became secondary to the poor spirit in which the game was played. Thirty-six teams, including regional champions from various parts of the country, had participated in this competition. While visiting teams lived up to their form, home challengers performed poorly. Unbeaten Bombay League and Nadkarni Cup champions, Tata Sports Club, went down tamely to Punjab's Border Security Police first time out; and Mafatlal Mills, recent winners of the Delhi Cloth Mills Tournament, knuckled under to East Bengal without the semblance of a fight. Leaders Club from Jullunder and Calcutta League champions Mohammedan Sporting put up some fine displays before being eliminated.

Grand exhibition

AS IF to wipe out the unsavoury memories of the Rovers Cup final, a Lithuanian club team named Zalgiris played delight-

ful soccer at the Cooperage on Sunday against a combined team which included eight of the Bengal players who had figured in the previous day's rough-and-tumble match. Zalgiris won the match by an overwhelming margin of six goals to one. Many felt the visitors were flattered by the margin; but scoring apart, it was their refreshing approach to the game, the easy grace of their ball play, the pace they developed through long, sweeping passes, and the effectiveness of their marksmanship which won the hearts and the admiration of the Bombay spectators, who gave the tourists a big hand. They applauded generously the gem of a goal scored by Mohun Bagan star Kannan.

Zalgiris, who are only a good second-division team in Soviet soccer, can teach our players and teams a good bit on tactics, teamwork, ball-direction and pace control. Their visit to India and Ceylon should benefit soccer in both countries.

A bold step

TENNIS SPHERES in India are still undecided whether to congratulate or condole with the British Lawn Tennis Association for its bold decision to eliminate the distinction between professionals and amateurs in its jurisdiction, including the Mecca of tennis, Wimbledon. The LTA has certainly gained the admiration and respect of the sporting world for its honesty of purpose in ridding the game of widely prevalent *shamateurism* whereby star players demand and get large sums from organisers of tournaments for agreeing to participate. It is an open secret that some amateurs get more than their livelihood out of tennis. Britain, which gave tennis to the world and contributes largely to keep it alive internationally through its annual Wimbledon Championships which are considered unofficial world titles, wants to legalise play-for-pay—as it did in the case of its cricket.

But the International Lawn Tennis Federation, with its head buried in sand, pretends amazement at undeclared professionals earning from the game. In its mistaken zeal for Simon-pure amateurism it has cried anathema on the British move and banned that country from all competitions in its aegis, including the Davis Cup. Looking to the fact that almost every tennis interest in Britain is wholeheartedly backing the decision, the Federation's ban is not going to budge the LTA. And if not all other nations, at least some leading players outside Britain, like Arthur Ashe, the American No. 2, as well as the entire professional set-up, are willing to back the LTA.

International tennis, therefore, is now at the crossroads. Either there is a compromise between the LTA and the International Federation or a wedge is firmly driven to split the tennis world into two camps, for or against the LTA and its conviction. India does not have any tennis players of world standard just now. Still it would like to continue to figure somewhere in the Davis Cup.

● **topscorer**

This was a Life

YUKIO OZAKI
1858-1954

YUKIO OZAKI, the "father of parliamentary democracy" in Japan, was born in 1858 in a village to the south of Tokyo. His father was one of those working for the overthrow of the Tokugawa shoguns, and with the restoration of imperial rule under the Emperor Meiji in 1868 he was given a minor official post in the new capital of Tokyo. Life was not easy. Yukio knew undernourishment, and his education was constantly interrupted.

At 15, he left home and returned to Tokyo where he came under the influence of Yukichi Fukuzawa who moulded the thinking of so many men of that era. After a brief period he was recommended by Fukuzawa to the post of chief editor of a newspaper, when he was 21. At this time he read Todd's "On Parliamentary Government in England" and used his newspaper to try to teach the prefectural officials how to run a democratic government.

In 1888, under suspicion by the government as a dangerous element, he was banished from Tokyo and travelled abroad, first to America and then to Britain.

He returned from London just in time for the first general elections in 1890. He stood for Parliament and was elected. He was subsequently re-elected 24 consecutive times and remained a member of the Lower House for 63 years till his death. Throughout his career he stood for democracy and international understanding, even during the period when the militarists took over. In consequence there were many attempts made on his life. He was outspoken not only against the militarists but against all despotic powers, whether of the clans or of big business. He stood for the welfare of the ordinary man and also fought for universal (male) suffrage, which was finally achieved in 1925.

For ten years he was also Mayor of Tokyo and as such became famous in America for his gift of 3000 cherry trees to Washington in 1912.

He believed in the ultimate triumph of right over might. In some advice to would-be politicians he once wrote: "The happiness of the people comes first. In this complicated world of politics, the best way to success is to listen to and obey one's conscience."

H.E.W.

VICTIMISED EDITOR

YOUR reporting on the victimisation of Kerala Editor K. M. Cherian (HIMMAT, December 15) and the State Government's trying to throttle freedom of the Press is alarming. Though the Communists are making a hue and cry over the Bengal episode in the name of democracy, they themselves are having no respect for the provisions of the Constitution which is not only sacred but the basis of Indian democracy. And in the modern age, democracy can only survive if the Press is free. It is high time that the Central Government took immediate steps to see that the provisions and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution are not violated.

K. S. JAGMAG, Bombay 3

NATIONAL AWARDS

THERE is no place for the award of titles and for excessive state patronage in a true democracy. Yet our late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru could not resist the temptation of instituting such a system.

National awards have been made by the Government occasionally on the basis of merit. But, generally, awards have been given to persons just to swell the

JEAN REY — FROM PAGE 13

and other raw materials must still be pressed on and the possibilities for introducing a wider range of international commodity agreements must be thoroughly examined. The first and indispensable step is to ensure that countries with poorly diversified economies can be guaranteed stable revenue as an overture to stable growth and the ability to plan their economies accurately.

Then there is the big problem of the generalisation of preferences for the industrial products of developing countries. It is quite clear to us that developing countries cannot be expected to achieve a sufficient rate of growth on the basis of agriculture and raw materials alone. To achieve balanced economies they must be enabled to industrialise — and to do this they must be able to sell these products on the world markets.

The maintenance of a series of tightly defined individual preference areas governing trade relations between developed and developing countries would not seem to be the exclusive long term basis for harmonious world trade and economic growth. If membership of the present Community is enlarged to include Great Britain this problem will become still more acute. The task of the next few years will be to see how far and how the present preferential systems can be generalised.

The occasion for initial steps to-

Letters

number of award winners, so that Presidential investitures should be more ceremonious.

The choice of award winners is most questionable, and the Government is now reaping what it has sown. The renunciation of awards by a large number of persons on the language issue is not only disgraceful, but is also an affront to the President in whose name awards are made.

The Government should review its awards policy, and leave the question of recognition of merit to educational, cultural, professional and other independent bodies. Though this would take away some patronage from the hands of the Prime Minister, it would be more than compensated by the introduction of a more healthy atmosphere, in which distinguished men in various fields need no longer run after Ministers for the sake of getting a pompous and quixotic appendage to their names.

RAJESH CHADHA, New Delhi 3

wards this aim is perhaps not far off. Your own country will, early in the new year, be host to the second meeting of the United Nations Trade and Development Conference (UNCTAD). The question of preferences will be a major item on the agenda of this important meeting of minds and — we hope — political wills. We in the Community are busily preparing to take an active role in New Delhi. Already in the Commission of the European Communities we have drawn up suggestions for the attention of the Council of Ministers of our member States for far-reaching tariff reductions on the industrial and semi-manufactured products of developing countries. We hope that we will find support for these ideas not only among our own member States but also from the other industrialised nations of the world.

With goodwill and understanding from all concerned we believe that in retrospect one day this conference may come to be regarded as a historical turning point for better and more intelligent relations between the developed and the developing — aimed at closing a gap which cannot be allowed to persist in the interests of world growth and stability. We in the European Communities are very conscious of these problems. We are not so naive as to believe in overnight miracle solutions. But we intend to be counted among the most active and tireless in the long term process of finding solutions to these vital problems.



who stole my...

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A Gift, Uncle Sam

by Rajmohan Gandhi

WILL IT BE Johnson versus Nixon next year? Are the Republicans going to pick Rockefeller? Will Robert Kennedy yet try to fight a Johnson re-nomination?

The long-drawn-out drama of a US presidential election seems to be without beginning or end.

America has speed, dazzle, candour and liberty. Its wealth staggers. In science, medicine and industry, its breakthroughs startle.

But the most striking thing about the world's most fantastic country is her people. In its long history the world has not known another instance of a nation of 200 million deciding that the whole world was their responsibility.

America is the world's rich uncle and fighting son. Its wheat and milk, electronic and nuclear skills, armour and men are made available to the world.

Nations expect, without qualms, higher standards from America than from themselves. Asians, Africans and Europeans think it proper for them to attack America's race situation, Vietnam policy, family life and affluence. They do not, however, welcome American criticism of their life and manners, their economic and political programmes.

Being head of the household for a good section of the world, America pays the most bills and invites the most hates. Americans are assailed for what they do and for what they don't.

Her own citizens, of course, speak out bluntly on every issue. Black Power agitator Stokeley Carmichael can say abroad, "I shall return to hell, that is, to the United States." He can threaten to kill people and to burn America down to the ground. All that he faced on homecoming was the loss of his passport.

Full-page ads in newspapers can say, as one does in the *New York Times* of December 10: "...Our lives have been blighted by a President who has misused his power. He is the first problem, and he has to go. We think we can help nudge him towards retirement..."

This liberty is the harvest Americans taste because their forefathers sowed seeds of discipline

and daring, of sacrifice and faith. What kind of America will today's generation leave for future ones?

America is a disturbed land. Her riches and strength do not conceal her uncertainties.

Family life is being radically re-examined. Divorces are not decreasing. People discuss the generation gap, and observe that in many homes parents and children have become strangers to one another. They want to know why some boys or girls leave home and join the hippie brigade. And whether someone who does not love his home can love his homeland.

Race is an issue no more resolutely today than it has been in the past. Legislation against discrimination and spending for Negro welfare have been accompanied by an intensification of anti-white feeling, and an increase in violence. Some Negroes don't want mere equality. They want revenge.

The Vietnam war troubles America. The majority clearly support the effort to prevent Communism from controlling South Vietnam, and the world ought not to misjudge the American mood from the publicity that small anti-war groups receive. Yet the failure to win the war thus far and the seemingly unending period of stalemate that lies ahead—a stalemate that takes steady toll of American lives and resources—is causing concern.

A tiny minority

Small wonder that some Americans feel their country is stuck with too big a job. It must be awfully tempting for a good many to let their country's commitments slip. And the possibility of Vietnam-like engagements elsewhere in Asia or in Africa will not excite the average American.

Even America cannot finance her wars on poverty at home and abroad and many Vietnams at the same time. She will have to learn the unusual skill of teaching others to take on and complete great tasks as responsible partners.

Americans are frustrated by Vietnamese who say they want to avert Communism but are mainly interested in money, women and positions. They would like to see

Vietnamese loving their country more, looking after her more responsibly and unitedly. And they would like to see Vietnamese and other Asians understanding America better and assisting her more.

They are not helped by Americans who broadcast their distaste for their own country or their decision to escape into hippieland.

Such Americans are an extremely tiny minority. The great majority doubtless are ready to carry their country forward, and to assist the world in ways they can.

But this is not enough for America. Her place in the world requires her citizens to measure themselves not against the sacrificial involvement of other countries but against what the world needs.

Americans will feel that what the world demands of them is more than is fair to ask. But the discharging of such "unjust" responsibilities is a price that some nation has to pay.

And is it realistic to think that Americans will be stirred and satisfied by an America-centred appeal? Scarcely. Americans are intrigued and challenged by the needs of the world's poor, and they may well decide to battle harder than ever to meet them if they can be shown how.

How? By being frank about the cause of the world's mess. Poverty is not the cause of the Asian stagnation, nor is wealth the cause of America's confusion. Man's attitude to poverty, where he tolerates it, and to affluence, where he fails to see what it would do for others, and man's attitude to man — these are nearer the basic cause.

Neither liberalism nor conservatism is the problem—or the cure. The failure to multiply and export the new type of man is the problem, and his creation is the answer.

Our planet is full of moral mediocrities, of pettiness in high places, and at all levels. It needs a Lincoln, or a group of equally fearless if smaller men — a man or men whose words bite and burn, clarify and conquer, because they have the power of truth.

Will America give such a gift to the world?

FIND THE BALL Competition No 51

WIN Rs. 50 or more
2nd Prize: Swiss Shaving foam in AEROSOL CAN

HOW TO PLAY

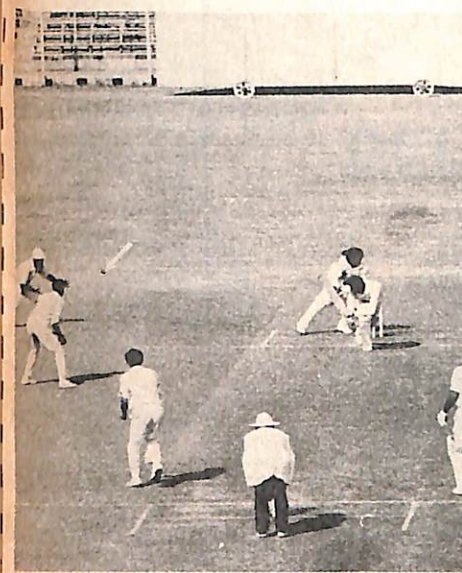
The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to mark a cross (not circle, arrow, etc) where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and coupon and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1 before noon on Monday, January 1.

The winner will be announced in the following issue. There is no limit to the number of entries you can make, but only one cross may be marked on each picture. The Editor's decision is final.

Nearest entry wins Rs. 25
On the ball wins the 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 EXACTLY the centre of the ball. This Jackpot Prize will accumulate by Rs. 25 per week until it is won.

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



WINNER OF COMPETITION 49

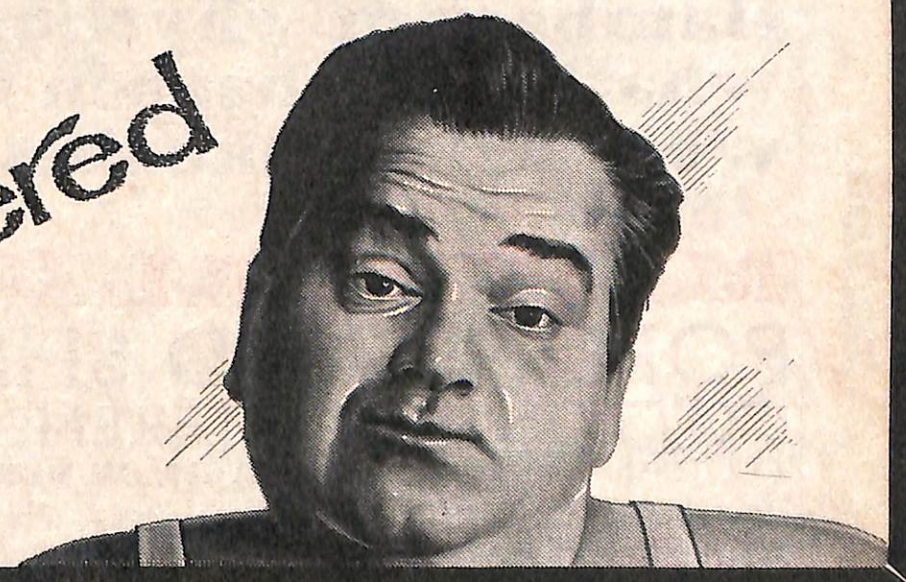
is Lusitano Pereira,
8, Khotachi Wadi, 3rd
Floor, Girgaon, Bombay 4.
Rs. 25 for nearest entry (1mm
from ball).

2nd Prize (Bajaj Table Lamp)
to N. S. Kannan,
126, V Cross, Cambridge Road
Layout, Ulsoor, Bangalore 8.
(1.5 mm from ball).

Next week's Jackpot: Rs. 150

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IF THAT'S HOW YOU FEEL AFTER A SHAVE.....

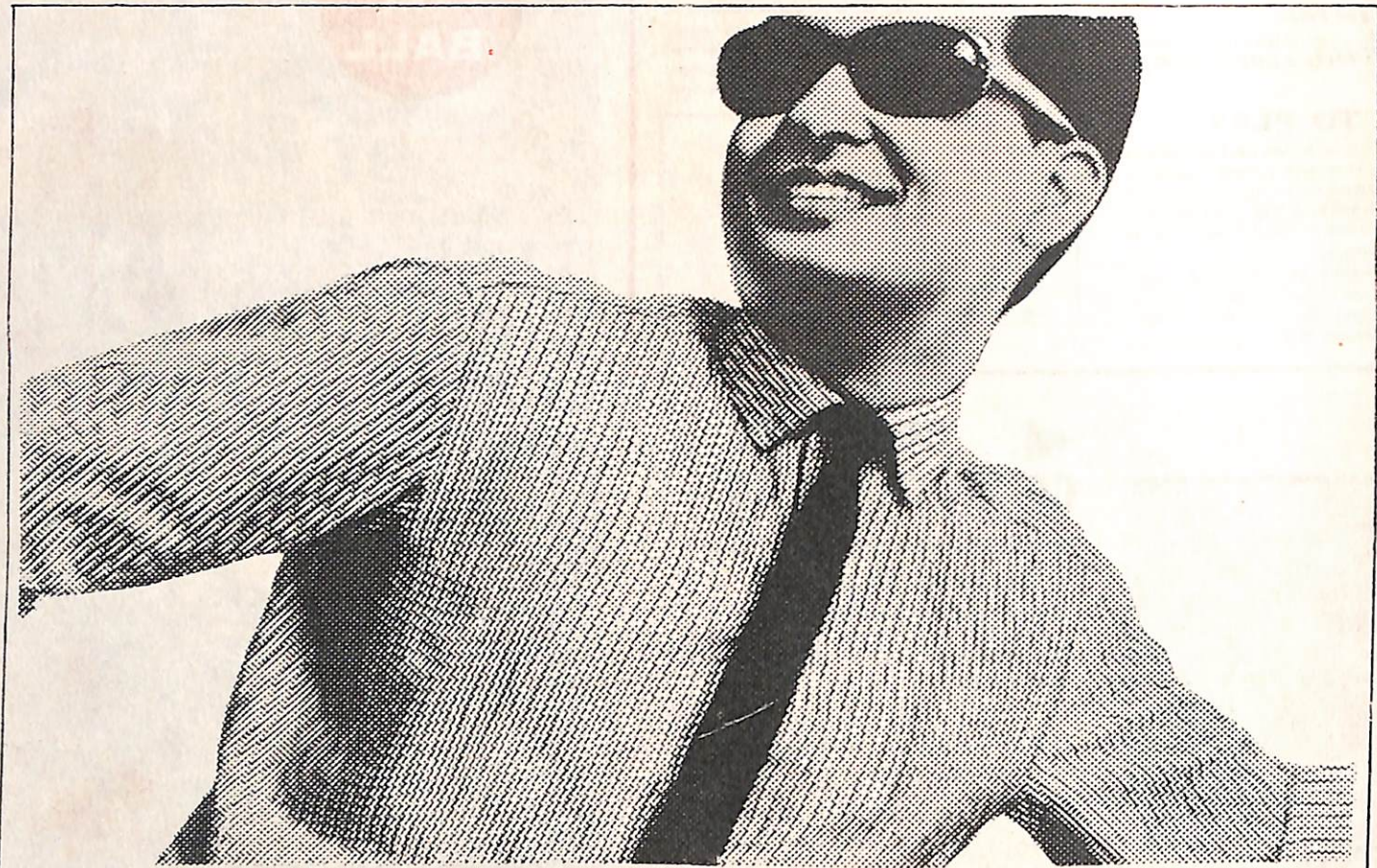
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LPE Aiyars M. 226

WHO IS BEHIND THE VIOLENCE ?

- * Hirelings ?
- * Foreign powers ?
- * Ruthless politicians ?

RAJMOHAN GANDHI
in Bengal and Madras
ANTENNA - SSP vs JS

MAN OF THE YEAR 1967