

HIMMAT

WEEKLY 35p

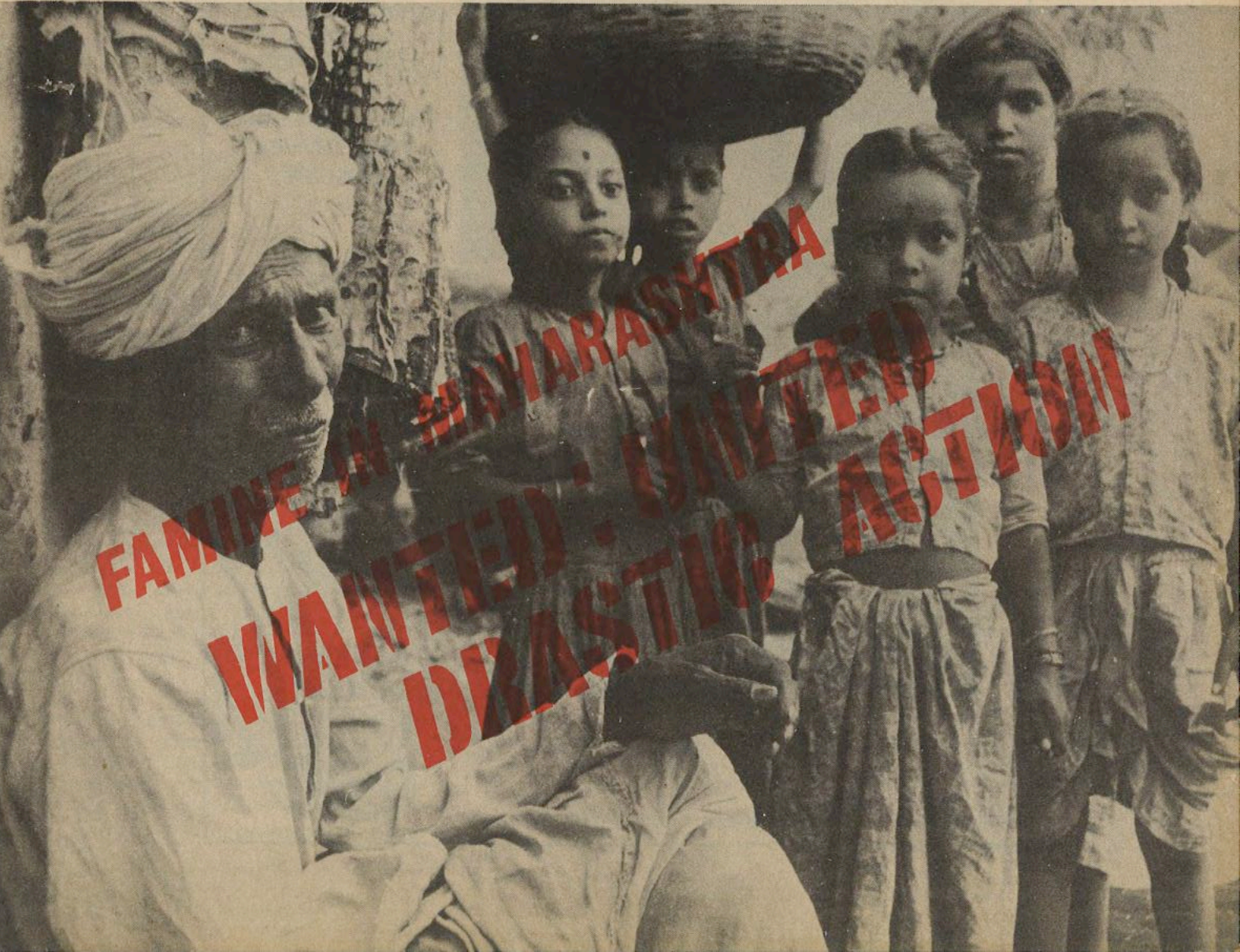
VOL 9 NO 10

ASIA'S VOICE

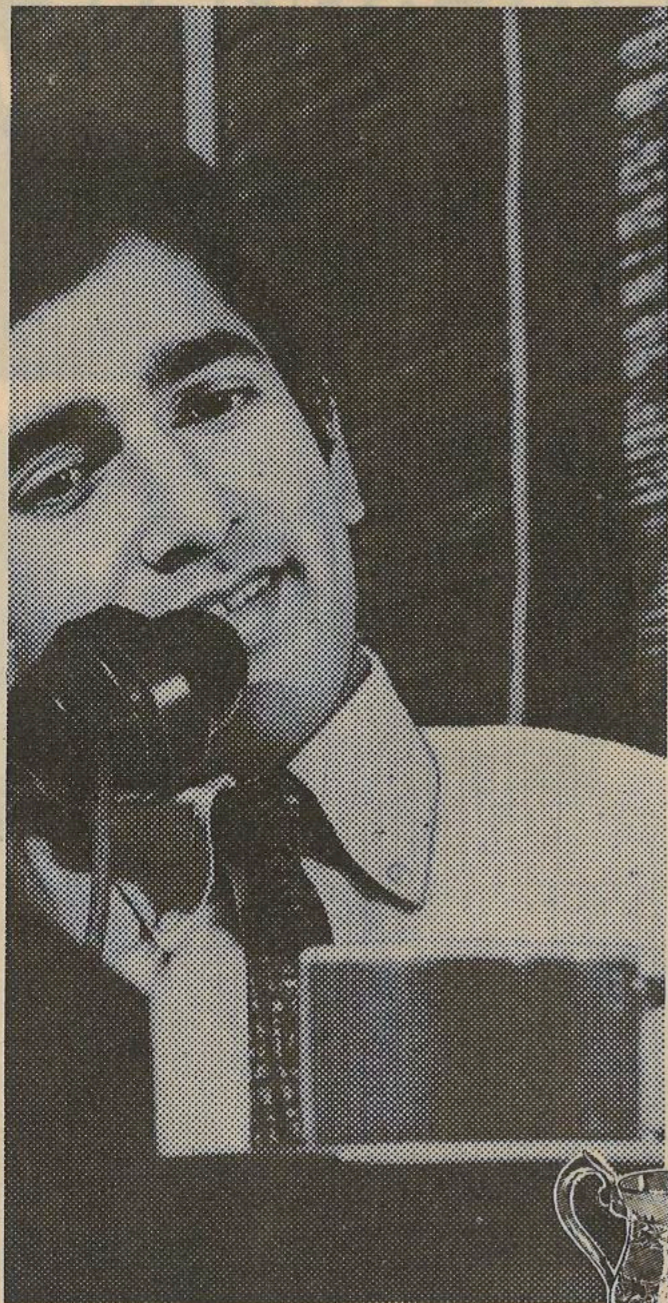
FRIDAY JANUARY 5 1973



MANEKSHAW - *India's first Field Marshal*



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EDITORIALS

Neither capitalist nor communist

CONTRARY to those in the Congress who have been talking openly of dovetailing India's economy into the Soviet Union's, Mrs Gandhi asserted in strong terms at the Congress session in Calcutta that India needs to devise her own method for achieving socialism. It need be neither capitalist nor communist but one suited for this country. It is good that in spite of some in her party who would push India towards subservience to another country, Mrs Gandhi has all along insisted on maintaining our independence and sovereignty.

In a pamphlet, circulated in Bidhan Nagar, she says, "Neither new laws nor the nationalisation of industries and such other steps can by themselves solve our problems, which are far more complex than they seem on the surface."

While there were no raging controversies and differences that came out in the open at the session, the Planning Minister, Mr D. P. Dhar, and the Minister for Industrial Development, Mr C. Subramaniam, continued to differ publicly. The former called for an immediate takeover of the grain trade. Mr Subramaniam, in a more realistic fashion, suggested this be done over a period of three or four years to allow states the time to build up a distribution system.

Perhaps what marked this session was the absence of additional high sounding pledges. Instead there was greater stress on the need to fulfil the pledges of the past.

The dissent in the ranks of the Congress was not

concealed by the unanimity with which resolutions were passed and places filled. However, it is apparent that most men in the higher echelons of the party are convinced that now is not the time to rock the boat. Therefore even the nominations for the Congress Working Committee were carried through in a manner that avoided an open vote and debate.

Mrs Gandhi has shown firmness in dealing with violence. She has had on her plate unrest in nine Indian universities and the trouble in Andhra and Assam. In Andhra, Mrs Gandhi may have to personally intervene and bring the dissenting elements together. The situation has gone too far to be handled from the capital.

However, the question that remains to be answered is: How long can one person handle all this and keep fighting to keep the Congress united?

Mrs Gandhi is obviously beginning to see the need to build a team from her recent statement: "I am definitely of the opinion that a single individual cannot deliver the goods. People must think for themselves and find out for themselves what is best for them."

There are independent-minded men and women in the Congress. Are they pulling their weight? Are they being encouraged enough? Then there are capable people outside the party who feel responsible for the country. Are they being included? Are they taking the initiative? These are questions for the Prime Minister, her party colleagues and mature men and women outside the Congress.

Press freedom—its future

THE future of the freedom of the press is not the private concern of journalists, editors and publishers: it is the concern of every man who loves freedom. The reason for this is simple. It would appear to be history's verdict on nations that a society which dispenses with press freedom dispenses with freedom itself. This was true of Germany under the Nazis and of Czechoslovakia in 1968 under the Russians. Much of the effort to liberalise Communism under Dubcek was spearheaded by "Rude Pravo" and other newspapers and journals. The post-Dubcek period saw the Russians installing their officials in every newspaper office checking articles before they were published. The story of Hitler and his Propaganda Minister, Dr Goebbels, is well known.

Therefore the constant vigil of the Swiss-based International Press Institute and their detailed reports on where the battle stands worldwide for press freedom is an important service.

Overall the IPI report for 1972 says that freedom of the press is threatened from two sources — outside

and inside. Outside, the threat comes from governments who want to control and influence; inside, it comes from journalists and others in the newspaper industry who disagree with editorial policies and attitudes. The report points out that freedom of the press is on the retreat in the world and that scarcely 20 per cent of the 132 member countries of the United Nations enjoy what could be called genuine freedom of information.

In India the press continues in general to be free, the report continues, "although there is evidence of attempts to guide the press by various groups". The report says, "It (press freedom) has even regained lost ground by the Supreme Court quashing of a government order restricting daily newspapers to 10 pages."

Seen in the perspective of the recent collapse of press freedom in the Philippines and the severe threats to it now being made in Sri Lanka, the course India chooses is supremely important. The maintenance of a free press in the varied and vast land of India may have repercussions beyond its borders.

Spelling a menu

THE best English in the world, so the English say, is spoken in India. Be that as it may, the uniqueness of our written English has to be read to be believed.

Observe for instance the menu card at the MLA Hostel at Bombay which offers:

Cone Flack Rasian Salad

Tomato Staffed	Custered
Staffed Brinzal	Vanil Small Cup
Strawberry Milk	Veg Petties
Mutton Vindolo	Dhili Samoosa
Anyone who dares to swallow any of this is lett-	ing himself in for a bad attack of upset spelling!

Briefly Speaking.....

Trifles make perfection, and perfection is no trifle.

MICHELANGELO, 1475-1564

Open House

THE Tata Institute of Fundamental Research plans to take "science and its culture to the people" and to bring about "a sense of identification between the Institute's scientists and the people of the country."

To forward this, the Institute will hold an Open House on January 26, 27 and 28, 1973 on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee year of India's Independence. Everyone will be welcome and a special exhibition of photographs and equipment will be set up.

Devout hope

A Malaysian tourist wrote of a Madras ambulance: "a rusty old thing— with most of its paint gone — rushing some unfortunate patient to hospital. I hope it was able to make it.



"Sir, he caught desalinating sea water and bootlegging it."

GET ODOMOS BEFORE THE MOSQUITOES GET YOU

Keep them brief and to the point—300 words or less. You could win Rs 25 or Rs 15.

3 **odomos** **MOSQUITO REPELLENT**

A PRODUCT OF BALSARA

Seeking reform

MUSLIM reformists attempted a protest demonstration outside the Maharashtra College, Bombay, where the All-India Muslim Personal Law Convention was being held. They met with fierce and physical resistance from those Muslims who oppose any change in Muslim law and who form the majority. Police had to intervene and remove the demonstrators to safety.

Said Mr Hamid Dalwai who led the demonstration, "We are not deterred... We are sure more Muslims will realise that they cannot live in isolation." Criticising the use of violence by the majority Mr Dalwai said, "How can they now complain about the use of violence by the majority in the country when they themselves use violence on minority brethren?"

Selling watches

Is Switzerland's hold over the world watch market slipping?

The Japanese have already posed a challenge to the Swiss. Now the Americans may pose another if they decide to export their solid-state electronic watches. The advantage the Americans have is that all the parts of their electronic watches can be mass produced.

The Swiss lead in selling watches is already slipping as can be seen by the following table:

World Watch Production (millions of watches)

	1967	1971
Switzerland	65.2	72.3
Japan	16.4	25.5
United States	16.6	21.0

Your views are worth something!

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VIEWPOINT COMPETITION
HIMMAT Weekly, White House, 91 Walkeshwar Rd., Bombay 6.

Keep them brief and to the point—300 words or less. You could win Rs 25 or Rs 15.

* New Year resolutions are a waste of time.

Closing date January 12

** Campus unrest — who is the chief culprit?

Closing date January 26

The Swiss are facing the challenge by a five-pronged co-ordinated offensive programme of quality control, innovation, improved marketing strategies, more competitive pricing and commercial policies. The Swiss also have the advantages of well-established brand names and a reputation for quality and reliability built over the years and a variety of production that even the Japanese have not yet managed to duplicate.

Who will win the watch race? Only time will tell.

Call it Peace Ocean

It has happened. The renaming bug has left the Indian shores and gone to Indonesia. The Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik has said that the Indian Ocean should be called "Peace Ocean". He said he had made representations to the United Nations on this subject.

He went on to say that naming the ocean after one country was not fair to the other nations that bordered it.

Birbal understands that under the late President Sukarno, the Indonesians called the ocean the "Indonesian Ocean".

Birbal

UPON MY WORD!

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

UPON MY WORD PUZZLE NO. 10

You should find 27

Words this week.

(Answer next week)

ANSWER TO PUZZLE NO. 9

Abate, abet, able, ablet, albeil, albert, albite, arable, bail, bait, bale, ball, ballet, bare, bear, beat, bell, bier, bile, bill, billet, bite, blare, blear, bleat, blite, brail, brat, brill, brit, label, labial, liable, libel, liberal, libra, librate, rabat, rebite, table, tribe, BILATERAL.



FACE OF SUFFERING

TWENTY-FIVE of the twenty-six districts of Maharashtra are feeling the effects of famine. More than 90 per cent of the state's agriculture is at the mercy of the rain god, and for three years in succession he has not showered his blessing.

Haunted by the spectre of famine, many have trekked to the towns and cities for succor. Others subsist as best they can on meagre earnings from Government drought relief schemes. Most of these people are in debt.

If the rain falls in June there will at least be grass for their cattle but not until the harvest is in by next Diwali, will they be able to grow their

SO THEY SAY

Old friends will not be lost—Britain will take her Commonwealth links into Europe with her.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

Neither the Constitution nor the practices and procedures are an end by themselves. Much depends upon how...the people who are charged with working them conduct themselves.

G. S. DHILLON,

Speaker of the Lok Sabha

The political-bureaucratic axis forms a tight bottleneck both to the progress of surgical science and its delivery to the people.

P. K. SEN,

President of the Indian Association of Surgeons

Famine in Maharashtra

Wanted: drastic, united action

own grain and other foods. It will be hard for them to repay debts incurred right now, even in the next five or six years. Prized cattle have been sold for a song, often to butchers, or been left to fend for themselves. Even a good monsoon next year will not be able to wash away totally the damage and despair of this drought.

The Government is alive to the seriousness of the situation. Requests for facts and figures were met with alacrity by officials, who are genuinely concerned about the people who are suffering, particularly in the remote areas of the state.

According to the figures supplied by Government officials some 18,39,914 people were employed daily on scarcity relief works up to December 15, as compared with 2,87,804 employed on normal departmental work. One hundred and eleven cattle camps with a capacity to absorb 1,74,945 head of cattle were sanctioned up to December 15, of which 78 camps with a capacity of holding 24,366 head of cattle have been actually opened. The Government has spent Rs 26,97,39,749 on scarcity relief works between April 1, 1972 and December 15, 1972.

But these figures are disputed by those who point out that in many areas the people responsible for the relief schemes often distort the figures in order to siphon off surplus funds into their own pockets (see pages 12 and 13).

The Government is also faced with the problem of transporting food and water. For instance, it is easy to transport food as far as Manmad but very difficult to move it from there to the affected areas. Trucks are being used to clear the bottleneck but apart from a few trucks that have been given free the rest cost the Government about Rs 120 per truck per day. Transporting water particularly to remote and inaccessible areas is a major problem. Could water-tight bags of rubber, leather or canvas loaded on donkeys be a solution to this problem?

The Government has rightly recognised that the task is of too great a magnitude for it to tackle alone. It is to the credit of the Opposition parties that all but one of them res-

ponded positively to the Chief Minister's appeal for co-operation. Unfortunately all has not been smooth sailing. The Government's inefficiency and the corruption in the organising of relief have been severely criticised. Instances of aid not having reached those in need of it in the past as in the case of the Koyna earth quake are cited. Opposition parties as well as individuals prefer to channel their aid through non-Government agencies.

by Padmini Kirtane

Some of the criticisms levelled at the Government's performance in famine relief even by certain Congress party members, are:

a) Lack of adequate machinery such as drilling machines, heavy rollers etc.

b) Lack of efficient advance planning both in the type of projects undertaken as well as their timing:

For people who live a hand-to-mouth existence delay between one fairly decent meal and the next. Often the jobs undertaken are not only unnecessary but hazardous to health. For instance metal-breaking. It is a point of debate whether the Government can actually use all the broken metal produced while it is a fact that such work can cause night blindness and later even total blindness. In Auranagabad the workers on metal-breaking works are made to pay for their own blasting powder and are not even supplied with adequate implements.

c) Lack of enough supervisors:

This encourages the unscrupulous to indulge in malpractices such as short payments, delay in payments, etc. If the proper wages are not paid people cannot buy rations from Government shops. Therefore they go to private shops where they receive credit at inflated rates.

While it is true that the Government may not have acquitted itself as well as it might have done, these

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT ...

READS CAREFULLY through the marathon speech of Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma, the Congress President, at the plenary session of his party in Bidhan Nagar and **NOTES** that much of it was "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

IS GRATIFIED to find that the international community has so generously come to the help of Nicaragua, hit by a devastating earthquake last week which killed thousands.

CONDEMNS the terrorism of the Palestinian guerrillas in trying to kidnap officials of the Israeli embassy in Bangkok and **CONGRATULATES** the Thai Government for its prompt and bold action to foil the plot.

IS GLAD to know that work on the underground railway for Calcutta has already started and **HOPES** that travelling in that congested city of 7 million people will soon become more bearable.

WELCOMES the decision of the Australian Government to abolish racial considerations in the selection of immigrants.

IS SHOCKED at the frightening consequences of environmental pollution in Kawasaki, an industrial centre near Tokyo, where 40 people have died and nearly 1400 people are suffering from various diseases caused by pollution.

SYMPATHISES with the Chief Minister of Kerala in his fight, against "hypocrisy and double standards in public life" and **SUGGESTS** that if he really means business, he should start by putting right where he has been wrong in the past.

IS IMPRESSED by the business acumen of beggars in Ajmer, Rajasthan who made a profit of Rs 10,000 last year by manufacturing biscuits and **ADVISES** firms, which habitually run at a loss, to try and learn management techniques from them.

IS HIGHLY PERTURBED to learn from the Indian Council of Medical Research that nearly 50 million people are physically handicapped in India.

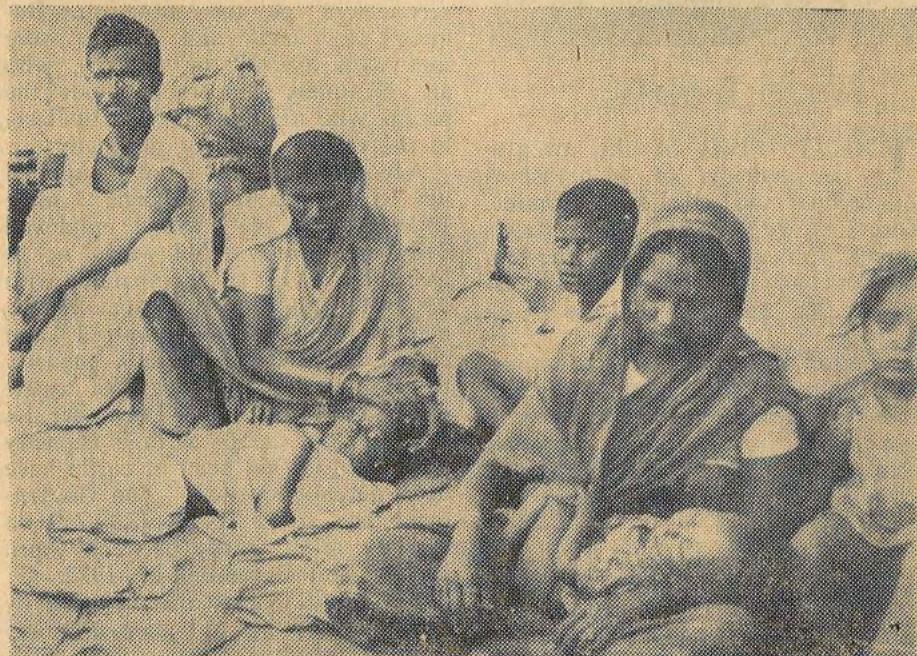
FAMINE IN MAHARASHTRA - from page 5

malpractices and instances of inefficiency are a blot on everyone in Maharashtra. If the Government fails it is our responsibility in a democracy to see that the mistake is rectified.

What about the hoarding of grains? What about those who seek to make political gain from this crisis? What about the food we waste on functions and ceremonies in spite of the Government ban? What about the corruption that is rampant? What is to stop socially-conscious individuals from touring the drought-hit areas and investigating the relief-schemes to see if they are honestly run? If they are not, what is to stop that individual concerned from

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VILLAGERS FLOOD INTO BOMBAY

taking up the matter with the police, the higher Government officials and the press, until the corruption is dealt with?

What is to stop the housewife from donating clothes and grain and seeing that they reach the needy through proper channels? What is to stop her children from donating pocket money?

What is to stop our pharmacutists from voluntarily donating more money and medicines than the Government dares to ask for, manufac-

trouble up to our ears and beyond. India, struggling to achieve self-sufficiency in food, cannot survive a massive migration from the land.

Just as the soldier who fought our wars did not do it just for his own sake, the farmer's struggle against famine is not just his own affair.

A nation that could feed, clothe and shelter 10 million refugees and help Bangladesh to achieve freedom can surely tackle and triumph over the hardships of famine. What is needed is united, drastic action.

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India's first Field Marshal—victorious in war, generous in peace

by R. M. Lala

who met Manekshaw 48 hours before the announcement of his elevation.

"THERE is much joy in me today but there is also much sorrow," Manekshaw said on December 29, addressing the Rotary District Conference in Kottayam, Kerala. "In 1943 a beaten and a shaken captain, Manekshaw first spoke to the Rotary. Today I command an excellent army. I have many nightmares. My army fought a gallant and a tenacious armed force. Although the war lasted only 14 days, 3000 of my men were killed and over 8500 wounded. I am glad 50 per cent of the wounded have been cured and have joined me back. But the remainder are maimed for life. Some will never walk, some will never see, some will be bedridden for life."

He appealed for help to the war widows and for employment chances for the 50,000 soldiers and officers the army retrenches each year.

Later he spoke to this writer with admiration of the efforts of his wife and other ladies who helped to raise over Rs 2,00,000,000 (Rupees two crores) for the war widows and their families. "It is better that we beg for them now than they have to beg later."

If 1971 was a year of planning for the liberation of Bangladesh, 1972 has been a busy year dealing with the aftermath of war. For his

own troops he has battled with all the prestige he commands for better conditions and salaries.

Manekshaw has the highest respect for the fighting qualities of the Pakistan army and refuses to accept the theory that they did not fight the last war vigorously. At one of his visits to a prisoners-of-war camp his officers wanted to accompany him for security. "I am in my own country, I don't need protection," he replied. He went in with only his ADC. He inquired of the Pakistanis if they were comfortable, if they had any complaints. He inspected their bunks, washrooms and kitchen. He spoke fluent Urdu and the Pakistanis felt at home. He treated them as if they had never lost the war and as if they were his own troops. As he shook hands a Pakistani subedar major said in Urdu, "We now see why you have such an excellent fighting force. I have been 25 years in the Pakistan Army but no General has ever shaken my hand".

Also in the last year Sam Manekshaw had to go through the patient drill of delineating the border at President Bhutto's pace. Finally he had to meet his Pakistani counterpart, General Tikka Khan. Tikka Khan struck him as a soldier who



Field Marshal S.H.F.J. Manekshaw

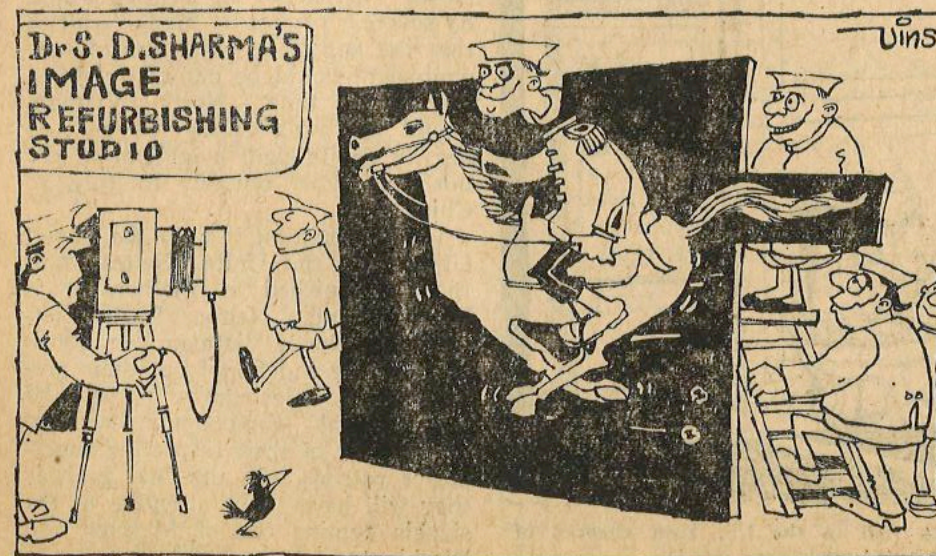
would obey orders and obey them well.

Manekshaw is a rare combination of an excellent staff officer and a first-class commander who elicits the loyalty of his officers and men.

Socially he mixes well. He has a lively sense of humour. "I take orders only from two ladies — my wife and the Prime Minister".

The man who has reached the highest rank ever in the Indian Army is a child of fortune. In December 1942 he was severely wounded defending a bridge in Burma when seven bullets lodged in his body. His orderly emerged when the advancing Japanese had moved on. Captain Manekshaw urged the orderly to save his own life but the faithful man refused. He carried his captain a whole day and most of the night to a field hospital where an Australian surgeon removed some bullets and sent him on to Rangoon. Manekshaw left Rangoon for Madras in one of the last ships, a frail shadow of his former self. He took

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18



What the Paris peace talks will be about

NEXT Monday the peace talks on Vietnam will resume in Paris.

It has not been said officially why they broke down. Nor has it been said why they are to be recommenced. We can only guess.

It seems probable however that the issue in dispute was the eventual unity of both Vietnams and the right of the North Vietnamese to intervene militarily in the South.

The transcript of Dr Henry Kissinger's press conference of December 19 would suggest it although he was determined not to go into the specifics of the breakdown. The key questions and answers are as follows:

Q: Dr Kissinger, isn't the fundamental point the one you raised about the right of North Vietnamese forces to intervene in the future in South Vietnam?

Dr Kissinger: I will not go into the substance of the negotiations.

Q: Dr Kissinger, you already mentioned a fundamental disagreement in which you say it is the US insistence that the two parts of Vietnam should live in peace with each other. Is that not the fundamental disagreement here?

Dr Kissinger: As I said, I will not go into the details. I cannot consider it an extremely onerous demand to say that the parties of a peace settlement should live in peace with one another, and we

cannot make a settlement which brings peace to North Vietnam and maintains the war in South Vietnam.

Q: But isn't their position basically that Vietnam is one country, and that this peace agreement is supposed to ratify that point?

Dr Kissinger: As I said, I will not go into the substance of the discussions, and I repeat: the issue that remained when we sent General Haig home is one that had already been agreed upon once, so it could not have been something that happened by oversight.

The bombing raids may have been carried out therefore, not simply to bring Le Duc Tho back to the negotiating table, but rather to demonstrate the continued determination of the USA to maintain South Vietnam as an independent country. The raids may have been scheduled to bring home to Hanoi the fruitlessness of attempting to unite Vietnam by force at a later stage. The US Air Force will remain in Indo-China after the final withdrawal of American land forces and even after the signing of a peace agreement. The message of the B52s could be interpreted as: any attempt to overturn the Saigon Government either by guerrilla insurrection or by force majeure will be met by greater force.

If this is the case it is possible



XUAN THUY:
head of North Vietnamese delegation at Paris talks

that Henry Kissinger's peace promises will be realised when the parties return to the negotiating table in Paris. The fact that the bombing was halted indicates that the North Vietnamese must have given some signal to President Nixon that they are ready to make some compromise on the principle of the oneness of Vietnam.

There are other powerful factors conducive to a settlement. Clearly the Soviet Union, despite verbal attacks by Prime Minister Kosygin on US imperialism, wants the Indo-China war ended and will apply pressure on Hanoi to bring about an end to the struggle.

The Russians are in a strong position to make their influence felt in Hanoi. Without Soviet artillery and rockets the North Vietnamese would have no effective ground defence against the high-flying B52 bombers and without their MiG fighters the North Vietnamese air defence would be severely crippled. Hanoi realises that the supply of parts and of new equipment could be cut off by Moscow any time. North Vietnam would not wish either to rely too heavily on its giant neighbour to the north so it is unlikely to turn to China.

In the longterm if both the Soviet Union and the United States want the war finished in Vietnam it is likely to end. Neither South Vietnam nor North Vietnam can continue fighting indefinitely at their present level of destructive power and technological competence without the support of their respective super-power patrons. In the final analysis they will have to be attentive to the signals coming out of Moscow and Washington.

Japan—nation on the move

FROM JAMES COULTER

TO re-visit Japan after an absence of 10 years is to bring alive the truth—seeing is believing:

— The way a near-full Japan Air Lines jumbo jet was cleared through customs about 20 minutes after touch down.

— Colour TV so realistic that you feel like reaching out to touch the flowers or pat the rosy cheeks of the children on the screens.

— The neon signs that go off like a firework display as they seek to arrest your attention on the latest offerings of Japanese industry.

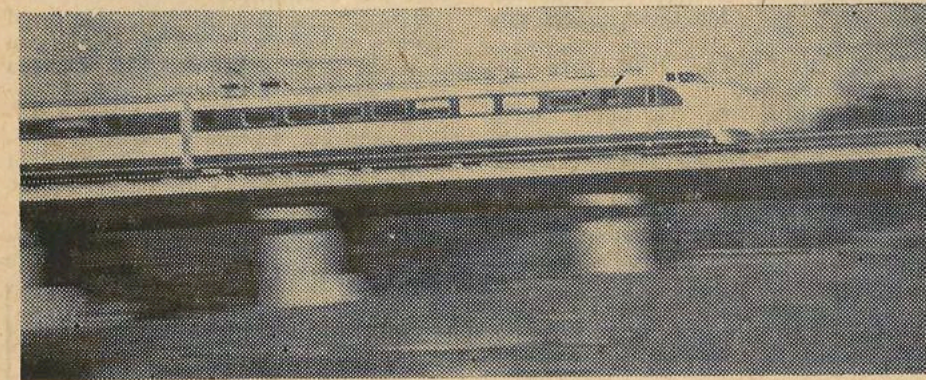
— The very high quality and prices of the clothes the vast majority now wear.

— Trim disciplined manly hairstyles and a sense of the mass of a

has shown an ability to fill in any space on an expressway with an extra car or two. But in Tokyo under some expressways is not only another road but also they are building an electric subway. So that on one piece of real estate you have three levels of transportation. Critics are quick to point out that in such a city you have a better chance of gulping raw petrol than fresh air.

But the will to overcome shows again in the proposal to make it compulsory next year for every car to be fitted with an anti-pollution device.

In the meantime pollution is discussed in much the same compulsive way as the weather but with a difference. Man has a sense of guilt



SUPER-FAST EXPRESS TRAINS LINK JAPAN'S CITIES

people going vigorously in the same direction.

— In fact pages of cold statistics on Japan's economic growth can never capture the vitality that lies behind it.

Mile upon mile of expressways criss-cross the city skimming at roof level. In common with other cities no sooner are bigger expressways built that they are matched by an outpouring of cars and what seems to be a self-defeating desire in man for mobility.

In Japan there is a difference. There is an immense desire to keep going and not to be easily defeated. This shows in the "joggers" around the path that borders the moat of the Imperial Palace. The quality of their track suits is eye catching and their stamina rather awesome. The real clue to the Japanese character is the way they use the moments waiting for the traffic lights to change to redouble their efforts and do vigorous calisthenics.

In many parts of the world man

about the pollution whereas with the weather, except for the odd person who blames the vagaries of the weather on to the atomic tests, it is in the words of insurance clauses under the heading of "an act of God". But pollution and the constant discussions about it give a real hint to dissatisfactions and self-doubts in the Japanese. An awareness that the immense strides made in the post-war years have been matched with a sorrow that the good life had not proved in experience to be the stuff of which dreams are made.

Prime Minister Tanaka in the recent election made the quality of life an issue. His proposals included plans for decentralising industry. It met with a mixed response. Understandably many in the country areas felt that if factories made cities dirty they would do the same if shifted into their neighbourhood. And a good many city dwellers did not like the thought of country refugees being dotted with industrialisation.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

The week in ASIA

PYONGYANG — Prime Minister Kim Il Sung was elected President of North Korea by the Supreme People's Assembly (parliament).

SEOUL — The South Korean President, Mr Park Chung-hee, who was reinstalled for a new six-year term in office, pledged to continue to work for a dialogue with the North leading to eventual unification.

TOKYO — Japan's steel-making industry, which exported 600,000 tons of steel products to India last year, will send a five-man steel mission to India to promote trade ties and exchange steel market information.

MANILA — Foreign-trained secessionist rebels allied with communists attacked a hamlet in Basilan Island, 960 kms south of Manila, and inflicted heavy casualties on Government troops.

BANGKOK — Four armed Arab guerrillas held at least five hostages in the besieged Israeli Embassy and finally agreed to release them in return for safe conduct out of Thailand.

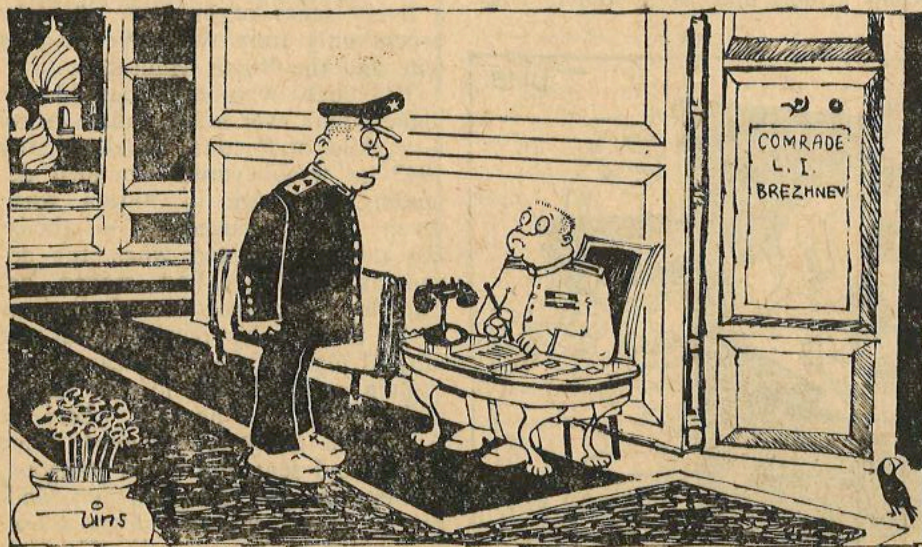
RAWALPINDI — President Bhutto has suggested that the next "logical step" under the Simla agreement, after the withdrawal of the troops, is to work for a second summit between him and Mrs Gandhi and that officials of the two countries could meet in Delhi or Rawalpindi to work out the procedure and agenda for the summit.

KATHMANDU — The 25 research quarters built by the Indian Co-operation Mission on the Tribhuvan University campus at a cost of Rs 6 lakhs were inaugurated by Nepal's Foreign and Education Minister, Mr Gyanendra Bahadur Karki.

TEHERAN — A 1.4 square mile games complex, featuring ancient Persian architecture, is being built for 3500 athletes from 21 countries who are expected to participate in the Asian Games in 1974.

ANKARA — The Government has proposed legislation to take over direct control of Turkey's autonomous universities which are viewed as a breeding ground for leftists.

ADEN — North and South Yemen have reached a final agreement on the withdrawal of troops and reopening of the border between them.



"Pity, Comrade Brezhnev has postponed his visit to the US. Your chances of meeting your immigrant great-grand uncle are thin."

BEST WORLD PRESS

Politics without morals

In recent history there has been a growing acceptance of realpolitik and a corresponding rejection of the Christian ethic or any other absolute ethic as the ground for national policies ...

There is however a danger inherent in the worship of realism. It is that it imposes on the human mind a particular set of values of which the man himself may scarcely be conscious. These values exalt the apparent and temporary interests of the state at the expense of the interests and lives of individuals, even in very large numbers. This deterioration has been visible in the intellectual school of realpolitik which for a decade has dominated Washington. It affected President Kennedy and his advisors. It destroyed the judgment of Professor Rostow and President Johnson and it seems also to have eaten away the judgment of Dr Kissinger and his President. It is apparent that men who bleed moral considerations out of their thinking cease in the end to be moral beings.

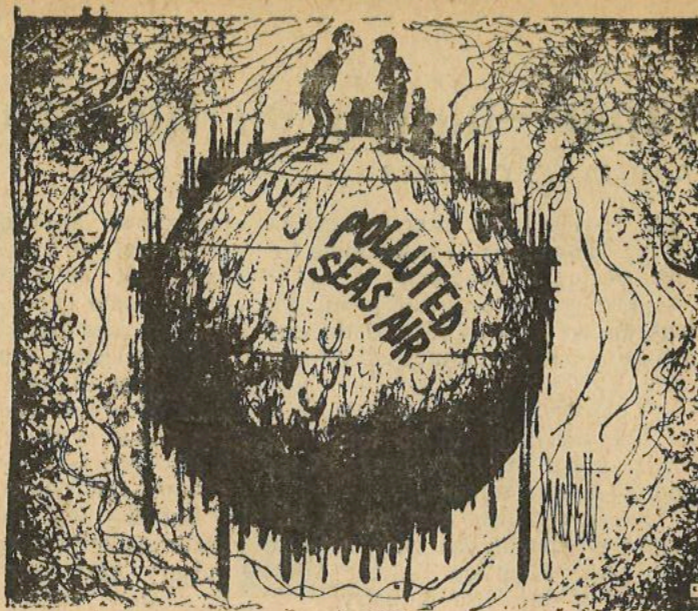
THE TIMES, London

The quality of mercy

Asian states caught in the vortex of change have been displaying a capacity for magnanimity at the top that merits commendation. Many believed that Pakistan's President, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, would forever remain the politician who

resigned in protest against the first ray of peace in the subcontinent, the Tashkent Agreement of 1966, and who had since shown a gift for rabble-rousing. Yet, one of his first acts as President was to free Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from the shadow of the gallows, a gesture that gave the new country of Bangladesh a fighting chance to survive. Last week he decided to repatriate all Indian POWs and push ahead towards the recognition of Bangladesh, despite opposition from myopically patriotic religious leaders, army hawks and their student supporters.

These are moves that have the smack of greatness, as have his words to his Indian prisoners: "Go home happily and tell your people we want good relations with India. Do not think you have defeated Pakistan. Pakistan has defeated itself." The quality of mercy that Pakistan displayed was immediately reciprocated by India, which decided to repatriate



"I knew there would be a catch in it somewhere when they said the meek would inherit the earth."

Courtesy CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

all those Pakistan POWs of whom it had unilateral control.....

Over in Bangladesh the same mood appears to prevail. When the temptation to wreak a bitter revenge on Pakistan and Bangalee collaborators with Pakistan must be understandably strong, a special court has sentenced the most celebrated traitor — the last governor of East Pakistan — not to death but to life-long exile.

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, Hong Kong

Chancellor Willy Brandt's next round

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI IN BONN

AFTER a stormy year in German politics and a passionately fought election, Chancellor Willy Brandt and his coalition Government have settled down to a new period of hard work.

The picture of the new Government grouped around Federal President Dr Heinemann did not give

the first time the strongest party in the Bundestag, the Chancellor also had another job to fill — the one of Speaker of the Parliament. He chose for the first time in German history a lady, Mrs Annemarie Renger, a veteran Socialist and without any doubt the most attractive looking person ever to fill that position.

But it will take more than charm and a capable, well-balanced team to tackle the issues which will have to be faced by the new Government. Having visited Bonn both before and just after the elections, one found both Government and Opposition representatives in a much sobered mood. The Opposition Christian Democrats who were so close to taking over the Government in the past year, have now been clearly disavowed by the voter and have to accept the bitter fact that for the next four years the SPD-FDP coalition with its large majority will be able to rule pretty well as it wants to.

The reason for the equally sobered mood in Government circles is also not hard to find. Willy Brandt has had considerable difficulties in satisfying some of the demands made on him by the different wings in his own party and the FDP. Obvious divisions on important political matters will have to be overcome in the course of the coming months if the coalition is to govern effectively.

This time, with the large majority he has, Willy Brandt will not be able to blame the Opposition for blocking his legislative programme. If he or his Ministers do not succeed in developing adequate policies, the responsibility will be completely theirs. This will be particularly true in the field of economic and other domestic affairs which, during these next four years, will figure much more prominently in German politics than foreign affairs.

The Ostpolitik will, of course, be carried forward but there is not much new ground to be conquered. Diplomatic relations with China have been established, and no doubt the exchange of ambassadors with Czechoslovakia and other East European countries is not far off. The treaty with the German Democratic Republic (DDR) was concluded just before the elections and its ratification is now just a matter of time. Even

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17



CHANCELLOR BRANDT: more than charm and capability needed

cause to much excited comment. After the election victory of November 19 in which Chancellor Brandt assured himself of a majority of 46 seats in the Bundestag, one had expected many more changes in the Social Democratic-Liberal team (SPD-FDP).

But with the exception of one cabinet member — the only lady of the last Government, the Health and Family Minister, Kathe Strobel, who retired voluntarily for reasons of age — no one of Brandt's last Government wanted to quit. So one finds most of the same faces occupying the same spot on the Government chart. The only powerful new personalities joining the Government are Munich's former Lord Mayor, Vogel, who takes on a new Ministry for Housing and Urban Affairs and two new FDP Ministers, Minister of Economics Friderichs and Professor Maihofer as Minister without Portfolio.

Because the SPD has become for

The week in INDIA

NEW DELHI — Exports in the first seven months of 1972-73 have gone up by 22 per cent, the most spectacular advance for decades, and with the simultaneous downward trend of imports the trade surplus in these seven months is Rs 74 crores.

— Over 700 idols were stolen from 282 places in India this year, the largest number from Tamil Nadu.

CHANDIGARH — The Action Committee of the Punjab Working Journalists' Union has decided to continue its 34-day old strike.

BIKANER — An acute shortage of foodgrains and drinking water is being experienced in most parts of the drought-hit Bikaner district.

POONA — Professor V. V. John, eminent educationist, inaugurated the third triennial technical conference of principals of the All India Association of Christian Higher Education and called for a radical change in the current teaching and examination methods.

ANANTAPUR — Due to a violent mob of anti-Mulki agitators and police firing six people were killed.

CALCUTTA — A delegation comprising 20 editors of small newspapers, submitted a memorandum to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi demanding imposition of a ceiling on newspaper advertisement rates and their fixation in proportion to circulation.

TRIVANDRUM — The Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar, almost as old as Christianity as it was founded by one of the Apostles of Jesus Christ, St Thomas, is celebrating the 19th centenary of its founder with a special ceremony in Kottayam.

AJMER — Beggars in the State, who formed a co-operative society and manufactured biscuits, have made a profit of Rs 10,000 within one year, according to All India Radio.

VIJAYAWADA — Agitators for a "separate Andhra" forced the stationmaster and porters out of Gannavaram railway station, after disconnecting communication and signal wires in the cabin.

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Stark realities of famine in Maharashtra

Cattle and people migrate

by Iqbal Hari Rebello

One of the worst drought-hit states in India is Maharashtra. The state Government is doing a great deal to cope with the problem through relief works. Indian oil tankers are being used to transport water to parched areas. But much more remains to be done. HIMMAT this week reprints an article from "Janata Weekly" to give our readers an idea of the plight of ordinary people in the famine-affected areas.

WHEN the Panshet Dam burst and created havoc in Poona city, we gave our mite, but when drought hits the villages the people in the cities turn a blind eye!" said Shri Eknath Mandre angrily. "At our last job we were not paid wages for six days. God alone knows when we will get them," said Smt Thakabai Kashinath Kale, looking helplessly at Smt Mrinal Gore, Socialist MLA from Maharashtra.

"At this rate half the cattle in the state will die before the next monsoon, because of lack of fodder," said Shri Shankarrao Kolhe, an independent MLA. "This is the ninth year of scarcity in succession," an elderly cultivator from Kari village, in Barsi taluka of Sholapur district, told Shri Pannalal Surana, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, Maharashtra.

These words kept hitting me in the face as we started back after a two-day tour of the famine-hit districts of Ahmednagar and Bhir.

Before turning into Bhir district, we stopped for a short while at Shikrapur and Ghodnadi of Sirur. It was at a little tea shop on the highway at Shikrapur that we met Shri Eknath Mandre and Shri Ganpat Saswade, both local residents. They looked at the relief works for employment with cynicism. They could hardly get 70 to 80 paise per day from them.

Cattle were migrating, as fodder had become a luxury for the small and medium farmers. It cost Rs 150 per 100 bales. Nearly 40,000 head of cattle were reported to have migrated from the taluka. The taluka had no cattle camps, the nearest one in Khed taluka being about 64 km from Shikrapur.

The quality of Government rations was worsening every day. There was no wheat in the shops and people had to buy makaj (maize). Each person got 6 kg of maize per week at 80 paise per kilo. Turning maize into flour costs 40 paise per 5 kg. Vegetables were out of the question. They ate their maize bread with

mirchi (chilli) powder with a touch of salt.

We moved into Ahmednagar district, passing through the Karjat taluka area.

The hot, dry day was nearing its end and the yellowish brown, parched land was beginning to look grey. The people employed on famine relief works were returning home, their feet, hands, mouths covered with the mud of their toil. Unshining eyes, knotted foreheads and faraway looks met us.

Tales of misery

We stopped near a group of women. They looked old before their time. They come from the Dhangar community. They were



UGLY FACE OF DROUGHT

part of a group of about 400 people employed at a metal-breaking centre.

They had been working at the centre for the last two weeks. Before that they were given work at Bitake-wadi on the construction of a percolation tank, about 8 km from their place. The work lasted for 15 days. But they received payment for only eight days. "And we don't know whom to approach," said one woman.

Nobody's concern

"Is there a shed at the metal-breaking centre?" asked Smt Gore. "No." "What about water supply?" "We have to carry pots of water on our heads while coming to the centre," Thakabai replied. "How much wages do you get?" asked Shri Surana. "Sometimes they go up to Rs 6, but normally we get Rs 5 per week," she said. "But the Government has instructed that payment should be made at Rs 2.50 per day for males and Rs 2 per day for females," intervened a journalist friend. "The figures you quote are the ceiling and not the average or the minimum." "But how can they get enough food for such a paltry sum?" "It seems to be the concern of everybody and therefore of no one," Babu Sagu Gadhwe, a 72-year old man working at the centre, said cynically.

Thakabai, Babu and the others were all landless labourers. After the ceiling law came into force, Thakabai received an 8-acre plot from the Government on the recommendation of her gram panchayat. "I had to pay a bribe of Rs 200 to the village leaders to get the land," she said. And what a piece of land she got! Most of it was rocky making it

impossible for anything to grow on it without rain. And this was the third year that the rains had failed.

At Bhir we were officially told that the kharif season had failed for the second successive year.

There are 1045 villages in the district. Right now water scarcity is felt in 278 villages. At the dawn of the New Year water scarcity will spread to another 400 villages. There is no water in the minor irrigation projects and the water table in the district has gone deeper into the earth due to continuous failure of the monsoon.

There is only one boring machine for the whole of the district. It bores 100 feet per day and is not useful beyond 200 feet. The water table at many places is below 200 feet. As a result only 50 per cent of the relief projects for deepening of wells, as well as boring them, have been successful. Thirty-eight villages in the district are provided water with the aid of bullock carts, and the district headquarters itself has to

There are donkeys and donkeys

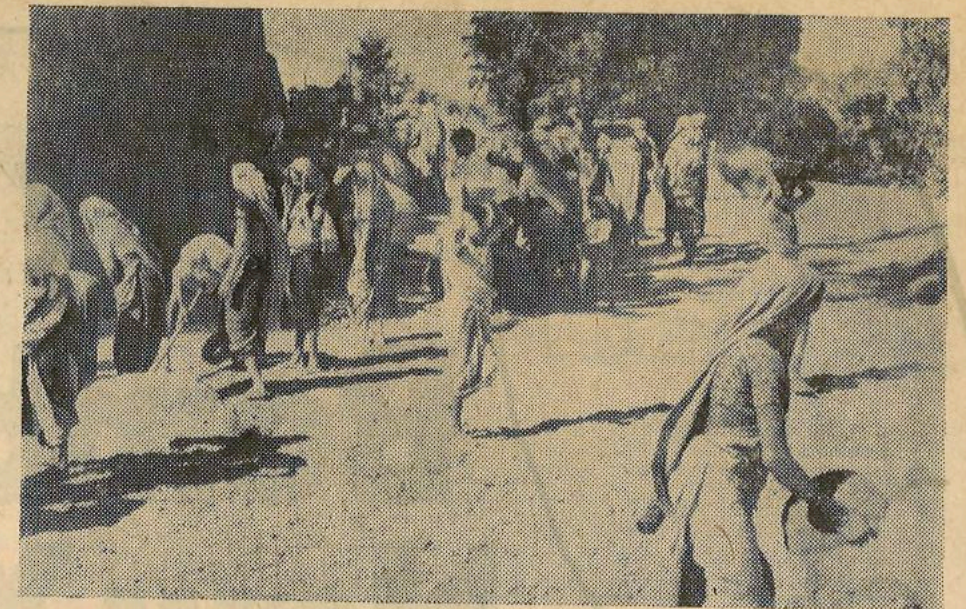
There is much talk of bureaucratic bungling. But this one beats the lot.

The revenue authorities of the Shrirampur taluka in Ahmednagar have refused to pay for the work done by 45 donkeys in scarcity relief schemes. The excuse is that the state Government has laid down rules for only bullocks and bullockcarts used in relief schemes. Therefore, they say, no donkeys can be engaged in scarcity work, nor can they be paid for work done.

depend on three tankers and three requisitioned wells to augment its water supply.

The picture is bleak. With the probability of the rabi season failing the district is preparing for evacuation. Cattle is being sold at throw-away prices. Lack of fodder has affected even the medium farmers owning 50 to 100 acres. There is absolutely no fodder in Aashti, Patora and Bhir talukas and cattle are migrating from the district.

The Collector of Bhir told us that he was unwilling to start cattle camps in the district as he felt that



THOUSANDS ARE NOW ON RELIEF WORK: in one area 50 per cent of the population soon will be thus employed

there was not a single place in the district where fodder and water could be available in sufficient quantities. He felt that the state Government would have to provide fodder for the district at least till February next.

Employment on relief work projects is rising. In May it was 22,000, whereas by the middle of November it had risen to 1,55,000. If the rabi season fails, employment will have to be provided for 3 lakhs people. The total population of the district is 12 lakhs out of which 8 lakhs are able-bodied. This means at least 50 per cent of the population will depend on relief works by early 1973.

It is reliably learnt that the State Supplies allowed a transfer of almost all the food supply in its Manmad godowns to Kerala recently, in spite of the scarcity conditions in this state. Student riots in Punjab have caused an unprecedented delay in getting more supplies from that state. Further, the Punjab supply is now in greater demand due to famine or near-famine conditions prevailing in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, all of which border on Maharashtra.

Shri Bansilal Kothari, former chairman of the Jamkhed Taluka Panchayat Samiti, rushed into the room of the Tehsildar, when we were there. Harassed by the daily demands from the poor in his taluka Shri Kothari vehemently demanded that all irrigated land in Ahmednagar district, should be used to grow fodder. "We can do without sugar for another year (apparently referring to the use of land for sugarcane growing in the north of the district), but we cannot

do without fodder. If we don't feed our cattle, a good monsoon next year will go to waste for lack of cattle," he said. He proposed that every sugar factory in the state should start a cattle-camp.

No fodder is available in the Jamkhed taluka. At the weekly market about 3000 to 4000 head of cattle come up for sale. Bullocks worth Rs 500 at normal times have been sold for Rs 100. For water, the local authorities tried to bore wells at nine different places. Water was not struck even at a depth of 200 feet.

Adamant attitude

Shri Kothari said one of the reasons for the relief works making slow progress was the adamant attitude of some of the farmers themselves. There have been times when private land was required for public purposes, such as construction of roads, but the farmer, particularly if he was a small or medium one, refused to part with his land, resorting to all sorts of protests, including litigation.

Shri Kothari suggested that to avoid such inconveniences in future two-third of the compensation should be given to the landholder in advance and the rest after measurements, etc had been completed.

Another suggestion that Shri Kothari made is also worth considering. Ahmednagar district has enthusiastically carried out family planning programmes. In times such as these, he said, it would not be out of place to use family planning programme vehicles for relief work.



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Indian Sport—the total picture

SPORTSWEEK ANNUAL; published by Inquilab Publications, Bombay: pp 114; Price Rs 4.00

PEOPLE in India today are more sports conscious than ever. But the quality of Indian sport remains the same. India did progress in one or two games but progress has not been steady.

It is a pity that except for a few sports critics nobody is thoroughly aware of the causes of India's weakness. What gives this publication authority is that some of the articles provide a comprehensive exposition of the root causes of the failure of Indian sport. Ron Hendrick's pungent piece "The Parasite in Sport" describes the bureaucratic bungling

of the administrators. He writes, "If you are unscrupulous and would like to enjoy a comfortable living and visit a lot of foreign countries, all you have to do is to get the right party ticket and become a full fledged sport's administrator."

This third publication of the Annual is the best so far with its extensive coverage of most of the important sports in the country and the world. The contributions are made by men who have made their mark in their own fields — Lala Amarnath, Farokh Engineer, Syed Ispahani, Wilson Jones, Dr Karni Singh, R. Krishnan, Vijay Merchant and Nandu Natekar. There is even a piece on Rugby Football in India by a veteran sports commentator.

Once again cricket dominates the

Annual as it always has done. Except for a few coloured pictures and an Olympic review, hockey is badly neglected. The other need in the

BOOKS

Annual is for a life sketch of Ranji whose birth centenary was celebrated in 1972.

The Annual has attractive colour pages on the Munich Olympics. This gives an added touch to its excellence. It is a publication worth keeping in one's collection of books on sports.

G. D.

JAPAN—NATION ON THE MOVE —from page 9

But while issues of environment and life style often are the topics of conversation in affluent and booming economies they also cover deeper questions. Japan's relations with her neighbours, particularly China, seem to be the subject of puzzled private discussions rather than passionate public debate. It is in conversation that the illusion of one-ness — the much published notion of "Japan Inc" — gets challenged. Some samples of this gift of self-criticism come to mind.

A Japanese housewife: "Some Japanese politicians think that money will buy anything. I hope the Prime Minister doesn't make the same mistake with the Chinese."

A Socialist Senator: "All I have heard from Asia makes me feel that people are coming to regard Japanese as 'economic animals' and I grew most critical of the men of industry until I realised that we in the Diet (Parliament) had to shift from behaving like 'political animals'."

A World War II soldier: "People don't know what to think about China but they do feel unhappy about turning our back on Formosa because many remember that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was generous to us in defeat."

And the post-election headline "Communists Become Third Power" told of the shock that came out of the election where the ruling Liberal Democrats lost 26 seats, the Japan

Communist party gained 24 and the Japan Socialist Party gained 31.

It had been an election designed to endorse Prime Minister Tanaka's policies—particularly towards China. His haste to catch up with and overtake Nixon in establishing new ties with China certainly seemed to encourage voters to follow his example and move to the Left.

The Prime Minister said on National Television: "I am afraid I underestimated, particularly the Communist Party." He went on to say: "We as a party in the position of

responsibility must always try to accept squarely the people's criticism."

If he truly does this, he will be responding to important trends in the national mood. So many people will discuss with you where they feel their country needs to put more care than cash into their relations with other countries in Asia and this gives a clue to the country's greatness. They are not dazzled themselves by the country's immense rise in material prosperity. They hunger for a destiny and a way of making a contribution that will last. And it is during Prime Minister Tanaka's term of office that the Japanese will be charting their course for many years ahead.

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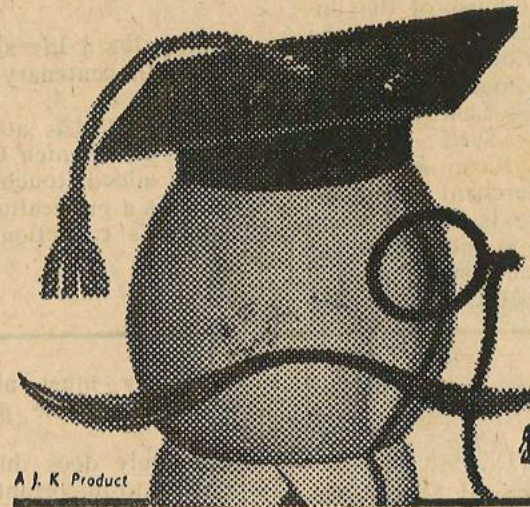
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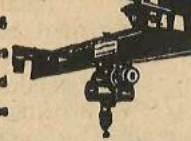
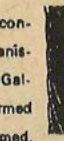


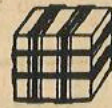

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PRESEMAN-JKS-43

Intelligent action by Bombay students

As many as 9 universities are already closed in the country due to campus violence. But an incident of bold action taken by some students of Khalsa College, Bombay should be a challenge to the students of the rest of the country.

This college is one of the biggest in the city. Students are academically rated equal to any in the city. Only a microscopic minority is interested in dirty politics and the campus has always remained peaceful.

But the calmness of the campus was suddenly disturbed recently by final year chemistry students who agitated to re-install their favourite professor who had left the college. Most of them believed that the management of the college had forced him to resign. The students therefore completely boycotted their classes.

As it was in the middle of the academic year, the management of the college found it difficult to recruit a new teacher. At last they recruited one but the students were not satis-

fied. They threw crackers at their new teacher showing their discontent.

The new teacher was unhappy about the situation and decided to resign. However, one of the students decided to fight for justice to prevail and chalked out a plan. While the new teacher was taking a class before tendering her resignation letter, this courageous student went up to the platform of the class and said, "We can certainly bring our old professor and the management together and settle the dispute peacefully."

Turning to the new teacher he said, "On behalf of the whole class I would like to apologise to you for our irresponsible behaviour. Please forgive us." The ringleader of the whole agitation followed him and said, "I am sorry for all the happenings." The principal of the college was present in the class at the time.

Then some of the students who were very much inspired by their colleagues' bold action, approached the old professor who had already accepted a better job. They were

able to arrange a meeting between the principal and their favourite professor. This was a big step forward and ultimately they succeeded in persuading the professor to resign from his better paid job and he was able to return to the college.

This is a practical example of how students solved their own problem

CAMPUS COMMENT

before bad elements could interfere. Not very long ago the dismissal of a professor from the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi had caused a furore in Parliament and outside. At the Kanpur IIT a professor was asked to leave because of his leftwing political activities. Can IITs and other crisis-racked universities profit by this experience of students in a Bombay college?

Gautam Das

BRANDT'S NEXT ROUND—from page 11

the entry of both the Federal Republic and the DDR into the United Nations will not cause too much of a ripple.

So the Brandt Government can only bring about new great achievements in a field which was described during the election campaign as "improvement of the quality of life". This still rather nebulous concept includes anti-pollution measures, city-planning, plans to curb inflation, and an extension of social security.

The Opposition is not in as weak a position as some of the lamentations of CDU leaders after the elections may have indicated. More than 40 per cent of the electorate — and a corresponding number of seats in the Bundestag and even a stronger position in the Bundesrat, the Upper House of Parliament — give the Opposition leaders a strong voice in the country. They also have a chance to restore the picture of a credible alternative Government which they had clearly failed to present in the course of the past year.

One of their trump cards is that they can point out that it is one thing to establish new relationships with communist countries — as the Ostpolitik has done — but it is another to know what kind of constructive ideas are meant to flow, besides commercial goods, from Wes-

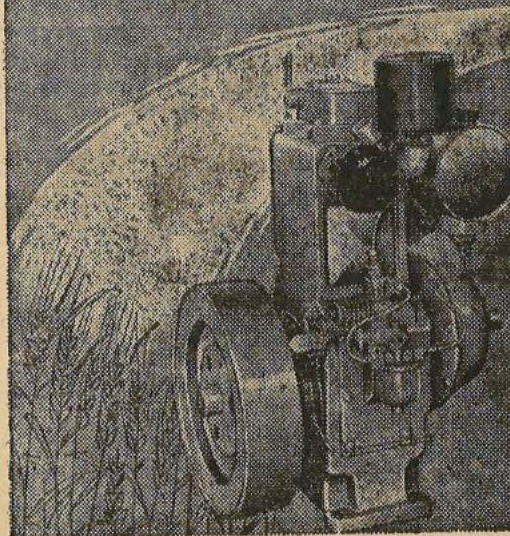
tern Europe into the Communist world.

What the last weeks in the Federal Republic have shown is that neither the prophets of gloom nor the super-optimists have been right. It is true that the democratic system in the Federal Republic has proved to be effective and that the largest possible proportion of the German elec-

torate have been able to choose freely what Government they wanted.

But it is also true that in world affairs — for instance on the issue of the European Security Conference — and in domestic affairs, the real test of the effectiveness of the Federal Government will come only in 1973. And to face these tests the best minds of both political camps will have plenty of chances to show who has the better ideas and concepts.

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SHIRAM CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

MANEKSHAW—from page 7

the rest of the World War quietly. He was a staff instructor at Quetta. When independence came he saw action in Kashmir. Later he was Commandant at the Staff College in Wellington. He stood up to the then Defence Minister but fortunately escaped from the consequences. After the debacle in the China War, Manekshaw was chosen as General

Officer Commanding Eastern Command and became Chief of the Army Staff on June 9, 1969. At 58, Manekshaw is remarkably fit. Every morning his bearer wakes him with a cup of tea at 5 o'clock whatever time he may have gone to bed the previous night.

The Manekshaws have two married daughters, one of whom is in Mad-

ras and the other in England. On retirement the Manekshaws plan to settle down in Coonoor where their new house awaits them.

It is hard to imagine such a fit and able man in quiet retirement among the tea gardens of the Nilgiris. Could the Field Marshal's baton, adorned with an olive branch, bring glory to India in a foreign capital? He would make such an excellent ambassador.

Letters

ON ANDHRA

I appreciated the article "Bid to hold Andhra together" published in your issue of December 8, 1972. But one important point is missing. From the time of state re-organisation in 1956 till today, every employee in every cadre in every department from the Andhra region working in the capital has been drawing a lower scale of pay than that drawn by a candidate from Telangana, working side by side in the same office room. This causes heart burning in the employees from the Andhra region.

Justice requires that the scales of pay of candidates from the Andhra region should also have been raised to the level of those from Telangana.

KOTHA SUBBARAO, Kakinada 3, Andhra Pradesh

BIFURCATE ANDHRA

THERE never was an integration between the minds of the people of Andhra and Telangana. It is the politicians who are thrusting integration upon them. Never before has there been such popular support for the bifurcation of the state as now. Lawyers, students, doctors, and officers are spearheading the agitation. People in both the regions believe that the PM's formula only aims at postponing the solution till 1977.

Already many lives have been lost.

Before there is a further bloodbath it is better for the country and the people to bifurcate the state.

MOGULURU SREERAMMURTY, Andhra Pradesh

ASIAN COMMON MARKET

WE Asians should form various trade councils like the Asian Automobile Council, the Asian Textile Council, the Asian Chemicals and Fertilisers Council and the like.

These councils should explore the possibility of a freer flow of goods among Asian countries, minimising import and export regulations in every country and finding new markets for Asian goods. Let us see each other's demands, supply and production capacity and then work in co-operation.

An Asian common market secretariat would be necessary to co-ordinate the work of these various councils.

PRITHIPAL SINGH MANOCHA, Kalyan Camp 4

This was a Life

HARRY S. TRUMAN 1884 — 1972

HARRY S. TRUMAN was an ordinary man who had greatness thrust upon him. His place in history rests upon the crucial decisions he had to make as the 33rd President of the United States.

He was born on a farm in Lamar, Missouri, on May 8, 1884. After graduating from high school he gave up studies to earn his daily bread. From early years, he was forced to carry on without spectacles, as he could not afford them.

A member of the Missouri National Guard, he was called to duty in World War I and saw action in France.

Back to civilian life, he married his childhood sweetheart, Bess Wallace. He tried his hand at the haberdashery business. It went bankrupt.

Truman entered politics in 1922 and was elected to the Senate in 1934.

In 1944 President Roosevelt chose him as his running mate. He had been Vice-President for only 83 days when he became President, following the death of Roosevelt. In 1948 Truman scored the greatest political upset in US history by defeating Republican Thomas E. Dewey, to become President for a second term.

His days in the White House proved that he was a man of courage, if not of far-sighted wisdom, who rose to every occasion. Not for nothing did he have on his desk a notice: "The buck stops here!"

He took the momentous decision to use the atomic bomb on Japan that speeded the end of World War II. Under the "Truman Doctrine" the US supplied substantial aid to Greece and Turkey to combat communism. Then came the Marshall Plan which poured \$ 12,500 million in money and goods into the sagging economies of the war-torn countries of Western Europe. He intervened in the Korean War in 1950; a step that committed America to involvement on the Asian mainland. People in India will remember him for the India Food Aid Bill which brought food-grains to the country at a time of great need.

He was one of the founding fathers of the United Nations and the initiator of NATO.

Asked to suggest his epitaph Truman said "He done his damndest". This was the essence of the Truman creed — do what you think is right and never mind the critics.

F. M.

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AIYARS-50-18/72



Rose & granite: Rajaji's last days

by Rajmohan Gandhi

THREE CENTURIES appear to merge in Rajaji's life. Before the 19th century ended he was a friend of Swami Vivekananda. In 20th century India he sparkled. And in his last days he gave his friendship to people some of whom will still be youthful when the 21st century rings in.

Two qualities, both in their extreme form, became embedded in him. Like a rose he was tender, delicate and sensitive. Like granite he was long-lasting, resolute and unyielding.

Both qualities shone in his last days. These were testing days for him, for although attacks and opposition never disturbed him he always hoped that he would be spared physical pain.

He had been ill since the end of November, eating and drinking but little, and was very weak. On the morning of Sunday December 17 an ambulance took him, with his approval, to Madras' General Hospital, where he was admitted for treatment of uraemia, dehydration and a urinary infection.

"I have been brought here to die," he said that Sunday evening. His relatives ridiculed the talk. At that moment Mr Karunanidhi, Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, and his colleague, Mr Nedunchezian, arrived. Rajaji had received no notice of the visit but he immediately took the Chief Minister's hand in his right hand, blessed his head and face with the left hand, and said in Tamil, "I will never take away my hand of friendship." Then he took Mr Nedunchezian's hand, addressed him by his name, and blessed him.

On subsequent days, President Giri, central Ministers, diplomats and other public figures were to visit the bedside. But Rajaji was too ill or too weak to exchange words or greetings with them.

The morning papers of December 18 carried the news of "satisfactory progress". Rajaji laughed when he was told of this. Next day, when he was informed of a similarly positive account, he smiled again and said, "I don't trust such unreliable news."

When a house surgeon, one of several who had the chance to assist him, was introduced to him,

Rajaji wanted to know where he was from. "Madras," was the answer. "Which part of Madras?" Rajaji asked. "Chromepet," said the young doctor.

A few hours before he went unconscious on the morning of December 23 a young Bangalore doctor was presented to him. Weak and ill as he was, Rajaji offered him his hand.

His courtesy never left him. If a doctor's question was not clearly heard, and he had the strength to speak, he would gently say, "I beg your pardon?" Once, noticing two nurses who were standing by the bed, he asked, "Am I properly dressed?"

A vital part of the treatment was the drip. Water was fed intravenously. When his left arm was being used for this purpose he was apt to try to disturb it with his right hand. He was cautioned against doing this. His comment was, "Let not the right hand know what the left hand is doing." Then he paused and added, "Or is it the other way round?"

He wanted to know how long the drip would last. Learning that it could go on for hours, he said, "I cannot bear it." Then he said, "God, bear it." After this he faced his discomfort and restlessness like a soldier.

The uraemia was brought under control, and his 94-year-old heart, lungs and kidneys were judged to be in good shape. But his general condition remained restless and weak.

On December 21 he said he felt better. At 9.45 pm. on December 22 he was asked again how he felt. "I feel happy," was the answer.

Around 4 am. on December 23 he lost consciousness. His lungs, it seemed, had been affected. The doctors thought it extremely unlikely that he would regain consciousness.

But he did. On the morning of December 24 he was able to recognise the voices of some relatives and friends.

At about 10 pm. on December 24 a doctor asked him how he was. His reply was immediate and clear — and very weak: "I

am feeling extremely bad." At 2 am, on Christmas day he was asked if he had any pain. He was looking uncomfortable. He shook his head. Because he seemed to be pressing his head he was asked if he had any headache. He shook his head again. "Do you have difficulty in breathing?" He gave no reply. Some minutes later he lost consciousness again.

The end was now clearly at hand but there was going to be no premature surrender. Rajaji was resolved to complete the course, and I thought of him as a marathon runner, an Emil Zatopek. But I knew I had the wrong image. Here was a swimmer rather than a runner; his heaving chest showed that. He was pushing himself to cross the river and get to the other side.

God's spirit was in the room. Prayers and songs were gently, lovingly and trustingly offered. His friends and colleagues, including some who had often taken paths different from his, came to see him and to say, in their hearts, farewell.

A life was coming to a close, yet there was an unusual atmosphere of peace and gratitude and unity around that ebbing life. Rajaji's son, C. R. Narasimhan, read into his father's ear the Sanskrit verse that assures God's welcome to everyone who turns to Him. Soon the entire throng — and by this time it was a throng in the room — took up the refrain. At 5.44 pm., surrounded by love and faith, Rajaji peacefully breathed his last.

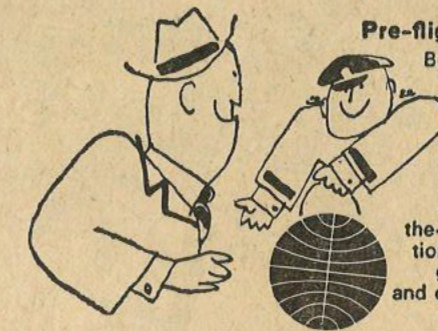
Even experienced doctors and nurses did not hold back their tears. They had poured out their best, and more than their best, and had grown to love their patient.

But God's will for Rajaji's going was clear and inflexible. I think the doctors and nurses and most people in the room had the feeling that this will, that summoned Rajaji to heaven on Christmas day, was also perfect. Hence it was that the tears soon gave way to gratitude for a man, to pride in our country that gave him birth and to thanksgiving to his Creator.

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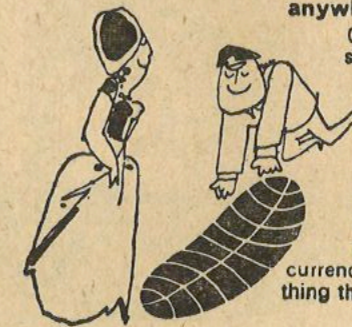
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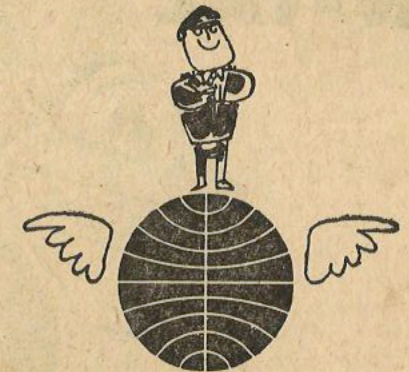
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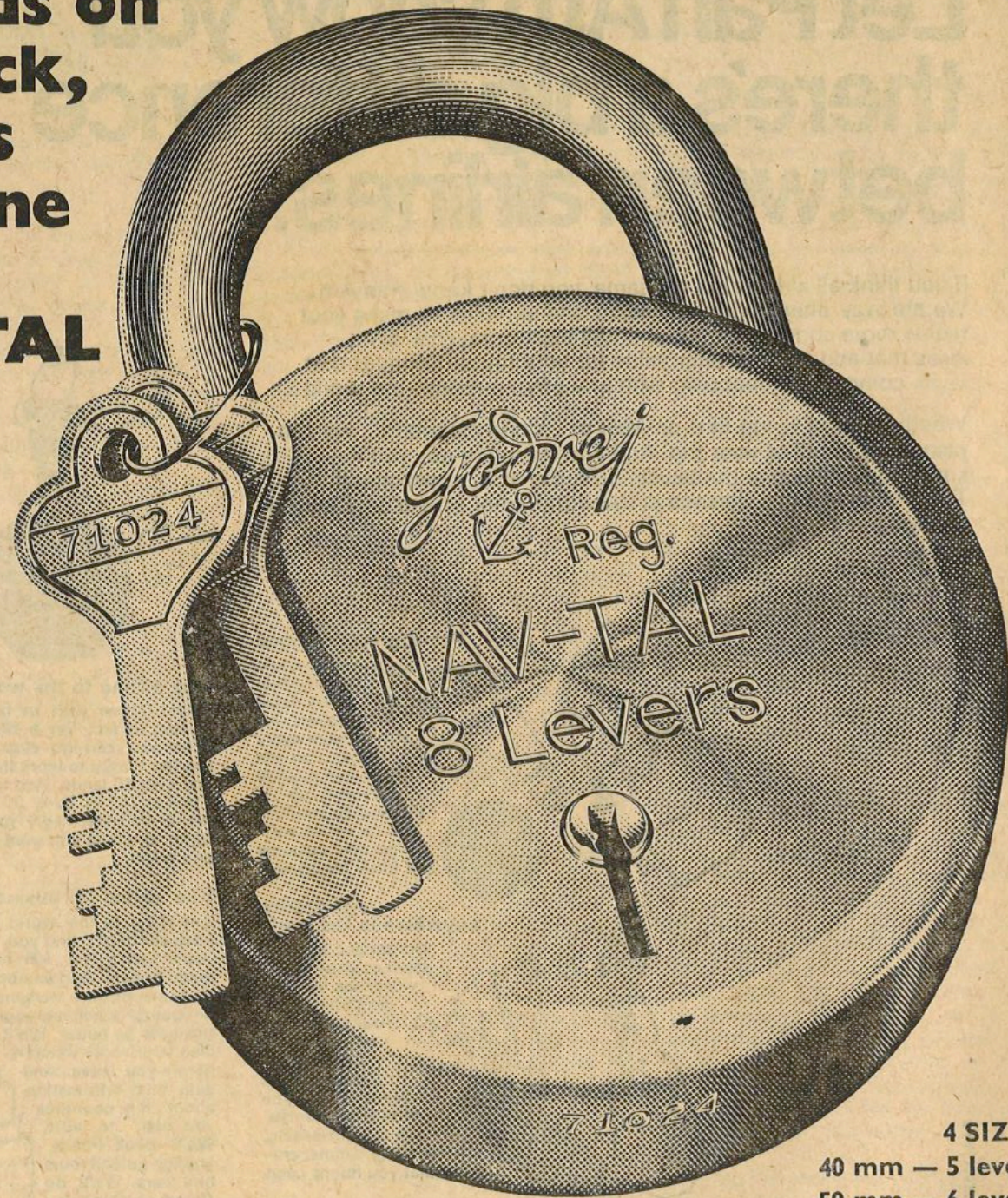
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Second Prize (Eagle Vacuum Flask) goes to Ramesh G. Dalvi, G.K.W. Ltd, Bankay Division, Bandup, Bombay-78. (1 mm from ball)

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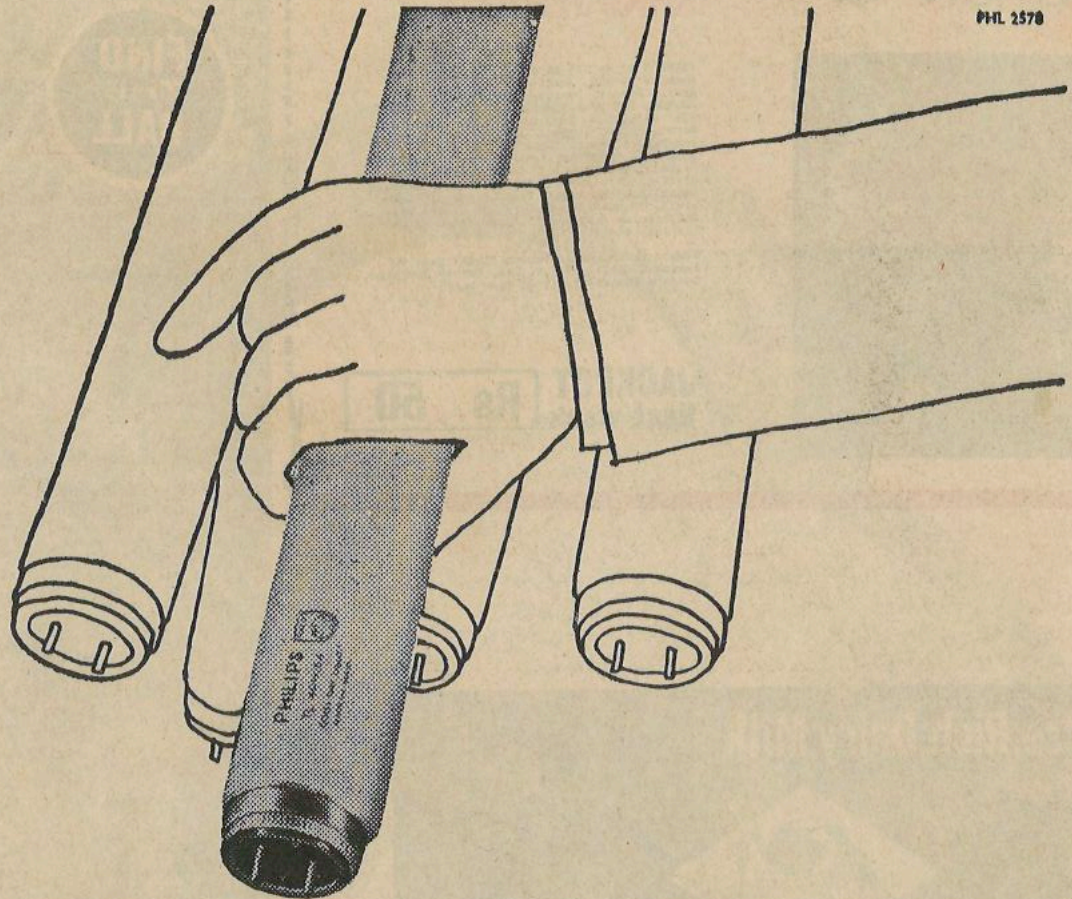
The winner will be announced in the following issue. You may not send more than **Six Entries** in any competition. **N.B.** only **one cross** may be marked on each picture. The Editor's decision is final.

*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.

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