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## IRAN-Rise of a new Asian Power





#### EDITORIALS

#### Arms and Iran

THE announcement that Iran is to purchase \$2000 million's worth of armaments from the USA in the next three years has startled the world (see details page 5). It is the largest single sale negotiated by the Pentagon in recent years and will make Iran the strongest power in West Asia. The value of the arms will be almost equivalent to the total military aid given by the United States to Pakistan for the period 1954 to 1970.

Understandably questions are being asked in many quarters: "Why does Iran require such a range of armaments? What are her political objectives? Whom is she arming against? Whom is she afraid of?" Surely it is not Iraq, even though it suffers from an unpredictable regime. It is conceivable however that Iraq's treaty with Russia has made Iran nervous of her giant neighbour to the north. Iran is fairly well protected with mountains to its east and west but its northern border of 1500 miles with the Soviet Union is the longest single border.

Today the relationship between Iran and the Soviet Union is correct. Iran supplies the Soviet Union with natural gas and the Soviet Union is setting up a steel mill there. But the Shah has bitter memories of the past and fears of the future (see Himmar last week). After World War II Stalin's Russia continued to occupy a substantial part of Iran and only severe threats from the US (then the only nuclear power) got Stalin to withdraw. Iran may feel that in this age of detente that the US may not intervene again if Iran has trouble with Russia. Iran cannot be totally unconcerned about the Indo-Soviet Treaty.

Iran made its presence felt in the Persian Gulf

when Britain decided to withdraw. She promptly occupied a couple of disputed islands and took full responsibility for the Gulf through which her oil flows. She was the only nation in the Gulf with the stability and the authority to do so and Britain looked kindly on Iran's assumption of responsibility.

Last year Iran moved a step further by obtaining naval rights in Mauritius. It claimed that its perimeter extended to the Indian Ocean. The reason advanced is that its main wealth, oil, flows through the Indian Ocean. In recent months the Shah has expressed his concern at the prospect of big power rivalry in the Indian Ocean.

India is concerned about Iran's military and naval strength because of Iran's support of Pakistan through

the Bangladesh crisis, the war and after.

Speaking at a press conference in London last June the Shah of Iran said: "If anything happened in what is now West Pakistan it would have serious consequences for us that would affect greatly the security of Iran. We are not prepared to accept any disturbances on our eastern flank. It would be a terrible blow to us if anything bad happened to Pakistan." Urging Pakistan to find a formula for peace with India and advising India to be "magnanimous" he said, "Peace between India and Pakistan is essential for the fate of Asia as a whole."

India hopes that the Shah will use his good offices with Pakistan to obtain recognition of Bangaladesh or at least a meeting between President Bhutto and Sheikh Mujib. Therein lies the key to the POW issue, the beginning of stability on the subcontinent — and a new relationship between Iran and India.

rersian Gun a new relationship between i

#### More innocent blood

Ir is the blood of the innocents that is shed in most conflicts. Most tragic is the shooting down of the Libyan airliner over the Sinai desert by Israeli fighters. By admitting "an error of judgement" General Dayan came as near to apologising as he could. An outright apology would however have healed wounds more than anything else, including the ex-gratia payment to the families of the victims.

Even if there was no hot line there are other ways of getting an airliner to land or chase it outside the present territory controlled by Israel. One is grateful that the recent tragedy has not broken off the delicate negotiations between the US authorities and the personal representative of the Egyptian President. The recent tragedy underlines the urgency for a solution.

#### Maharaja and marriages

THE Danish capital is preparing for a hearty welcome for 30 brides and 30 grooms flying from Japan this month to escape the heavy costs of a Japanese-style wedding. The 30 couples are a vanguard of nearly 150 more Japanese couples expected to come this summer for mass weddings at the Copenhagen City Hall and subsequent Mediterranean honeymoons.

The agency which organises these wedding trips says that it persuaded these Japanese couples that their money was better spent on exciting romantic travels half-way around the world than on the expensive Japanese custom of gift-giving to friends and relatives on the wedding day. The 10-day wedding-cum-honeymoon trip costs US \$2,500 (about Rs. 20,000).

Air India's Maharaja specialises in matters of the heart. We are surprised that he has not thought of such an idea. Should not the Maharaja consider offering Japanese couples a marriage at the Red Fort ("life imprisonment" some may call it) and a honeymoon at the Taj Mahal? Delhi mayors, who spend most of their time giving civic receptions anyway, may offer some more.

Air India might also consider wedding traffic out of India and offer all-inclusive tours for Indian grooms and brides about to get married. Of course, no Indian family-member likes to be left out of a wedding and while the poor Japanese trickle in two's, Indian marriage parties can fill jumbos at present underloaded.

Our impoverished Ministers who get penalised for celebrating weddings of their sons and daughters "lavishly" need not feel compelled to invite 6,000 people to Rome or Paris.

HIMMAT, March 2, 1973

## Briefly Speaking....

The liar's punishment is not in the New fields of effort least that he is not believed, but that he cannot believe anyone else.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, 1856-1950

#### Exercise in futility

By saying that the public sector undertakings are a "million times better" than private sector ones Labour and Rehabilitation Minister Raghunatha Reddy has only poured a large canful of petrol on the smouldering conflict between the captains of industry and the Government.

Why in the name of all that's holy must there be this constant friction between the public and private sectors? It is as senseless and ridiculous as a man's left hand warring with his right.

Both the private and the public sectors have places where their per-formance could be improved. Can't we, at this crucial time, abandon this futile fingerpointing and concentrate on what really matters - pro-



"Now all the more I wish I had won the election."



A Tata team of engineers, social workers, doctors and others are at work in one of the most seriously famine-affected areas of Maharashtra. They are concentrating on six villages in the Ahmednagar dis-

The relief operations include the digging of ten open and 12 bore wells and a search for other sources of water as well as soil conservation efforts. A special chemical sprayed on the standing crops will protect them from infestation. In the 200 of the 250 acres treated in this way the crop yield is expected to be 50 per cent above normal. Milk powder, vitamin tablets, vaccines, etc are being provided. Detailed records are kept of each child that is treated.

How about Tata's competitors vying with them in the field of famine relief too!

#### Polish horse-sense

JACK JONES, leftwing militant leader of Britain's Transport and General Workers' Union, just back from a jaunt to Poland endeared himself to members of the American Chamber of Commerce in London, whose luncheon guest he was, with the following story about a Polish farm worker who applied to join the Communist Party:

"Would you be prepared to give up your house for the good of the party?" the selection committee asked him.

"Yes," was his reply.

"Would you give up your life for the good of the party?"

'Certainly.'

"And would you be prepared to give up your horse for the good of the party?"

'No.'

"You wouldn't? Why not?"

"I've got a horse."

It is a healthy sign that the Poles are again able to tell stories against themselves.

#### Badgering with badges

RECENTLY a friend of Birbal's travelled through Andhra Pradesh on his way to Tamilnadu. He writes:

"Railway officials described to me how a few days ago the railtrack at Raniguntur was blocked by women. Then children boarded the train and began selling Joi-Andhra badges, made from irregularly cut yellow

cloth containing the Andhra map, at one rupee each. The train was allowed to continue only after the children had sold badges in all the carriages."

Some of the grievances of the separatists demanding a bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh may be justified. But blackmailing ordinary people in such a manner is completely unjustified, whatever the cause.

Further, one wonders who pockets the money collected from selling the yellow cloth badges.

#### Predict away worry

Do you worry yourself into a headache? Astro-palmistry rather than aspirin is the cure for you.

Here's what one astro-palmist has promised in the columns of a reputed

daily newspaper:

"Your bright future correctly foretold through Crystal Gazing and Scientific Palm-reading for Health, Wealth, Love, Marriage, Enmity, Domestic troubles and other confidential problems of Life. All market Reports and Races (Horses?) Contact (Strict Privacy observed) ... '

Birbal

#### UPON MY WORD!

CARAGE SERVICE SERVICE

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

UPON MY WORD IE D R PUZZLE NO. 18 NTAG You should find 37

words this week.

(Answer next week) | E E

ANSWER TO PUZZLE NO. 17

Emit, item, meet, mete, mien, mine, mite, mitten, teem, tempt time, IMPENITENT.

HIMMAT, March 2, 1973

## The new Iran-her interest in the Indian Ocean

by R. M. Burrell

Iran is becoming more and more a focal point of world interest. The Iranian Government has just completed arrangements to purchase \$ 2000 million's worth of American arms over the next few years. The order includes 140 F-5E interceptor fighters, 436 helicopters, F-4 fighter-bombers and C-130 cargo planes.

This week HIMMAT publishes a survey by Mr R. M. Burrell of Iran's policies and explores their possible future direction in the region of the Indian Ocean. Mr Burrell is Lecturer in Contemporary Middle East History at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies.

ONE of the most striking two countries. Iran is now an imdevelopments in the recent and often turbulent history of international relations in the Middle East has been the gradual emergence of an ambitious, but carefully constructed, Iranian foreign policy. Over the past 10 years, Teheran has become the centre of increased international attention and Iranian views are now a matter which merit the consideration of many governments. The great preoccupation of Iranian foreign policy since World War II — the watch against Soviet encroachment from the north — has gradually been reduced and Iranian attention has been turned to many other areas which affect its vital in-

The Shah has, in fact, developed a policy of "good neighbour relations" with the USSR and this detente has found expression in a number of important industrial and commercial agreements between the

#### SO THEY SAY

Remember, the black man has a soul

JOHN VORSTER. Prime Minister of South Africa

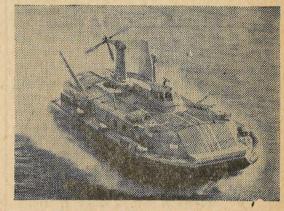
When you kill a tree, you are losing one to two hundred years of the productivity of the earth.

DR V. M. G. NAIR, Professor of Environmental Concern at Wisconsin University, USA

To a large extent, the current inflationary pressure was an outcome of the erratic behaviour of the monsoon this year.

Y. B. CHAVAN, Union Finance Minister portant supplier of natural gas to the USSR and in return has received a Soviet-constructed steel mill which is already in partial operation near Isfahan. A year after the steel mill agreement was signed in 1966, Teheran extended the scope of relations with Moscow still further by purchasing military material worth \$ 110 million from the Soviet Union. The Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, however, reminded Iran of the limits that had to be set in its relations with Moscow. The signing of the Iraqi-Soviet pact in April 1972 also caused some misgivings in Teheran because Iranian-Iraqi relations are still very strained and distrust of the Kremlin's ultimate intentions is still clearly a feature of Teheran's policy-making process.

As Iran began to develop less tense relations with the Soviet Union in the early 1960s, an opportunity was provided for the Shah to turn his diplomatic attention to problems elsewhere - and there were problems aplenty in the Persian Gulf. Iran's major interest here was oil the Gulf was not only an increasingly important area of oil discoveries, it was also the sole route by which Iran's oil exports could reach the international market. In 1961 the Shah had announced his immense programme of social and economic reforms - the "White Revolution" designed to turn Iran into a modern and industrially-developed society. Such schemes needed vast amounts of money and this could come only from greatly increased oil exports. The oil exporting states on the Arabian side of the Gulf had very small populations compared with Iran and t was Teheran's view that the security of the Gulf mattered more to it than it did to the other littoral



IRANIAN NAVY HOVERCRAFT: first hovercraft squadron in the world

In the early 1960s, the Iranian Government saw the major threat to stability in the Gulf as coming from the spread of militant Arab socialism and the diffusion of Nasserite ideas. Defeat in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and Egyptian withdrawal from its involvement in the Yemen lessened the apparent threat from Cairo but the announcement of British military withdrawal from the Persian Gulf. made in January 1968, alarmed Teheran for it was felt that a dangerous power vacuum would thereby be created in the area. It was with these thoughts in mind that Iran resolved to seek the means to preserve, by itself, tranquility in the Gulf in the wake of British withdrawal. Military purchases were therefore increased in both size and scope to meet these new foreign policy objectives. The first major additions to armed strength were for the navy and air force. The Iranian Navy became the first in the world to have a fullyoperational squadron of hovercraft and by 1975 will possess over 120 American F4 Phantom aircraft. By the end of 1971 the Iranian aim of possessing undoubted military hegemony in the Gulf had been achieved and no local challenge could be sustained when Iranian forces took over the two Tumb islands at the end of November. The simultaneous takeover of part of the island of Abu Musa was done with the agreement of the island's former owner - the Sheikh of Sharjah. The Government of Iraq protested about these moves but could not offer military resistance.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## YERDICT!

#### THIS WEEK HIMMAT ...

- APPROVES HEARTILY of the Central Education Advisory Board's programme of evolving a joboriented education system for primary and secondary schools and URGES its speedy implementation.
- IS DEFLATED on hearing that the BEST is bogged down by a "tyre famine" and PLEADS with tyre manufacturers to take famine relief measures for the sake of the poor Bombay commuter.
- SNORTS CYNICALLY at the news that Soviet Communist Party First Secretary, Mr Leonid Brezhnev, has been awarded the Order of the White Lion for his outstanding contribution towards the development of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship.
- LIGHTS UP at the decision of the Central Government to use the geothermal resources available on the Konkan coast and the Himalayas to augment the power production in the country.
- SYMPATHISES with the more than 10,000 families in Akyab, 480 km from the Burmese capital of Rangoon, who are homeless due to a fire which destroyed 2000 houses.
- FEELS EXHILARATED that India's exports have increased by Rs 255 the current financial year and PRAYS that this upward trend continues.
- WAS GLAD to learn that the number of Indian households in the lowest income group earning Rs 720 per year had declined but later REALISED that the price rise has nullified any benefits gained.
- WHEEZES AWAY with three million people in India who suffer from asthma and a further 50 million who have bronchial troubles and FEARS that the growing air pollution will greatly increase these figures.
- LEARNS from Dr Henry Kissinger that Mao Tse-tung is "in good health and he spoke for two hours with great animation" and CON-CLUDES that those China watchers who keep announcing Mao's death will have to think again!

THE NEW IRAN — from page 5

The one Iranian frontier area where military skirmishes occur quite regularly is the western one. Relations between Teheran and Baghdad declined after the Iranian success in the Gulf during 1971 and were South-West Asia is accepted by more further exacerbated when Iraqi authorities began to expel large numbers of Persians during the winter of 1971-72. Some Soviet pressure seems to have been exercised on Baghdad to halt these deportations and the flow of Persians from Iraq began to slow down during the spring.

#### Increased revenues

The cost of these arms has been high — in 1972 Iran spent over \$ 1.3 billion on its military forces. This sum is equal to about 10 per cent of its Gross National Product (GNP) a figure which compares favourably, however, with many other states in the Middle East. What has aided Iran greatly in this matter — as in its economic developmental planning also — has been the enormous increase in revenues which followed the 1971 Teheran talks between the international oil companies and the governments of the oil-producing states. During that year Iranian oil output grew by nearly 23 per cent but income derived from the oil industry rose by almost 75 per cent. Such great increases in income have helped to sustain a 40 per cent increase in the defence budget between 1970 and 1972.

Further increases in the Iranian arm's bill also seem likely, for an analysis of recent evidence would tend to suggest that the Shah is now beginning to think in terms which crores in the first nine months of are more ambitious than those of preserving the security of the Persian Gulf. Local superiority now belongs without challenge to Iran and the dangers of a power-vacuum existing on the completion of British withdrawal have been avoided. The current situation is seen as the culmination of Iranian hopes - and of careful diplomatic policies and military planning. Now that the security of the Gulf and its vital oil shipping lines has been assured Iran is beginning to look beyond the Straits of Hormuz to the waters of the Indian Ocean itself. During a speech, in November 1972 to com- 6. memorate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Iranian Navy, the Shah said that the defensive frontiers of his country had to extent beyond the Persian Gulf and beyond the Gulf of Oman. He admitted that until now the armed forces' attention had been devoted almost exclusively to the Persian Gulf but Iran's secu-

rity perimeter now had to embrace the Indian Ocean region too.

The increase in national pride and self-respect and the idea that their country has a leading role to play in and more Iranians. The fifth economic development plan, which begins later this year, envisages a growth rate of over 11 per cent per annum at constant prices or, in other words, a doubling of GNP by the end of 1978. By that time it is hoped that Iran will be the greatest market in Asia, after Japan, with an annual import bill of some \$6 billion. The economic dynamism shown by Iran over the last decade makes these targets appear feasible and if world oil-demand continues to grow at the present rate then the finance for such schemes could well be available.

The need to broaden the base of the economy has, however, been recognised and various schemes to this end are now in hand. One of these is for a petrochemical plant in southern Iran to be built at a cost of some \$900 million. A Japanese consortium has expressed recent interest in the scheme and Iranian diplomatic activity abroad is now rapidly expanding to foster ventures such as these. Other expressions of Iran's outward-looking commercial activities are to be found in the refinery scheme built in cooperation with South African partners at Sasolberg, Johannesburg, and in the National Iranian Oil Company's joint venture with British Petroleum Ltd

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19

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(Sgd.) R. M. LALA

## Deficit financing-is it necessary?

by Prof. C. N. Vakil

With the present state of the Indian economy, with industrial growth at a standstill, mounting inflation and growing unemployment, many questions are being asked. One such question is whether deficit financing is really necessary in a developing country. As the Union Finance Minister Chavan presents yet another deficit budget, eminent economist, Professor C. N. Vakil answers the above question.

IN a meeting of the Consultative cit financing resorted to by the pub-Committee of Parliament attached to the Union Ministry of Finance, held some time in January, the Finance Minister is reported to have observed that 1) deficit financing was necessary in a developing economy, and 2) that deficit financing does not necessarily lead to inflationary pres-

If these statements were not made by a person in the position of a Finance Minister one need not have taken them seriously. But coming as they do from a person in authority, it shows either complete ignorance of the problem or a deliberate attempt to evade the issue and dis-

own responsibility.

The facts are so well known that a brief reference to refresh the memory will suffice. In recent years prices have been increasing at the rate of 6 to 7 per cent. The money supply is increasing during the same period at 10 per cent per year. The real national income is increasing at the low rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per year. During the calendar year 1972 alone we had deficit financing to the order of Rs 1300 crores. The Central Board of Directors of the Reserve would be to limit the extent of defi- of Rs 2900 crores. If we accept the

lic sector".

It is not clear whether Mr Chavan expected that his statements would be believed by the Consultative Committee to whom they were addressed or by the public at large. But politicians in our country are in the habit of getting away even with such absurd statements, because of the consciousness that they have a large majority party to support them, and that anything that they say or do can be justified by the so-called mandate of the people which brought them to power. If such a justification is used in support of such ignorance we have the beginning of the end of real democracy in the coun-

The Fifth Plan Approach Paper observes that "proper formulation and implementation of the plan requires that effective safeguards are provided against inflation". But in practice things are likely to be different. The estimates of resources have been made at current prices. It is assumed that the Central Government would be able to raise the sum of Rs 5800 crores a year out of taxation during the Fifth Plan period. Bank in their report for 1971-72 have As against this it may be noted that observed that "an essential element the resources raised from taxation in controlling monetary expansion in the year 1971-72 are of the order

philosophy of Mr Chavan, these figures will have to be increased several times as inflation is bound to continue at a high rate during the Fifth Plan period.

Inflation is built into the Plan as about one-fifth of the total resources or more than Rs 10,000 crores are to be obtained by monetary expansion. It is because of this awareness that the estimates have been made deliberately on the basis of current prices, meaning thereby that suitable changes due to changes in prices will have to be made. It is well known that the earlier Plans and particularly the Fourth Plan suffered considerably because of such miscalculations, shortage of funds and inflationary pressures.

#### Hard times in store

It is obvious to any one who has followed the history of Plan finance in the country, that though the amount of deficit financing proposed in the Fifth Plan is limited, in practice it will be much more as the expected resources are not likely to be realised. The public, which is being entertained by a variety of nice phrases about the Fifth Plan from high authorities, should realise the dimensions of the difficulties that are in store for them, if the present financial policy is pursued, which is likely with continuation of inflation at a high level.

Deficit financing is justified with the authority of Keynes who first advocated it. Keynes was writing with the background of Western economic conditions in mind. He advocated deficit financing as a method of changing an economic state of depression into a state of equilibrium by pumping more money into the economy and creating greater demand, and thereby creating economic activity to remove the depression.

Under the capitalist system the economy is liable to ups and downs or technically known as booms and depressions. In order to remove the difficulties of such fluctuations, and maintain greater equilibrium in the economy, the remedy of deficit financing was suggested.

The assumption was that artificial demand would be created by this method, which would lead to more production and idle hands would be utilised to create greater activity and restore equilibrium in the economy. In a country like the UK, where the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18



"That was a fine speech about the Avro's airworthiness. You'll be glad to know that for your next engagement we fly by Avro!



#### Will the Vietnam ceasefire work?

But the fighting still continues

That is the story of Vietnam to- the settlement stick.

On the eve of the Paris conference of foreign ministers, the Vietcong accused the South Vietnamese of 12,000 violations of the ceasefire. The South Vietnamese similarly threw accusations at the Commu-

Whether the figures of the num-



MAO TSE-TUNG: For ceasefire

ber of violations are accurate the fact is that in the fifth week after the ceasefire, guns still are fir in g, bombs exploding and men dying. According to on the

s p o t reports from the Joint Military Commission there were last week

160 daily skirmishes whereas in the days immediately before the ceasefire the average number of incidents was between 50 and 60.

The situation is so confused that nobody really knows what is now going on in Vietnam, possibly not even the foreign ministers and their aides who are meeting in Paris.

So the question must be asked: "Will the Vietnam ceasefire work?"

The workability of the Vietnam ceasefire depends on two factors: the common desire of the Americans, Russians and Chinese to make it work and secondly their ability to persuade their allies in Saigon and Hanoi to implement it.

As far as the first is concerned Henry Kissinger's visit to Peking revealed a growing accommodation between China and the USA which most probably included policy towards the Vietnam ceasefire and Indo-China. As the London "Times" correspondent in Peking, David Bonavia, said, "Green lights seem to be flashing between Washington and Peking now that the Vietnam cease- articles on financial or exchange confire has been signed." Observers trol matters when the article has feel that Chairman Mao would not have gone out of his way to receive cerned. Any publisher or editor Dr Kissinger had not both sides de- who is found guilty of contravening cided that the Vietnam settlement these rules can be fined up to Rs opinion and investigation.

The ceasefire has been signed, pri-soners of war are being released and tacle to the normalisation of relathe Americans will soon be gone. tions. Therefore, it is fair to say, both sides are interested in seeing

> The Soviet willingness to co-operate with the Americans can be seen by their readiness to receive President Nixon last year at the height of the bombing raids on North Vietnam and the mining of the approaches to the port of Haiphong. Mr Brezhnev needed America's help on many fronts - the detente with Western Europe, the conclusion of the SALT agreement and the purchase of US grain - to make it worth his while to assist America in trying to conclude the Vietnam war. This is still, broadly speaking, the Soviet stand.

in peace in Vietnam now be trans- China.

lated into reality? So far it has not been and it is doubtful if the Canadian proposal for a high-level international body to strengthen the Joint Military Commission, whose job it is to implement the ceasefire, will work either. The implementation of the ceasefire and the attainment of peace cannot really be accomplished by staff work and diplomatic ex-changes in Paris. The real test now that the support of Russia, China and America is assured for the ceasefire - is on the ground in Indo-China.

The situation on the ground in Vietnam is complex. The ceasefire required that the armies stand still in the areas they controlled. This meant that the lines of demarcation between the South Vietnamese and the Communists were extremely intricate. The intricacy of this situation on the ground is compounded by the years of suspicion, doubledealing and mistrust. To bring security first and stability into this situation is the nub of the issue in Vietnam. The future of Indo-Can this interest of the big powers China will be decided now in Indo-

#### Lanka's press freedom under final assault

Assembly passed the Press Council up to two years. Bill on February 22, the deathknell

Despite the protestations of Government Ministers the bill will practically eliminate the freedom of the press. It is a fact of the 20th century that once press freedom goes in any country no major obstacles remain to prevent the downward slide to dictatorship.

The bill provides for the setting up of a Press Council which has farranging powers beyond anything imagined in India or Britain or any tion. This, of course, attacks the other nation which already has a Press Council.

Under the bill no newspaper may publish news of Cabinet meetings, decisions or proposals unless it has been approved by the Secretary of the Cabinet. This means that articles and comment about Government decisions and actions will be in effect Government press handouts. Similarly the press can only publish been approved by the Ministry con-

WHEN Sri Lanka's National State 5000 and/or imprisoned for a period

The Council may institute inquibegan to clang for the island's de-mocracy. ries into the validity or truth of any article published. If the Council. upon its inquiry, deems the article or any statement in the article is "untrue, distorted or improper" then the editor or person concerned may be publicly censured and the newspaper required to publish a correction and apology.

But the guts of the issue is that the Press Council in its inquiries can demand all relevant material, documents and sources of informavery roots of press independence. Most people now will be reluctant to talk to the press privately or help the press with material in its fight against any injustice, if it can all be quoted at the Press Council and names and facts be made available to Government Ministers. In practice, the Press Bill will therefore serve to protect the Ministers rather than the country.

The Sri Lanka Government has not taken over the press. It has simply so restricted the newspapers' room for manoeuvre that they will cease to be free organs of public

HIMMAT, March 2, 1973

## THE W#RLD

## France: a decisive general election

#### From Philippe Lasserre in Paris

N March 4 and 11 France will live through one of its most important general elections\* and the first since General de Gaulle died in 1970. For the first time since the Gaullists came

to power in the strife-torn France of 1958, there is a real question whether the present majority will keep their control of French poli-

POMPIDOU: what will he do?

Their main opponent is the United Front, an alliance of

the Socialist and Communist parties of France who, for the first time in decades, managed to come together on a common electoral platform. In the Centre, shooting both right and left, Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber - chief editor of the weekly "L' Express" and author of the famous "American Challenge" — and his party of "Reformers" hope to make

\*Under French electoral law when no candidate obtains an absolute majority in the first vote there is a second ballot.

themselves indispensable to any future Government after the election.

Georges Marchais, the young Secretary General of the Communist Party, a man with the intellectual sharpness of a technocrat and the fighting spirit of a trained trade unionist and Francois Mitterand. the new leader of the French Socialist Party. Mitterand is a tried and tested politician who held various ministerial posts before the Gaullist days. He gave a fresh impulse to an old party and has seen his party rise more and more in influence during the last months.

According to most opinion polls the Socialists are scoring more points than any other group. Their Com-munist allies have as a result stopped underlining the unity of the two parties and are now fighting only for the success of their own candidates, especially since, at the end of the first ballot of March 4, any Communist candidate who gets less votes tion. than his Socialist partner will have to withdraw in his favour (and vice

The Communists are in a delicate position because they are also keen to prove to the whole nation that they hold nothing against the tradi-

Leading the leftist alliance are

Here is the main problem of French politics: with a nationally elected President (every 7th year) and a Parliament renewed every 4th year, one does not quite know where the real national legitimacy lies. Many think it is a problem of "institutions" and that France should have either a fully presidential regime like the US or a real parliamentary system like India or Britain. True as that may be, the presence in the country of a strong Communist party, though not strong enough to come alone to power, does make Government by

ever chancy.

ces very difficult. This is why one of the likely results of this election will be an alliance between the Gaullists, who might come, out of it as a strong minority and the Reformers, who have already begun to voice their "conditions". Clever calculations and political combinations will take place between the two ballots according to who takes the lead during the first ballot. Predictions on what party and which men will lead France at the end of this month are still how-

any other force than the rightist for-

tional democratic ways of Govern-

ment and are not going to introduce

instant collectivisation if they come

Gaullists still consider there is a real Communist threat and they have

given their campaign a strong anti-

Communist colour. "The leftist

alliance as the Government — that

will mean Mr Marchais at the wheel

and Mr Mitterand in the deadman's

seat," said sharp tongued Alain

Peyrefitte, head of the Gaullist party.

majority, especially Prime Minister Pierre Messmer, Defence Minister Michel Debre and many more criss-

cross the country and take part in

all sorts of "face to face" programmes

on radio and TV with their opponents

President Georges Pompidou, as

head of state directly elected by the

nation, had to decide during this

campaign whether he would "throw

his weight" in the battle. He did so,

on TV, with moderation but clarity:

"Don't count on me to repudiate

everything I believe and everything

case of a leftist victory he will pre-

fer to call on a minority Govern-

ment. Or else he might do what

Charles de Gaulle did in 1969: re-

sign and call for a presidential elec-

to make their case heard.

A minority government?

The leaders of the incumbent

However, the Reformers and

to power.



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#### Money trouble

Almost everyone's money is in trouble again, and not obviously for the last time. The strong economies will not be restrained. The weak ones will choke on restraints, controls, and speculative pressure on their currencies. But it is the poor of this world — the countries which make up what is touchingly called the Third World - who will pay the highest

The problem clearly has two aspects. A new international monetary system is needed to cater for the rapid growth of world trade. The second aspect is to guarantee that while the rich and the mighty argue, haggle and manipulate, the vast majority of the world's people who live in poor countries are not ignored.

If the world is to be saved from monetary anarchy the time to act is now. The alternative will be a return to a sharp form of economic nationalism in which the developing countries will be the most

THE ASIAN, Hong Kong The Government let the yen float. This is not the end but the beginning of a real test for the national economy. US President Nixon announced that he would not hesitate to impose an import surcharge on goods from surplus nations. It is clear that his major target is Japan. The international environment surrounding Japan is very rough and harsh.
YOMIURI SHIMBUN, Tokyo



"Excuse me Sir while I check how many stone coins to the dollar!" Courtesy: The Asian, Hong Kong

## THIS INDIA

#### A TRIBUTE

My grandmother was, in many ways, a remarkable woman. She died at the age of 73 on January 17, 1973. She had been in hospital for seven weeks. The doctors were unable to diagnose her disease. Gradually but definitely the fever consumed her.

She had always been frail. With a sensitive face and a trim body, she moved briskly. Waddling along was not for her.

She was a stickler for cleanliness. She had to see a speck of dust and the wrath of her tongue would be upon you. Always neatly attired, her personal needs were simple. She spent very little on herself. Rarely do I remember her not having made her own bed, even though there were servants to do it.

Memories are crowded but an impression of her which will remain indelible is her seated peacefully, face in repose, her fingers moving the prayer beads as she chanted softly.

She was courteous and polite - the best of the old school.

I spent the last three weeks of her life with her. She was in pain and considerable discomfort. But every time

the nurse or doctor came to inject, she never failed to thank them. She would say to them, "You are working so hard for my sake." The visitors who came were enquired after by her, and blessed when they left. She would invariably tell one of the family members to offer them tea.

An ayah was engaged to look after her at night. One evening she said to the family, "Do give the ayah a shawl. She comes here every evening in the

Even in those painful days, her sense of humour asserted itself. Since she could not be lifted to a sitting position, the ayah would comb her hair and make two plaits. She was very tickled by this. "Now your mother has become fashionable. She is reverting back to the plaits," she remarked to her daughter with a chuckle.

In pain she would sometimes say, "I have lost my courage to bear this." When we reminded her that it was she who had taught us never to say that, she would say "yes" and revert to praying with difficulty.

One afternoon she said. "After I have gone, don't cry. Just pray." When she was taken to be cremated, she was wrapped in pink silk, with an ordhni (scarf) around her head, a tilak on her forehead and a garland on her chest. She almost looked like a bride,

God must have prepared a wonderful home coming for her.

neerja Chowdhury

\*

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- \* Should there be smaller states? What should be the yardstick of division? Closing date March 9
- \*\* The Indian male is not chivalrous

?accommence construction of the construction of

Closing date March 23

## Welsh nationalists' fresh approach

From Paul Williams in Cardiff

L ANGUAGE has become the sharp spearhead of nationalism in Wales today.

And recently linguistic nationalism has received two major boosts. One is the British Government's acceptance of a report recommending that roadsigns throughout Wales should go bi-lingual. The other is the growing official consensus in favour of a separate Welsh language television channel.

While neither proposition has yet been implemented, their acceptance "in principle" is regarded by both the Welsh Nationalist Party (Plaid Cymru) and the youthful activists of the Welsh Language Society (Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg) as a victory for "natural justice" for the language.

At the last census only 26 per cent of the Welsh population of 2,700,000 were registered as Welsh-speaking. This year's figures are expected to reveal a further drop in the proportion of Welsh-speakers. So saving "the language" — even if the campaign for it brings increasing division to the country - is seen by nationalists as the last chance to retain a sense of separate Welsh identity.

How serious is Welsh nationalism

and is it gaining or losing ground? Though Plaid Cymru has now lost its one seat in the House of Commons — that of its President Gwynfor Evans who was defeated in 1970 its candidates have been steadily increasing their percentage of the vote. The days have long gone by when they used automatically to lose their deposits. Plaid Cymru ultimately wants full self-Government with a seat at the UN but envisages a degree of economic union with Britain — free entry, no passports etc — all through a non-violent campaign.

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COUNCILLOR GLYN JAMES AND HIS WIFE: known as "Rhondda Rebel"

A Westminster-administered Great Britain would be replaced by "a Britannic confraternity of free and equal nations".

But the chief feature of recent years on the Welsh nationalist scene has been the stealing of nearly all the headlines by the "direct action" methods of the younger champions of the Welsh language. While both Plaid Cymru and the Welsh Language Society proclaim their adherence to the non-violent methods of Gandhi, the Society (founded at Swansea in 1962) does not include in its definition of violence destruction of property or non-observance of the law.

In their current campaign to secure a national TV channel for Welsh the Society's activists have broken into BBC and Independent Television studios, staged sit-ins, invaded live programmes, destroyed documents and disrupted court hearings. To date up to 300 of the Society's members and supporters have served short terms in prison.

Earlier this year Society members forcibly disrupted an auction of houses in North Wales country areas in order to prevent them passing into now-Welsh hands. More clearly in the non-violent tradition is the campaign to withhold payment of TV and radio licences until fully-Welsh channels have been secured.

The question most people are asking is whether extremism of the bomb-throwing variety will find a foothold in the "direct action" camp. There were bombs in the 1960's and even a short-lived Free Wales Army.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 13

## The week in INDIA

CHANDIGARH - The present powerbased Nangal fertiliser factory is being converted into an oil-powered plant, the first of its kind in India, and when completed in 1975 the factory will not only have an increased capacity for production but will spare a substantial amount of power for other powerstarved industries in North India.

PATIALA - The Punjab Government has decided to increase the reservation of jobs for Harijans in Government services from 20 to 25 per cent.

NEW DELHI - The Union Railway Minister, Mr L. N. Mishra, presented a Budget which will make travel by any class more expensive.

- In response to a request from the Iraqi Government, India has agreed to undertake a feasibility survey for a railway line connecting Hsaibagh and the phosphate mines at Akasha, a distance of 120 kms.

BHOPAL - The Madhya Pradesh Government took a humanitarian step by permitting export of jowar to the drought-affected states of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan.

BHILAI — The steel smelting shop of the Bhilai Steel plant set a new record by tapping 42 ladles of molten steel. producing 10,272 tonnes of steel, the earlier record being 37 ladles.

WAGAH - India handed over 179 Pakistani prisoners of war, including 17 civilians captured during the 1971 India-Pakistan war and among those repatriated 23 were seriously sick and wounded POWs who were carried on stretchers.

HYDERABAD — The Andhra Pradesh Government decided to withdraw Army units from five districts of the Andhra region - Nellore, Chittoor, Anantapur, Kurnool and Guntur.

MADRAS - About 50,000 small-scale units, affected by the 75 per cent power cut in Tamilnadu, will have to stop working unless urgent steps are taken by the Centre to import at least 600 generators.

COCHIN - The Governments of Kerala, Tamilnadu and Mysore have jointly finalised a Rs 10 crore scheme for an integrated wild life sanctuary which will be the first of its kind in Asia and will cover 2000 square kilometres in the three states.

## Bombay's traffic trebles in 10 years

by Ervell E. Menezes

TRAFFIC congestion! That's something the Bombay motorist has learnt to live with. Yet the stress he is subjected to in concentrating on the quantum of vehicles and pedestrians on narrow roads and the infinite patience he has to summon up in crawling bumper-to-bumper long lines is something that is bound to take a good number of years off his normal life span.

These, no doubt, are the problems of a fast-growing city. And though one sympathises with the traffic authorities for the big problem on their hands, one also wonders if the efforts to resolve them are commensurate with it.

The two fly-overs at Kemp's Corner and Princess Street have certainly brought considerable relief, but much more has to be done to ease the flow of traffic which is concentrated on the main north-south arterial roads. In fact 80 per cent of the traffic is concentrated on 20 per cent of the roads.

The proposed "West Island Freeway", which will run from Nariman Point through Malabar Hill to Mahim, will help matters a great deal but it is unlikely to be completed before 1980 at the very earliest. Meanwhile, the helpless motorist continues to be plagued.

#### Repairs take too long

Firstly, our people lack basic road-sense. There are numerous pedestrian crossings, yet the pedestrian will cross as and where he likes. So there is no use insisting that a motorist stop at a pedestrian crossing because he encounters pedestrians all along the way.

the footpath. Here, the footpaths it is in a position to modify certain sometimes are so narrow that an overflow is inevitable. Perennial repairs on pavements and the usual hawker menace are other factors undertakes, it is bound to take a which contribute to the woes of a motorist. Road repairs too go on for months and months together. Why can't they carry out the work round the clock? Also why not have more subways or overhead bridges? There was considerable agitation over the Churchgate footbridge, and understandably so. Why can't escalators be installed at these places?



BOMBAY TRAFFIC:

80 per cent of the traffic is concentrated on 20 per cent of the roads.

hindrance to the smooth flow of traffic. These vehicles, often heavily loaded, move very slowly at the best of times. Then in places like Kalbadevi Road, Girgaum Road or Dr Viegas Street, these vehicles are constantly looking for parking space and have scant regard for the motorist behind them. Quite often, with no place to park, they unload in the centre of the road. This is because godowns still infest residential areas. Can't these godowns be moved away?

Another way out is a truck terminal. Dharavi has been mentioned in this respect. Originally the Municipality was said to have been contemplating plans for the Dharavi terminal, but very little progress has been made.

Then CIDCO, probably thinking that such a terminal would help the Twin City project, stepped into the fray. But as CIDCO has no locus standi, the state Government has de-The pedestrian must be confined to cided to go into the matter, because Acts which would be necessary to operate a truck terminal. But then, like most things the Government long, long time. So far only one meeting has been held, after a committee was appointed with the Secretary of Buildings and Communications as Chairman.

It is amazing to know that in B and C Wards alone (comprising Girgaum, Kalbadevi and Pydhonie) there are as many as 600 transport companies. Little wonder then that traffic moves Trucks and lorries are another at snail's pace in these areas.

These areas are also infested with handcarts. This mode of transporting goods is no doubt convenient and has its advantages. Because it is drawn by man it is allowed both ways on one-way streets. This can be frustrating to motorists and pedestrians alike because these heavily laden carts sometimes occupy the space of a small car.

Another slur on fast moving traffic is the bullock-cart. It is amazing that this mode of transport (and we claim to be in the let Age) is permitted in these times. Frequently a bullock-cart is seen to obstruct a long line of faster-moving vehicles on roads in Girgaum and Kalbadevi. Cannot they be kept off the roads, at least during rush hours? The hack "Victoria" is a similar case. Their numbers have dwindled but why not

totally eliminate such antiquated modes of transport like the "Victoria" and the bullock-cart?

It is good that the traffic authorities are gradually eliminating the now very unpractical rotaries or circles. It has been found that with the modern quantum of traffic, which has almost trebled over the last decade (from 68,000 in 1961 to 1,80,000 in 1972), direct intersections are far more practical and time-saving. Mr S. M. Parulekar, Executive Engineer, Traffic and Co-ordination, Bombay Municipality, told HIMMAT that this has proved beneficial at Worli and near Linking Road in Bandra. The next place it is being tried is Dhobi

Mr Parulekar said it was difficult to plan traffic arrangements in Bombay, because the nature of the problem is complex. Planning is always need-based, he said. In America it was auto-oriented, in Peking cycle-oriented. He suggested that traffic in Bombay should be publicconveyance-oriented.

Mr Parulekar said that less than two per cent of the people in Bombay travelled by private cars. BEST buses carry over 2.5 million persons daily, the railways account for another 2.1 million. Hence, he advocated that preference should be given to public conveyance.

This is all very well in theory. But what about those important personalities, like big industrialist and Ministers who form quite a weighty section of society? Can they be just written off?

Certainly not. Therefore the authorities should make the existing

framework tighter. They should block loopholes, try and curb corruption and have a surprise check on traffic policemen inclined to turn a blind eye on offences with the hope of getting their palms greased, to say nothing of those who insist on "hafta". A policeman having a cup of tea with some lorry drivers is a common sight. But what goes with the tea? Surely not sympathy.

Also the penalty should be more severe. Due cognisance should be taken of lane-jumping, dangerous overtaking, and other such offences. Slow-driving in the centre of roads is as much a fault. It is not penalised very often.

Then what about having periodical tests for drivers? A man gets a licence at the age of 18 and goes on driving till he dies. Surely, one's physical condition is bound to deteriorate as the years go by. Yet, as it is now, with one leg in the grave and the other on the accelerator one tackle this explosive traffic problem.



No respect for pedestrian crossings.

is still allowed to drive. This can be extremely dangerous both to fellow motorists and pedestrians.

One can go on and on with the do's and don'ts but I think I have said enough. Meanwhile, we shall wait and see what the authorities do to

#### WELSH NATIONALIST'S FRESH APPROACH - from page 11

to advocate violence. Neither Plaid Cymru nor the Welsh Language Society (whose average age is 24 years) condone such methods, but the reality is that events could be taken out of their hands once the ground for extremist action has been prepared.
The revolutionary "capital" to be made out of the confrontation between the dedicated activists of the Welsh Language Society and the law is not going unnoticed by the same forces who have had such a field day in Ireland in recent years.

#### New uniting element

At the end of last year an event took place in Wales which many have seen as introducing a uniting and constructive element into the situation. This was the publication of the Welsh edition of "The Black and White Book"\* (Y Llyfr Du a Gwyn), of which there have been five impressions in English in the U.K. totalling 155,000 copies. This best-selling Moral Re-Armament handbook advocates a fundamental change in society through a change in people.

It was one of Plaid Cymru's prospective parliamentary candidates -Glyn James from Ferndale in the Rhondda Valley - who organised

\*Published by Blandford Press

Today a small faction called the the book's launching in Wales. He Welsh Defence Movement continues said, "This edition will help to bridge the gap between the English-speaking and the Welsh-speaking people of

> Speaking at a meeting in North Wales, Dafydd Iwan, the Welsh singing idol and a past Chairman of the Welsh Language Society, stressed the need for recognising where common ground existed. "Often we just need to sit down together and ask 'What is wrong? What is the solution?' That is the message of 'The Black and White Book' — that there is common ground. We want to work without hate or bitterness. No movement can succeed on hatred. Some people say, 'We have to learn to hate' - but you will never remove injustice or oppression by hating the people involved.'

Two days later, in a letter to the Cardiff-based "Western Mail" he wrote, "Our nation and our language will live through our love of things Welsh, not our hatred of things Eng-

If leadership of this calibre continues to be given to young Wales it is the surest guarantee that the struggle for national recognition and for equal status for the Welsh language will not open the door to a second Northern Ireland in another part of the British Isles.

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HIMMAT, March 2, 1973

Light in dark moments

Extracts from an address given by Mrs Indira' Gandhi at the St. Thomas centenary

T is our special pride that all the major religions of the world live and thrive in India. Four were born here: Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism. The others came: Christianity 19 centuries ago, Zoro-



MRS INDIRA GANDHI: contentment comes from giving

astrianism and Islam 12 or 13 centuries ago, Judaism has also had its Indian followers.

These four religions are as Indian as the others. From the earliest times, one of the highest ideals of our country has been equal respect for all religions. Twenty-two centuries ago the Emperor Asoka said: We can fully respect our own religion only if we give equal respect to the religion of others.

The expansion of the great religions has indeed been a miracle. St. Thomas lived and worked in an age when there was no printing and when come misery and fear. travel was extraordinarily difficult. lay so much emphasis on the mass cannot bring satisfaction. media, but it is the message which is

small lamp which within a few gene- to give oneself to a large cause, a rations illumines the far off countries large purpose.

of Asia. Jesus Christ, son of a humble craftsman, finds the truth and is persecuted for uttering it. Yet, barely a few years after his martydom, his teaching travels right across the then known world. The Prophet Mohammed extols his message in the desert and within half a century it reverberates over three continents. It is the men and women who believed, and the men and women who gave themselves in dedication, who have built civilisation and who have added to wisdom.

Fortunately, we are today at a stage when each individual, wherever he may happen to live, can claim the whole of human heritage and can rise above the limitations of his own region or language. Man has the knowledge and the capacity to over-

All over the world, man is coming But such obstacles have never impeded the spread of ideals. Today we contemporary description of progress

Contentment does not come from conquest, or from possessions or even The Buddha, a young prince in a small principality, is deeply stirred by human suffering. He lights a more concrete — the ability to give,

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## The new totalitarians—on the move

THE NEW TOTALITARIANS by Roland Huntford; Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, London 1971, 1972; Hardback edition £3.50

A N Indian Member of Parliament, taking part in the Stockholm Environment Conference, was unable to hide his disappointment when faced with the reality of Swedish life. He had read so much about the glories of the "Swedish experiment" that the consequences of it in certain fields of life were for him hard to accept. He asked, for instance, the girl-secretary who was working for his delegation why she was not married to the man she was living with. The

#### Reviewed by Pierre Spoerri

answer was simply that the new taxlaws were such that her present arrangement presented many more advantages than the marital status.

Roland Huntford, the Scandinavian correspondent of the "Observer", gives in his book "The New Totalitarians" an explanation to the above mentioned situation and to many other ones which have troubled visitors to Sweden during these past years. If his book were just about Sweden as a country, one could consider it unfair for a non-Swede to write a book-review about the views and opinions of another non-Swede.

"The New Totalitarians", however, is not primarily a book about one country. "Pioneers in the new totalitarianism, the Swedes are a warning of what probably lies in store for the policy. Only during these last two

unless we remember that politics are not to be delegated, but are the concern of the individual." These lines at the end of his book, show what Huntford is after. He does not pretend to write a balanced, un-biased treatise of life in Sweden. He wants to use what he has seen happening in Sweden to warn other countries of certain dangers which he thinks are threatening them.

Huntford is, of course, also conscious of the fact that for many people, rightly or wrongly, the Swedish kind of bloodless revolution has become an example for their own country to follow. During the recent German election-campaign, the German weekly "Der Spiegel" brought out a spectacular cover-story with the title "Sweden - a model for Bonn?" This article was not written just by chance. It had, amongst others, the purpose to bring votes to the Social Democrats, and it probably did, too.

In his first chapters, Huntford deals with the historical background of Sweden and with the rise of the modern industrial state for which it has become a shining example. He writes about the historic agreement concluded between the Swedish tradeunions and the Employers Confederation in 1938 through which, "industrial peace was enshrined as a national institution".

Industrial peace and full employment have been since that date two of the main planks of governmental rest of us, unless we take care to or three years have there been warn-

resist control and centralisation, and ing signs that trouble could be ahead. There has been a growing number of unemployed university graduates and in certain specific sectors of industry, for instance the iron-mines of Kiruna, there have even been strikes.

> It is not in this field, however, that Huntford finds too much fault with the present Swedish government. He gives it the benefit of the doubt even in the field of social welfare although he underlines the political aspects of social security and the tremendous weight of taxation which the Swedish

citizen has to carry. Even an office worker pays about 40 per cent tax on his income.

What Huntford finds more difficult to accept is the fact that most of the decisions in Sweden are taken by the government and the bureaucracy without ever being really debated in parliament. Both parliament and the judiciary are not independent elements in the constitutional structure but are mainly instruments to serve governmental policy. Huntford quotes a legal official who says: "The law is not there to protect the individual...It is a norm for civil servants, and it has got nothing to do with guaranteeing one's freedom. Somehow, it seems natural to me that the law is there to put the intentions of the bureaucracy into practice."

But the most dangerous aspect of the "Swedish experiment" lies, CONTINUED ON PAGE 17

## Negro-India's new national wrestling

## champion

THEY call him Negro. Agnel Negro. But he is an Indian. Talks Marathi. Like a true native of Kolhapur. He is also a champion wrestler.

Agnel has no recollection of Africa, the land of his forefathers. He was born in Mysore and has spent the last 20 years in Kolhapur. His father was a wrestler in his days. Now he and his brother have followed suit.

Agnel shot into the limelight almost overnight. Few had heard of him before the National Championships and a fewer still fancied him to emerge the champion in the 82 kg

Malkhan Singh, of the Services, the odds seemed to be against him. The bell saved him as he was about to be pinned in the first round. He was down twice in the second. Then, in a flash, he had won by a fall in the took one's breath away.

Agnel was down on the mat when he suddenly swirled his opponent round with a scissors movement of the legs. They call the hold "danki" or "lange kordhi". "It is my favour-

ite. I deliberately lured the opponent to his fall," said Agnel modestly.

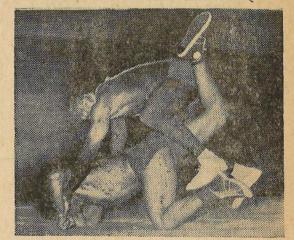
Fans at Kamgar Kreeda Kendra roared their approval and Agnel jumped around with joy. He had won the national title at his first attempt.

In the ring and outside it, Agnel is a study in contrast. While wrestling he attacks ceaselessly. One can-not but be impressed by his ferocity and fearlessness. Off the mat, he is mild as a lamb, mingles freely with his fans and worships his mentors.

Agnel has come up the hard way. He has no job. I couldn't bear to ask him about his educational qualifications. According to a confrere Even in the final round against he has studied up to fifth standard. While he speaks Marathi with a typical Kolhapuri accent, he knows only a smattering of Hindi.

Agnel is a product of the "akhadas", the traditional wrestling clubs where the young aspirants train and third. The sheer brilliance of it all, live. He comes from the one founded by Babu Bire and has been coached by famous wrestlers, Ganpat Andalkar and Ustad Chamba Mutnal.

Agnel's daily schedule includes 200 "baitaks" (sit-ups), 1000 deep bends, rope climbing and, of course, wrestl-



Agnel Negro on top against Surject Singh of Harvana

ing. No weight training. His diet: two seers of milk, half a kilo of mutton and, of course, almonds, the favourite of all wrestlers.

Agnel has the talent and the physique as well as the humility that is the true hallmark of a champion. The question is whether he will get the opportunity and the international experience so vital to go higher up in the sport.

#### TOTALITARIANS ON THE MOVE - from page 16

according to Huntford, in the cul- have become the main victims of the tural and educational field. Both culture and education have become political instruments in the hands of the government to mould the individual and the society according to their view of the future.

One avowed aim of the new school system is to discourage individuality. "You don't go to school to achieve anything personally," says Olof Palme, the Prime Minister (and sometime Minister of Education), "but to learn how to function as members of a group." As a result of this policy, says Huntford, "the Swedish schools are...turning out two kinds of person. There is the submissive average man, who has learned to accept his circumstances, motivated by a kind of fatalism, in a world arranged by economic determinism. On the other hand, there is the elite, ambitious of commanding its subordinates and of deliberately manipulating the environment in which they live. Both believe in the supremacy of the group...and both are animated by a collective mentality. Neither gives promise of individual thought and action."

educational reform have been the study of history and religious instruction. "It is a truism," writes Huntford, "that to change people it is desirable to cut off the past. In the Swedish schools, the study of history has been truncated and the emphasis laid on the development of the Swedish Labour Movement. The French Revolution is seen as the beginning of things." And on religi-

ous instruction, Huntford quotes the syllabus for religious knowledge in the gymnasium (high school): "It is also desirable to touch on psychology's view of religion as a compulsive neurosis with infantile characteristics..."

It is obvious that such educational policies have also their effect in the field of morality, sex and individual conscience. "We have no ethical standards in education, and no rules for sexual behaviour," in the words of Dr Gosta Rodhe, the head of the department of sexual education in the Directorate of Schools..."We don't care at what age children start going to bed with each other ... as Two subjects of education which mean repression. And the repression the mirror.

of sexuality leads to aggression..."

Huntford of course not only quotes the authoritative people. He does not also hesitate to point out what seems to him the other side of the picture: "Licence to copulate has led to a sexual obsession pervading the whole of Swedish life. It has brought in its train a certain amount of mental illness...It seems to have been established that much of expanding neuroses among schoolchildren and students is to be attributed to failure in the sexual rat race...

And the effect on personal conscience: "Swedish conscience is, in fact, catharsis through ritual hate... it is not an individual, but a collective concept. It means condemnation of other countries and other people for undesirable actions. In the way it has been applied, it is directed to remote corners of the world, from which no immediate danger may be anticipated...'

In his grim analysis of Swedish life, Huntford may have been rather rough on the Swedes. But he' may hold up a mirror to many other countries and peoples as well. And if one does not like the reflection one long as they are prepared...Rules sees, it is not much use smashing

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industrial apparatus for production is already in existence, in a case of de- a developing economy like ours is pression skilled workers would be justified on the ground that we do available and ready to utilise the op- not have enough resources for planportunity of any new demand to ned development and that we can restore the equilibrium in the econ-omy. In other words, the extra money supply would be counter-such deficit financing. The assumption is that such deficit financing will not cause balanced as soon as possible by new trouble as adjustment would soon productivity in the economy, with- take place by increased productivity. out undue pressure on the price level It is on such assumptions that deficit and things would be good for all in financing has been provided in the due course.

The application of this theory to Five Year Plan and expenditure has been incurred by the Government of India on this basis.

However, these assumptions have not been realised. The necessary productivity has not come about, even from the large investments from genuine resources, much less from investment by deficit financing.

If the Government wants to understand the working of economic forces under inflation there are now economists in and out of Government able to explain the forses of inflation. The Reserve Bank of India pointedly draws attention to this.

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## Never say die

by K. M. Meher -Homji in Sydney

IAN McWhirter was 26, tall, rugged and on the threshold of glory as an oarsman to represent Australia in the Munich Olympics.

He had a fiance, Erica, a slender, pretty little girl, just 19. They loved each other deeply but there was no hurry to get married. First, there would be the thrills, tension and honour of representing Australia.

But a visit to a Sydney hospital in April - four months before the Olympics — changed everything. The a miracle. doctors delivered their grim verdict. "Only six months to live."

Erica was shattered to hear the news. She could not believe it, would not believe it. This is how she described her feeling in a series of articles in Sydney's "Sun":

"My heart seemed to stop. I think I started to cry but then told myself that this was not the attitude to take. I must be strong...I looked at him, tall, wavy-haired, shy...As we left the doctors, Ian started to cry."

But that was perhaps the last time they cried. The visit to the doctors was followed by 159 days of anxiety and happiness; happiness they had never experienced before; a tale of superhuman courage, a moving lovestory for real, an inspiration for humanity.

As they walked out of the hospital, hoping that it was only a bad dream, Erica slipped her hands into his, gripped tightly and said: Let's get married."

He told her not to be stupid, to run off to her mother in Perth (2000 miles away) and forget him. But she insisted.

The wedding (six days after the "death sentence") was memorable. Everyone from the rowing world was there. "It was the happiest day of my life," she recalls.

She devoted herself to making his last days on earth the happiest of his short life. And she kept praying for

On their fifth anniversary (fifth month, that is), he revealed to a He had terminal cancer of the liver. friend: "It almost makes me glad that God chose me to die, to have found such happiness with Erica. These have been the happiest days of my life...She gave me faith in myself, in us, in God.'

so much. If only a miracle would live for the future."

July 23: "My darling is 27 today but he isn't feeling very good ... At least he loved my chocolate birthday cake. I was so happy...We now turned to God for help."

August 16: "Once again we went to our church service and felt so much better after the service. I wish that a lot more people could get the same feeling as I do. We aren't the only people who need God's help.'

The feverishly anticipated miracle was nowhere in sight. Ian faced the prospect of death with calm and serenity. He once told Erica:

"I can appreciate just everything in life. The good things and things which I used to think were bad...I can appreciate a lovely day, the sunshine, the wind on my face, a good steak, things I always took for granted but now treasure. Everything gives me pleasure. I can take nothing for granted anymore."

October 5 proved to be their last Though outwardly calm, she was day together. It was all over the seized with fears when alone. She next day. This is how Erica ends her kept a diary (as published in "Sun"). narrative: "My love for him will On June 24 she wrote: "I love Ian never die. I will cherish the past and

#### THE NEW IRAN - from page 6

in the search for North Sea oil. These many Iranian officials to describe their developments are an expression both of the increasing sophistication of the Iranian economy and the growing skills of its managers. Factors such as these — the great and sustained growth rate over the last decade, the diversification of industry, the increasing complexity of the economy and the readiness to look for export opportunities — have encouraged

country, not entirely without justification, as the 'Japan of South-West

As is the case with Japan, Iran is now beginning to develop a foreign policy which can look beyond immediate and local problems. Iran is militarily superior to Iraq and recent economic improvements in the Persian part of Baluchistan have served to remove several sources of local grievance there. In the Gulf itself Iran has secured control of the three islands which it sought while its claim on Bahrain was peacefully and gracefully renounced.

With a booming economy and with many local issues settled Iran now feels it can begin to expand the horizons of its foreign policy. Over the last decade Iran's diplomatic activity has proceeded effectively with two major tasks - it has made a careful and rational calculation of national interests, while at the same time it has proceeded to develop the necessarv and adequate means to gain these ends. When issues of policy and power are brought into such harmony much can be achieved and with a growing sense of national self-respect and self-confidence the basis for further Iranian diplomatic successes has been established.

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## Letters

#### SOUTH AFRICAN RUGGER TEAM

Norman Kirk, New Zealand's first Labour Prime Ministr for 12 years, faces a formidable challenge. The issue before the country is whether or not an all-white rugby team from South Africa should be allowed to tour New Zealand this year.

Proud of its multiracial society, yet equally proud of its standing among the small but exclusive club of rugby-playing nations, New Zealand views the coming of the Springboks with mixed feelings. Protest groups claim that if the tour goes on, New Zealand will be labelled "racist" and "pro-apartheid". They threaten disruption and harassment, anything short of violence to stop the tour. African nations, and now India, threaten to boycott the Commonwealth Games in Christchurch next year, in retaliation.

Rugby supporters can argue that keeping the door open to South Africa has already produced a shift in racial attitudes there. On New Zealand's insistence, the last team to tour South Africa was selected on a strict merit basis and included both white and Maori New Zealanders. Rugby is the number one sport in New Zealand. Some visitors go as far as to say it has become the State religion! In such circumstances the Government must tread warily.

Prime Minister Kirk has announced his Government's opposition to the tour and outlined the possible consequences. Increased police and even military protection of players is contemplated. The Government may yet overrule the Rugby Union which controls rugby and which issued the invitation to South Africa. But if this happens, will it be a democratic decision, or will threats and intimidation have worked in New Zealand as they have worked in so many countries? PETER WOOD, Wellington New Zealand

#### VIEW ON VIETNAM

I have the following comments to make on the article of Mr Rajmohan Gandhi "The Bombings" published in your issue of January 12, 1973:

Mr Gandhi deplores the bombing over Hanoi, especially during Christmas, but since when have holidays played a part in wars, and how could a long war be ended by limiting it to ground fighting, as he suggests? If during the Second World War bombing was not carried on over Germany, the war would have lasted much longer and would probably have been lost. If there was no Hiroshima the war in Asia would have been more bloody, and much of Asia including India might have remained under the Japanese.

The Communists have been at negotiations for years about the Vietnam war. but no solutions were found, because by fighting or at the conference table they wanted to achieve the communisation of the whole of Indo-China and more. No wonder they broke the last negotiations in Paris, and if it had not been for the bombings, they might have never returned, except on terms that would assure them that domination. As to the destruction of a Hanoi hospital the cannons, rockets and land missiles fired continuously by North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces have destroyed a number of cities and countless villages in South Vietnam hospitals, schools and old people's homes.

We too hope that men with new moral and spiritual qualities will emerge in Indo-China that will lead those countries to true democracy, but we would like to see the withdrawal of Americans by stages so that the contrary might not happen. We agree with him that America and other countries should not look for the solving of problems and conflicts to force alone. And also that they need men and statesmen of great moral qualities and force, but lebelling a representative of the US President with unflattering epithets will not bring a change in him.

NEDKO S. ETINOFF, Beirut, Lebanon



This was a Life

#### J. T. SUNDERLAND

#### 1842-1936

INDIA had some good friends and staunch vindicators around the world during her struggle for freedom who roused public opinion in their countries in favour of India's cause.

One of the few American advocates for India's cause was J. T. Sunderland who obtained his Doctorate of Divinity at the age of 28. By drawing a parallel between the Indian and American struggles for independence he roused the conscience of the intelligentsia in America and secured a number of friends for India.

He had heard a lot about India through Christian missionaries and had developed a spontaneous affection for the country and its people. He read its chequered history, vast literature, diverse religions and philosophies and acquainted himself with social and political problems confronting the nation.

Sunderland paid a number of visits to India during which he travelled widely. He attended two annual sessions of the Indian National Congress and the Indian National Social Conference.

On his return home after his first visit, he published his thesis on the causes of famines in India. He exploded the popular complacency that famines were due to natural causes and therefore nothing could be done. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that his work "India in Bondage — Her right to freedom" was banned soon after its publication in India.

The Indian students in the United States found in Dr Sunderland someone they could turn to for help and inspiration. He helped Lala Lajpat Rai in his activities in America during World War I. He became Vice-President and later President of the Home Rule League of India in the US. As a believer in the dignity of human beings, he strove for their emancipation. Sunderland fought in the American Civil War to free the American Negros from slavery. He espoused the cause of oppressed Jews in Czarist Russia and was a zealous advocate of Arab freedom.

He was, moreover, a sympathetic interpreter of all that was best in the East.

C. D.



#### India and the Red world

by Rajmohan Gandhi

TRAVELLING forms a fair part of global diplomacy.

Kissinger is not the only one who flits about. Begum Nusrat Bhutto has been in Peking. Mrs Gandhi was in Nepal.

A colourful visitor arrived in Delhi, Prime Minister Yu-majagiin Tsedenbal of Mongolia. Hedged in — if the phrase can be used for a country the size of Western Europe — by China and the Soviet Union, Mongolia contains just over a million people. A nation of horsemen, it has twice as many horses as human beings.

Centuries ago Genghis Khan galloped forth from this country of rolling steppe, ringed by high mountains and impassable deserts, and startled and frightened large territories in Eurasia. In his pictures Premier Tsedenbal does not wear a conqueror's look; he appears dignified and modest.

His talks with Mrs Gandhi were "very cordial". The two leaders discussed Mongolian developments in the last ten years, India's ap-proach towards Pakistan, the Vietnam ceasefire and Indo-Mon-golian trade. Mongolia imports snuff and art silk from India. We take raw wool.

China resents Moscow's influence with Ulan Bator, the Mongolian capital, and is unlikely to have been pleased with Tsedenbal's Indian visit. Despite the parallelism in certain US and Chinese interests in Asia, it is stated that Washington will soon recognise Mongolia, a step not likely to de-

light Peking.
Mrs Gandhi's speech at her dinner in honour of the Mongolian guest was significant. On Indo-Pak relations she repeated India's "determination to persevere with the methods of peace and the path of bilateralism". This emphasis on bilateralism is of interest in the context of the desire of the Soviet Union, a powerful friend both of Mongolia and India, to help normalise Indo-Pak relations.

Mrs Gandhi reaffirmed that India's policy was of "friendship with all countries near and far." Pointing out that the futility of war as a means of achieving ob-

jectives had been "graphically demonstrated" in another part of Asia, she said, "We rejoice that war has ended in Vietnam and Laos. We hope that the fighting in Cambodia will soon cease." She refrained from attacking any particular side in the Vietnam tragedy. In expressing thanks for Mongolia's support to India during the Bangladesh crisis, she took care to state that it was based on princi-ple, implying that it did not result from any power alignments.

She spoke of the need for Asian unity, and for closer economic ties among developing countries. "Such exchanges would greatly strengthen their self-reliance," she

These remarks are worth quoting because they contradict the view held in certain quarters that our Government is influenced by a desire to please the Soviet Union.

Another refutation of this belief came, even if indirectly, from our External Affairs Minister, Mr Swaran Singh. Replying to a question in Parliament he said: "The Government continues to seek normalisation of relations with China as it feels it would be in the interests of both countries. There is some indication that the Chinese Government is also con-

sidering the matter.'

That India has friendly and close relations with the Soviet Union is evident. That there is some risk in developing excessive dependence on one super power for military and industrial supplies is also plain. Yet there are indications that New Delhi is conscious of risks of this kind. And in our Prime Minister we have a person who cherishes her independence and individuality and who can be trusted to guard jealously the sovereignty of our country.

It is the writer's view that the full import of the New Delhi-Moscow link has yet to be appreciated by all concerned. The link enables currents and ideas to travel from one end to the other. It would be wholly erroneous to assume that the travel could only be one way.

Soviet submarines and missiles may assist in India's defence. So-

viet resources and skill may set up steel plants in India. Against these and other contributions which India appreciates — must be set not merely the millions of shirts, razor blades and pairs of shoes that we export to the Soviet Union, but also the possibility of the democratic outlook travelling from India to the giant country.

With all her poverty India enjoys civil liberties and is proud of them. With all the gaps, which can be freely conceded, between word and deed, our country has her moral and spiritual side, and is proud of that too. This aspect of India may occasionally and indeed often takes curious, impractical and misleading forms, but we cannot deny its presence. At times the genuine article turns up.

The existence of democracy and of what might be called the moralspiritual factor in India has to be observed in the light of the desire in much of the Soviet Union for these very things. Having achieved her military goals, meeting steadily her economic targets and having secured status and prestige, the Soviet Union, including some among its rulers, may be ready to experiment both with democracy and its foundation, faith.

Provided we in India uphold our position of equality and of honour in our dealings with the Soviet Union, and provided we do all we can steadily and systematically to improve our social and economic condition, we may find ourselves giving true and needed help to the Soviet Union. Anxious to be another Communist Rome, Peking fell out with Moscow. India has no wish to become a Communist country or a centre for world revolution. But it can stay friends with the Soviet Union, and give new meaning to friendship.

If we practise what we should, nations like Mongolia and other Red-ruled lands near the Soviet Union might derive heart and hope from our example. India would then have a part in helping them achieve higher levels of honour and integrity in their relationships with the Soviet Union.

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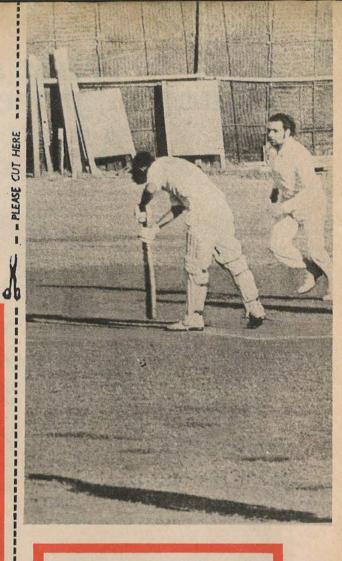
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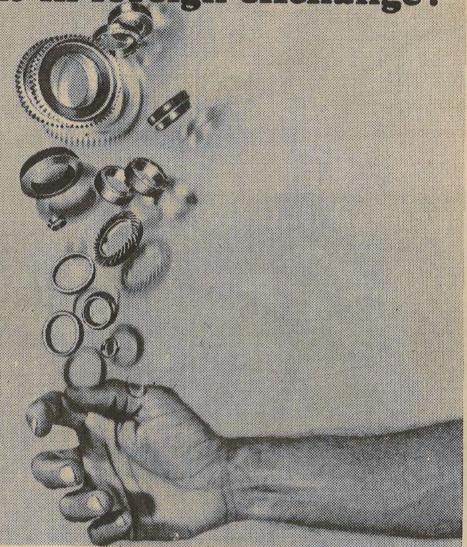
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The winner will be announced in the following issue You may not send more than Six Entries in any competition. N.B. only one cross may be marked on each picture. The Editor's decision is final.

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	BLOCK LETTERS
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