

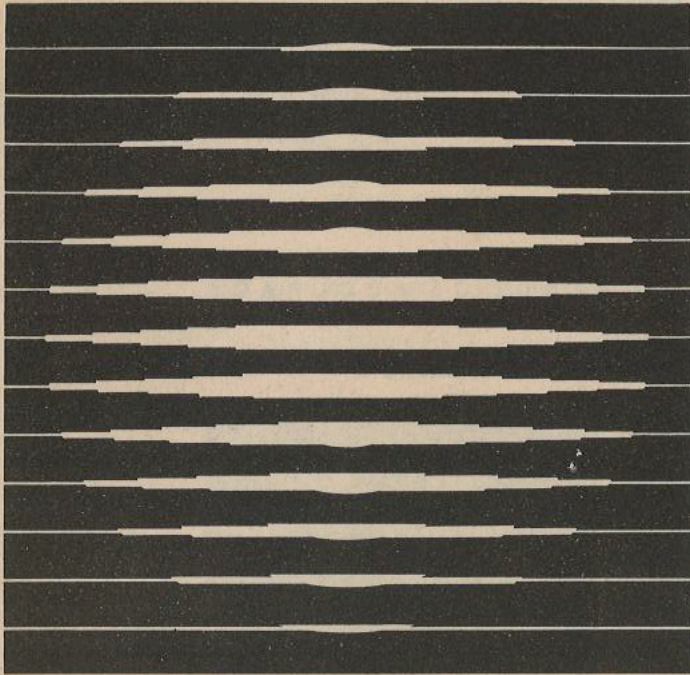
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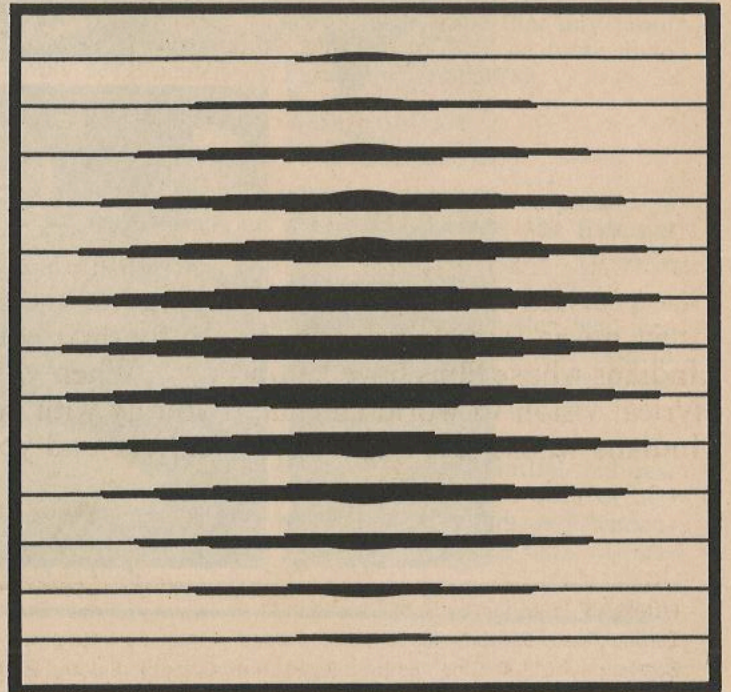
ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY JULY 20 1973



MAKING BLACK MONEY WHITE

THE PARALLEL ECONOMY



AVERY

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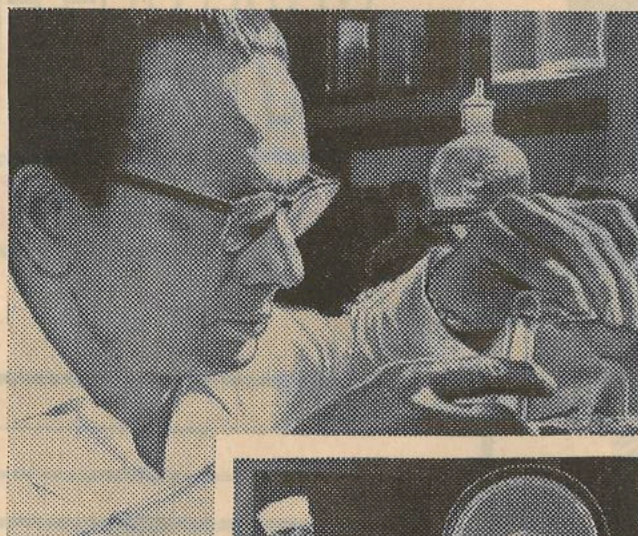
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Congress owes an explanation

WHAT is extraordinary about the current situation in the country is the fact that a party which commanded an overwhelming majority at the Centre and in most states barely two years ago is now falling to bits in most states.

In 1967 when the Congress Party lost in almost half the states of India, great instability prevailed and Ministries were frequently toppling. In the 1972 state elections we were asked to vote for Congress and vote for stability. Even after the Congress got power in almost all the states, instability still prevails. The Congress owes an explanation to the voters.

The Congress Party has undercut and eliminated its credibility and any moral authority it might have possessed. The open exhibition of the struggle for power and for the occupancy of the "gaddi" and the equally blatant disregard of the issues facing the nation is

enough to turn anyone into a cynic.

The only saving grace is that the dissident disease has not yet afflicted the Congress Party at the Centre. In fact one and all in the party continue publicly and otherwise to say they owe complete allegiance to Mrs Gandhi. Her leadership has not had any serious challenge. However, it is her own policy of keeping the state leaders small that is now backfiring on her. Things have come to such a pass that even her faithful representatives, like Mr Swaran Singh, have not had much success in dealing with the dissidents.

The only way out of this sorry state is for Mrs Gandhi, with all the authority at her command, to re-inject a basic discipline into the party ranks. This will need to be followed by a conscious policy of building up men of integrity in the states and standing by them. When the whole structure is shaky nothing but drastic measures will prevent an imminent collapse.

Chances of detente on subcontinent

THE situation in the subcontinent has remained static for too long. Any opening of the doors of dialogue is therefore welcome. And yet it is hard to be optimistic about the Indo-Pak consultations to take place in Islamabad from July 24.

The Indian representative, Mr P. N. Haksar, will have to also ensure the interests of Bangladesh, which, though so closely involved, is unable to participate in the discussions. Pakistan will be represented by its Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Defence, Mr Aziz Ahmed.

There are some hopeful signs. The postponement of Mr Bhutto's trip to the US by President Nixon, on the plea of illness, could be regarded as one. So far President Nixon's illness has not caused the cancellation of the visit of the Shah of Iran also scheduled for the fateful date of July 24. This visit has already been a source of upset to President Bhutto. While accepting an invitation to a reciprocal dinner hosted by the Shah, President Nixon refused, despite frantic cables, to accept a similar invitation from Mr Bhutto.

Mr Bhutto is wise enough to see in the President's

reluctance an indication that he will not get very far in his quest for arms.

Another factor that may influence Mr Bhutto is the rebuff given by the International Court of Justice. The Court refused to grant Pakistan's request for an interim injunction against transfer by India of the 195 prisoners of war for war crimes trials in Bangladesh. Its refusal was on the grounds that it must first of all satisfy itself that it has jurisdiction to entertain the dispute.

A further cause for hope is the statement of the Pakistani Foreign Secretary, Mr Agha Shahi, to foreign correspondents in Hongkong. He has said that Pakistan was prepared to live with the trial of 200 POWs as part of a package deal which brought home the other 90,000 prisoners held in India.

The cards are in Mr Bhutto's hands. He has also recently been empowered by the Pakistan Parliament to recognise Bangladesh. Recognition of Bangladesh would put Pakistan in a better position over the war crimes trials issue. It is safe to assume that any proof of good faith given by Mr Bhutto will be more than amply reciprocated by India and Bangladesh.

Peering into the future

OURS is an age of sophistication. No wonder therefore that some of the toiling dissidents who are the most adjustable segment of our society should adopt new methods and techniques in their daily struggle.

The other day a woman legislator from Gujarat, Mrs Ayesha Begum, is reported to have peered into a meeting of political dissidents with a pair of binoculars before she was invited to join the conferring parties. But her subsequent conduct showed that she was not only a far-sighted woman but a gallant one as well.

A few days later she walked into a meeting of the Congress legislative party with a tape-recorder and tried to record the proceedings. Whether she got her inspiration from the Watergate affair is a matter to be investigated. Her action according to Mr Swaran Singh

was totally uncalled for because none of our politicians will ever go back on his word (perhaps the External Affairs Minister makes an obvious distinction between lapses of memory and going back on one's word)!

There is hardly a legislator or a minister who has never slipped over at least one political banana skin in his career. But his success lies in that he is able to get up immediately, dust his clothes and march on.

Mrs Begum's first attempt was not a complete success, but one should budget for these initial failures. Who knows, she might turn out to be the guru of dissidents in the future when tape-recorders and binoculars replace chairs and paperweights as the tools of political action.

Briefly Speaking

People who are late are often so much jollier than the people who have to wait for them.

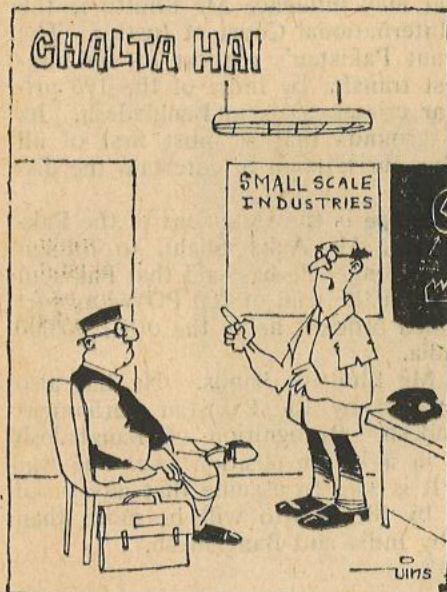
EDWARD VERRALL LUCAS, 1868-1938

Who is to blame?

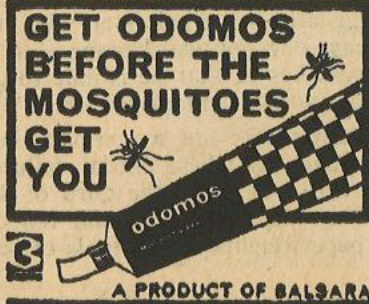
WHO (World Health Organisation) has had to reveal the sad fact that in the last 25 years health problems in many countries have worsened despite its existence. Veneral diseases and malaria continue to be a problem.

But it is not so much the fault of WHO as that of the member countries. Political interference is one of the major hindrances. WHO could not keep track of the world cholera situation because member countries did not notify its appearance.

India cannot be acquitted of the charge at least as far as malaria is concerned. Birbal knows of one dedicated malaria expert of WHO who was forced to leave when his job was not fully done. The malaria



"Let me remind you again, if your factory is visible even from half a kilometre off, you will not get the concessions under the small scale industries scheme."



fighting equipment, such as clinics, was placed at the disposal of Family Planning. The result: although malaria is not quite the scourge it was it still claims quite a few victims.

Irresponsible talk

SOME young Turks make irresponsible statements in the fond belief that they are radical. Mr Shashi Bhusan, who has called for "limited dictatorship" is a case in point. He has said that unless dictatorial powers were given to a few "in the present Cabinet" the "parallel Government", which controls the Rs 100,000 million of black money, will usher in a "right, reactionary dictatorship".

Birbal sometimes thinks that we Indians derive a twisted pleasure from our national problems. We rush after new "cures" with the avidity of hypochondriacs. The only thing wrong with us is that our muscles have become flabby. It is hard to imagine what extra powers a "limited dictatorship" can confer on our Cabinet ministers. The power already vested in them is being grossly misused or not used at all. Offering them more power would be fatal.

The queues (be they for buses, foodgrains, vanaspati or whatever) are getting longer, files are moving slower, prices are rising and so is frustration. These are things well within the power of the Government to correct. How about some constructive action on these from you, Mr Bhusan?

A record on record

MR T. A. PAI, Minister for Heavy Industries, has been saying some unusual things:

- "There is a feeling of jealousy in the country. We don't want any Indian to succeed and if someone is succeeding then there's an effort to pull him down... The success of any Indian in any walk of life is a success for me.
- "We have to ask ourselves: do we owe an obligation to the rest of society? It's a moral question not merely political.

• "Our country is finding more and more alibis for shortcomings — rain, power cut etc. Are we managing our affairs as we ought to?"

Even more encouraging are Mr Pai's efforts at the implementation of these convictions. He has challenged his own Ministry to increase production by 45 per cent and gone on record to say that the units under his

control could be focal points in tackling the unemployment of the educated. Reviewing the measures being undertaken towards this end Mr Pai has also challenged the Members of Parliament's Consultative Committee to sub-divide into groups, visit the 14 odd units in Mr Pai's care and pass on constructive suggestions for improvement.

Bombastic

AUSTRALIAN postal workers have imposed a ban on mail to France as a protest against the French nuclear tests in the Pacific. The General Secretary of the Postal Workers Union, Mr Slater, was being interviewed about this on television by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. It was the day news was released about China's bomb. Asked whether the postal workers would also place a ban on mail to China he said, "No, the case is a different one". When pressed on why it was different he said, "The French bomb is a capitalists' bomb and the Chinese is a workers' bomb."

A small point that seems to have escaped Mr Slater's notice is that a bomb is a bomb; completely classless and equally lethal to workers and capitalists.

Birbal

UPON MY WORD!

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 | C S R
PUZZLE NO. 37

You should find 71 | I E U P
words this week.

(Answer next week) | O I N
ANSWER TO PUZZLE NO. 36

Ahoy, earth, eolith, ethyl, hail, hair, hale, halite, halo, halt, halter, hare, harl, harlot, hart, hate, heal, hear, heart, heat, heir, heriot, hero, herry, hilt, hire, hear, hole, holt, holy, horal, hotel, hyetal, hyle, lath, lathe, lather, rath, rather, rhetor, rhyolite, their, they, thirl, thole, thirty, HIEROLATRY — The worship of saints or sacred things.

Commonwealth:

Alternative to super power diplomacy?

by Michael Henderson

"THERE are no super-powers in the Commonwealth," says Mr Arnold Smith, Secretary General of the Commonwealth, in his 1973 report. Released on July 9 and following closely the summit talks between Brezhnev and Nixon the report warns of the dangers of super-power diplomacy. Mr Smith quotes the recent statement by the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew, Chairman of the last Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting:

"It is only to be expected that the middle and small nations whose interests may be affected are concerned with the dangers of direct super-power diplomacy, that super-power differences being settled over their heads may well be at their expense."

Prospects for the August 2-10 meeting in Ottawa of the Commonwealth Heads of Government are bright, though officials temper their optimism with the memory of how a suddenly emerging issue like the proposed British arms sale to South Africa dominated the last meeting two years ago in Singapore. As of now no such issue threatens to loom large.

In spite of super power politics Mr Arnold Smith is convinced of the contribution the Commonwealth can make. He writes that it "represents a wide range of political, economic and geographic interests, and its members have significant influence. The association cuts across differences of race, and regions, as well as extremes of wealth and poverty. Its members have links with all the

SO THEY SAY

I personally do not think there is any faction or group within the (Bihar Congress) party. ...

ABDUL GHAFOOR,
Bihar Chief Minister

The scare about shortages is merely psychological...we may not have foodgrains overflowing the national basket, nevertheless enough food is available in the country.

A. P. SHINDE,
Union Minister of State for
Agriculture

major powers and with most regional organisations. Its meetings are more informal, franker and more intimate than most international meetings. It is not only an association of traditional friends, it is an association which makes friends. Potentially,



ARNOLD SMITH:
"association which makes friends"

therefore, it is a grouping of great political and economic significance."

Mr Smith concludes: "Far from being less relevant, the Commonwealth is one of those international instruments that can be more than ever relevant to the problems and challenges of the years ahead."

More newsmen than ever before will be attending this Ottawa conference — 700 are expected — but they will find news harder to come by. For there will be only two "plenary" sessions at the beginning and end attended by all 600 delegates. The others will be "executive" sessions which will be limited to Heads of Government and two officials at most and "restricted" sessions which will be for Heads of Government and the Secretary General. So there will be fewer people from whom journalists can obtain leaks, calculated or otherwise. Spontaneity is the operative word and set speeches, mimeographed for immediate distribution, are being discouraged, although the actual style of operating will be fixed when the Government leaders meet.

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada, who like Mr Heath was distinctly put off by the mini-United Nations nature of the last meeting, wants delegates to talk to each other and not at each other. Having offered Ottawa as the venue for this year's conference he is in a position as host if not to ensure that this happens at least to provide the framework for it. Between them the Heads of Government represent over 860 million people, nearly a quarter of the world's population and nearly a fifth of the world's land area.

The Commonwealth has grown from 8 to 33 members in 20 years but in recent times its growth has slowed and there now remains one potential member of any appreciable size, Papua New Guinea. So a pattern of operation is being worked out that may well be followed for a long time to come.

Opening as it does on August 2 the Ottawa conference will directly follow the start of the preliminary talks in Brussels on the opportunities being offered to 20 Commonwealth countries of some kind of special relationship with the EEC, at the same time as preceding the next round of international trade negotiations in Tokyo of GATT in September. The Secretary General's report predicts that British membership of the EEC will serve to strengthen the Commonwealth. Prospects for the Commonwealth, which accounts for a fifth of the world's trade, will be discussed in the light of Britain's entry into Europe. Commonwealth members will want to safeguard their exports to Britain and secure wider access to the European market.

Canada — the first territory in the British Empire to achieve self-government by mutual agreement — is sparing no pains to make this Commonwealth meeting a success. The Ottawa conference centre — the old Union Railway Station which was imaginatively converted on the initiative of Trudeau when he first came to office — will be the venue.

Canadian officials working flat out to prepare are a little awed at the size of what they have set in motion but are also aware that if all goes

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

Glimpses into the making of modern Iran

The Shah's charmed life

by R. M. Lala

On July 24 the Shah of Iran goes on a State visit to the United States. In his 22 years as ruler, Iran has been transformed from an economically backward nation into a modern power. R M Lala, who was in Teheran recently, gives glimpses into the growth of Iran, its youth and the life of its 53 year-old monarch.

TEHERAN lies in an arid wasteland not unlike the surroundings of Delhi. What strikes a visitor are efforts at planting fresh boulevards and green lawns on highway traffic dividers. Water trucks regularly feed the tender plants.

As you drive from Teheran into the country, you see vast areas freshly forested. And you realise that there is a hand that cares for Iran and wants it to blossom again.

At every turn in Iran you sense that its vast oil revenues are being spent constructively for the upliftment of its people. Iran is expected to earn in the next five years \$ 22 billion in oil revenues alone. Efforts are being made to diversify industries. Rich copper deposits have been found and there are great fishing possibilities in the Persian Gulf which are still to be tapped. Esfahan, famed city of blue-domed mosques and minarets, has a large modern campus. No money is being spared to double its educational facilities in five years.

Politically stable for the last two decades, financially fortunate, one can hardly believe as one drives along its highways that 50 years ago it was unsafe to travel on Iran's trunk routes. People in Teheran city did not dare to go out after sunset for fear of being robbed. Persia was victim of foreign powers which had wrenched concessions from enfeebled and extravagant kings of the Qajar dynasty. "You were lucky to have one master in India," said a senior Persian, "We had many." British and Russians exerted power, with Germans and French thrown in.

The state of the country was so rotten that a patriotic soldier, Reza

Shah, marched into Teheran and took over the reins of power. Crowned King, he used rough and ready methods but succeeded in establishing law and order. He gave his people a pride again of being Iranians. I questioned his son Prince Ghulam Reza Shah, brother of the present ruler, what kind of a man his father was. The Prince replied: "He was a strict disciplinarian but he was also very kind".

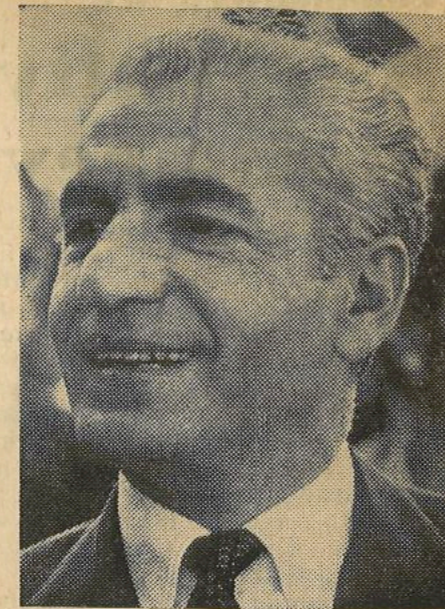
No formal education

Reza Shah got his military training in a Cossack Brigade in Russia. He had no formal education but educated himself. Even as King he slept on a mattress on the floor. He had his own methods of awakening the country. Once he presented himself at the door of the Ministry of Finance just after its opening time and ordered all doors closed. A number of sleepy officials, including the minister, found themselves locked out. They were all promptly sacked. His son the present Shah recalls "My father relied more on punishment than on reward ... and love (of the people) gave way to respect and defence."

And what strength did Reza Shah command when he came to power?

Shortly after the take-over he was heard exclaiming aloud, "If only I had a thousand rifles!" He would have rubbed his eyes to see the sophisticated and exotic equipment his son now commands.

In 1941 when Hitler invaded Russia the Allies wanted to rush supplies to the Soviet Union and the most convenient land route was through Iran. Reza Shah wanted to



keep Iran neutral but failed to do so. On the excuse that he did not expel his German advisers, Britain and Russia marched in from the South and the North. Reza Shah abdicated in favour of his son.

At 21 Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi became King. "I had known since early childhood it was my destiny to become a king," he wrote later and added, "I should consider it arrogant to believe I would accomplish my life work without God's help."

An ailing child, the Crown Prince gathered strength in Switzerland where he studied. He recalls that as a child "I liked to build things". In the Swiss mountains he dreamt dreams of how he would govern as a just ruler. He was called upon to execute his ideas sooner than he expected. The first years of his reign were stormy. After World War II Russia refused to leave one of Iran's provinces but it finally did. The young ruler suffered an air crash in a plane he was flying himself. He cheerfully recalls that he and his companion "were hanging by our seatbelts in the open cockpit. Neither of us suffered so much as a scratch. The scene amused me so much that I burst out laughing, but my upside-down companion didn't think it was funny."

The present Shah has survived an assassination attempt. Three bullets passed through his military cap without hurting him but the fourth one penetrated his right cheekbone and came out under his nose. Added to all this was a brief exile in Rome when Dr Mossadegh, a peculiar Prime Minister, virtually compelled

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

the King to leave the country. Thanks to the army backed by the people, the King returned.

It is not surprising that after such a stormy first decade the King should feel "divine guidance" operating in his life. In his most interesting autobiography "Mission for My Country" (Hutchinsons) he gives amazing instances of his early childhood which gave him the sense of "a Supreme Being" guiding him.

The Shah's first great stroke of policy was his decision, when he was only 30, to distribute his own crown lands to the peasants. When he got no response from other feudal landowners he launched in 1963 his programme of the White Revolution. He bought over the land of feudal landlords and distributed it to the peasants. The decade of the White Revolution is now over and the Shah's proclaimed aim for the next decade is the creation of "the great civilisation".

The Persians have been the civilisers of waves of invaders including Arabs and Mongols. Like the Germans and the North Indians the Iranians come from an Aryan stock and like their two counterparts in Europe and South Asia they love to argue and discuss. It is said that when a group of Germans came to a signpost with one arm pointing to "Heaven" and the other to a "Discussion about heaven" most Germans followed the second. It is fair to surmise that most Iranians would do likewise. The Indian Aryan would probably follow the signpost to "Heaven", walk a few steps, settle down, fold his legs and dream of Nirvana. You cannot blame him after the way he has been made to queue for his rice, wheat, cooking oil and bare necessities of life.

The strength of Persia lies in its

family life. On a summer evening you see families with teenage children in parks or even on the green road-dividers, sharing their meals and enjoying each other's company. It is a sight one seldom sees in Europe today where grown-up children and elders seldom go out together.

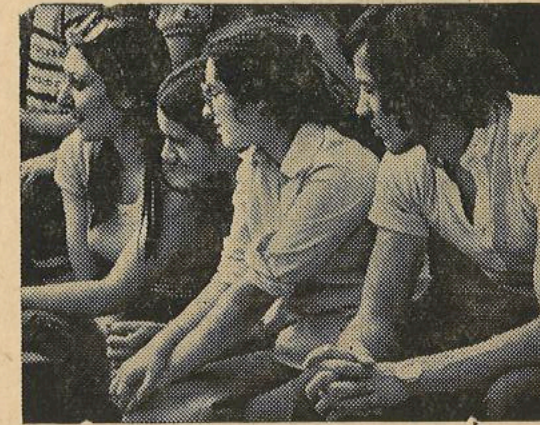
The Prime Minister spoke to me of his desire to see "the development of man himself" and of harmonising Iran's industrial society with her ancient culture. But the wealth pouring into Iran has brought its own problems of affluence. Western values have brought in permissiveness. I was surprised to find earlier this month in Teheran the announcement of a foreign theatre company that introduced "the theatre of panic". The play presented dealt with "sadism, masochism and perversion". It was written by a so-called Spanish avant-garde playwright whom not one Asian in a million has heard of. It is a pity that when in the West End of London good plays are returning such perverse stuff is exported to unsuspecting countries. One wonders who finances it too. Iranian films in the last couple of years have, I understand, declined in taste.

In the next years, Iran will spend billions of dollars on expanding its social, economic and military facilities. It will need skilled manpower. Will that be forthcoming? My impression of Iran's civil service is that the calibre at the top level is good but the second rung is weak. The Shah is trying to do his best to attract young Iranians who have settled abroad by offering inducements like tax-free import of foreign cars, etc.

Thousands of Iranians highly qualified have settled abroad. Some as students were targets of elements

who wanted to create disaffection for the Crown. Some genuinely feel that their country does not have the scope or the freedom of expression they would like to have in order to return. The Shah of Iran told an Indian journalist recently that he had taken the steps so that his country's well-being will not in future depend on the monarch alone. The Shah would in all probability want to liberalise without the attendant risks of instability and chaos.

If the Shah's ideas of liberalisation have to work, somewhere there has



YOUTH OF IRAN:
which way will they go?

got to be a shift at the grass-roots level too, for unless responsible leadership grows the Shah's past experience shows that other elements will try to exploit the situation.

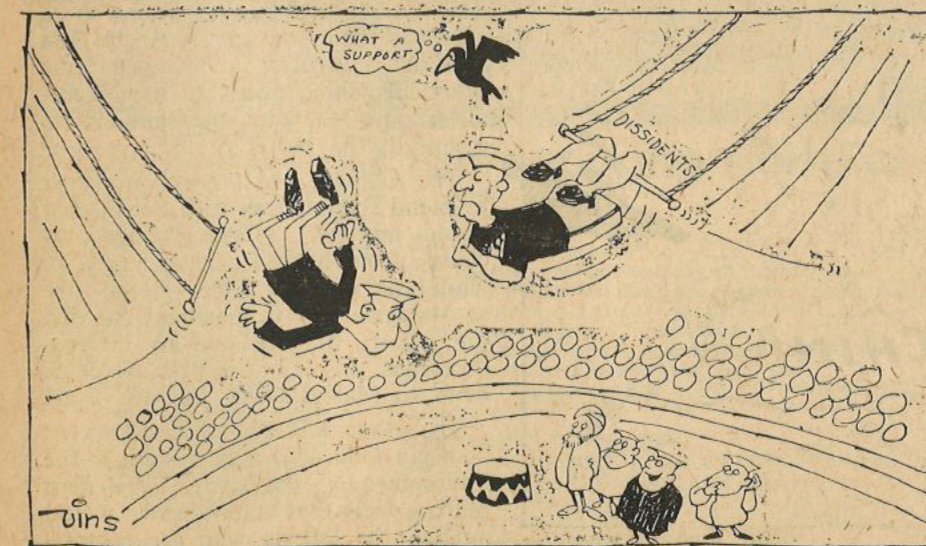
I was privileged to meet 15 students at a private gathering. I began with a question: "How many of you feel as responsible for Iran as His Majesty the Shah or the Prime Minister?"

There was a silence. Then a bright young man asked, "It depends on what you mean by responsible."

I replied: "Being responsible for the domestic policy of Iran, her relations with her neighbours and above all the character of the nation." There was a pause after which four students raised their hands. One young lady said, "It is easier to criticise what is wrong than to create what is right. I want to do the latter."

At the end of the meeting the bright young man said, "I wanted to go out to have fun with one of my friends this evening but I am glad I came to this meeting. I found something new to think about."

The key to the future of Iran lies in making its youth responsible for the nation. Affluence will never satisfy the youth of Iran but a purpose in life will.



"Mr Chief Minister, you do not have to worry — you have all our support."

SRI LANKA :

Screws tighten on democracy

THE Constitutional Court has ruled that the Government's new bill to take over the largest group of newspapers, popularly called "Lake House", was not a violation of fundamental rights.



SIRIMAVO :
taming the press

Thus comes to an end the 13 year old battle by Mrs Bandaranaike to take over Lake House. Its sin was that it has traditionally supported the Opposition United National Party (UNP). If the Constitutional Court had ruled otherwise, it would not have made much difference. Sri Lanka's new constitution provides for a constitutional court ruling to be ignored if the Government can muster more than a two-thirds majority in Parliament. Dr Colvin R. de Silva, the Trotskyite Minister of Constitutional Affairs, saw to this 'minor' detail when he wrote up the new constitution last year and got it passed by the over two-thirds majority that Mrs Bandaranaike's United Front Government still enjoys.

Under the takeover bill, which will become law in a few weeks, 80 per

cent of the shares of the Lake House group will be held by the Public Trustee. From time to time these will be released for sale to the public but no person can hold more than two per cent of the shares. Theoretically, the bill is for broadbasing the newspaper group which has so far been controlled by a few people. Present shareholders will be allowed only 20 per cent of the shares.

The petitioners argued that the bill violated fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution: Section 18 (1) guarantees freedom of expression and association. Counsel for the State, Mr C. Thiagalingam, based his defence of the bill saying that fundamental rights were not guaranteed by the constitution. To him, there were no such things as fundamental rights in a unitary state like Sri Lanka. Parliament was sovereign, he said, and even if a bill negated the freedom of anyone, "a good, bad or indifferent" bill became good after being passed by Parliament.

An unexpected ally of the petitioners proved to be the Attorney General. In a written submission to the Speaker, he pointed out that:

- discrimination against the company and its shareholders contravened the constitution.
- transferring the control of the company and direction of its policy from the present shareholders and

directors to another set of directors infringed the freedom of speech and expression. The Attorney-General refused to be present personally in the Constitutional Court, but it didn't make much difference to the verdict.

Meanwhile, the Government received a rude shock at the by-election held as a result of the death of Dudley Senanayake. At the 1970 elections, Dudley Senanayake retained the seat by a mere 1000 odd votes. Yet the 25 year-old nephew of Dudley Senanayake who contested the by-election for the opposition UNP was returned with a majority of over 4500. The Government did all in its power, including several visits by Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, to win this seat.

With a Press Council armed with wide powers, a subservient Lake House and most other dailies toeing the line, Mrs Bandaranaike has successfully stifled all criticism of her Government. But the by-election result is an indication that the people will not be fooled by an absence of publicised criticism.

MALAYSIA :

To Peking, to Peking ...

Now that North Korea has been recognised by Kuala Lumpur, Malaysian and Chinese diplomats are expected to meet in New York soon to work out details to establish diplomatic relations. Malaysia will be the first of the ASEAN countries to recognise Peking.

Any dream of the five ASEAN countries moving together on the question of recognising China has now been conveniently forgotten. With Indonesia dragging her feet over the issue and Malaysia keen to go ahead, that concept was still-born. The Malaysian argument seems to be that for their concept of South-East Asia as a neutral zone to become practical, China needs to be a guarantor. So, the quicker China is recognised, the better.

The Chinese are more than eager to mend their fences with South-East Asian nations. Hence rubber purchases from Malaysia have increased while the Chinese have offered rice to Malaysia. With Thailand banning the export of rice due to internal shortages, this offer has been welcome news to Malaysia.

The other ASEAN nation expected to begin talks with China soon is the Philippines. Evidently President Marcos feels that such a move would quieten the leftists who are protesting about his dictatorial rule.

BEST WORLD PRESS

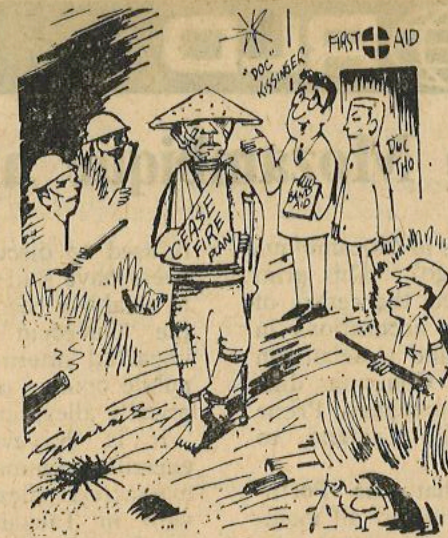
PEACE IN CAMBODIA

The US problem in Cambodia is now a cliché — how to conjure up peace with honour. There was an appearance of it having been achieved in Vietnam. But Cambodia is a tougher prospect. In addition, how the US handles Lon Nol will have bearing on South Vietnam's confidence. Sihanouk and Mr Chou En-lai have expressed apprehension that America might introduce Thai and South Vietnamese forces to take over after August 15. Such a move would have the effect only of aggravating tensions when the object must be now to reduce them. There is some hope in the fact that Cambodians have shown themselves more ready to compromise than their Vietnamese neighbours. Lon Nol has squandered his opportunity to make Cambodia work. Sihanouk refuses to talk to the leader of the coup which ousted him in March 1970. The search should be for a less-tainted middleman ... An end to the bombing and the discovery of an acceptable negotiator would be the steps towards making the slight hopes of a Cambodian peace more tangible.

THE GUARDIAN, London

It is too late in the day for the Lon Nol regime to try to seek a ceasefire on anything approaching its own terms. With the larger part of the country in the hands of Khmer Rouge and Phnom Penh itself under a virtual siege, the odds against it in the war are already pretty grim, and they will grow more so after August 15 when US bombing will have to come to an end.

It is, of course, open to Mr Nixon to add to the devastation he has already caused in Cambodia but it is no longer possible for him to alter the balance of forces in the favour of his protege. In



"Let's hope he stays patched up."

Courtesy: National Review

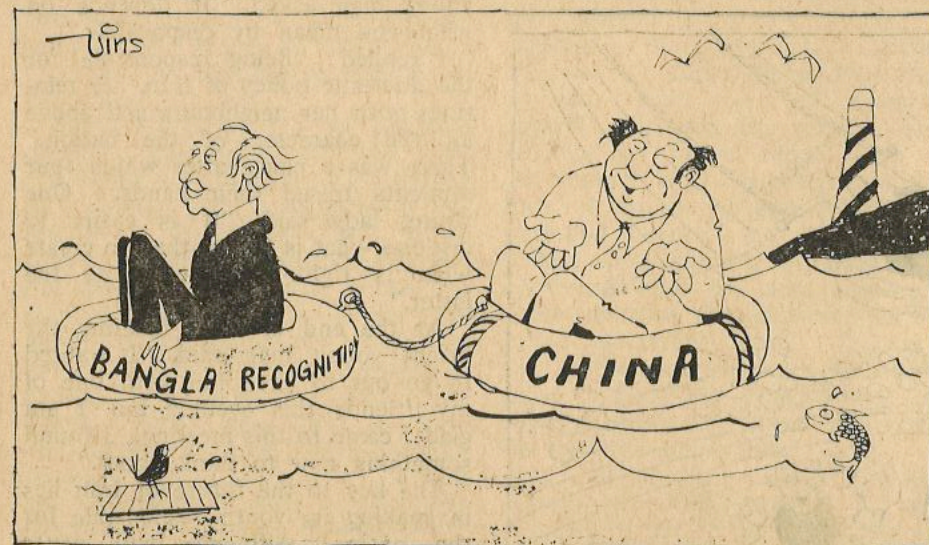
any case he will not have to wait long to see the defeat of his criminal intervention. The collapse of the Lon Nol government will begin the very day the bombing comes to an end. Even Mr Nixon will have no choice then but to come to terms with the inevitable — the return of Prince Sihanouk to power.

THE TIMES OF INDIA, Bombay

MASSACRE IN MOZAMBIQUE

With the exposure of the heinous crimes being committed by the Portuguese, it is to be seen whether the Western Governments, especially those of the US and the UK, can continue to lend political and other support to Portugal or whether public opinion in those countries will force them increasingly to abandon Lisbon. The proposed visit of the Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr Caetano, to London next week will be a test.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi



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VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT ...

IS ANNOYED at Minister of State of Agriculture A. P. Shinde's statement that there is enough food in the country and requests him to kindly desist from adding insult to injury in the face of the widespread scarcity of food.

HAILS Nepal's decision to close the drug bazaar in Kathmandu and also to make the cultivation of hemp, poppy and marijuana a punishable offence and is highly impressed that she was prepared to overlook considerable loss of revenue in the interests of humanity.

CHUCKLES over the ingenuity of professors and students in Ahmedabad in organising a "procession of sheep" to ridicule the humbug politicians of the state, but is keen to know what the sheep, which are after all productive animals, felt about it.

DISMISSES Mr Shashi Bhushan's call for a limited dictatorship for six months as an absurd idea from a practical point of view but shares his frustration with the present corrupt and lethargic administrative set-up.

IS AGITATED over the alleged massacre in Mozambique by Portuguese troops and is eager to get to the bottom of it.

IS SHOCKED at the Assam Government's decision to stop giving advertisements to the "Assam Tribune" and regards it a blatant interference with the freedom of the press.

FINDS it difficult to figure out the meaning of the statement that the Government will "hasten slowly" the organisational changes in the Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

IMPOSES an immediate cut in its consumption of edible oil following the hike in the price of Vanaspati by 75 paise.

Portugal and the Mozambique affair

WERE 400 Africans massacred in a village in Mozambique by Portuguese troops seven months ago? This grim question has projected Mozambique into the centre of an international political tornado with accusations in the United Nations and a debate in the British House of Commons during the visit of the Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr Marcello Caetano, to London.



DR CAETANO: audience with Queen

The accusation that the Portuguese Army had liquidated all members of Wiriyamu and burnt the village to the ground was made by a Roman Catholic priest, Father Adrian Hastings.

Last week Father Hastings' accusations were published on the front-page of the London "Times". He claimed the massacre was only one of many atrocities committed by Portuguese troops in their efforts to destroy the Mozambique Liberation Front, FRELIMO.

"The security forces feel free in the knowledge that there are no journalists for hundreds of miles and the victims know no European language," reported Father Hastings.

But he added that Spanish missionaries in the area obtained detailed information and themselves buried many of the dead. It was on the reports of these priests, two of whom are now in jail for opposing the Portuguese, that the British priest, Father Hastings, based his allegations.

The Portuguese authorities have denied the accusations and in the United Nations their representative

refused to discuss the matter any further. The Portuguese have said they are prepared to conduct an inquiry to establish the facts of the situation. The British paper the "Guardian" has commented nothing short of an impartial international investigation will satisfy world public opinion of the truth or falsehood of the Catholic priest's allegations.

It is, however, significant that the Mozambique guerrilla commander for the province in which the massacre is alleged to have taken place said in an interview in Tanzania with the London "Times" correspondent that he had heard nothing of the tragedy. He accused Portugal nevertheless of other atrocities.

Father Hastings' allegations are based on hearsay evidence and on nothing he has seen himself. He claims, however, that the Catholic bishop flew over the area in an helicopter after the incident and can vouch for the destruction of the village. The bishop is presently away and not available for comment.

Whether the present fury against Portugal is based on truth or on falsehood is not yet known. What is certain is that the international spotlight on Portuguese Africa will not be turned away in the short-term or the long-term. International newspaper correspondents have moved to Mozambique in large numbers. The Portuguese authorities have put no restrictions on their movements. The military governor of the province where the massacre is alleged to have taken place has told the journalists that they can go where they like or speak to anyone they wish. "If there has been a massacre just outside my capital no one has told me about it," he said.

On the eve of Premier Caetano's visit to the United Kingdom, our London correspondent, Gordon Wise, sent the following despatch:

He claimed that this policy in Portuguese territories was the fruit of many centuries' experience.

When Salazar fell ill, he was followed by Dr Caetano, who is Prime Minister today. The National Union is the predominant political organ supporting the present regime. Opposition parties can present candidates, but only if they do not advocate the overthrow of the Constitution. There are 130 MPs in the single chamber Legislature. The electoral system up to now has made it effectively impossible for a political minority to be represented in the assembly. Thus, the National Union has won all the seats, but it remains to be seen what will happen in this year's election, whose campaign has already begun.

Portugal is still primarily an agricultural country and over 37 per

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

The Chinese bid for Africa

From a special correspondent

IN 1964, Chou En-lai said after a visit to some African nations, "Africa is ripe for revolution". In the years that followed, China began to help African liberation and secessionist movements, incurring the wrath of many African Governments. Some nations, like Tunisia, even broke off diplomatic relations. Today the picture is changing. China is giving generous aid to African nations regardless of their ideological leanings. Since 1970, China has dispensed more than \$3000 million in foreign aid to developing nations and Africa has received a fair share of this.



MOBUTU: visited Mao

What has prompted China's change of policy? She seems to have come to two conclusions in her struggle to prevent the hegemony of the super powers, the US and the USSR. Firstly, she cannot fill the economic vacuum if countries such as France and Britain pull out their investment and business from their former territories due to pro-Peking coups. A Maoist coup in this way could pave the way for increased influence by Moscow. Secondly, during this particular phase, she seems to feel she needs to co-operate with national bourgeoisies in Africa.

President Mobutu's visit to China in January, 1973, was a sign of Peking's flexibility in its Third World relationships. For years, President Mobutu was a target for Chinese criticism, but with the improvement of relations during 1972 and Zaire's formal recognition of Peking last November, China gave the President the kind of welcome reserved for the most important guests. At the end of the visit, it was announced that China had granted Zaire an interest-free loan worth \$US100 million. Yet only a few years beforehand the Chinese had been supporting the rebel Congolese leader, Pierre Mulele, with smuggled arms as well as propaganda. After returning to Kinshasa, the President said that Mao admitted to having lost "a lot of money" in trying to overthrow him, and he may have been ready to accept aid from China partly as a

recompense for the latter's earlier assistance to Mobutu's opponents—and as a replacement for Taiwanese aid. Peking has no doubt been prepared to pay this price partly to secure regular supplies of copper and uranium; also on the political level, it fits into the pattern of China's present campaign to supplant Taiwan as extensively as possible and to be seen on the side of Black Africa in any confrontation with White South Africa.

When Madagascar severed links with South Africa last year, she was left with a debt of 4000 million Malagasy francs. France hedged over giving her the necessary credit. China quickly obliged.

Till a year ago, the Chinese were believed to be helping the Eritrean Liberation Front in Northern Ethiopia. But today, Ethiopian Airlines has an air service to China. Emperor Haile Selassie has been to Peking and came back with Chinese aid worth \$84 million.

One of the more recent visitors to go on "the Peking safari" was President Ahidja of Cameroun. Peking was in a generous mood. He returned with a \$73 million loan, interest free, with a ten-year period of grace.

Whenever the Chinese help with experts, they have been careful not to demand extra privileges beyond those granted to their African counterparts. In Cameroun, for instance, when a Chinese technical team was offered a cook, they replied that their own doctor could easily cook for them while he was waiting to treat the sick.

There is still a wariness, however, of being over dependent on China. Socialist Tanzania is one example. They have decided to take no more Chinese aid till the Tanzam railway is finished in 1975. Memories of recent Chinese subversive activities are fresh and balance the desire of African nations to broaden their economic ties.

Economics has also helped to fashion China's generosity. Tanzania's State Trading Corporation has ordered five million Chinese umbrellas. These should keep the country's 13.3 million people dry for a good time to come — considering that certain areas of Tanzania get only 30 inches or less of rain for the whole year.

Africa may not be "ripe" yet, but the Chinese are putting in expensive fertilisers this time to make sure of a good harvest in the future.

PATNA — A worst-ever crop failure is feared in Bihar, due to lack of rain during the first phase of the monsoon.

SRINAGAR — The Kashmir police have unearthed a powerful gang using mail parcels to smuggle charas (opium) out of the state in collusion with high-level officials of the postal department in the city.

NEW DELHI — The Union Government has appointed Mr V. G. Rajadhyaksha, Chairman of Hindustan Lever, as advisor to the Planning Commission, thus clearing the way for associating top-level managers from private industry with the supervision of public sector undertakings.

— The Central Government has announced sharp reductions in the prices of medium varieties of cloth, to those prevailing in November 1972, under its new voluntary price control scheme.

CALCUTTA — Thousands of handloom weavers in West Bengal are in deep distress following lay-offs as most of the handlooms in the state are lying idle because of a prolonged shortage of yarn.

GANDHINAGAR — The Congress high command formally decided to intervene in the election of a new Chief Minister for Gujarat as a successor to Mr Ghanashyam Oza, who has decided to step down following factional fights in the state Congress Party.

BOMBAY — The nine-month-old power cut in Maharashtra, ranging from two to 25 per cent, which caused a loss of Rs 650 million in industrial production, has been withdrawn because of a substantial rise of the water level in the lakes of the Koyna and other hydel projects.

MADRAS — The Khadi and Village Industries Commission is rushing to the rescue of some 80,000 people, likely to be thrown out of jobs by the sudden re-introduction of prohibition in Tamilnadu, by offering at least half of them jobs in its own industries.

TRIVANDRUM — Kerala State has been rocked by a raging controversy over the decision of the state Government to withdraw the book, "Bharat Ratna", a biography of Jawaharlal Nehru prescribed as a high-school text-book, following charges of "fostering a personality cult" by the Muslim League.

— The Kerala Government has closed all schools and colleges for an indefinite period "in view of the acute food shortage and the state-wide food riots by students and others".

Making black money white

The parallel economy

by R. K. Chowdhury*

THE problem of "black" money has gained such a momentum that it has shaken the economic foundations of our society. It has not only bewildered economists and Government authorities, but has also brought about a sense of frustration amongst honest citizens.

The vast magnitude of black money today has given rise to a parallel economy. Money is black when it is concealed from the authorities because its possessor has either received it illegally or does not want to pay tax on it. High taxes and the low moral standards of our people are the two most important causes of black money.

How does black money come into existence? Let us take the case of a deal involving the sale of a plot of land in the commercial centre of a metropolitan city like Bombay. As it is a seller's market, the owner of the plot leaves the buyer no other choice but to pay at least 50 per cent of the value in black money. In fact, it may not be possible on the part of a buyer to buy a fashionable site unless he is ready to pay a considerable slice of the price in black money i.e. in cash without any receipt and without any reference to it in the legal document.

Some dishonest business houses show their accounted income to the tax authorities only up to the limit of safety, while the major portion remains black in the form of unaccounted money. Since independence and until the end of March, 1970, a sum of about Rs 5050 million** of such concealed income has been unearthed. In the Tyagi scheme of voluntary disclosure in 1951, Rs 7000 million of unaccounted income was voluntarily disclosed. In two other similar disclosure schemes embodied in the Finance Act, 1965, a total of Rs 1671 million was disclosed by as many as 116,000 assesseees.

* Prof, Department of Economics, Jowai Government College, Meghalaya

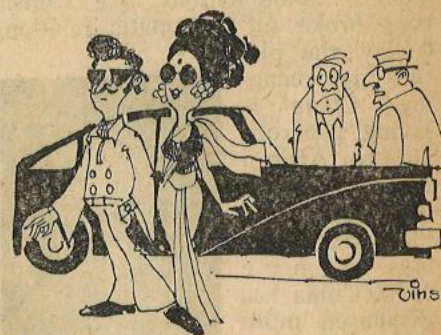
** Rs 10 million equal to Rs 1 crore

It is very interesting in this connection, to study the amount of tax collection in Bombay. The assessment during the financial year 1970-71 involved 596,888 persons and the tax collected amounted to Rs 2648 million. The city of Bombay contributes more than one-third of the total income tax collected from the whole country, which is Rs 6140 million. It is not unlikely that more than a third of the tax evasion occurs in Bombay alone, more than 50 per cent of which probably involves the film industry.

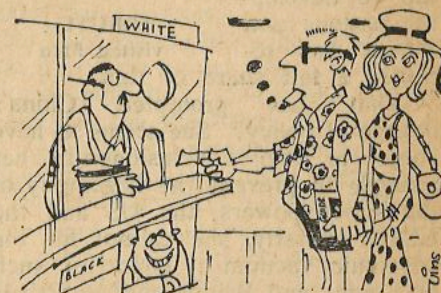
A film star, whose services are needed to make a box office hit, is costly. The need for black money on the part of a star is perhaps less for avoiding taxes than for the preservation of his ostentatious living. To maintain his image and to stay in business, he needs to have big cars and a huge bungalow, and give fabulous parties. These determine his value as a film personality. Only black money can serve to maintain such a way of life. The producer, in turn, may retaliate on the less expensive artists and technicians by asking them to acknowledge more remuneration than they actually get. Moreover, it may not be possible on the part of the film distributors to purchase the picture unless they are ready to pay a part of the price in black money.

Turning black money into white with lottery tickets

A dishonest businessman does not hesitate to offer from his hidden wealth as much as Rs 800,000 to purchase a state lottery ticket winning a prize of Rs 500,000. And yet he makes a net gain. He achieves this miracle by evading direct taxes on the invested amount. It is quite likely that the money originated from the highest income slab on which the average rate of taxation is around 90 per cent. Our dishonest businessman has saved Rs 720,000 which he should have paid as taxes. The tax on the lottery ticket is much less: around Rs 170,000. This leaves an amount of Rs 330,000 to the owner and that, too, as "white"



"Most film stars wear dark glasses to avoid the glare of white money."



At the exchange counter

money. If he had paid tax on his Rs 800,000, he would have had only Rs 80,000 in hand.

An economy of shortages and consequent controls is also responsible for the creation of black money. As controls come into existence, black-marketeers appear in the sale of controlled goods. The extra profits earned from such sales must necessarily be concealed because of their illegal nature — thus increasing further the amount of black money in circulation.

Money is thus in constant movement between the two economies — black and white. White money when employed in the purchase of goods without insisting on receipts to avoid sales tax becomes black as soon as it is paid. The purchase of gold and other smuggled goods also enables the seller to build up his stocks of black money, even if the buyer pays in "white".

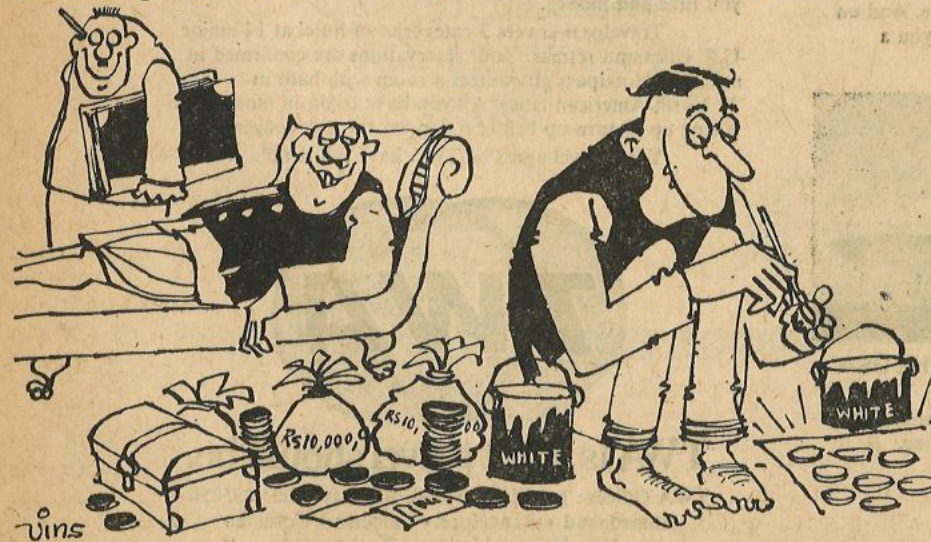
The over-invoicing of imports and under-invoicing of exports, with the subsequent sale of foreign exchange in the black market, is another way in which white money is converted

into black. Black money, when it changes hands, will change colour if it is spent on consumption of goods and services. This is what makes any assessment of the amount of black money difficult. In fact, the term "estimate" bears a somewhat negative relation to the term black money. Black money is hidden, and as soon as it is disclosed to be estimated, it becomes white.

Regarding the extent of black money in India, the Direct Taxes Inquiry Committee (1971) could not come to any conclusion. The estimates furnished in the course of the committee's questionnaire varied widely.

The committee finally "estimated" the circulation of black money to be around Rs 14,000 million, the extent of income tax evaded during 1968-69 to be of the order of Rs 4,700 million (constituting one-third of the black money in circulation) and the total value of deals involving black money to be Rs 70,000 million for the year 1968-69.

The effects of black money are disastrous. The very first casualty is the national exchequer, as the black transactions are done in secret and are carefully unaccounted for! Black money and tax evasion are an inseparable couple. In the language of the Wanchoo Committee, they have "the effect of seriously undermining the equity concept of taxation and warping its progressiveness. Together, they throw a greater burden on the honest tax payer and lead to economic inequality and concentration of wealth in the hands of the unscrupulous few in the country."



A considerable percentage of the governmental expenditure changes its colour to fuel the "parallel economy", through some corrupt officials who accept big bribes to award government contracts involving huge public expenditure. The bribed officer, in turn, must either encourage or at least be apathetic to such crimes by his subordinates, at least for his own safety. The price of such black deals that the Government — and in turn the whole public — has to pay is very heavy. Fantastic expenditures from the public purse thus get certified as genuine by corrupt officials. The black money so earned by the bribed officials must then necessarily be spent either on illegal activities or on fabulous personal consumption.

As black money is not reduced by taxation, it is always "cheap" money and hence is spent lavishly. The holders of black money are naturally careless about prices. The pressure they impose on the supply of goods by their extravagant spending causes an inflationary spurt in prices telling heavily upon the poor people with their meagre earnings. The poor people receive a further blow when dishonest businessmen use their black purse to create artificial scarcity of the necessities of life by indulging in speculative hoarding of essential commodities.

Loss of foreign exchange

Another deleterious effect of black money is the heavy drainage of foreign exchange. The chronic deficit in the balance of payments position could have been avoided if widespread smuggling activities had been checked. The total deficit in India's balance of payment was to the tune of Rs 7510 million and Rs



9530 million at the end of 1969-70 and 1970-71 respectively. In such a situation we can ill afford to lose foreign exchange of up to Rs 7500 million to Rs 8000 million a year because of smuggling, which is the case.

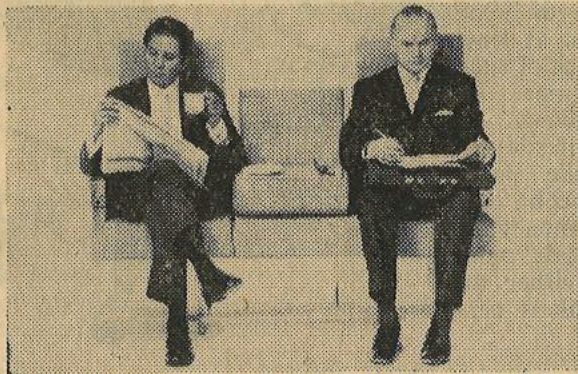
One important source of foreign exchange is from Indians working abroad, who remit a part of their wages to their dependents in India. Many of them, on their return, bring their life's savings with them. Normally they ought to send the money through a bank but they would rather send it through an unofficial exchange dealer who arranges payment in rupees at the rate of Rs 14 or Rs 15 for a US dollar, which is double the official rate (\$1 equals Rs 7.20 at present). The remitter makes a profit and the smuggler gets valuable foreign exchange to pay for his contraband goods.

One of the worst consequences of black money is its pernicious effect on the moral fibre of society. It puts integrity at a discount and places a premium on vulgar and ostentatious display of wealth. Many of the newly rich who enjoy material prosperity and social prestige owe their existence only to black money and its anti-social activities. This shatters the faith of the common man in the dignity of honest labour and honest living.

Smuggled goods have to be financed by black money. They cover not only gold but all foreign commodities that enter the country illegally: cigarettes, razor blades, wrist watches, transistor radios, tape recorders, cameras, liquors, silk yarn, etc. The people who are found in possession of such purchases must, therefore, be brought to book in case they fail to esta-

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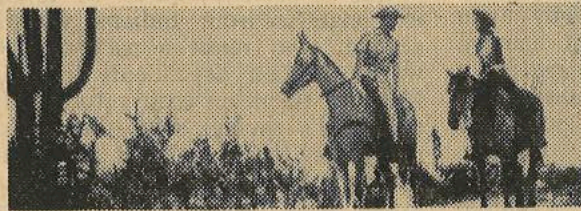
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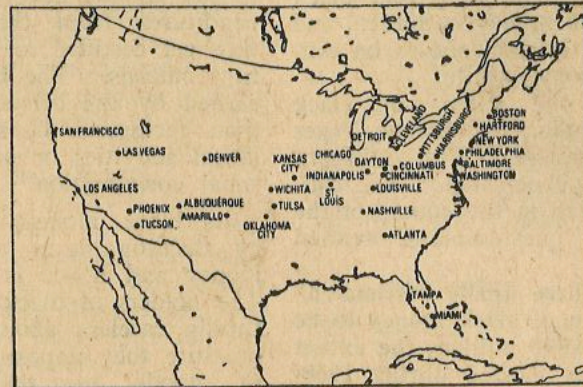
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PORTUGAL — from page 10

cent of the working population are engaged in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry, although the industrial sector is expanding rapidly.

The Portuguese defend their policy in Africa by saying that the overseas Provinces are not colonies, but a part of Portugal proper. A well-known writer, John Eppstein, says: "The Portuguese are a Latin and Christian people who, whatever their faults, have never had any aversion to mixing with African and Asian peoples on equal terms. Though differences of class, wealth or ability are as real overseas as they are in Portugal itself, there has never been that sense of racial superiority, with the consequent social segregation, which has poisoned the relations between North European settlers and the Africans." A British MP, John Biggs-Davidson, after visiting Angola, said it was "a community more 'colour blind' than any I have visited, in West, East, and Southern Africa."

The multi-racialism of modern, independent Brazil bears witness to

these early Portuguese policies and today the Portuguese point to Brazil as the example they are following in Africa.

Current problems plaguing Portugal are as follows: Inflation is running at 10 to 12 per cent (among the highest in Europe); the defence budget, expressed as a percentage of the gross national product, is 7.3 per cent (as compared to Britain, where it is 5.3 per cent), though the Portuguese figure includes the building of roads, agricultural advance, medical needs and education in the areas under military control in the African territories; the various guerrilla wars around the African territories are costly; some Portuguese are still having to emigrate to find a livelihood.

There has been political liberalisation under Dr Caetano, after he succeeded Dr Salazar as Prime Minister, but in some ways, this liberalisation seems to have slowed down latterly.

One Portuguese, talking of the situation in Africa, said, "There should be in Luanda a monument to

'The Unknown Terrorist' because he woke us to the need for the economic development of the country." He went on, "In 1961 there were 60 kilometres of paved roads in Angola. During the past 10 years, we have built one thousand kilometres a year and now the country has the best network of paved roads in Africa, apart from the Republic of South Africa. In this period, too, there has been great development of minerals, industry and agriculture, and education, to the general benefit of the whole population."

As a postscript, I would mention the elections in Mozambique for the Legislative Assembly, which were held in April this year. There was a non-white majority elected in a new mixed-race Assembly. This happening, which seemed to be taken very calmly in Mozambique, would doubtless have brought different reactions in Salisbury or Johannesburg. But Leonardo Bucucha, the black member of the Assembly elected to represent one district, dismissed with a smile the prospect of black domination of the new body. "I will not pursue the interests of only Africans because I represent the whole district," he said.

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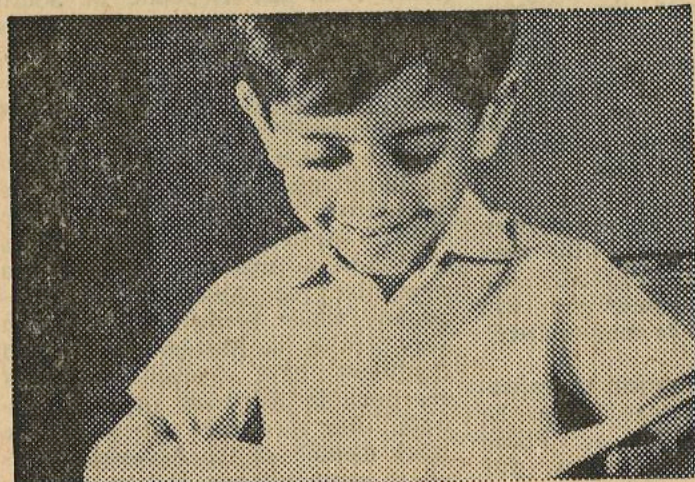
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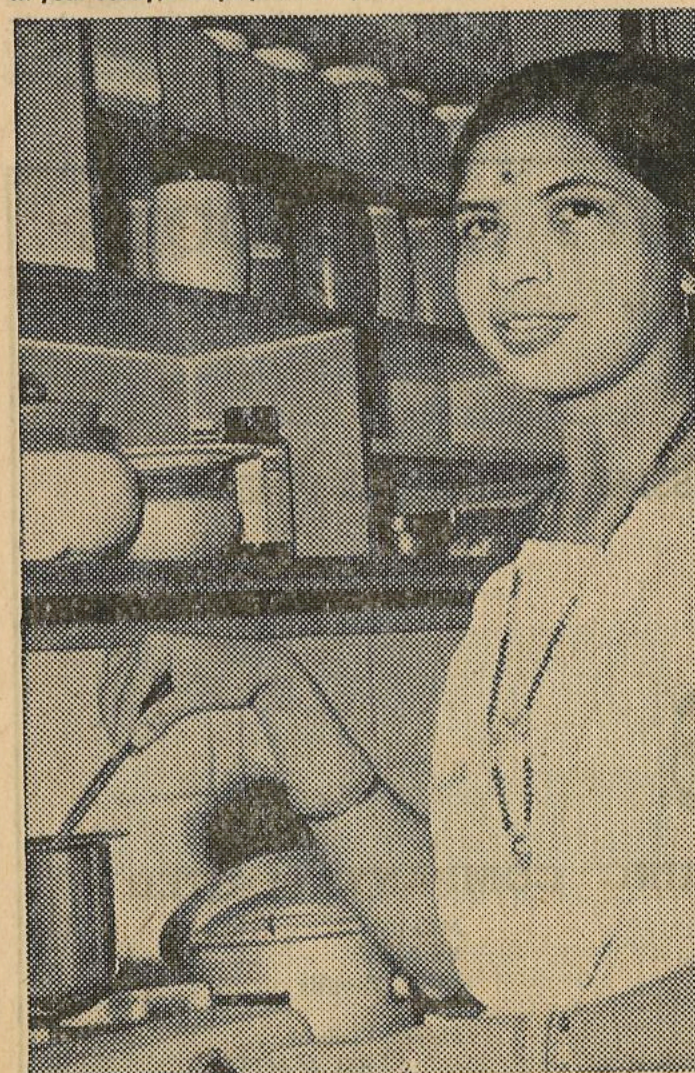
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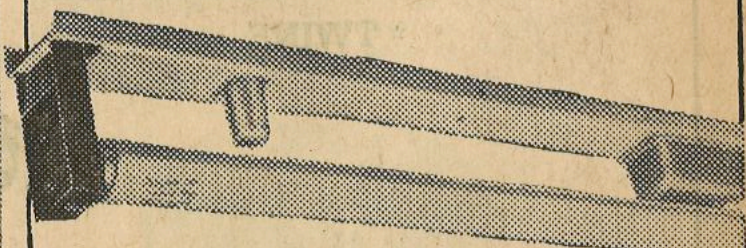


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HIMMAT, July 20, 1973

BLACK MONEY — from page 13

blish their honesty in procuring these commodities. Better trained and equipped police and customs officials might help to a great extent, provided they are themselves not subject to corruption.

As black money is always unaccounted money, one of its most important features is its avoidance of the banking system. A large amount of black money is therefore accumulated in cash. Demonetisation, an oft-suggested remedy, is however unlikely to help in the long run as it will strike only at the symptom of the disease. Similarly voluntary disclosure schemes are not expected to yield better results, because they seek honesty from the custodians of black money, who themselves, are dishonest. The Wanchoo Committee has rightly rejected sponsoring of official schemes for canalising black money into specified fields.

The suggestion that the Government should finance political parties, as in Japan and West Germany, is highly welcome. Taxpayers, other than big business houses, may be allowed tax-free donations only to a limited extent as supplements to government grants.

The suggestion of the Planning Commission that land can now bear a higher share of the tax burden is highly welcome. Agricultural income should be subjected to a uniform tax, more or less at par with the tax on

other incomes, as agriculture now offers plenty of scope for concealing black money.

On April 18, 1973 the Union cabinet finalised the draft of a Bill, seeking to "tighten the noose around tax evaders". The bill provides new powers of search and seizure for the taxation staff and raises the maximum punishment for dealing in black money from three to seven years imprisonment. The degree of punishment prescribed in the bill, however, is too mild in relation to the nature of the crime.

The institution of black money can be countered effectively if such severe measures are backed by strong public opinion against these anti-social elements. In helping to build up such public opinion, the Government can play a vital role. It should take a policy decision that such criminals will not get any sympathy, patronage, licences or any other facility from the Government or its public sector undertakings.

The authorities will do well to seek help from the common man in the detection of such crimes. The criminals are usually well known to the common people who do not dare to report the crimes around them for fear of harassment. An assurance of a sense of security and a well-planned scheme of rewards will go a long way in lessening the magnitude of organised financial crimes in our society.

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HIMMAT, July 20, 1973

well it will be a considerable Canadian achievement with the Queen of Canada (and Head of the Commonwealth) in residence, the Canadian Prime Minister as host, and a Canadian, Arnold Smith, as Secretary General. All this will be a considerable challenge to the next country which might be called on to act as host — possibly Australia — as they would be hard put to it to out do the hospitality and attention to detail of

Prime Minister Trudeau who recently described himself as "a deep convert to the Commonwealth". These conferences, it is true, do not always achieve what Britain wants them to achieve, but as veteran Commonwealth affairs author and commentator Derek Ingrams says, "For some time now they have not been held just for Britain's benefit." He has a word of advice in the current issue of "Commonwealth",

the Journal of the Royal Commonwealth Society: "The big mistake British Prime Ministers have made at Commonwealth meetings in the last decade has been to walk into the conference room as if they were surrounded by enemies. Wilson did it all the time and Heath made the same mistake at Singapore. The British have somehow never been able to realise that the opposite was always the case; that, in fact, they were walk-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

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davp 73/167

HIMMAT, July 20, 1973

ing into a room full of friends, or potential friends, with a great residue of goodwill. Friends are no use if they do not tell you bluntly a few home truths.

"They told Mr Heath at Singapore that they did not like his idea of selling arms to South Africa because they were genuinely sad to see a country which they thought stood for fair play coming down on the wrong side in an issue on which the whole Commonwealth concept stands or falls.

"The fact that Britain did not sell the arms in the end is alone a justification for the existence of the Commonwealth."

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* The age of ideology is not over

Closing date July 27

** What is the answer to "the toppling game"?

Closing date August 10

Letters

BRANDT AND ISRAEL

I have much appreciated reading your interviews with the different leaders of Europe and particularly was moved by your assessment of Germany under Brandt's leadership. One very important recent reconciliation was between Israel and West Germany when Brandt apologised to the people of Israel and her leaders for what Germany had done during the war, and laid a wreath commemorating all the Jews who had fallen victim to the Nazi regime's rapacity.

SANJOY HAZARIKA, Yercaud, Tamilnadu

CHINA AND INDIA

Is China poorer than India? Recently a controversy has arisen in this regard based on the data furnished by two writers. Mr Kuldip Nayar in his column "Between the Lines" in "The Statesman" (June 27) informed readers that India's per capita income is Rs 28 a month. Again, Mr David Bonavia reported that the per capita annual income of China is £15 that is Rs 285 ("The Times" London, June 15). He also informed us that a bicycle in China costs the equivalent of £30 (Rs 570) which is twice as much as it costs in India.

Does it not clearly indicate that per capita income in China is lower, the price level higher and hence the cost of living higher in comparison with India?

SUBRATO SEN GUPTA, Tezpur 1

This was a Life

JEROME K. JEROME
1859-1927

He successively became a clerk, teacher, actor and journalist—only to end up as a famous British humorist.

Jerome was born to poor parents in the district of Poplar, in London's East End. He started life as a clerk in the railways at the age of fifteen. His pay was so meagre that he sometimes had to go without a meal. He also did part-time tuitions.

He left the job to "go on the stage", and did bit roles in second-rate theatres. He next took up reporting for newspapers. His reports, always with a dash of humour, were readily accepted. All his poems and stories, however, were returned with thanks! His "sense of humour" and his knack of seeing the "comedy" in his physical privations saw him through.

One day a friend of his was browsing through the poems of Henry Longfellow, and happened to read out the following lines:

"That is best which lieth nearest Shape from that, thy work of art."

Jerome decided, then and there, to write on the subject which "lay nearest": life on the stage.

He wrote his "On the Stage and Off" under street lamps, and read out its passages to grim-looking policemen to see what effect it had on them! It was accepted for £5 and a good meal!

The "Home Chimes" asked him to write on the history of the Thames. Jerome conveniently forgot his historical facts to produce his rib-tickling "Three Men in a Boat". He followed it up with his "Idle Thoughts of an Idle Fellow", and went on eventually — and rather appropriately — to become the Editor of the "Idler". His best-known work, however, is the sentimental "The Passing of the Third Floor Backs".

As he had suffered in his youth, Jerome constantly kept an eye on young talent, and encouraged it. The noted humorist, W. W. Jacobs, was his "discovery".

Jerome did leave the world a bit merrier than he found it.

B.V.K.



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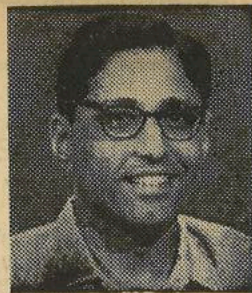
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PROMISE OF PLENTY WITH



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HIMMAT, July 20, 1973



In search of quality

by Rajmohan Gandhi

THE PICTURE of Indian Governors will lose in attractiveness when Mr B. K. Nehru gives up his post.

One should say posts, for he is Governor of Assam, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Tripura and Manipur. No other Governor has had to work with such a cluster of Chief Ministers. Mr Nehru has handled this unusual assignment in a sensitive area with remarkable success.

The administrative map of the North-East has been subjected to periodical redrawing. New states have been fashioned and new status conferred on existing units. That the changes have come about without much bitterness or dislocation is in a fair measure due to the Governor's skill.

The North-East has traditionally felt somewhat neglected by the rest of India. If today the region has greater confidence in New Delhi, and in New Delhi's readiness to be responsible for it, appropriate credit should again go to Governor Nehru. He loved the area and its people, and not merely because they live in a strategic zone. He worked to established conventions of consultation and partnership among the region's different units; his aim was and is coordination without the necessity of political or administrative integration.

His integrity and individuality were felt by the North-East as they will be in London, where he will go as High Commissioner. Never one to hide or abandon his convictions, Governor Nehru has served to strengthen our free democracy.

He is, in addition, a man of distinction, an eminent product of Indian culture who has not denied himself a study of the roots of true European culture. And he has an uncommon advantage — a wife of learning, charm and insight.

It is the distinction and graciousness of the Nehrus that one would like to see in all our Raj Bhavans. Of our many shortages one of the saddest, surely, is that of the intangible commodity called

culture or refinement. Shoddiness is all around us; we seem to tolerate any amount of crude behaviour and slovenly activity. Neither our managers nor our workers appear dedicated to excellence in their products. Our political speeches are stale and repetitive. Our newspapers and magazines rarely publish pieces that stir the heart or fascinate the mind. Our film makers are reluctant to explore the regions of man's nobility. Our convocation addresses are dull and problem-oriented; they arouse neither controversy nor hope.

There are, to be accurate, exceptions. Constructive intellectual skill is not dead in our land. One does run into gifted men of goodwill. Generally speaking, however, it is the oppressive presence of mediocrity and the absence of excellence that one feels.

A Governor is well placed to breathe quality into this atmosphere. He may not, apart from exceptional circumstances, wield political power. Yet he has numerous opportunities for raising the intellectual, ethical and cultural life of the community. Universities seek his talks. Scientific bodies ask him to lend his inaugurating hand. Legislators are obliged to hear him every now and then. Painters solicit his words on art at their exhibitions. Writers request him to release their books. To his lawns, drawing rooms and dining tables all who are asked come.

It is a pity that these opportunities are not being fully utilised. The truth, of course, is that when Governors are chosen their capacity to raise the level of culture seldom enters into the calculations. Political interests, and party interests at that, seem to count most. Raj Bhavans have often succeeded in curing dangerous or potentially dangerous politicians of their restless, ambitious instincts. At other times they have accommodated men of venerable age or those who at critical moments were politically valuable.

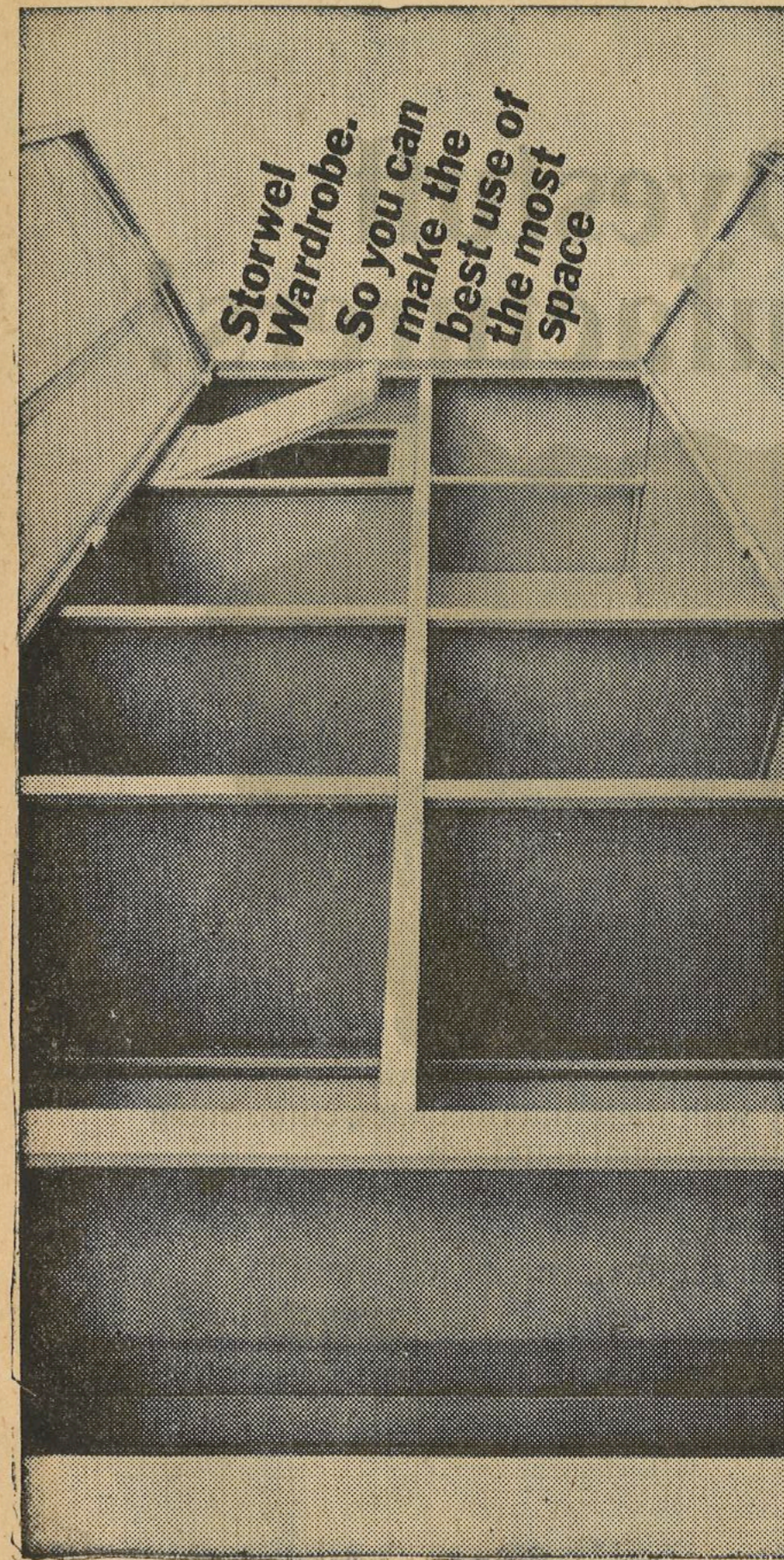
Perhaps the time has come for a fresh look at the role of Governors, a new appreciation of the immense good they can do and a greater effort at finding the best men for the jobs.

We cannot afford to forget the emergency part that a Governor is liable to be called to play. He has to be ready to cope with defections and the formation of new blocs and alignments in the legislature. Under our Constitution it is the Governor who, in the formal and at times a deeper sense, asks the Chief Minister to form a Government or causes him to resign. A Governor therefore has to have reserves of political alertness. He needs also a devotion to constitutional propriety. But these emergency qualities, essential as they are, are not enough for a Governor in India during these times.

Let no one say that men (or women) of distinction and refinement are unavailable. Many sources exist: the armed forces, industry, the universities and others. And there is no need to rule politics out. What is needed is a decision by the powers that be that the President's representatives in our state capitals will be some of India's finest men and women.

Similar observations could be made about the naming of heads of universities. A Vice-Chancellor in present-day India needs, in addition to the attributes mentioned above, that rare blend of flexibility and firmness without which "student unrest" and gheraos would down him.

Are we not suffering from an excess of politics? It takes far too much of newspaper space and radio time. The art of politics has its value and its place. But we must be conscious also of the art of living. This art, its broadest and deepest meaning, has to be cultivated. And it has to be sensitively and selflessly demonstrated. It can be passed on by example, and serve as an antidote to the cynicism in our atmosphere.

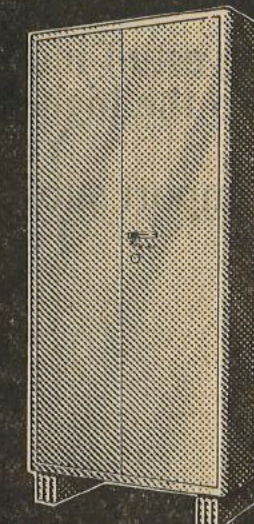


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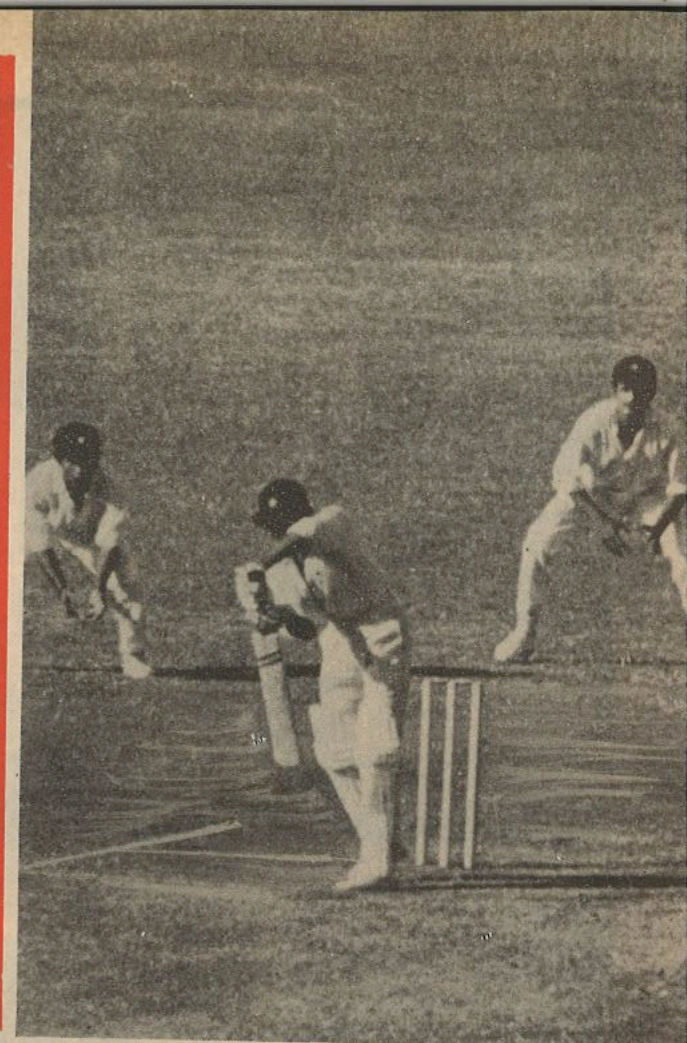
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The winner will be announced in the following issue. You may not send more than **Six Entries** in any competition. **N.B.** only **one cross** may be marked on each picture. The Editor's decision is final.

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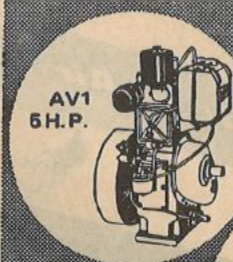
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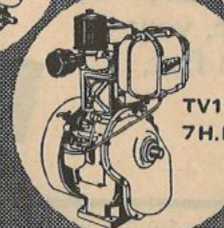
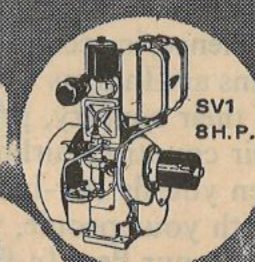


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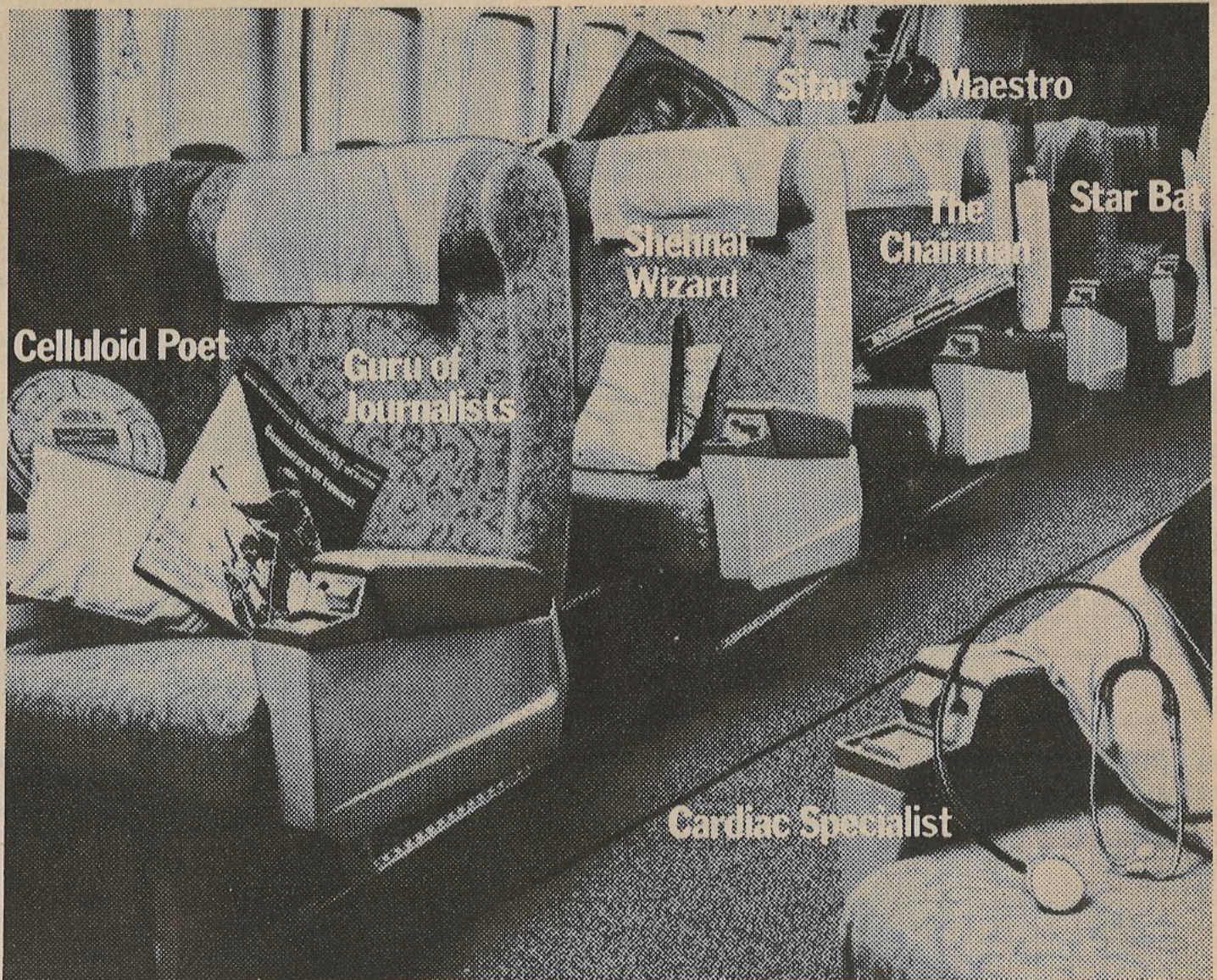
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