

HINDUSTAN

Independence issue

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ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY AUGUST 17 1973

AMSTERDAM

WORLD HOCKEY CUP

WILL INDIA WIN IT?
asks Playfair p7



ELEGANT WINGER
Haracharan Singh

GOAL GETTER
Ajit Singh



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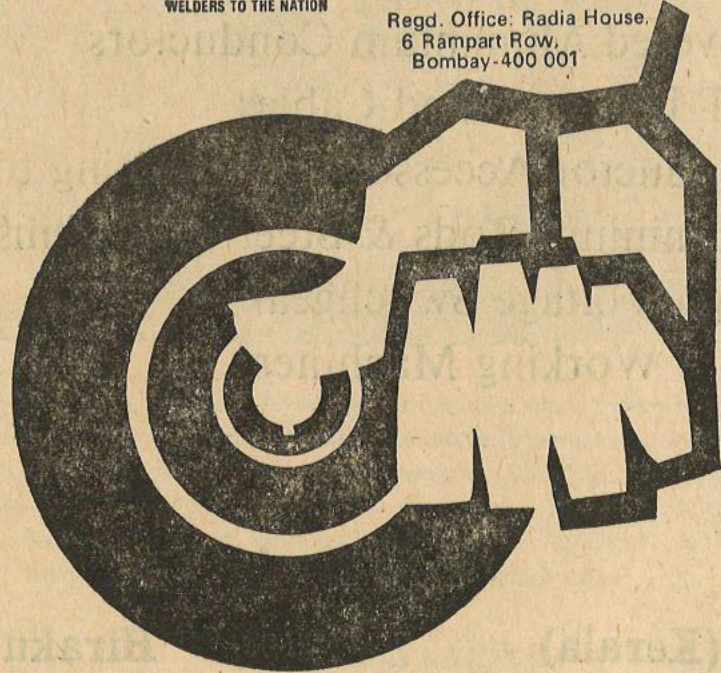
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India—road to recovery

INDIA enters its 27th year of independence in a sober mood. The diagnosis varies on how serious the situation is. The Prime Minister says that the present difficulties are passing. Others take a more serious view. Whatever the difference may be on how deep the malaise is, there is little doubt that the patient is ill.

One also needs to see India's present situation in a world perspective. The fact is for the last four years India has sustained a population of over 500 million without any consequential imports of food grains and this was achieved in an area of 1.2 million square miles, which works out approximately at 450 people per square mile. The following figures indicate the area population and number of people per square mile supported in other countries:

Area square miles	Population	No. of People per sq. mile	
China	3.7 million	750 million	203
India	1.2 "	560 "	467
Soviet Union	8.6 "	250 "	29
U. S. A.	3.6 "	210 "	58
Canada	3.8 "	21 "	5.5

In perspective of the area and population of other large nations one realises India's staggering achievement in supporting such a large population — even granting many get little to eat.

The present food crisis has affected the whole economy and has inconvenienced millions of our ordinary people who cannot readily obtain the daily necessities of life.

The situation was much better early last year when India could count four consecutive good monsoons and harvests. To liberate India from its dependence on the rains and its vagaries may prove decisive in assuring food and prosperity for our millions.

That is why this week's independence issue of HIMMAT has concentrated on planning for rainless days, (see pages 20, 21) and on our vanishing forests which have a very close connection with whether there is adequate rainfall or not. If we denude our forests

In the footsteps of the Great

GREATNESS is no laughing matter! President Nixon possibly had this in mind when he told visiting Premier Tanaka that he is not going to be sidetracked by the "indecent, murky, small, unimportant, vicious little things that seem to obsess us at a time when the world is going by."

A few days later the following conversation took place between a mother and her eldest progeny who came in late for dinner.

"Where have you been?"

"Is that a truly important question to ask? I wish Mum, you would stop wasting your time on such petty, small, indecent things like having dinner which seem to obsess you at a time when the world is going by."

"You must be kidding!"

at the present rate there is a danger that large tracks of India will become a desert. The pressure is not only of man but of animal life that consumes vegetation. For example, in Western Rajasthan in 1951, 9.4 million animals were supported by 13.09 hectares of grazing land. Ten years later the number of animals grew to 14.4 million whilst the hectares for grazing diminished to 11.04 million. The grazing land had become a desert.

To re-forest India will need the co-operation of massive Government publicity organs like the radio and the co-operation of educational institutions across the land. Schools and colleges could cultivate in our younger people a love for nature, greenery and for forests. For example, if every school adopts a plot of land where the young people plant trees and nurture them they will get an attachment for life. The Friends of the Trees Trust could be given more co-operation and importance than they have so far received at the hands of the state and Central Governments.

Seventy-two districts of this country regularly suffer from drought. They cover 19 per cent of our land area and 12 per cent of our population. Added to that is the fact that when drought strikes a district or a state, immediate pleas are made to the centre for allocation of drought relief works. In most cases these relief programmes are rushed at short notice and although land-workers are given jobs like metal-breaking or road digging the actual return per rupee is very low. For example, in Maharashtra there are parts where there is enough road metal broken to last for five years.

To direct these drought relief efforts into more fruitful channels Dr B. I. Minhas of the Planning Commission has recommended an integrated programme in the Five Year Plan. In the last four years Rs 800 crores have been spent on drought relief and by the end of this financial year the allocation made for drought relief will exhaust the total provision for medium and major irrigation projects in the Five Year Plan. The recommendation of Dr Minhas therefore is welcome, and one hopes that it will be seriously implemented.

"I dispute that contention. Ask Nixon and he will tell you I am not. When I heard him speak like that to Tanaka I suddenly realised that I had so far been sidetracked into doing all the irrelevant things. Now the President has spoken and I have seen the light of true wisdom."

"Where is your brother Tom? Has he also seen the light of true wisdom?"

"I saw him walking out of school today saying he is fed up with the murky, vicious little things that are taught there."

"What does he want to do then?"

"Concentrate on the things that really matter."

"Like what?"

"That is once again an indecent and irrelevant question!"

Briefly Speaking.....

Culture is the ability to recognise the best in others.

MATTHEW ARNOLD
1822-1888

Bamboo tube wells

RAM PRASAD CHAUDHURY JAISWAL of Saharsa, in Bihar, made arrangements to buy his neighbour's tube well. He cultivated his 15 acres of land with strains of high yielding wheat. But when the wheat needed water, the neighbour backed out of the deal.

Ram was angry and desperate. He had his own tube well, but not the pipes to get the water out. So he experimented with bamboo. Coir string was used for a strainer, and the bamboo was made water tight by wrapping the joints with gunny bag. Coal tar was then smeared on it.

The result? A bamboo tube well that cost only Rs 250 against the Rs 8000 investment normally needed for pipes. In the last five months nearly 20,000 bamboo tube wells have been constructed, irrigating over 100,000 acres. Ram, the village farmer, has invented something that could transform the face of the sub-continent.

Too close for comfort

THE Cabinet had disposed of its routine agenda and (comfortably) settled down to voicing concern over the present inflationary trends when Mrs Indira Gandhi dropped her bombshell...She asked the Ministers of her Cabinet to cut down on their expenses — on staff cars, telephones, entertainments of guests, etc. And also made it clear that the 10 per cent cut in the salaries of Ministers imposed during the Bangladesh crisis in 1971 would continue.

A Cabinet minister's net salary (after deduction of income tax) is Rs 1600. But this does not include substantial privileges such as free accommodation, telephone and entertainment facilities.

There are candidates who are ready to serve as Union Ministers even without salary. They would make do only on the perquisites.

Lionising policy

"THE Financial Times", London carries a story that might be of some interest to our Planning Commission.

Walking through the jungle, a lion spied a mouse sitting sadly by a bush. So he asked the mouse what was wrong. "I am so small," the mouse replied, "and all the other animals lock down upon me." "Then," said the lion, "I can help you. Just stop being a mouse and be a lion instead." The mouse was very grateful. "I shall certainly do what you suggest," he said. "But how do I stop being a mouse?" "That" said the lion, as he walked scornfully away, "is for you to decide. I formulate the policy."

The "Upon My Word" puzzle will be resumed next week

A forthright leader

THE Rajya Sabha will be the poorer for the loss of Mr Dahyabhai Patel, leader of the Swatantra Party. Son of a distinguished leader, Sardar Patel, he came



DAHYABHAI PATEL

into public prominence in 1954 when he became Mayor of Bombay. Since 1958, he played a part in India's parliamentary life. In the 1950's Birbal had attacked him occasionally but once he got to know him Birbal began to appreciate his qualities of the heart.

Though politically he never compromised, as a friend he rose above politics and in his home in Delhi he and his wife were frequent hosts to parliamentarians of all shades of opinion.

He had one great quality of his father — he feared no man. He spoke bluntly. He had the courage to espouse causes not always popular, like Taiwan's.

There was something lovable and admirable about his defiant nature. In parliament his sallies and interventions had a certain sparkle and could prove embarrassing to the Government.

He had a buoyant sense of humour. His favourite poem was Rudyard Kipling's "If".

Birbal

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NEXT WEEK

Swedish expert, A. R. Tainsh, writes on:
A NEW SPECIALLY DESIGNED PUMP
for India's drought-stricken zone

World Hockey Cup

Will India win?

"I WILL quit hockey if we do not win the World Cup." These are the words of Randhir Singh Gentle, the coach of our team to Amsterdam. Brave words those, it would seem, at first glance. India's last major triumph was in the 1964 Olympics at Tokyo. Our subsequent efforts in the Olympics, Asian Games and the World Cup have met with failure. How, then, is Gentle so sure? The only possible explanation could be that Gentle's seemingly rash statement is born out of the conviction that India does have the best side.

Time alone can tell whether Gentle's prediction will come true. It is, however, heartening to note that the coach has so much confidence in his words that he has staked his entire future. And that is a good sign, for confidence is a quality that can play a vital role during the fateful 10 days of the World Cup from August 24 to September 2.

One only wishes that all hockey lovers in the country can share Gentle's optimism. The fact is that hockey is no longer the exclusive preserve of India and Pakistan. The Europeans have not only caught up with the two but have even forged ahead. In fact, West Germany emerged triumphant at the Munich Olympics less than a year ago, while Spain, Holland and Australia, to name only three others, have also emerged as strong contenders. In the past, the Europeans were endowed with speed

and stamina alone. Now they have acquired the skill as well. They have also set about their goal of achieving world laurels with such enthusiasm and efficiency that they must be even bigger threats than they were at the Munich Games.

Thus any assessment of India's prospects must be tempered by the knowledge that the field is much more open today than ever before. India, no doubt, will be one of the strong contenders but at Amsterdam they will have to reckon with first Germany and Spain, who are in the same group, and then Holland and Pakistan, the two strongest teams, on paper at least, in Group "B".

Germany will be fielding practically the same side that won them the Olympic title. Needless to say, they will be most formidable. Pakistan, on the other hand, cannot field their Olympic players who have since been banned. They have had to build a side from scratch and are thus an unknown quantity. Still, the general quality of Pakistan being what it is, one may expect their new young players to give a good account of themselves.

First crucial days

Holland, as the host country, will have some special advantages like familiarity with the conditions and the rooting of their supporters. Thus the field of 12 may be narrowed down to four or five, viz, Germany, India, Pakistan and Holland, with Spain, New Zealand, Kenya and Japan all capable of producing upsets.

India's chances will depend a lot on how they fare on the first three days. They meet Japan on the opening day on August 24. India may be expected to clear this hurdle. On the next day, however, they are due to meet Germany and must force at least a draw to keep alive their hopes. The following day they play Kenya who gave us a torrid time at Munich.

Should India come through these three matches unscathed, they will be able to build up the necessary confidence for the sterner tasks ahead: the two remaining group league fixtures against New Zealand and Spain, on August 28 and 29 respectively, the semi-final on August 31 and, if all goes well, the final on September 2.

It is going to be an uphill struggle. Just as well that a lot of emphasis has been placed on the physical fitness of the players, for the World Cup is going to tax their stamina as much as their skill. There can be little doubt that we have sent out one of our fittest sides ever. There will also be general agreement that the side is the best we have, even if many will continue to bemoan the omission of Balbir at centre-forward.

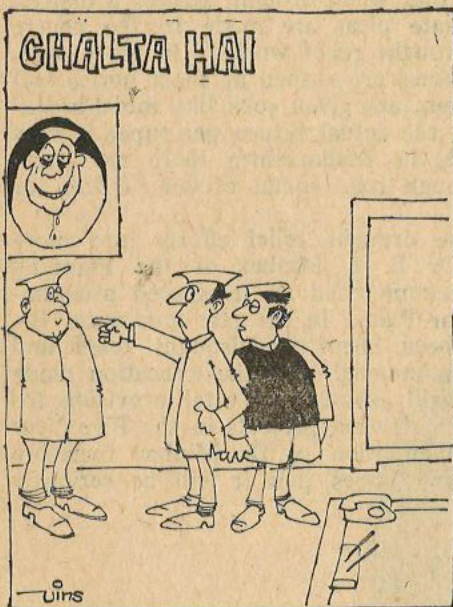
Indeed, the biggest question mark will be over the ability of our forwards to score field goals. Even if Govinda or Philips fail to achieve a ny marked success at centre-forward, it is a comforti ng thought that Ganesh and Ashok Kumar, on the right wing, and Chand Singh and Harcharan, on the left, are a ll excellent performers. Surjit or Baldev will be entrusted with the penalty-corner hits and our defence is extremely sound. We do have our strong points.

Besides the quality of the opposition, two key factors need to be taken into account: the pitch, which is likely to be soft, and the implications of the new offside rule. Since a forward needs to have only two opponents, including the goalkeeper, between him and the rival goal, the tactics adopted by the teams will have a profound effect on the outcome. India will stick to the traditional 5-3-2 formation and the World Cup will clearly show whether we need to revise our ideas.

Too much significance need not be attached to the preliminary games on the Continent since the teams will be utilising these for various little "experiments". In the World Cup, however, every match will count. Luck, too, may be expected to play a part. Remember how Pakistan bounced back into the reckoning and won the World Cup at Barcelona after they had virtually been eliminated in the league phase! Inshallah, it may be India's turn now and they have the men fully equipped for the job. Personally, however, I can only go half way with Gentle and rate our chances as fifty-fifty. (See also page 17)



ASHOK KUMAR: excellent



"You can't expel him for anti-party activities. He founded the party, you nin-compoop."

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A PRODUCT OF BALSARA

SO THEY SAY

I do not intend to run away from my responsibility.

DR KARAN SINGH,
Union Minister of Tourism and
Civil Aviation

I will make available at the appropriate time... whatever records, my own body for interrogation, whatever is needed. I have nothing to hide.

SPIRO AGNEW,
US Vice-President

You cannot run away from reality. Therefore we do accept the reality of Bangladesh becoming a separate country from Pakistan.

YAKUBU GOWON,
Head of State of Nigeria, who has refused to accord formal recognition.

"Walking up a down escalator"

by Kalpana Sharma

THE fanfare is over. The noise has subsided. The heads of Commonwealth governments have left and normalcy is returning to the city of Ottawa. In the words of Trudeau, Ottawa marked a "turning point" for the Commonwealth.

To a great extent this is true. Yet in the field of economic benefits that accrue from the Commonwealth perhaps there is still much that remains unresolved. It was 40 years ago, by a strange coincidence in this very city of Ottawa, that the system of Commonwealth trade preferences was worked out. Now with Britain's entry into the EEC (European Economic Community) the whole system is likely to be phased out.



SWARAN SINGH: strong case

India's Swaran Singh put forward a strong case for continuation of the Commonwealth preferences. He felt that the Commonwealth should not disintegrate into a system of regional groupings and thus become "economically irrelevant". In view of the changed situation he felt the Commonwealth needed to develop its internal potential as a trading community. He also urged that the special trading relationship with Britain be extended by at least one more year in order to give the developing countries more time to adjust. Several Commonwealth members are developing a special association with the EEC. This, Singh felt, should provide additional trading opportunities.

Jamaican Premier Michael Manley, who outlined what the 28 developing nations in the Commonwealth feel, said that the greatest problem was the relations between the rich and the poor nations.

Manley, certainly the most articulate leader from the Caribbean, described the struggle of the developing nations on the road to economic progress as "walking up a down escalator" — try as they might to climb up, the momentum pulls them down.

He strongly urged the Commonwealth to recommit itself to development strategies to deal with this problem of wealth disparity. Pre-occupation of some of the developing countries with the economic aspect of the Commonwealth is understandable. The Jamaican Premier graphically described the losing race to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor nations and the dilemma which nations like his face. He pointed out the variance in the growth rates of the developed and the developing countries. In the last 10 years the North American's average per capita national product was \$4000, while in Africa it was only \$200. The annual growth rate of North America was \$180, while that of Africa was only \$4.5. Even if the developed countries accepted and implemented the Pearson Commission's recommendation of giving one per cent of their GNP (gross national product) as aid, and ensured the minimum growth rate of six per cent in the developing countries, the latter would still be nowhere near catching up.

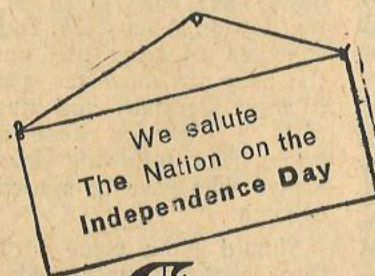
In addition, the prices of manufactured products are ever on the increase. For example, 10 years ago the Jamaican farmer bought a tractor for the equivalents of 10 tonnes of sugar. Today he would need 50 tonnes. "More and more of your agricultural surplus is used up to get not more tractors but the same tractor — when you need more tractors," said Manley. Unless something is done to right these price levels the

developing countries would be finding their resources being "chewed up" in the process of importing capital goods which are essential for development.

Bangladesh also joined the plea that the rich nations recognise their responsibility towards the poorer ones. Perhaps of all the developing countries within the Commonwealth Bangladesh will feel the pinch most when the Commonwealth trade preferences finally go.

In the final communique only a "hope has been expressed" that the existing arrangements for the Commonwealth's developing countries in the markets of the developed countries other than Britain will, wherever possible, be maintained. Many of the other points regarding price fluctuation and the need to conserve the foreign exchange reserves of the developing countries were included in the communique. Actual details of all this cannot be settled overnight. As one Indian official pointed out "these issues may not be settled for another 15 years, and till then the Commonwealth will keep stumbling along."

Even though immediate decisions are not reached in such a meeting, perhaps, an airing of the specific needs of nations is needed. As Mrs Bandaranaike said, the conference has helped them to understand the extent of each other's problems, specially the economic ones, in greater detail than otherwise. All this helps in gaining a perspective on their own problems.



Grand Bazar
Where shopping is a pleasure!
COLABA CAUSEWAY, BOMBAY-1.

Our vanishing forests

by Shankar Ranganathan

"INDIA was a populous land until the end of the 20th century with an ancient and stirring history. It was ranked among the industrial countries of the world. But the people multiplied recklessly, destroyed their land and its greenery and then in millions starved to death."

"Today, the Indian subcontinent ranks with the Sahara and the Gobi as one of the great deserts of the world and one that was entirely man-made. A few scattered nomadic tribes are to be found in the vast barren land eking a wretched existence on desert plants and animals, only so many as the desert can feed."

Will this be said of us a hundred years hence? The answer depends entirely on us. Unless we heed the warning signals and act quickly, the above quotation is likely to pass from fantasy into recorded history.

Our trees are our best friends. They influence climate, hold the soil, conserve moisture and minimise floods. They also provide part of the Earth's supply of oxygen. Forest experts and scientists are worried, therefore, that the denudation of forests may seriously affect human existence itself.

India has 75 million hectares of forest which is 23 per cent of the total land area. Cultivated land is approximately 50 per cent, which already exceeds the maximum recommended from the point of view of most productive land use.

The revenue per hectare from forests is only Rs 21.50 compared to Rs 565 for West Germany and Rs 494 for Switzerland. The expenditure per hectare is Rs 10 in India while in Japan it is Rs 190 and in West Germany Rs 435.

As stated above, forests are said to occupy 23 per cent of the land area of India. The actual figure is likely to be much less because such land may still be classified under the Forest Department but a large portion of it is now either cultivated, semi-desert or desert. Sound principles of land use require a minimum one-third of the total land area to be under forests. It is much more than this in the USA, USSR, Germany and France, and as high as 68 per cent in Japan.

Our forests are receding rapidly before the onslaught of the mounting population who are being permitted to occupy forest land for cultivation — a quick 'solution' to our food shortage and a cheap vote-catching gimmick for the politicians. A vast amount is being used, mostly illegally, by the villagers for firewood. The Government is also bent on ill-planned commercial exploitation. If, out of India's total growing forest stock of 2624 million cubic metres, 200

million cubic metres are removed annually, how long will the forests last?

Forest and agriculture are not antagonistic but complementary to each other. Forests insure agriculture by providing a cover for it from rain and wind. It takes about 100 years for a one-inch layer of top soil to form but erosion can remove it in a year. This top soil — on which all agriculture depends — is irreplaceable. Once washed out, no amount of fertilisers can make it fertile again. Forests prevent the run-off of water and thus prevent erosion. They also prevent silting of dams because of the same reason. Silting can reduce the life of a dam costing Rs 200 crores, (Rs 1 crore equals Rs 10 million), to less than 50 years.

Forests also control or minimise

PROTECT OUR FORESTS:

- * they protect our soil
- * they keep the desert at bay
- * they minimise floods
- * they conserve water
- * they attract rain
- * they prevent silting of dams
- * they provide timber and paper
- * they shelter our wild life
- * they provide recreation
- * they provide employment

floods, which are a constant scourge of our country, by acting as breakwaters. Floods cost us Rs 600 crores in 1970.

Forests, by some as yet unknown mechanism, attract rains. Meteorologists have blamed the increasingly recurrent drought in our country on the reckless destruction of forests.

Another useful role of forests is providing timber. The exploitation of forests for this purpose, however, needs to be balanced. The Government is proposing to undertake large scale felling of trees in the existing mixed forests and replacing them with a monoculture of commercially valuable species. Apart from affecting the ecology, such tampering with

CONTINUED ON PAGE 31



SAVING A TREE:

A giant 200 years old Baobab tree, 50 ft high and weighing over 40 tonnes, was coming in the way of the proposed Malabar Hill tunnel in Bombay last year. The Friends of the Trees rushed to its help, excavated it round its base and helped to transplant it at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. Here Chief Minister Naik is watering the tree during a dedication ceremony.

VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT...

CONDEMNS Tamilnadu Chief Minister **Karunanidhi's** attempt to regain his lost popularity by coining such divisive slogans like "India for Indians and Tamilnadu for Tamilians."

SHARPENS ITS PENCIL following President **Giri's** appeal to the press to highlight the development and social changes taking place in the country but finds that it has very little material to write about.

WELCOMES the Government's decision to impose a cut of Rs 450 crores in its expenditure during the current financial year.

APPROVES of the dismissal of the pilot and the co-pilot, responsible for the crash of the IA Boeing on May 31 in Delhi, but points out that the tragic incident was only one instance of the price of indiscipline and irresponsibility which have become a part of our national life.

IS AGITATED to read that 13 million people in Africa are facing famine and regrets the lack of **African initiative** to focus world attention on this problem.

SYMPATHISES with the Parisians, three out of every five of whom feel that life is less bearable today than three years ago in the French Capital due to traffic problems and pollution.

URGES Union Agriculture Minister **Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed** to consider the advice of his own party-men and to step down from office in view of his inability to deal with the food situation.

POOH-POOHS the formation of a new forum by Congress MPs to eradicate corruption "in the highest places".

AGREES with **Opposition** legislators that they should be "more cautious this time as well as accommodating" in forming a new grand alliance against the ruling party!



Courtesy: Far Eastern Economic Review, Hongkong

BEST WORLD PRESS

FUTURE OF CAMBODIA

A phase of history is fast drawing to a close in Cambodia. With it, four years of American struggle will also come to an end, a struggle to establish in Cambodia a Government friendly to the United States and hostile to North Vietnam and other Communist countries, and capable of repelling Communist militarism, whether the militants themselves were indigenous or North Vietnamese. The purpose was to create in Cambodia a lateral defence for South Vietnam, but the effort now appears likely to end in almost total failure.

It may still be some time before the Government in Pnom Penh falls, but few experienced people in Pnom Penh or Washington now believe it is anything other than a matter of time. The American bombing of Cambodia must end on

August 15, by Congressional fiat and although President Nixon could find some way to continue it, he is not expected to try. The bombing is unpopular, the administration's secrecy about it is even more unpopular and President Lon Nol has proved himself an unusually ineffective leader, even by local standards.

THE FINANCIAL TIMES, London MASSACRE IN ATHENS

The grenades which killed ... two Americans and one Austrian and injured many others have in the final analysis backfired at the Arab resistance movement, causing a loss of prestige for the national movement of Palestine.

Perhaps this was just on the perpetrator's mind ... It is so obvious that such a senseless massacre would fall back on the Palestine movement and at the same time play into the hands of Israel that you start thinking: this could have been an act of provocation only.

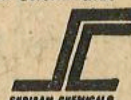
NEPSZABADSAG, Budapest



At Shriram Chemicals a worker doesn't live by his wages alone.

Workers at Shriram Chemicals get a lot more to live by. In addition to just wages. They, along with their families, participate in national and religious programmes sponsored by the company, get interest-free loans for purchase of costly utility items, scholarships for children's education, handsome rewards for higher productivity, necessities of life at subsidised rates, house rent and conveyance subsidies.

These programmes are a tradition at Shriram Chemicals.



PROMISE OF PLENTY WITH

SHRI RAM CHEMICALS

G. S. 1278 A

ASIA

SRI LANKA:

"Che Guevarists" released

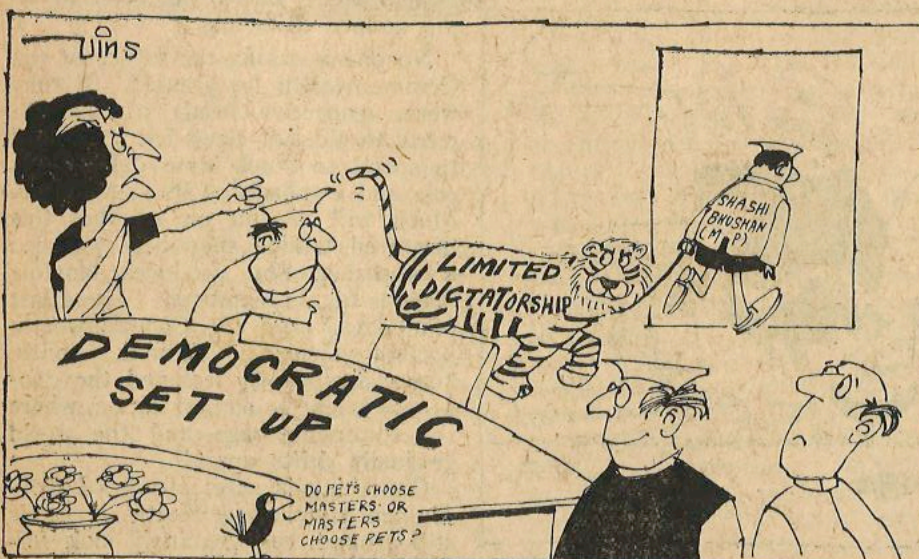
WHILE the trial of the 42 leading suspects of the abortive Che Guevara uprising in 1971 continues, another special court has given suspended



FELIX DIAS: personal interest

sentences of two years imprisonment to 78 of those who pleaded guilty for "conspiring to wage war against the Queen."

The 78 who were released in early August are liable to serve their sentences if they do not observe good behaviour in the next five years. Outside the court Justice Minister Felix Dias Bandaranaike told the young men that nowhere in the world have persons found guilty of such offences been released on such liberal conditions.



"I don't mind what pets you keep at home, but don't bring them to your work."

HIMMAT, August 17, 1973

yet elapsed since Syria's Defence Minister went to North Vietnam, seeking experts on guerrilla warfare and ground-to-air defence missiles.

BURMA:

No to "blackmail"

THE danger to the lives of the two Soviet experts who were kidnapped by drug-running Shan rebels has increased with Rangoon's decision not to give in to "political blackmail".

The Shan State Army (SSA) demanded the release of their leader, Khun Sa, in exchange for the two Russians. Khun Sa has been in prison ever since he was captured by the Burmese authorities in 1969. Even though the rebels have threatened to kill the two Russians, the Burmese authorities have opted for snap raids to seek their release.

Interestingly, one recent raid in mid July even flushed out Lo Hsing-Han, the "opium king of the Golden Triangle". (The Golden Triangle is an opium trade centre at the Burma-Laos-Thailand tri-junction).

The kidnapped Russians, Dr Boris Piatmitski and technician Mr Stanislav Vinogradov, were working at the Russian aided hospital at Taunggyi, in Southern Shan State. They were kidnapped on April 16. The rebels then sent letters to the Burmese Government, the Russian Government and the Soviet embassies in Rangoon and Bangkok criticising the pro-Chinese Burma Communist Party and China. What was stranger was that the letters sent to the Soviet embassies expressed friendly sentiments towards Moscow.

Efforts of the Burmese Army to rescue the kidnapped Russians have failed. It now remains to be seen whether the Russian Government will try to exert pressure on the Rangoon Government.

Ne Win's attempts to have closer relations with Thailand have begun to bear fruit. He may be hoping that the threat of the rebels to kill the two Russians will not be carried out. It will give him time to co-ordinate action with neighbouring Thailand to try and dislodge the rebels from the "Golden Triangle" area.



NE WIN: bid for time

OTTAWA

Will the talking shop become a workshop? by Michael Henderson

It is indisputable that the spirit of this Commonwealth summit gathering was not as acrimonious as the last meeting in 1971. There were certain subjects that engendered some heat — French atomic tests, Uganda's expulsion of Asians, British policies towards Rhodesia and the role of multinational corporations. But the relaxed nature of the close sessions was valued by all.

Mr Swaran Singh found it "a refreshing break" from previous conferences and felt it "brought the countries of the Commonwealth closer together".

The heads of Government of 32 countries, or in the cases of Cyprus, Gambia, Ghana, India, Kenya, Malawi, Trinidad, Tobago, Uganda and Zambia, their representatives, came to Ottawa to share varying preoccupations with their opposite numbers (the Malaysian Prime Minister had returned because of the death of his Deputy). Some developing nations came worried about repercussions of Britain's entry into Europe, some Pacific nations with concern about French atomic tests, some like Nyerere ("There is a saying in Swahili: when elephants fight it is the grass which suffers.") came welcoming detente between the big powers but also feeling that any peace must

be put to use to eradicate racial indignity. Gowon wanted the detente to be used to promote economic advance so that it could be seen that the Commonwealth members really were their brother's keepers. But all came prepared to listen to each other so that later on, as the British Prime Minister put it, they would all be influenced in the policies they adopted.

Not that their particular natures did not sometimes aggravate colleagues. Lee reacted to Whitlam a bit like a senior prefect to new boys not knowing the ropes. Whitlam reacted to Heath as Australians often do to the English. He claimed that Heath and Lee were the only conservatives at the meeting to which Heath retorted that Lee was not a Conservative and it was the first time that party politics had been injected into the Commonwealth conference. Nyerere said he had difficulties in getting through to Heath but seemed to have some with Gowon too, whereas Trudeau said they tried to change each other's minds when they really got to know each other.

Much was owed to the skilful chairmanship of the Canadian Prime Minister who was keen, after the Singapore experience, to encourage this informality. His Government

spent \$2½ million to perfect the arrangements. "We have reached the type of conference we all hope for", he said, "where we don't make speeches at each other but where we prod, push, probe and get to the bottom of subjects."

One of the subjects was the thorny issue of Southern Africa. All were agreed on the need to seek a peaceful settlement with Rhodesia with the objective of majority rule. The British Prime Minister welcomed constructive suggestions. The 14-page report of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee was approved and backing was given to the efforts to make the sanctions bite more effectively. Commonwealth members also encouraged the use of influence to persuade Portugal to grant a negotiated independence to its African colonies. All were united in their Opposition to apartheid and minority rule in Southern Africa. They "recognised the legitimacy of the struggle to win full human rights, including the right of self-determination", as the final communique stated.

The communique also revealed less dramatic but nevertheless important advances in the field of Commonwealth functional co-operation. The green light was given to the Secretariat to expand its work. The Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation and the Commonwealth Youth Programme were launched. The Canadians announced that they would give \$932,000 for this programme. The Nigerians promised \$52,000. Out of the blue came the newest idea for an establishment of a Commonwealth Centre for Applied Studies in Government. The budget for the Commonwealth Foundation was increased to £452,000 yearly, and the suggestion for a Commonwealth Development Bank was referred to the finance Ministers.

No one is taking the future of the Commonwealth for granted. If they were, respective heads of Government would not have felt the need to spend so much time defining its role and emphasising its significance. Much will depend on whether this improved talking shop becomes also a workshop that produces tangible benefits for its members. "These last nine days," said the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Arnold Smith, "have significantly lessened the danger we might be embarking on, where the continents rage, and the world gradually drifts apart."

One thing is sure: Heads of Government, including Heath if he is still around, can genuinely look forward to the next meeting, probably in Kenya or Jamaica in 1975.

Making the UK's Opposition effective

From Gordon Wise in London

Recent Liberal Party bye-elections may not be politically decisive but they do reveal the dissatisfaction of the British public with the two major political parties, the Tories and the Socialists. Our London correspondent, Gordon Wise, examines how the Labour Party could gain a new momentum and public appeal.

IN a democracy there should always be an alternative Government waiting in the wings, to use a theatrical term, ready to take the stage if the governing party falters or loses the confidence of the electorate.

Therefore, however well or badly the Government of the day may be performing, it is important that the opposition has the policies and the qualities to assume office at the drop of a ballot paper.

A cabinet minister in a Commonwealth country, while biding his time in opposition, put forward the enlightened view that the task of an opposition is not only to criticise what the Government of the day is

tion one means the Russian or Chinese method. But the social reforms initiated and carried through by British Labour have revolutionised society in these islands, and changed an empire into a Commonwealth.

Labour Party leadership has been and remains largely composed of men who sincerely believe in governments being chosen by free people, exercising a free vote. The postwar record of British Labour in office has been an amalgam of high hopes, considerable achievement, deep frustration and keen disappointment.

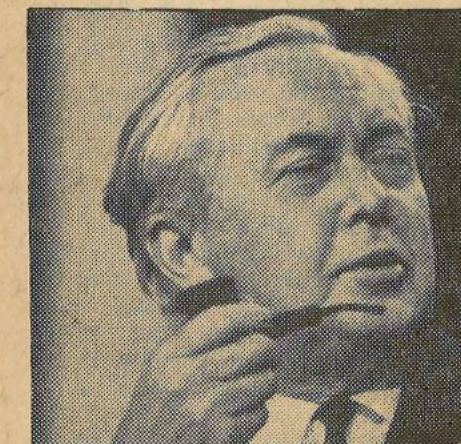
Over recent years, there has been a steady, perceptible, shift to the Left, as expressed in the doctrinaire resolutions passed at the Party conferences, and by the increasing influence of certain trade unions upon the party, now that some large unions are led by Marxist-motivated officials. There are those who consider that nationalising everything in sight is a panacea for the nation's life.

It is unfortunate however that quarrels within the Labour Party are nearly always public ones. Recently, Labour has been washing its nylon shirts under the public gaze. (Hair shirts are no longer worn).

The dispute about how much to nationalise, come the next term of office, was unfortunately timed when the Conservatives were undergoing considerable political embarrassments themselves. There were the Lambton-Jellicoe resignations, the reference by Mr Heath to what he called "the unacceptable face of capitalism" (over the tax avoidances of a large company) and the ever-present issue of rising prices and inflation.

Labour's leader, Harold Wilson, was understandably furious when the National Executive passed a resolution calling for more nationalisation which might ham-string him during the next election campaign. It is not that Mr Wilson is against nationalisation, but that he is very sensitive about how much the public will stomach. There are millions of voters who are disgruntled with restraints under the present Government (many of whom would be disgruntled at re-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



WILSON:
next election

failing to do; the task should also be to heighten the policies and actions which the Government of the day is already doing quite well.

So much of an opposition's attitude is confined to criticism, some of it tongue-in-cheek, because often the opposition knows full well that if it were itself in office, it would have to do something quite similar, perhaps due to world conditions rather than national short-comings.

In Britain, the Labour Party heads Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition. Historically, the British Labour Party owes more to Methodism than to Marx. It has been a reforming, not a revolutionary party, if by revolu-

NEW DELHI — The Union Government will soon set up Farmers' Service Societies on an experimental basis in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Goa to provide various agricultural services on credit to small farmers.

— Mr Y. B. Chavan, the Union Finance Minister, has ruled out demonetisation as a measure to tackle the problem of black money (unaccounted wealth).

PATNA — The Bihar Government has decided to use the Defence of India Rules (DIR) against hoarders and blackmarketeers.

SHILLONG — The second wave of floods in Assam have washed away thousands of homes and extensively damaged crops, affecting at least 10 lakh (1 million) people.

CALCUTTA — Hoarded commodities worth Rs 22 lakhs were seized by the police during raids on godowns at Calcutta, Howrah, Barnagar and Barakar in West Bengal.

INDORE — A curfew was clamped on the city and the Border Security Force deployed to check the CPI (Communist Party of India) sponsored anti-price rise agitation.

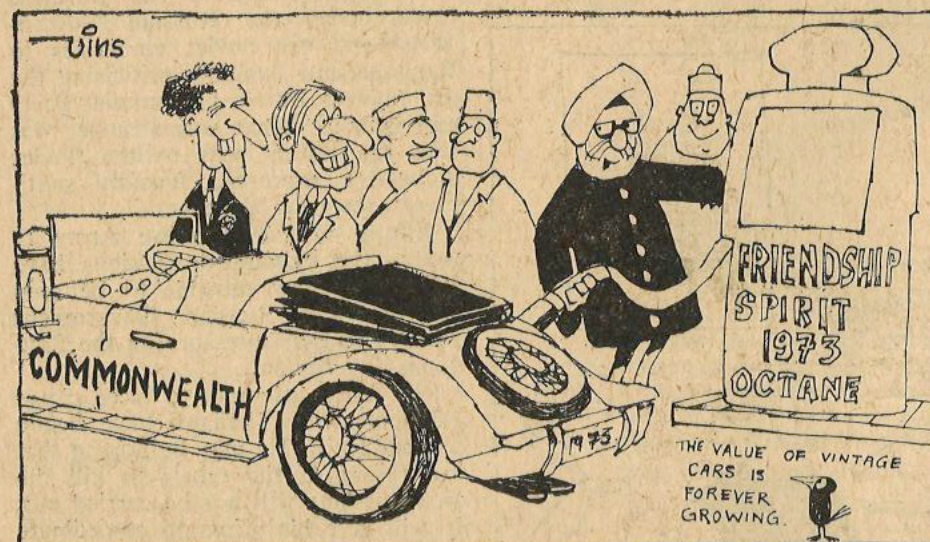
BOMBAY — The city is still faced with a virtual famine of edible oils and sugar as the wholesalers have held back their stocks from the retailers who have exhausted theirs.

— The Maharashtra Government's cotton monopoly procurement scheme, the first in the country, celebrated its first anniversary by earning a profit of Rs 10 crores (Rs 1 crore equals Rs 10 million) in the last year, besides giving a guaranteed price to cultivators.

POONA — The Collector of Poona has appointed a 19-member vigilance committee to ensure that essential commodities are sold at fixed prices.

BANGALORE — The Chief Minister and the Health Minister will not have any "discretionary quota" of admissions to the medical colleges from this year, according to the new admission rules announced by the Mysore Government.

MADRAS — The Tamilnadu Government has passed a bill which guarantees protection to slum dwellers from eviction and also gives powers to the state Government to acquire vacant land for their settlement.



"When it comes to preserving and running something valuable it calls for a special spirit."

(many of whom would be disgruntled at restraints under any Government) who would be frightened of voting for a Labour Party which looks like going the whole hog for state control.

Mr Wilson knows that there is a vast difference between people complaining about the abuse of capital by a comparative few, and those same complaining people giving their consent to the elimination of the capitalist system as such, and giving a blank cheque to the Left. Further, the record of totally Socialist countries, in the material sense, does not inspire the confidence required to jettison the devil which electors know for the devil which they do not know (but which they suspect might be worse).

In Russia, the home of state control, there is considerable heart-searching going on about a new motivation for industry which would create fresh incentives.

Both Mr Wilson and his deputy, Edward Short, have at times referred to the need for a "quality of life" as well as a high standard of living. This is an important approach and should be developed by the Opposition. The broad mass of the electorate is concerned not only about rising prices, but about the flagrant moral lapses in high places. Recently, there has been a corruption scandal, centred around an architect named Poulson. It is alleged that he bribed certain local government officials to ensure contracts for his company. Some of the officials were Labour men. So corruption seems to be bi-partisan.

The electorate resents the abuse of the present system by a privileged few. They are also concerned about the general lowering of standards of conduct in the nation. So it is unfortunate that at this time of public unease, the Labour leadership should be indulging in any public argy-bargy about political dogma.

One of the burning issues of our time is not only how to choose the type of system we wish to live under, but how to find the type of man who will administer that system. This is more than a question of state control versus what the shareholders want. There is also a plea for self-control in behaviour, as well as restraint in what each takes from the national purse.

Economic questions do matter to people, especially of the shopping basket variety. I am not suggesting that the British people have gone overboard for ethics. But affluent artisans with uncontrollable teen-

agers as their offspring know that Britain cannot live by bread (or cars and colour television) alone.

The Left is inclined to say that morality is subordinate to the advance of the economic system. This advance, it is hoped, would later take care of man's morality. But Labour has been a prompter of conscience through the years. It has been said that "the Labour Party is a moral crusade or it is nothing".

However, as journalist John Whale put it in "The Sunday Times" editorial pages: "The lesson from the Party at large is that the crusader is yielding place to the administrator — the man reconciled to running the system as given and chiefly anxious that he should do it rather than anybody else." It is just this trend which led to Watergate, an assumption discredited and rejected in the USA.

In Britain, people seem groping for faith as well as planning for full bellies. Memories of the hardship years are fading. At an earlier election, in the 'fifties, it was enough for the General Secretary of the Labour Party to say "Ask your Dad" about the wickedness of the bosses. Now to say "ask your grand-dad" would invite derision. Former Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell was once taken aback, on a May Day platform in Glasgow, by the sarcastic invitation, "Go on, inspire us!" But people do long to "be inspired"!

This search for something more than "who runs what" seems to have escaped some of the Labour Party leadership, the layer represented by Tony Benn, Judith Hart, and Renee Short, when they advocate wider public ownership as their mainstay. It may be that some MPs who work mainly in London succumb to the temptation of thinking that the hot-house climate in which they live and work represents the whole nation. It does not.

The Labour Party could once again call the nation back to conscience. It could jettison the envious mumbo-jumbo and launch a classless crusade for unselfishness at every level, for character purity in high places and low, for concern for the less well-off the world over. There would then be compassion for the workers in Bombay as well as Birmingham.

To do this, the Labour leadership and the rank and file would need to change their own ways and attitudes. Mr Wilson said recently that Britain's problems as a national family will not be solved without a moral revolution. But if he and Labour's leaders

espouse a cause requiring a high moral tone, they will be laughed out of office (or even out of Opposition) as hypocrites, unless a certain self-examination, self-regulation and regeneration takes place. Otherwise, the last state of the party would be worse than the present.

A change of aim and motive would be an infinitely worthwhile discipline if it enabled any of the three main parties to carry forward a crusade for a clean-living country where selfless service is considered to be even more important than political power. The leadership would need to lift their eyes to the horizon as well as to the immediate. It is a commentary on Britain's diminished world role that idealists who 20 years ago argued about the Korean war, 10 years ago about nuclear disarmament, and five years ago about Vietnam, are now discussing bus passes for the elderly and the preservation of old buildings. These things are important. But it would be a pity if concern about the world at large passed from the Labour purview.

If Labour gave such a passionate, convinced lead, they would immediately stir Mr Heath and his colleagues to get their own house in better shape. The Tory house needs some redecorating and some attention paid to the foundations. If these changes took place, then Britain would be blessed with the prospect of good Government from either side of the House, for decades ahead. For Labour, a basis of starting with a revolution within and seeing that the "hand on the tiller" is clean, would mean there would be room for the heirs of Wesley and of Marx in the same great movement.

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** How can people from crowded cities be attracted to the countryside?

Closing date September 7

Congress: Regional bosses rise again

by Muslaihuddin Ahmed

THE regional bosses in the Congress Party have re-emerged after a temporary eclipse. They have resumed their role of de facto rulers.

The recent political crisis in Madhya Pradesh has clearly shown that these bosses are still a force to reckon with. The Sethi Ministry's future became uncertain when five ministers belonging to the D. P. Mishra group submitted their resignations. This created a problem for the Congress High Command and the Prime Minister, who had sent Mr P. C. Sethi from the centre to succeed Mr Shyama Charan Shukla as Chief Minister.

It is only after Mr Mishra was persuaded not to create more complications that the crisis was averted. The majority of the Madhya Pradesh Congress Legislative Party members are still with Mr Mishra.

Mr D. P. Mishra, who played the role of top adviser to Mrs Gandhi

on party affairs, is unhappy with the Central leadership. Enquiry commissions have been set up to probe into the Damoh relief works and the Gulabi Channa scandal as these things happened when Mr Mishra was the Chief Minister. In spite of this the old stalwart is still the most powerful political leader in the State.

In Bihar, a similar role is being played by Mr L. N. Mishra, Railway Minister. He was the man who brought Mr Kedar Pandey into power and later threw him out. The present Chief Minister, Mr Abdul Ghafoor, is also known as his man. Twice Mr L. N. Mishra was asked to go to Patna and bring political stability to the State but he declined. Mr Mishra wants to rule over Bihar but remain in Delhi. Mr Mishra does not want to meet the same fate as Mrs Nandini Satpathy (Orissa) and Ghan-shyam Oza (Gujarat).

In Punjab too, Mr Swaran Singh, who maintained a dignified silence

during the crucial days of the Congress split, has resumed the role of Punjab's spokesman at the Centre, though quietly.

Political circles see in the rise of regional bosses a challenge to Mrs Gandhi's rule from within.

It may be recalled that in earlier times the regional bosses — Mr Morarji Desai (Gujarat) Mr Y. B. Chavan (Maharashtra), Mr Jagjivan Ram (Bihar), Mr K. Kamaraj (Tamilnadu) and Mr S. Nijalingappa (Mysore) were so powerful that they made two Prime Ministers — Mrs Gandhi and Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri.

In the past few days feeble voices are being raised at the Congress Party meetings criticising the active role bosses played in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar but there is no indication that the party will take any disciplinary action against either of the two Mishras. It is felt any drastic action against them will only pose problems for the Congress.

Government employees strike continues

—an anti-Congress wave sweeps Jaipur

From M. P. Balkiwala in Jaipur

If the strike by Government employees in Rajasthan is still on, it is because Chief Minister, Mr Barkatullah Khan, unwisely seems to believe that by prolonging the struggle he might force the employees to return to their work. In reality however, the strike has gained momentum with the passage of time. At the time of writing there is no sign of it being called off as the Government has taken a right stand. Central intervention is being urged in the Parliament by Opposition MPs.

The strike began on July 9 affecting only the ministerial staff but soon all the other Government employees jumped into the fray to press their demands. Although the strikers were peaceful, uncalled for force was used by the police.

Following the death of one person due to police action there were acts of arson and looting of shops. The authorities then clamped curfew in the walled city of Jaipur.

After the curfew was lifted serious efforts were made for talks between the Chief Minister and employees' leaders representing both the Rajasthan Karamchhari Sangh and the Rajasthan Government Employees Federation, who were contacted in jail.

Delay in such a meeting was due

to Mr Khan's stand that he would talk to the employees' leaders only after the withdrawal of the strike. However, talks were finally held without the strike being called off. This was because Mr Khan realised later on that his stand had not been reasonable.

But the talks were not fruitful as the Government told the employees' leaders that no wages would be paid for the strike period. Further, it was made clear that the action taken against the employees in connection with the strike could not be annulled in all the cases. Some employees, it was alleged, were involved in vandalism like arson and looting.

The Government was told by the employees' leaders that the strike would continue if no wages were paid. Further the Chief Minister was told not to be rigid while dealing with those employees against whom action had been taken. He should agree for the restoration of the situation as it existed prior to the beginning of the strike, on July 9.

There were also other demands such as sanction of bonus at the rate of 8.33 per cent, the grant of trade union rights and the grant of a need-based minimum wage.

It is estimated that if all the demands are implemented the addi-

tional burden on the state exchequer will be of the order of Rs 16 crores a year. The Khan Government just cannot afford this heavy burden at present. But this should not mean that all the demands should be rejected. There is need to economise on other expenditure incurred by

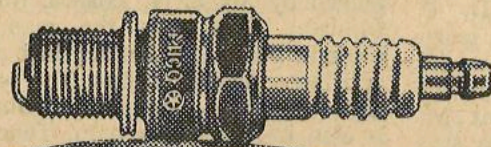
RAJASTHAN

the Government to find more resources for paying the employees.

The Government will have to give DA to its employees at par with that being given to the Central Government employees. Again there is also justification in the demand for giving interim relief with arrears to state Government employees, as is given to the Central employees in keeping with the recommendations of the third pay commission.

Mr Khan should also see the political dangers involved in following his present stand. Some Opposition parties, the most notable being the Muslim League, are directly involved in the strike. Already a strong anti-Congress wave has been sweeping the city of Jaipur and for this the atrocities committed by the police have been mainly responsible.

**All it needs
is a kick...**



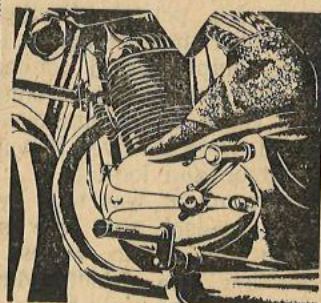
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Ajit Singh — bright star on the hockey horizon

by R. G. Seshachalam

India will be fielding a formidable team for the World Hockey Championship to be held at Amsterdam from August 26, 1973. We present two members of the Indian team — Ajit Singh and Haracharan Singh.

In the match between the Punjab XI and the touring German team last year, one young lad was the cynosure of all eyes. His dribbling, anticipation and the defence splitting passes caught the attention of even Dr Adolf Kulzinger, President of the West German Hockey Federation, who predicted a great future for him.

That youthful Sikh who played inside-left made great strides within six months and was selected as a member of the Indian team to the Munich Olympics.

He is Ajit Singh and was born 21 years ago. Hockey is in his blood. His father Mr Sohan Singh was a versatile hockey player during the '30s. Of the four brothers, Ajit is the youngest. His eldest brother is a good hockey player and plays for Punjab Police. Another brother is the great Harmeeek Singh, the captain of our Munich Olympic team.

In 1970, he was chosen to play for the Combined Universities for the

scoring goals. K. D. "Babu" was immensely pleased with his performance and he was selected as a member of our team for Munich.

Unfortunately, his debut in Olympics was not a happy one. He was not even allowed to play against the lesser lights. But this did not dampen Ajit's ardour.

His performance at Bombay Nationals this year made the selectors sit up and take notice. He was invited to the selection camp and it is heartening to note that he has again made the grade and is on the way to Amsterdam.

Ajit is a great fighter indeed, and a player to emulate. He has bound-



AJIT SINGH:
moves forward all the time

less energy, is very vigilant and plays direct hockey, moving forward all the time. He is an ideal left-in.

Haracharan Singh — player with speed and guile

In full cry, Haracharan Singh, one of our few remaining wingers, is the most elegant sight in hockey. His beautiful stick work, keen sense of anticipation and defence splitting passes have made him an artiste with the stick and the fact that he was our left winger at both Barcelona and Munich testifies to his greatness.

He was a potential match winner against many teams and played a major role in helping Services to win Rangaswamy Cup at Bombay. He dominated the scene at the Bombay Hockey Stadium against star-studded Punjab in the semi-finals.

Blessed with an athletic body and possessing quick reflexes, he plays hockey with sheer speed and stamina. He dribbles with skill. With his quick runs down the flank, he can outpace his opponent with a sudden burst of speed that leaves a defender gasping and trailing behind.

Haracharan was introduced to this sport casually. As a boy studying in the Khalsa High School, Sheighpura (Gurdaspur District), he had concentrated on athletics and had won the Silver Medal for the Triple Jump event for juniors in the Punjab Schools meet.

Like so many hockey players, Haracharan would have faded away due to want of guidance and training. But his hockey prowess was ex-

ploited by his school coach Shri Dilip Singh who advised him to take this sport seriously.

Recognition first came in 1970 when he played for the Dark Blues in International Tournament in Bombay. From then on he has been an automatic choice for India. He was chosen to represent India at the Sixth Asian Games at Bangkok. The World Cup and Olympics saw him continue in his place on the left flank. His omission in our vital match against Pakistan at Munich drew criticism from no less a person than Patrick Rowley and he was called back in our match against Holland.

Twenty-three year-old Haracharan Singh, who is a BA graduate from Punjab University, joined Services after the Olympic Games. "Does he miss Punjab very much?" To this, the five feet eight inches slender Sikh's reaction was, "I must say that I do a bit. After all I played for them for four years. But in all honesty, I should admit I am enjoying hockey with the Services too."

Haracharan has no time for any pet pastimes. At present he is attending the short service commissioned officers' course at Madras. His advice to aspiring stick players who want to reach the top is "A disciplined life, dedicated practice and training".

R.G.S.

SPORT

Nehru Memorial Hockey Tournament at New Delhi. His clever stick work, speed and good ball-control won admiration from the connoisseurs of the game and he was immediately signed up by Mohun Bagan of Calcutta, but could not make the trip because of examinations.

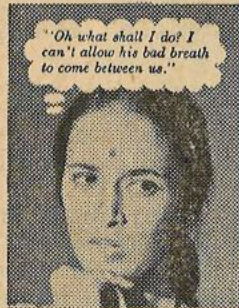
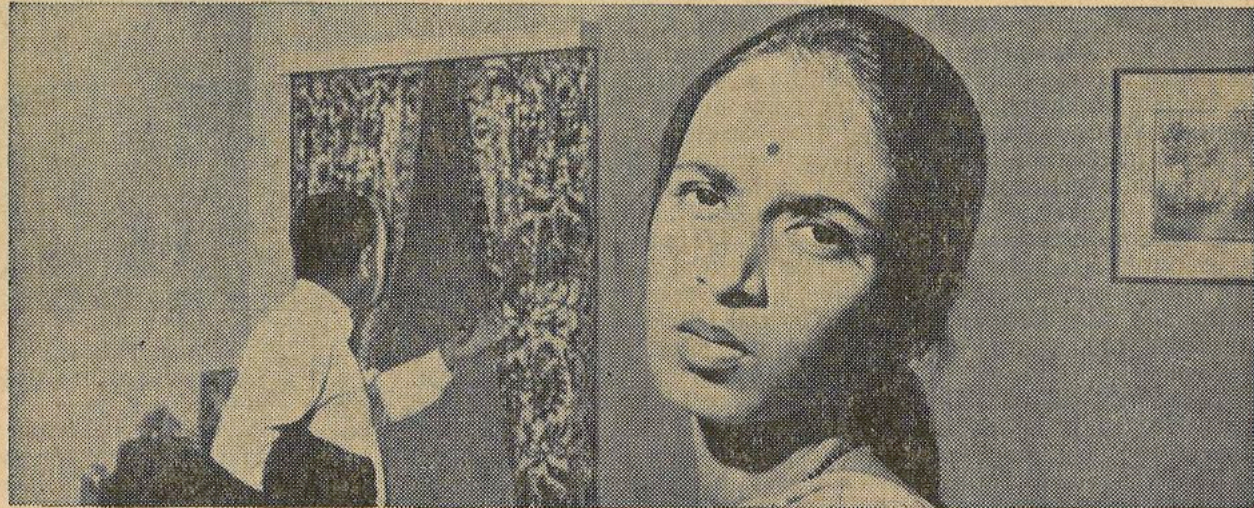
His display at the Jullundur Nationals in 1970, while playing for the Combined Universities, brought him into the limelight. He was the highest scorer for the University side and helped them to reach the quarter finals — before losing to Mysore.

Ajit played for Mohun Bagan in the Beighton Cup during 1971. The following year he was included in the Bengal State team for the Jullundur Nationals. He played centre-forward for them making a deep impression on the selectors and was called for pre-selection trials at Lucknow for the Olympic team.

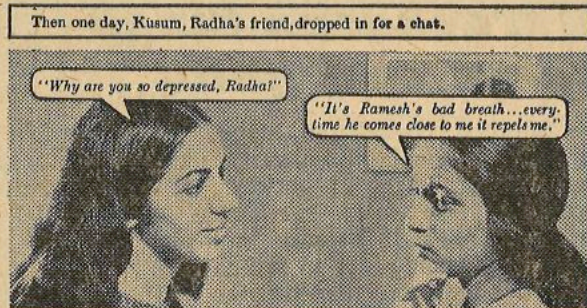
It was at Lucknow that he showed his skill as an immaculate goal-getter when he topped the list in

I love him so much. How can I tell him?

Just a month back Radha hated the thought of Ramesh leaving home...even for work. Now she can't bear to be close to him because of his bad breath.



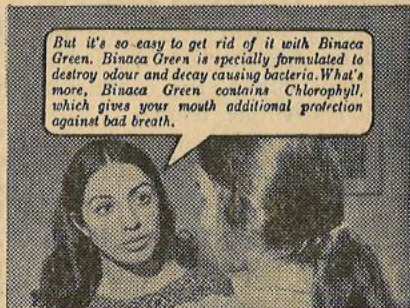
"Oh what shall I do? I can't allow his bad breath to come between us."



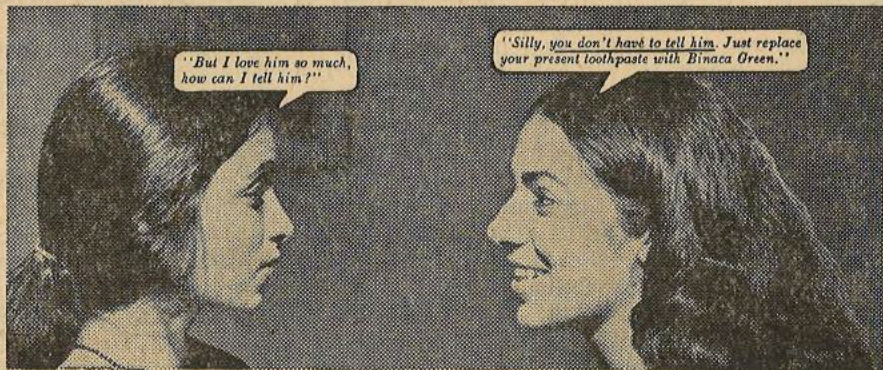
Then one day, Kusum, Radha's friend, dropped in for a chat.

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Tell the Bees

An episode of pre-Independence days

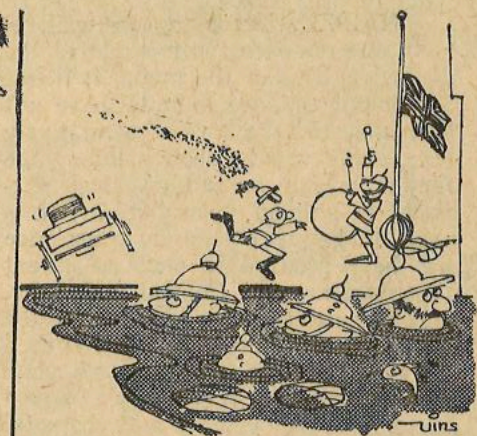
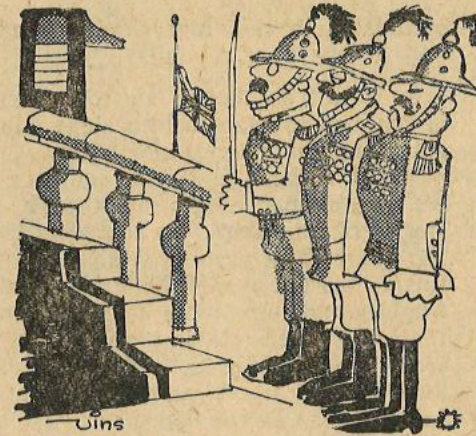
by Lionel Jardine ICS Retired

IN the late afternoon of a warm still day the sun shone down on the impressive residency, the home of the British Resident, the representative of the British Raj at the court of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.

There was scarcely a ripple on the surface of the ornamental lake or "tank" which faced the fine flight of steps which led up to the "moghul" style arch over the entrance to the Residency. Kites wheeled noiselessly across the blue sky above the building and the black cluster of bees nesting above the entrance were so still that they seemed hardly alive.

The only unusual thing was that the Union Jack on the flag staff on the roof was at "half-mast", the British way of informing the public that someone of importance had died. That someone was the Resident himself and his funeral with full military honours was due to take place before dark.

The steps were lined on both sides by senior officers from Hyderabad and the neighbouring cantonment of Secunderabad, in full-dress uniform with medals, decorations, swords and spurs shining in the sunlight. On their heads most wore white "topis" with golden chin straps and spikes. At the foot of the steps stood a horse-drawn gun-carriage provided by the Royal Artillery, and in front and behind it mounted escorts of British and Indian Cavalry with swords drawn. Between the gun-



carriage and the water stood the band with shining instruments. No one noticed the bees.

Suddenly a thump on the drum and a clash of cymbals broke the silence. The strains of the Funeral March greeted the cortege. Wild bees are easy-going creatures if left alone. They are not aggressive. But they resent intrusion whether it takes the form of drums and cymbals or a poke with a stick. They are swift to retaliate.

It was as though a button had been pushed and puppets put in motion. One moment everyone was rigidly at attention saluting the coffin as it moved down the steps; the next it was a rush for safety and "the devil take the hindmost". The horses and gun-carriage disappeared like a shot from a gun and were never seen there again. The best placed were the bandsmen, who

were on the edge of the "tank". With one jump they were in the water, instruments and all. The senior officers and pall-bearers came charged down the steps like young things and took to the water as though they had practised it. The coffin, abandoned, slid down the steps and lay neglected on the carriage-way.

Slowly the spikes of "topis" broke the surface of the water with, here and there, a moustache and a watchful eye. It was as though lotus flowers were opening. But the wearers of the "topis" remained safely submerged till the bees had vented their wrath and as the sun set, gradually returned to their usual abode. Then and only then the dripping officials emerged from their place of safety.

The official gazette reported that owing to unavoidable circumstances the funeral had been performed with modified ceremonial.

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Providing for rainless days

by Viren J. Shah, President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay

IN 1973 when man can walk in outer space and explore the geological core of the moon, is it not anomalous that we in India have not been able to take care of a relatively less complicated phenomenon like famine, which for all practical purposes is like an open book? It is true that our collective conscience has been aroused to such an extent that governments, Central and State, and the private individual from the prince to the pauper have all rushed in with relief measures to alleviate the distress. But how can we explain away the extraordinary and shameful fact that we have allowed a famine to occur at all?

The basic facts about famines are well known. The prime cause is drought — absence of rainfall and therefore of moisture in soil to raise crops to feed man and his cattle, also to provide water to them for drinking and domestic use. We have a well-defined area in this country which is the frequent victim of such droughts. Except for the river-fed Ganges-Brahmaputra plains and some smaller stretches in the coastal regions, it extends practically over the core of the whole country. In Maharashtra itself, a large well-defined area is subject to frequent droughts.

Sunshine India's asset

In the first place let us acknowledge that notwithstanding all the inspired propaganda to arouse political support and election enthusiasm, we are not, repeat not, a country richly endowed by nature except for sunshine, which of course is indispensable for plant growth.

As for water, our life line is the rainfall brought in by the south-west monsoon currents. The distribution of this rainfall, however, is extremely fitful resulting in deluges in some areas, droughts in others. Thus in Maharashtra while Konkan is flooded in the monsoon, most of this water flows away to the Arabian Sea. Rainfall then decreases sharply towards the east of the Sahyadri range, in the immediate leeward of which there are vast dry areas of the Deccan Plateau. Ahmednagar and Sholapur districts, the eastern parts of Poona division and the western areas of Aurangabad division down to near Kolhapur in the south are

includable in this rain shadow area and receive poor rainfall.

It is not as though the dry area is confined to Maharashtra alone. In actual fact it extends north through parts of Gujarat and with some exceptions almost merges into the Thar Desert of Rajasthan. So also towards the south. The parts of Maharashtra further east towards Vidarbha and Marathwada are more fortunate in that they receive their rainfall partly from the Arabian sea current but also partly from the current emanating from the Bay of Bengal.

Inadequacy of irrigation

Of equal importance with the quantum of rainfall and its dependability is its distribution. Long dry spells, even if interspersed by occasional deluges, will result in total or partial failure of crops. If the total rainfall is heavier than normal and steps have been taken towards conservation of water, either on surface or underground, the distress caused by its shortage may be reduced by watering the crops with flow or lift irrigation. Also if Kharif (monsoon) crops have failed, at least Rabi crops can be grown, although the items grown will differ. An additional factor which handicaps the dry areas in Maharashtra is this poor distribution of rainfall.

In the absence of moisture from such rainfall, we have no alternative but to provide water from other sources whichever available. This is where irrigation comes in.

But this is also where our failure lies. We have not made irrigation provision except on a casual pattern. It may sound incredible that by far the larger part of the dry Deccan Plateau is not today under the command of any irrigation works at all. When it is recalled that starting from the earliest days of Indian civilisation (according to the Imperial Gazetteer of 1908), and through Moghul, Maratha and British days, reservoirs have been built as an insurance against famines, this current neglect is inexcusable.

In the absence of such provision in required dimensions relative to the potentialities, we have exposed these areas and millions of people

living therein nakedly to the cruel pranks which nature plays on them.

It is true that today each of the river valleys on the Plateau has some sort of major irrigation system—storage reservoirs, and canals — the Krishna, Bhima, Nira, Girna, Godavari and Gangapur to name a few in the Plateau area, apart from those in Marathwada and Vidarbha. These latter, in any case, have more reliable rainfall. But the question is with all this provision, have we done enough by way of providing irrigation to the dry areas? (see table below).

Part of the reason for Maharashtra's poor record lies, of course, in the difficult terrain, part in the scarcity of perennial rivers and streams, compared with the Indo-Gangetic Plain. But can Maharashtra claim that we have exploited fully all avenues of irrigation with the 8 per cent we have achieved? And if surface irrigation was difficult, did not Maharashtra know even how to bore or dig wells through the Deccan Trap?

The Barve Commission after a thorough investigation came to the conclusion that surface irrigation of all kinds, i.e. including Government and Private canals could provide irrigation to 10 million acres, out of the "ultimate cultivated area" of 50 million acres.

To this, would be added the area enriched by percolation of the water

The net irrigated area related to net sown area according to the latest figures given by the Government of India, is as follows:

STATE	PER CENT
Punjab	58
Tamilnadu	43
Jammu & Kashmir	41
UP	32
Haryana	32
Andhra; West Bengal	27
Kerala	19
Orissa	16
Rajasthan	12
Gujarat and Mysore	11
Maharashtra	8
Madhya Pradesh	6.4



BUILDERS OF IRRIGATION SCHEMES, YET VICTIMS OF FAMINE

flowing through the canals, made available by lifting from wells, designated as "lift-cum-flow irrigation," estimated at 1.5 million acres. According to them, an additional 1.5 million acres would be irrigable by water saved at head works, due to the lining of the canals, at any rate until such time as the canals were actually lined to prevent seepage. (Incidentally it occurs to me that the use of polyethylene for such lining would make us independent of scarce bricks and cement.)

The total area irrigated by surface water would thus come to 13.0 million acres. They recommended that the intensity of irrigation could and should be increased to 66 per cent so as to spread the benefit to a larger area. This they estimated would bring the total culturable command to about 20 million acres, i.e. 40 per cent of the ultimate cultivated area.

Alternative avenues would then have to be explored to find irrigation for 30 million acres. Even in those days over 50 per cent of irrigated area was watered by wells which owe a lot to the Maharashtra Government policy of liberal Tagavi loans and subsidies in the past. For this they deserve our praise. The Barve Commission suggested that all possible measures should be taken to stop the run-off of the rain water by contour bunding, nala plugging, impounding water in percolation tanks and taking whatever other measures which enrich ground water resources to make

the sinking of wells more fruitful in these areas.

The question now arises, to what extent have the Maharashtra Government provided the surface and well irrigation which was recommended by the Barve Commission? I would not be exaggerating if I described the Government's attitude towards the problem of large scale irrigation as, at best, one of casual indifference.

The surface irrigation schemes indicated by the Barve Commission and the urgency therefor seem to have been consigned to oblivion, while the river waters flow merrily through the dry and barren countryside of our Plateau on to our neighbouring states. For, the question of providing major works on the Godavari, the Krishna has been tied up in inter-state squabbles on the divisions of the waters between Maharashtra on the one hand and the surrounding states of Andhra and Mysore on the other.

The Jaykwadi scheme under construction, which again is subjected to indefinite delays due to the ever present shortage of cement, is an exception! These disputes have been referred to the usual tribunals. We heard with a sigh of relief just a few weeks ago that the Krishna (including Bhima) Tribunal will give its award in October. We have had no news however with regard to the Godavari Tribunal. Let us hope it is

alive and kicking and the urgency of the issue is agitating it as deeply as it does the affected people.

At a recent press conference in Nagpur the Chief Minister announced that he would do everything to increase the irrigation potential in the state by 35 per cent and that Rs 2000 crores would be spent thereon in the next 10 years, of which Rs 750 crores would be spent during the fifth plan and Rs 1200 crores in the sixth. He stated that 40,000 wells were in progress of which he expected 70 to 80 per cent to be successful. Also that there was scope for digging 500,000 wells in the state providing irrigation facilities for about 3.7 million acres.

Further, that in almost all the villages in the state tube wells would be drilled to provide water for drinking and domestic purposes.

The question that arises is why the development of this well irrigation potential was not exploited during the last 10 years, after the Pardasani and the Barve reports had made such strong recommendations in their favour. We seem to have conformed faithfully with the terms of the Gujarati adage which condemns "digging the well when the house is on fire."

Our school copy books of the old days talked of providing for a rainy day. We would have to change this maxim in India — to provide for a rainless day.

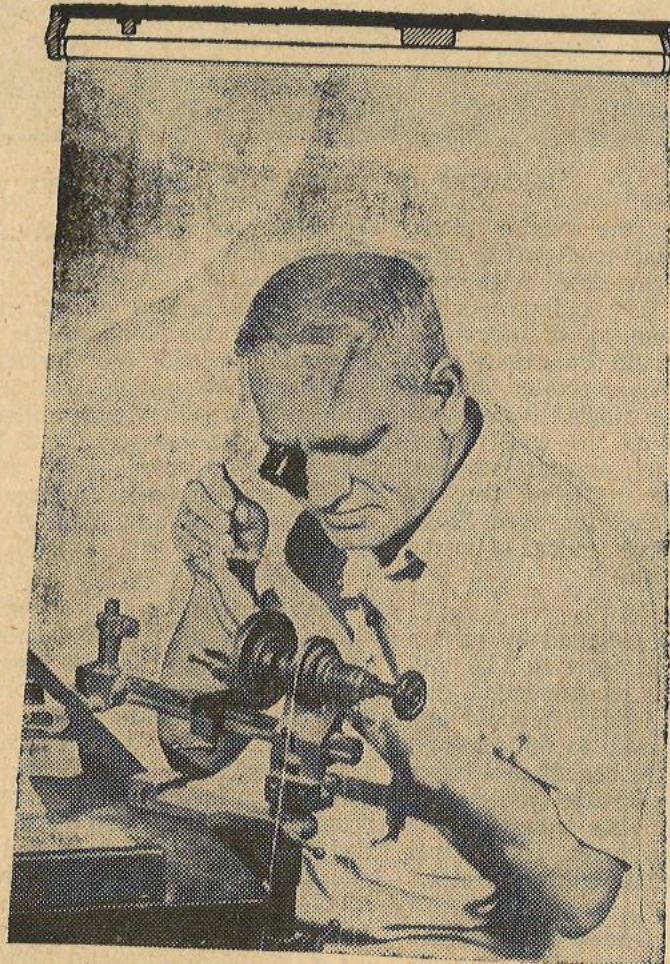
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Fifteenth of August

A short story by Annasuaya Paithankar

NEELU, Neelima — It's time to get up, my child." Neelima heard for mother's cry and sat up on her thin bedding on the verandah. It was August 15! The first thing she thought of was the play they were going to perform that evening in the village. She had a leading role. The thought of the play gave her a sense of fear and excitement.

She rubbed her eyes. The Eastern sky was painted in glorious pink and gold. The cool morning breeze greeted Neelima and she knew she must soon get ready. She folded her bedding and took it inside.

A hot cup of milk and a bath were refreshing enough for such a morning. Neelima had put on her new khadi dress — and her mother was buttoning the back.

The yarn for this dress had been spun by her grandfather. She could see his picture on the wall. He had given all he had including his life so that India might be free. And when India did become free he was not there to enjoy it. Her mother had told her so much about him the previous night and had even shown her some of his letters. She had said that every August 15 she thought of him and when she thought of him she never knew whether she should be sad or happy.

Neelima's mother turned her around and looked at her. "How pleased your grandfather would have been to see you in this dress," she said as tears filled her eyes. Neelima flung her arms around her mother's neck and said, "Don't, Ma. When I grow up I will also do something for India like he did". Her mother held back her tears, straightened the red bows on Neelima's two plaits and said, "You'd better be going now or you'll be late". They both smiled and Neelima left.

All the children had gathered in front of the school ground. They were standing in twos. The eldest schoolboy was holding the flag and soon they were all following him. This is how grandfather must have led the people when he was beaten with lathis, thought Neelima. She could picture the scene with police on horseback and people shouting, "Bharatmata-ki-Jai". What was it he had written in one of his last letters?

Suddenly she heard a loud voice "Bharatmata-Ki- "Jai" they all shouted. They went through the streets and alleys of the village

singing and shouting slogans of victory. Many women had rushed to the doors to watch the smart procession. Many men and children from the village had joined in it too.

They reached the school ground. The flag was raised and the champa petals came tumbling down from its folds. Children clapped their hands. Neelima saw the tricolour flutter against the blue sky. Her heart too was fluttering with excitement. Yes, when she grew up she was going to do something for India. They sang the national anthem and were asked to sit facing the verandah.

All the children rushed to the front as there was some shade there. Neelima managed to sit in the front row only to feel a sudden push from behind. Without turning she knew it must be Roshan. She hit back with her elbow and turned in anger. Yes, it was her. "Don't push me," she said. Roshan and Neelima, who were in the same class, never got on well. Their teacher for some unknown reason had chosen both of them to be in the play. Roshan made a face at Neelima and pinched her hard. "That's the limit," thought Neelima. "Stop it. Can't you see that I might fall off if you push me?" She demanded.

"Why did you hit me?" asked Roshan.

"Because you pushed me. You never make friends and you can't even act."

"Don't talk about my acting."

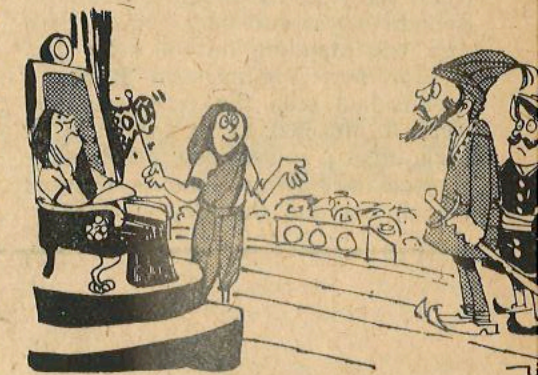
"I will talk. You are only a Dasi (maid) in the play and I am Jijamata — the mother of King Shivaji." Roshan was now in tears. Neelima turned back with satisfaction but once again felt a pinch. She would have hit back but Roshan had already ran and sat at the back of the crowd. Besides the speeches had started.

Neelima hardly listened to any of the speakers. In her mind she was repeating the lines of the play. When she had already done it twice she found herself listening to Sadumama. He was to be the last and the best speaker. "Today I heard you shouting 'Bharatmata-ki-Jai'. Well you had to be brave to say those words in the old days... In our time we won freedom. Now you must preserve it. Do not think you have to wait till you grow up but you must all do your best to preserve freedom from today," concluded Sadumama.

Later the headmaster announced the evening programme and everyone left.

Neelima was lying on the blanket. She had been resting all afternoon because it would be a late night. She could still see her khadi dress hanging on the line as her mother had forgotten to put it away. Oh, how proud she was of her grandfather! Sadumama had talked about preserving freedom. He had said that everyone must do their best right way and not wait till they were grown up. But how should she start? She was only a little girl of eight.

"So, Neelima — still resting?" It was her father. He had come early from the farm because he too was



"Jijamata told me to tell you that she is very happy"

excited about Neelima being in the play. Neelima got up and brought him some water. As he drank, her father told her that he had been past Roshan's home. "She's had a fever all afternoon. It is the sun, I think," he said. "Oh no!" thought Neelima. Why did that girl have to spoil everything at the last minute? Why did she have to sit in the sun and get fever at this time? But what had made her go into the sun? "Roshan must take part in the play. I know what... I'll just be back," she said and before her father could say anything was off to her teacher's house.

He was pacing up and down the verandah. On seeing Neelima he said, "Oh, Neelu — are you al..." But Neelima cut him short and said breathlessly, "Guruji, have you heard about Roshan? She's not well." "Yes," said Guruji, "she is better now, but I don't know if she could manage to stand while the play lasts." Neelima gave a slight sigh of relief and said, "Well, Guruji, why not let her be Jijamata, then she can sit in that comfortable chair. She knows all my lines by heart. And I will be the dasi and stand near her."

Guruji wondered if this was the same Neelima who always fought

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

— from page 23

with Roshan, but he only said, "How clever of you to think of this Neelima! I will go to see Roshan's family."

It was evening and the whole village had gathered in the village square. The temple front had been turned into a stage. Roshan and Neelima's families had found good places. Many of the school children were in the audience too as not all could take part in the play.

At last the curtain—two blankets hanging on the line—opened! They could see Jijamata sitting proudly on a high and comfortable chair. Her dasi was standing on the stool and fanning her. Neelima and Roshan's friends had seen the rehearsals and were a bit puzzled to see them in each other's roles. Soon a little boy dressed as Shivaji came in, saluted his mother and the play started.

All went well until the very end. Shivaji had joyfully told the news of his victory to his mother. His loyal friends were standing proudly behind him. Shivaji looked at his mother but there was no movement nor a word from her. The audience waited in silence until they realised that the tiny figure of Jijamata was fast asleep in her chair. Just when they would have started to murmur the dasi came down from her stool and said to Shivaji, "Jijamata told me to tell you that she is very happy to hear this. May God bless you and may victory be always yours." The curtain was drawn amid roars of laughter and thunderous applause.

Neelima went to the high chair and shook her, "Roshan, Roshan, the play is over," she said. Bewildered, Roshan opened her eyes. Neelima continued, "Are you better now? I am sorry I hit you and hurt you and

made you go in the sun. Roshan, I promise I won't fight with you any more." Exhausted as she was, Roshan could hardly believe what she heard. She found herself saying to Neelima, "I am alright now and I want to be friends with you." Neelima helped Roshan to get down from the chair and guided her off the stage.

That night Neelima could not go to sleep. Her heart was hardly able to contain the happiness she felt. She had done the part she hated most. Of all the girls she had let Roshan do her prized part. Then why was she so happy?

This morning she had said to her mother that when she grew up she would do something for India. But she had not waited till she had grown up but had made a start that very day. She had made friends with Roshan and would remain a friend to her. At this thought her happy heart felt at peace. The moonlight was now flooding the verandah and soon Neelima was fast asleep.

Our economic growth since Independence

A story of triumph and tragedy

THE INDIAN ECONOMY UNDER PLANNING by Dr Nabagopal Das; The World Press; Rs 18; 140 pages.

DR NABAGOPAL DAS has given us an objective survey and assessment of India's planned economy over the past 20 years.

"The Indian Economy Under Planning" is based on a series of lectures which he delivered in the USA at the invitation of the University of Michigan. Because his audience were probably limited in their background knowledge of India the lectures as a result are very readable for the layman. At the same time the book is very well documented and affords a worthy study for the student of economics.

Although he is associated as an economic adviser with a number of business groups he brings a sympathetic understanding to the problems of Government. Thus he is in a strong position for he writes from 'the inside' as a former ICS officer. At the same time he pulls no punches.

An appraisal of the three completed Five Year Plans and the running Fourth, brings the comment that the first was a success so far as it went, that after adjustments the second was a success in the sense that many of the production targets had been reached. The third was a failure.

The following table shows at a glance the percentage increase in real national income since planning started:

	First Plan		Second Plan		Third Plan	
	Target/Actual	Target/Actual	Target/Actual	Target/Actual	Target/Actual	Target/Actual
National Income	11	18.4	23	20.4	30.0	12.5
Per capita income	9	8.2	18	8.6	17.0	1.7

There is a documented chapter on unemployment and poverty where it is stated that most estimates put India's unemployment figure between 12 and 16 million excluding underemployed persons in rural areas.

Turning to the plight of the educated unemployed the educational system is severely criticised. He calls for at least a temporary stop to the setting-up of more colleges and universities of a non-specialised character. He adds that instead of looking down upon manual and hard-handed occupations middle class youths may discover their talents and energies are no less suited to these than to soft office jobs.

In a chapter "The Green Revolution" the snails pace growth in agriculture for nearly two decades is observed until a break-through was achieved in 1967-68 "by the development and propagation of improved seeds, by greatly increasing the application of chemical fertilisers, by the use of pesticides and by promoting minor irrigational facilities". He maintains however that "The Green Revolution" is at present concentrated mainly in Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan. High tribute is paid to the farmers of that area.

Nevertheless he sounds a note of warning that the "green revolution" is also causing social tensions and has resulted in the emergence of a new class of "land-grabbers" — among Ministers, MLAs, and MPs and retired military and civil officers. It is understandable too that many of the benefits of improved methods of cultivation cannot be adopted by the small holders in the absence of credit facilities. The "green revolution" is still confined to 10-15 per cent of the rural population. However this fact alone is encouraging for by arranging credit facilities and the implementation of land reforms it is possible for rapid strides to be made in this sphere.

The performance of public sector enterprises comes in for a good amount of deserved criticism. The absence of cost consciousness and profit-making incentive has resulted in so many Government undertakings running in the red and below produc-

tion capacity. Bureaucratic attitudes and the frequent turn-over of top management have had a severe toll on the profitability of these concerns. This seems to be the corner stone in dealing with this problem and indications are that Government is beginning to take note of this. The late Mr Mohan Kumaramangalam said at the One Asia Assembly in Delhi in February that nationalisation in India had often led to industry being run on civil service 'procedure-orientated' lines rather than 'result orientated' practised by private industry.

Industrial relations is the achilles heel of the Indian economy. Failure

to win a substantial period of industrial peace will condemn the economy to stagnation. Dr Das quotes J.R.D. Tata which speaks volumes on this score. "In India with a total employment in industry of about 7 million, each year 19-20 million man days are lost through industrial stoppages of one kind or another. By comparison West Germany with nearly double that labour force, of about 13½ million, loses 50,000 man days a year from similar causes."

The author lays much blame for this state of affairs at the door of trade union rivalry and politically motivated trade unions. This is undoubtedly true, but it must be

BOOKS

acknowledged that there is room for a vast new understanding between labour and management. A new thinking must come to both sides of industry.

There are interesting chapters on "The Business Community in India", "Business Government Relationship" and "The Environment Around Private Enterprise". He writes of the emergence of the "professional manager" in business a feature that is now universal in the West. The Government would do well to tap this source of management talent.

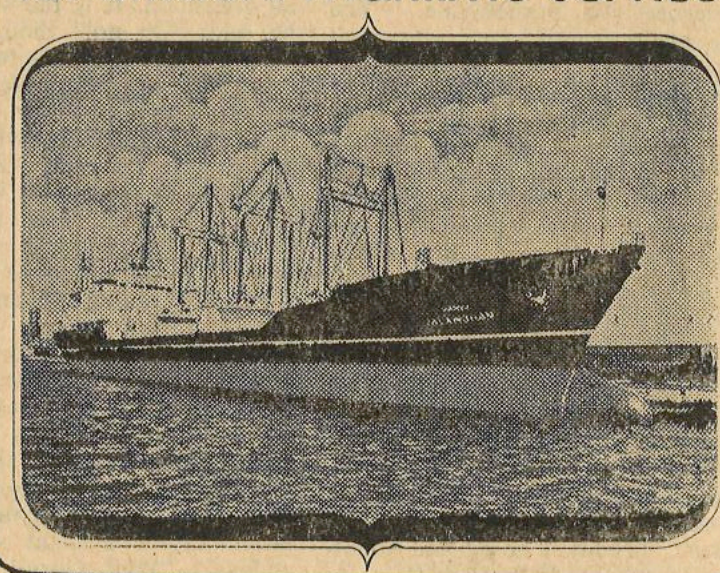
There must be few countries where there is a deliberate policy of preventing expansion of industry because of size. In recent years a new word has come into the political and Government vocabulary. Dr Das examines the conditions of business in India today and finds no grounds to describe the situation in any sphere as "Monopolistic". He concludes that unfortunately in India 'monopoly' is equated with 'bigness'.

There are signs that there is rethinking on this subject. Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray, Chief Minister of West Bengal pointed out that such a policy of denying expansion to concerns in the 'monopoly' bracket condemned West Bengal to stagnation as 80 per cent of the industry there is in this category. However political pressures within his own party forced him to modify his stand.

There has been a steady flow of foreign capital although the Govern-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 27

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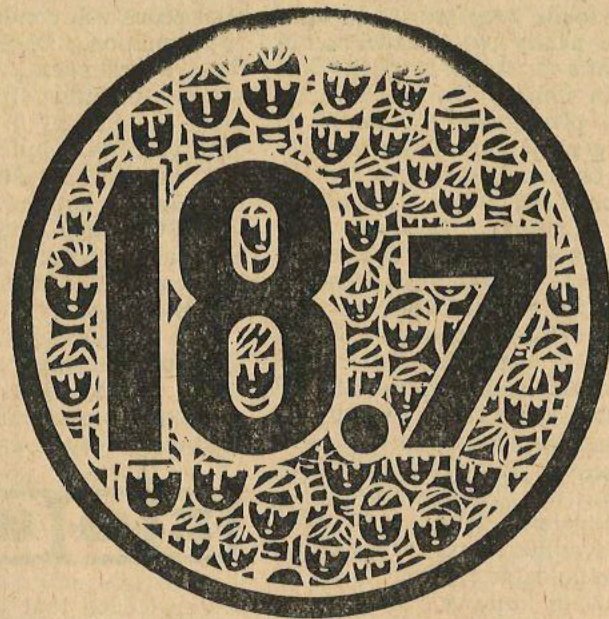
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18.7 million unemployed !

Compared to the 18.7 million unemployed (according to the Bhagwati Committee on Unemployment) in India, twenty lakhs may seem a small figure. But when this volume of employment results from the activities of a single establishment, it is not to be sniffed at

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ECONOMIC GROWTH — from page 25

ment—with justification—now rules that Indians must hold a majority share in the equity.

The following Table shows the inflow of foreign investment into the private sector.

At the end of	Rs Crores
1961	44.9
1965	104.4
1967	160.7

While foreign aid (88 per cent is in repayable loans) has undoubtedly helped India's economic development, the burden of servicing the loans has been very heavy.

India's total interest payments on foreign loans rose from an average of Rs 13 crores per annum in the second plan period to Rs 48 crores in the third plan and has shot up to Rs 152 crores in 1970-71. Similarly capital repayments have increased from Rs 11 crores in the second five year plan to Rs 283 crores in 1970-71.

India has also been trying hard to increase and diversify her exports. An analyses of her exports show that over the past five years there has been a significant growth in the ex-

port of non-traditional items, like engineering goods.

Statistically India's achievements over the past 20 years are impressive and show that she has not been standing still.

Food production has jumped from 50.8 million tons in 1950-51 to well over 107 million tons in 1970-71. In the case of wheat the average yield per hectare has increased from 660 kg to 1299 kg.

The index of industrial production has also risen from 73.5 in 1951 to 215.0 in 1970 (base 1956 = 100).

Road kilometrage increased from 400,000 in 1951 to 980,000 in 1970. Shipping tonnage from 391,000 GRT to over 20,00,000 GRT. Power generated increased from 4.9 billion to 50 billion kilowatts.

There has been significant strides in the sophisticated field of Atomic Energy. The GNP index rose from 100 to 211.

A balance of payments deficit in 1966-67 of Rs 796.9 crores has been reduced progressively to Rs 90.0 crores in 1970-71.

An encouraging feature is that all this has been accomplished largely

by India's own resources. Over the first three five year plans 78 per cent of the investment had been made by India and only the reminder was furnished by international organisations and different nations as grants and loans. By 1969-70 foreign aid has come down to 13 per cent of the total investment and towards the end of the Fourth Plan this is likely to be less than 10 per cent.

But the tragedy is this has not been enough. No major impression has been made on the volume of India's poverty and destitution. At least a third of the Indian people are below the poverty line.

Unemployment has increased from 1.1 million at the end of the first Five Year Plan to nearly 16 million.

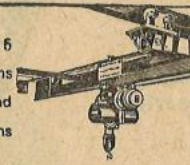
Dr Das' book is one of triumph and tragedy, hope and despair. The encouraging statistics of the economist at times bring elation by what has been done and what is possible; at other times the gap between what has been accomplished and what needs to be done is too huge for comfort. But looking back on what has been done can be both an inspiration and a challenge to go forward and do the seemingly impossible.

R. D.

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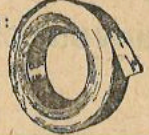
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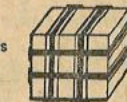
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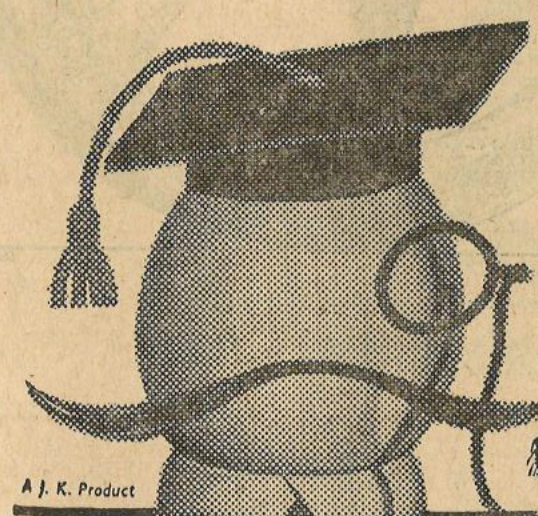
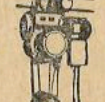
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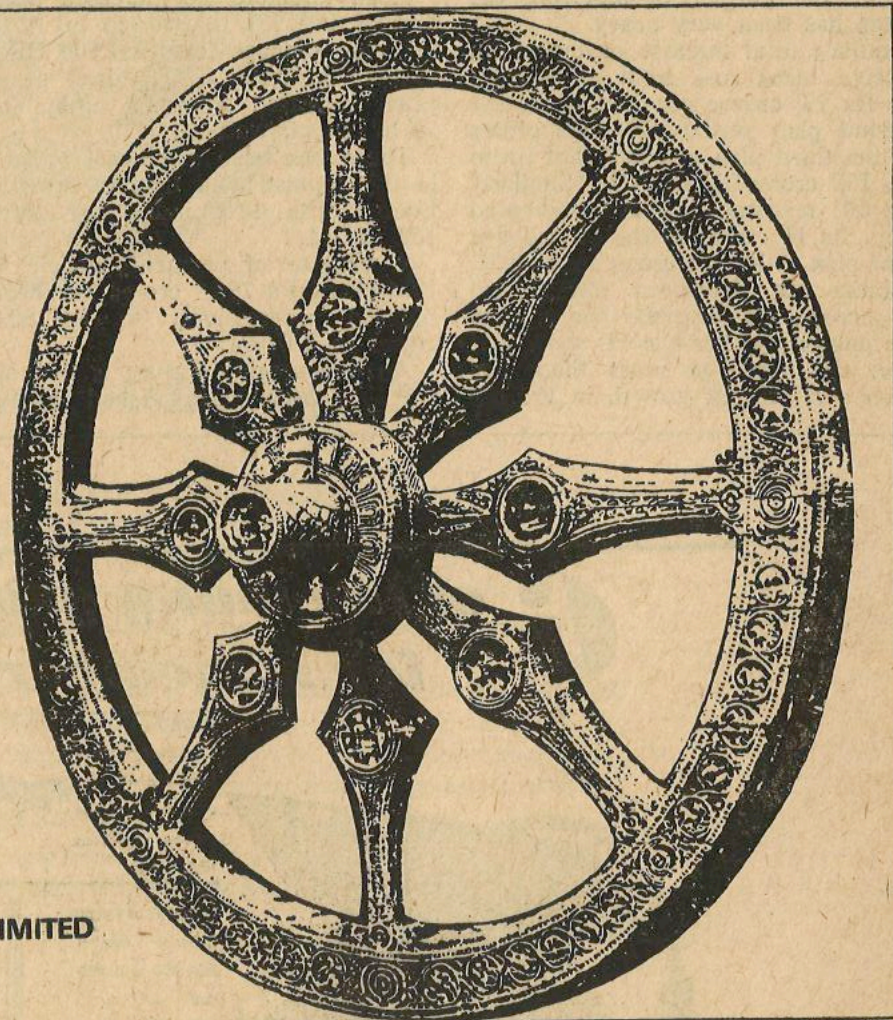
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THIS INDIA

INDIA OF 73

THE India of 1973 has retained its vitality and increased its variety.

It's an India of activity, despite unemployment, of private enterprise and ingenuity. It's a nation of menders — of umbrella repairers sitting on the pavement under big black umbrellas in pouring rain, of cobblers, knife sharpeners, watch rectifiers, wood polishers, junk collectors and even a "pen hospital". Where else are such services available at such low costs?

It's also an India of consumer goods. You name it, we have it. Go to a middle class home and what do you find? Strong steel Godrej almirahs (cupboards), stainless steel vessels, crockery, in many a case a refrigerator (bought with a loan) and a telephone, a radio or a transistor, formica topped tables and chairs that can be easily cleaned — all made in India. Bright plastic goods — buckets, basins, dishes, sheets — have reached our villages. Their quality and finish has steadily improved.

There is nothing to beat Indian fabrics. Coming back to India after four years, a foreign visitor remarked, "I can't get over the beauty and variety of your textiles." They are coveted in the world. Terylene, Terrycots and related synthetics have come into their own.

Every kind of medicine and drug --

from aspirin to vitamins to antibiotics—we manufacture ourselves.

We used to import shoes. Today we export them.

Cars are available in India (with all their imperfections). We manufacture bicycles, three kinds of tractors, and even heavy machinery. In a modern, completely automated textile factory in Bombay, friends were told that all the complex machines which had earlier been imported are today being made in India.

A lawyer, who had to terminate his education after matriculation and study law on his own, has been able to educate his children. There are BA, BSc, BCom, B.Pharmacy. A severe critic of post-independent India himself, he admits that the quality of education has improved in terms of what youngsters today know about the world.

It's an India where every religion is respected. It's an India where most parts of the country are connected by transport services, where letters reach their destination — between the big cities in in one or two days.

It's an India where the freedom of the press exists, where all shades of opinion are expressed. Over 11,000 periodicals, in different languages, discuss current affairs, sports, medicines, law.

Yet it is also an India where a woman lives with 25 relatives in one room. She stands in the queue for three hours to collect milk bottles to deliver to various houses, often on fifth and sixth floors. For every bottle she charges Rs 2 per

month. Her husband has deserted her; her 18 year old son died last year. Her eyes and the criss-crossing lines etched on her face tell their story. But she has not given up her will to live, to struggle, to give the best to her children, to battle with life's injustices.

We have lived alongside poverty for centuries. If we had cared enough, we would never have allowed it to remain. In the India of 1973, the Government is committed to eradicating poverty. How best to do it is being debated by the whole country. This in itself is a step forward.

Has corruption in 1973 increased or, side by side, have we become more aware of it and more intolerant of the status quo?

We tend to take for granted what we do have in India.

In spite of its squalor and slovenliness, its smells and heartrending sights, its slowness and suffering—it remains India. When we're away, we miss it. When we're here, we decry it. Yet deep down in our hearts, all of us believe in its great future, and a decent life for all our people.

The India of 1973 is a tunnel we are groping in but from which we, Government and people, may emerge chastised and wiser.

Neerja Chowdhury

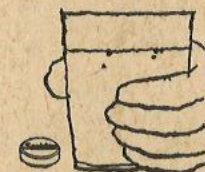
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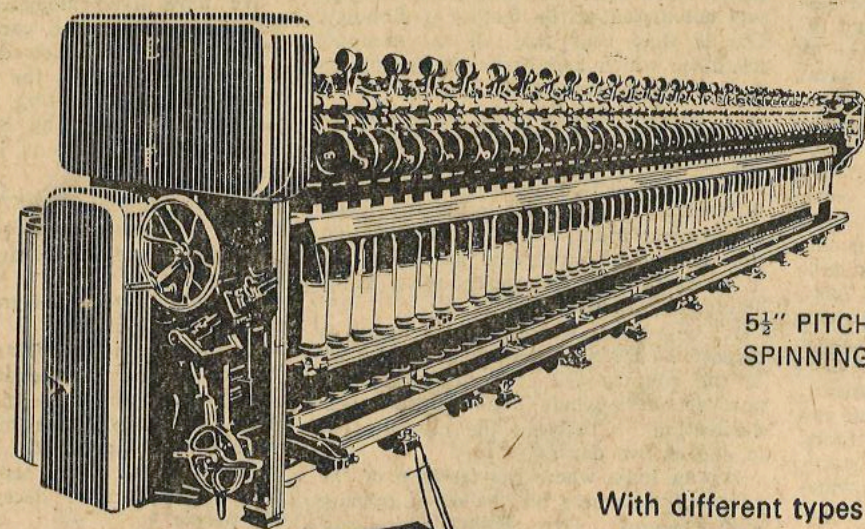
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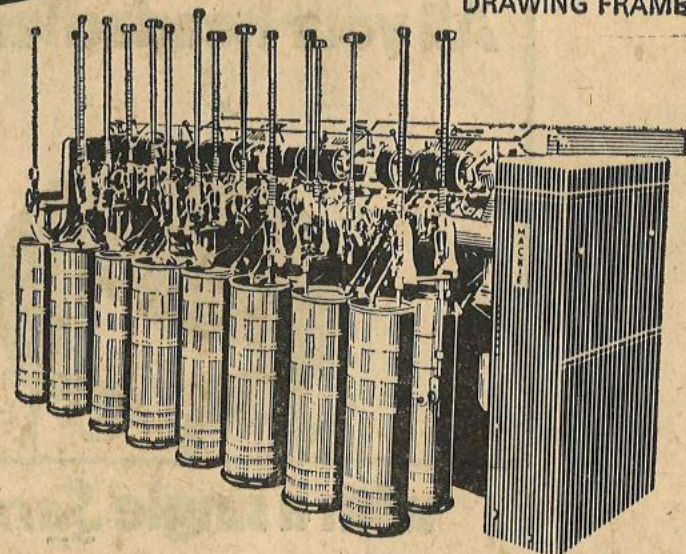




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BELFAST-NORTHERN IRELAND

FORESTS — from page 9

the plant life, successfully established over the years through a process of natural adaptation to the soil and climatic conditions, is dangerous.

Forests support a large variety of wildlife which are a valuable heritage of any country. It also more than pays for itself. The East African countries of Kenya, Uganda and

If out of India's total growing forest stock of 2624 million cubic metres, 200 million cubic metres are removed annually, how long will the forests last?

Tanzania, currently earn close to Rs 100 crores of foreign exchange annually from their wildlife sanctuaries. This is double the amount that India earns from tourism.

In all developed countries forests are considered important for the recreation they provide to people. The educational value too must not be ignored. They also provide valuable training ground for biologists, zoologists, botanists and environmental scientists which we require in large numbers. From the commercial standpoint, industry benefits by the sale of sports and other equipment.

What can the country do? The planners must first realise the great benefits of forests. If these could be quantified they would run into thousands of crores of rupees, and not just 1.6 per cent of the domestic product as indicated by statistics.

A detailed survey must be made

to get the total picture. Our first duty is to protect the forests and then plan for increasing their productivity. Various research studies must be undertaken and a detailed soil/contour/climate map of India should be drawn up for this purpose.

The outlay on forests needs to be substantially increased. The Government should also provide subsidised electricity to the rural population to prevent the destruction of forests for fuel purposes.

The real value of our forests and the need to conserve them should be widely publicised on the radio, television and in the press.

The forest officers have great responsibility in this regard, keeping themselves up to date with the latest advances in forestry, keeping a record of their observations regarding trees, birds and other animal life, etc, and educating people about the importance of proper conservation and development of forests.

The USA faced a similar situation in the earlier part of the century. Rapacious logging had laid low half of the country's forests, creating dust bowls, erosion and floods. But during the '30s, Mr Franklin Roosevelt created the Civilian Conservation Corps and more than 2 million young men were provided both employment and a challenging work to replant trees, create lakes and reservoirs, forest roads and fire-lines, and within a decade the country's forests were saved. There is still hope for India if she follows that example.

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HIMMAT
helped me to
find a job,"**

says a young accountant from Colombo, Sri Lanka.

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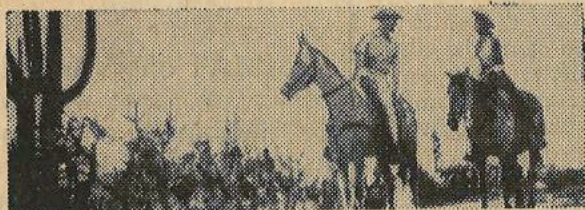
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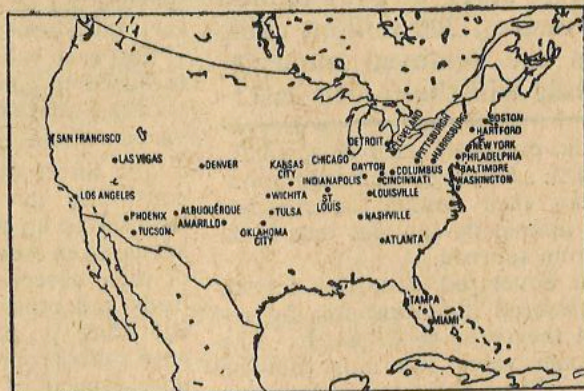


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Why the 30 per cent newsprint cut

by Bhojan Krishnan

THE thirty per cent cut in the allocation of newsprint with retrospective effect from April this year is, to be sure, a hard blow to many newspapers.

Why did not the State Trading Corporation, the sole agency authorised to handle the imports of newsprint, buy more of this commodity last year itself when the supply position was good and prices were cheaper in Canada?

Perhaps the Government had preferred, for political reasons, to depend more on the East European countries than on Canada. But the STC's version is that though it had entered into long-term contracts with newsprint exporters abroad, including Canada, they are not prepared to honour their commitments in full in the face of acute shortage of newsprint the world over; and the skyrocketing of newsprint prices following a rising demand and the devaluation of the US dollar.

The STC has been able to persuade newsprint exporters to supply about 117,700 tonnes of newsprint (as on July 20) to India this year. The country-wise figures of newsprint (in

tonnes) made available to India are: Bangladesh, 10,000; Canada, 60,000; Scandinavia, 13,000; the Soviet Union, 28,000; Czechoslovakia, 5,700; and Poland, 1,000.

Added to this are the indigenous production of 36,400 tonnes of newsprint and a small quantity set apart for small newspapers, which bring the total quantity of newsprint which will be available with the STC during the current year to 163,000 tonnes as against the annual requirement of 230,000 tonnes. This leaves a big gap of about 67,000 tonnes (roughly 30 per cent).

A high level delegation from the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society which visited Canada and the United States recently drew a blank except for an assurance from Canada for the supply of 4,000 to 5,000 tonnes. There is no indication that the situation will improve in the near future though the Government prefers to be optimistic.

The prevailing rates (per tonne) in the world markets as against the previous rates in brackets are: Scandinavia Rs 1,428 (Rs 1,316); one firm in Canada Rs 1,575 (Rs 1,219) and another firm Rs 1,594 (Rs 1,196); Bangladesh Rs 1,500 (Rs

1,357); the Soviet Union Rs 1,939 (Rs 1,356); and Poland Rs 1,876 (Rs 1,350).

The Soviet Union has increased its rates by about Rs 500 (the highest increase by any country). Committed to supply 50,000 tonnes, the Soviet Union is now prepared to part with only 28,000 tonnes. Bangladesh has increased the prices, too. However, Bangladesh produces only 40,000 tonnes of newsprint a year of which more than 15,000 tonnes are required for internal consumption.

The first and the only newsprint mill in India — the National Newsprint and Paper Mills (Nepa) at Napanagar (MP) went into production in 1955. It had an installed capacity of 30,000 tonnes a year which has since been increased to 75,000 tonnes, but its real production is in the region of only 38,000 tonnes a year.

The Planning Commission proposes to review the newsprint policy afresh. The present plans are to increase the production of newsprint by the end of the fifth plan to 160,000 tonnes.

The 80,000-tonne newsprint plant in the public sector being set up by

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

WE CONTINUE TO PENETRATE

INTO WORLD MARKETS

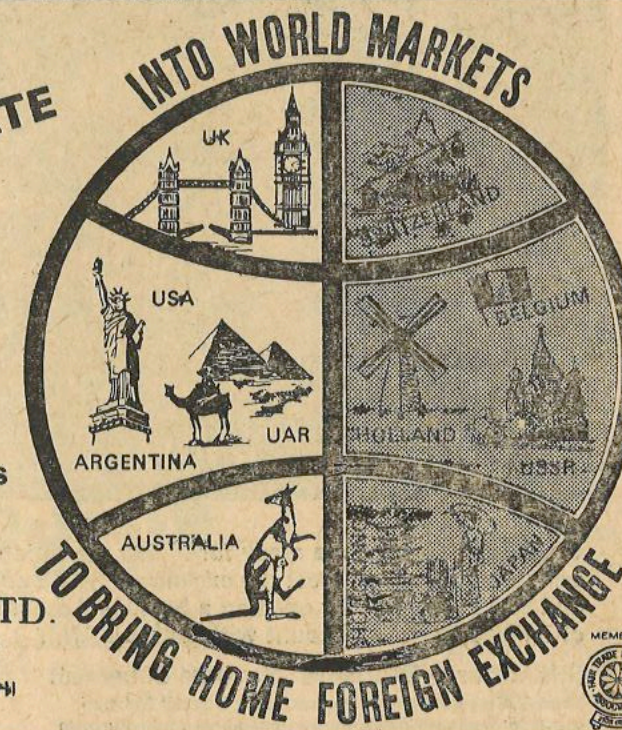


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the Hindustan Paper Corporation in Kerala is expected to go into production in 1977-78. Other proposals are of setting up plants in the private sector in Himachal Pradesh (Ballarpur P. S. Mills) based on pinewood, with a capacity of 60,000 tonnes and Uttar Pradesh (Suraj Industrial Packing Limited) based on eucalyptus, with a capacity of 60,000 tonnes.

So far private entrepreneurs have increasingly gone in for the manu-

facture of culture paper plus packaging material because the profit margin is higher than in newsprint. In contrast to only one newsprint mill in India, there are over 59 mills manufacturing paper and paper products.

There is no denying the fact that the Government of India has messed up things. But one pertinent question is whether the press, too, has not aided in this process. If only the newspapers had acted with fore-

sight and functioned within a self-imposed newsprint cut of say five to ten per cent, the crisis would not have been all that serious. In this the big ten newspaper chains have a greater responsibility, for 52.52 per cent of the total newsprint in India is consumed by them. Perhaps, if the newspapers join hands with the Government in the manufacture of newsprint, they may not continue to run into trouble with newsprint supplies. What seems to be lacking is a workable relationship between the Government and the press.

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Letters

INDIAN RAILWAYS

THE importance of the railways can never be underestimated in developing countries. In India, in particular, apart from providing the vital means of transportation of goods of daily necessity and for development purposes, the railways have played a vital role in unifying this vast land of great diversities.

To run the Indian Railways on efficient lines and improving the services provided, a thorough clean-up is necessary. Hold-ups and bottlenecks in the administration often create impossible situations.

Your London correspondent, Mr Gordon Wise's recent article (HIMMAT, July 27) "Fast trains will unite Europe" makes interesting reading in this regard. There is no question that Indian Railways should be run economically. But no railway should be allowed to close down on economic grounds alone. Successive closures of some very useful and vital narrow gauge railways in West Bengal in the past few years have brought immense suffering to the people.

If France and Italy regard their railways as a national service and do not expect them to pay their way any more than should street lighting or domestic water supply, I do not understand why in our country vital railway links should

be closed on the ground of being uneconomic.

SATYA BANERJI, Calcutta

Sir, What you say is true, but the way in which a section of the railway staff has held the country to ransom, dislocating transport of essential foodstuffs, does not exactly cover them with glory or with public sympathy.

—Ed

MOZAMBIQUE

I am grateful for the comment and despatch in your issue of July 20 on Portugal and Mozambique.

I have had a long family connection with Portugal and I realise there are many contrary forces at work, so that an impartial article like Mr Wise's contributes to the solution of problems.

NORAH KERR, London

HIMMAT IN BRITAIN

I would like to express my personal thanks and that of 25 others to whom we distribute "HIMMAT" weekly for your consistently high quality and range of comment on domestic and international affairs.

As a group of 25 Indian and British residents of the Midlands from all walks of life, we look forward to your magazine each week and appreciate your work. Your pictures and cartoons that go with the articles make them always interesting and stimulating.

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This was a Life

**ACHARYA NARENDRA
DEV**

1889-1956

HE was like a mason laying brick over brick to patiently build up the structure of a socialistic society.

The Congress Socialist Party, which he founded, along with others, in 1934, included such famous figures as Jayaprakash Narayan, Yusuf Meherally and Ram Manohar Lohia. It was more like a joint family than a political association and the Acharya was the cement that bound it together.

Though the Acharya was a renowned scholar of political philosophy and ancient Indian history, it was his affectionate manner that appealed to the heart of those coming in contact with him before his scholarship had its impact on their brain. As Mr N. G. Goray, veteran socialist, once said: "One handshake with him made you immediately forget the generation gap."

His personality had its source in his understanding of the teachings of Buddha and Gandhi and his diligent study of the revolutionary approach of Marxism to social problems. He had basic differences with the Communists, though, and did not hesitate to express them and act according to his convictions.

The Acharya was opposed to a regimented concept of life and was conscious of the importance of the individual. "Narrow individuality retards the growth of personality," he once said. "Individualism can attain its supreme development only in the highest common social effort."

The Acharya was also a distinguished educationist and was Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow and Banaras universities.

He was disillusioned by the way socialism was diluted in post-Independence India, as also by the corruption and hypocrisy of the rulers. He was the founder-member of the Praja Socialist Party — formed in 1952 after a break-up with the Congress — and also served as its Chairman.

Just before his death he said, "National independence has gained but democracy has receded all over Asia, Africa and Latin America. Caste, tribal, regional and linguistic pulls are playing havoc with the democratic institutions and the backward and stagnant economies of these countries."

We today would do well to heed the views of the "Father of democratic socialism in India".

S. C.



For a deeper change

by Rajmohan Gandhi

THE public mood is fickle.

On August 15 India observes a fresh freedom anniversary. We assume, and our fathers assumed, that sovereignty is as necessary as air for a country. But this was not the view of all Indians towards the end of the last century.

The Congress movement brought India freedom, but at its first gathering in Bombay Mr Subramania Aiyar of Madras had said: "By a merciful dispensation of providence, India, which was for centuries the victim of external aggression and plunder, of internal civil wars and general confusion, has been brought under the dominion of the great British power."

Indians of our time are impressed with Queen Elizabeth and admire her poise and naturalness. But listen to what "The Hindu" of Madras, which was to become one of the most powerful voices of nationalist India, said about Elizabeth's great great grandmother, Victoria, in 1897, when the golden jubilee of her reign was being celebrated. The editorial was entitled "God bless our gracious Empress". "After ages of division, turbulence, oppression, misery and degradation, Her Imperial Majesty shines forth as the glorious and beneficent star of united India, as the glorious and beneficent sun of righteousness and power and plenty...the bonds of superstition are beginning to slacken...the iron bands of traditional custom and blind sectional prejudices are daily giving way...In British India there are millions and millions who are proud to be subjects of Queen Victoria...everywhere Her Majesty's name is blessed and cheered to the echo by millions upon millions of voices of Hindus."

Curzon, who became Viceroy at the turn of the century, was contemptuous towards the Congress. He disliked its first gentle appeals for self-Government. "It is tottering to its fall," he remarked, "and one of my ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise."

The years that followed disobeyed the handsome Viceroy's wish.

Fickleness also works in the short run. In early 1972 the ruling Congress Party seemed in sure command. The Prime Minister appeared incapable of putting a foot wrong. United action looked possible. In less than 18 months, processions of protest have replaced pageants of triumph. The Congress is no longer certain of its hold over the public.

This is not to say that an election today would return a non-Congress Government at the Centre. The public not only does not see an alternative to Mrs Gandhi, it continues to appreciate her abilities. But she would be among the first to recognise her party's shrinking prestige.

Considerations of prestige and image, however, are not the important ones. What we have to ask ourselves is whether India's millions will be enabled to lead pleasanter and more comfortable lives. The image of Congress may brighten or fade with the passage of decades, or even of years and months; will the happiness of our people grow in a steady upward curve?

It is necessary, at an anniversary like this, to look again at the fundamentals. If first things are to be tackled first our moral standards would require attention. Is it possible to cheat in examinations, cheat over taxes, shirk work, tell lies about election expenditures, offer and accept bribes for licences and quotas and have healthy national growth at the same time?

Honesty, conscience, integrity and other concepts of the kind have not been banished from our conversation; they have merely been devalued.

There is a peculiar and irrational connection in some minds between integrity and a particular kind of

cloth or costume, between a social conscience and particular political ism. Wear the uniform, or utter the password, and you are admitted to the patriotic club. It is a first class tragedy.

From a preoccupation with externals we have to shift towards an appreciation of intrinsic worth. If the crisis is of character it is character that has to be restored. And there is no way in which this can happen other than by individual men and women making decisions for their own lives.

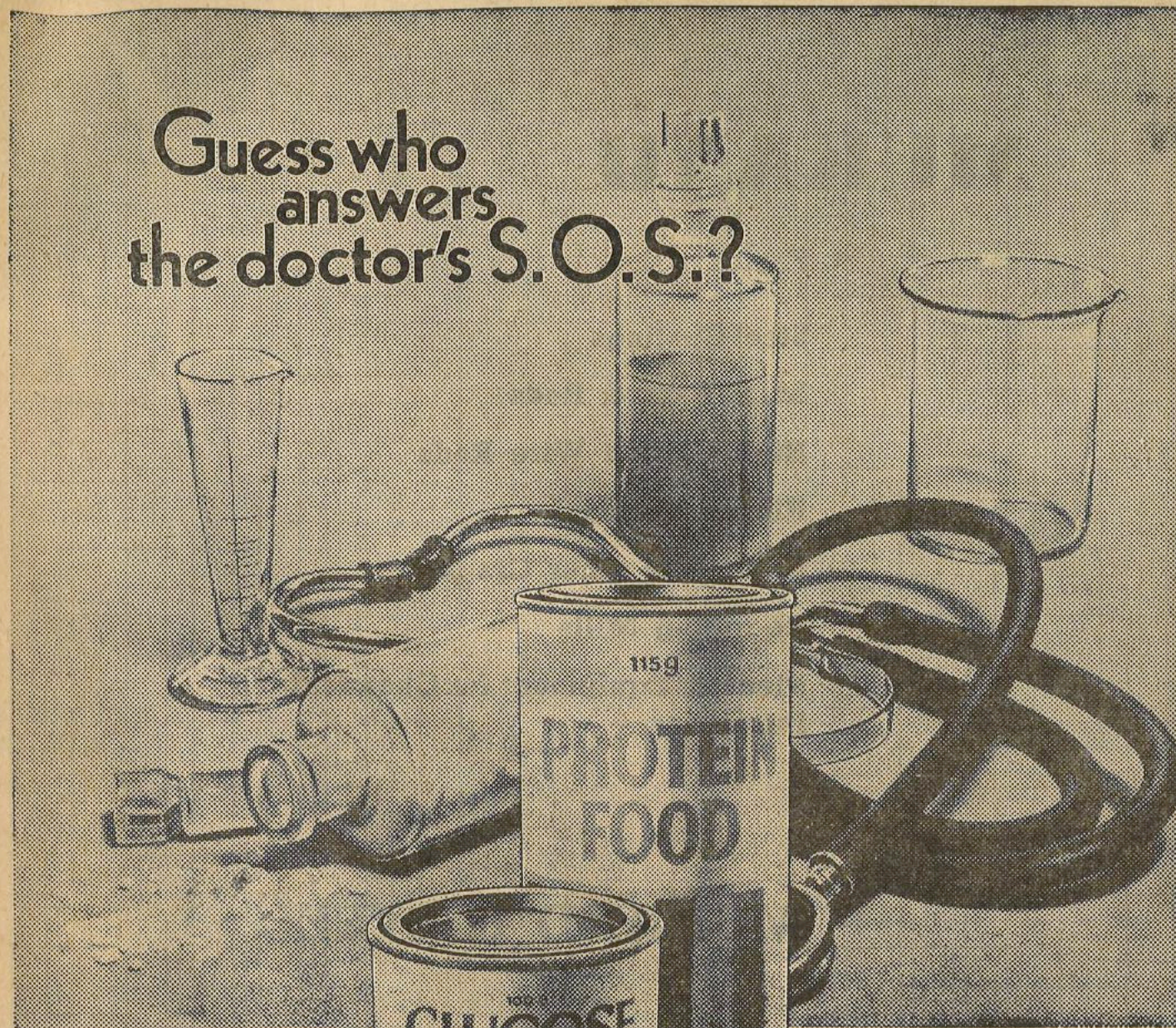
Perhaps there is room today for an army, a band, a team, the word is unimportant, of those who decide in this fashion and then work and do battle together. If there grows a large team of dedicated and disciplined men and if it moves as one it could command attention and fill a vacuum. Its very contrast with the prevailing contours would make it conspicuous.

Not power but responsibility would be the aim of a force of this kind. It would be an example, not an authority. It could be a leaven for raising our national life.

Men in power would have to modify and restrain themselves if such a team persisted with its efforts. Deep reflection is not required to see that the creation of such a team is vastly more important than the setting up of a new opposition party. One more group that seeks political power will neither attract the public's sympathy nor get, at an early date, an opportunity of remoulding the country. But a nation-wide force with a moral emphasis influencing all parties, including the ruling party, and affecting the administration, business, labour and education could achieve results.

Whose task is it to create such a force of men and women? To finance it? To keep it true to its principles? To help it make a mark on our times and on history?

Guess who answers the doctor's S.O.S.?



Here's who.

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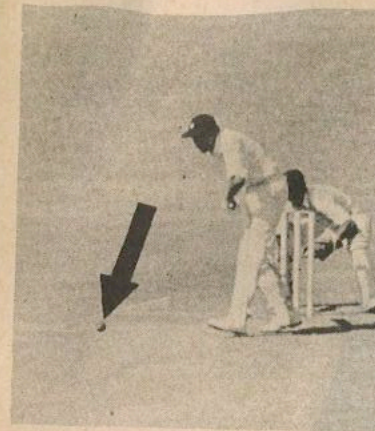
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WINNERS

First Prize of Rs 25 goes to N.S. Kannan, 126, V Cross (Upstairs), Cambridge Road Layout, Ulsoor, Bangalore-8. (1.8 mm from ball)

Second Prize (Eagle Vacuum Flask) goes to N.G. Sen, Hindustan Steel Ltd, International Bldg, 16, Maharshi Karve Road, Churchgate, Bombay-20. (2 mm from ball)

JACKPOT
Next week **Rs 200**

FIND THE BALL Competition No. 346



2nd Prize
EAGLE Vacuum Flask

- On the ball wins Jackpot
- Nearest entry wins Rs. 25

HOW TO PLAY

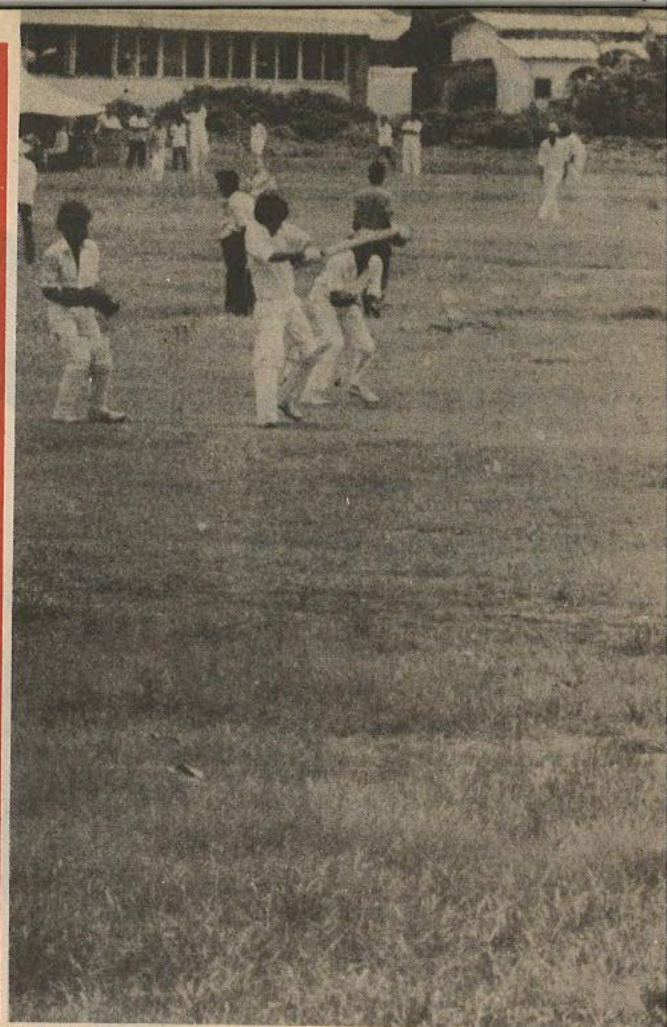
The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to mark a cross (not circle, arrow, etc) where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and coupon and send it to "Find the Ball" c/o HIMMAT, White House, 91 Walkeshwar Road, Bombay 6WB before noon on Thursday AUGUST 30.

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

*Each week half the prize of Rs. 50 will be awarded to the nearest entry. The other half will be carried forward to a "Jackpot" to be won by the first competitor who marks EXACTLY the centre of the ball. This Jackpot Prize will accumulate by Rs. 25 per week until it is won.

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

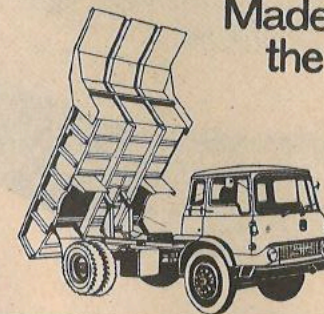
PLEASE CUT HERE



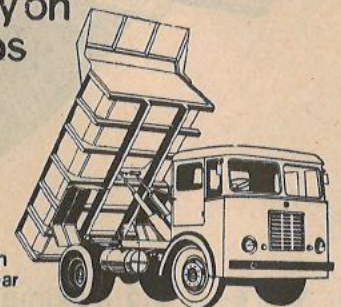
UT RANGE OF TIPPING GEARS

Made to work easy on
the toughest jobs

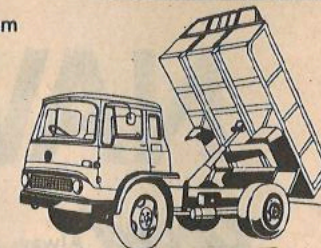
Telelink-50
Link Gear



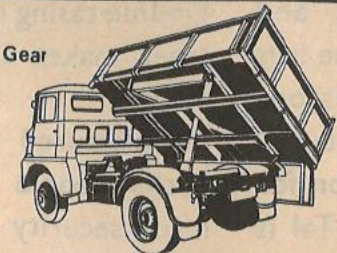
SL-54 Twin
Tipping Gear



SL-7 Single Ram
Tipping Gear



3-Way
Tipping Gear



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- 4 SIZES**
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 50 mm — 6 levers
 65 mm — 7 levers
 85 mm — 8 levers

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