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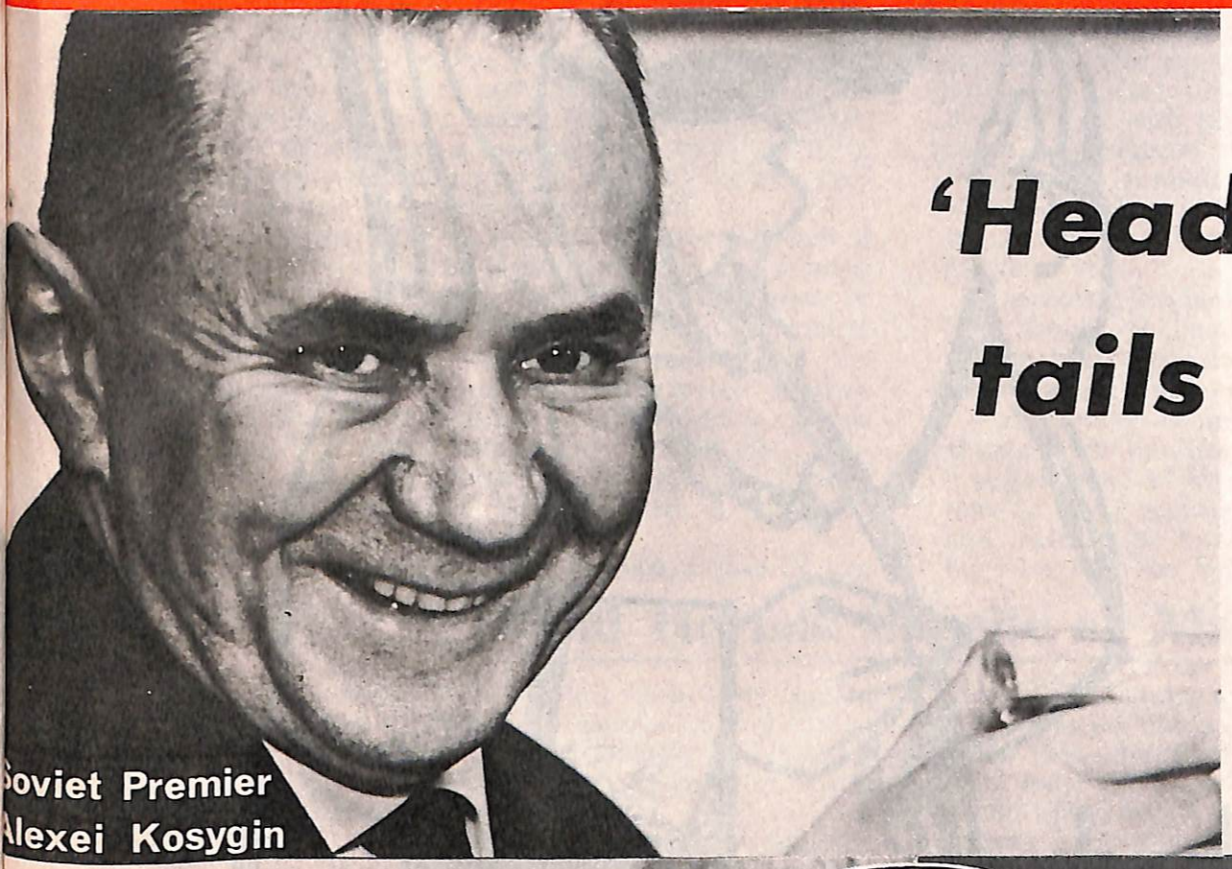
# HIMMAT

WEEKLY 30p.

VOL 4 NO 26

ASIA'S VOICE

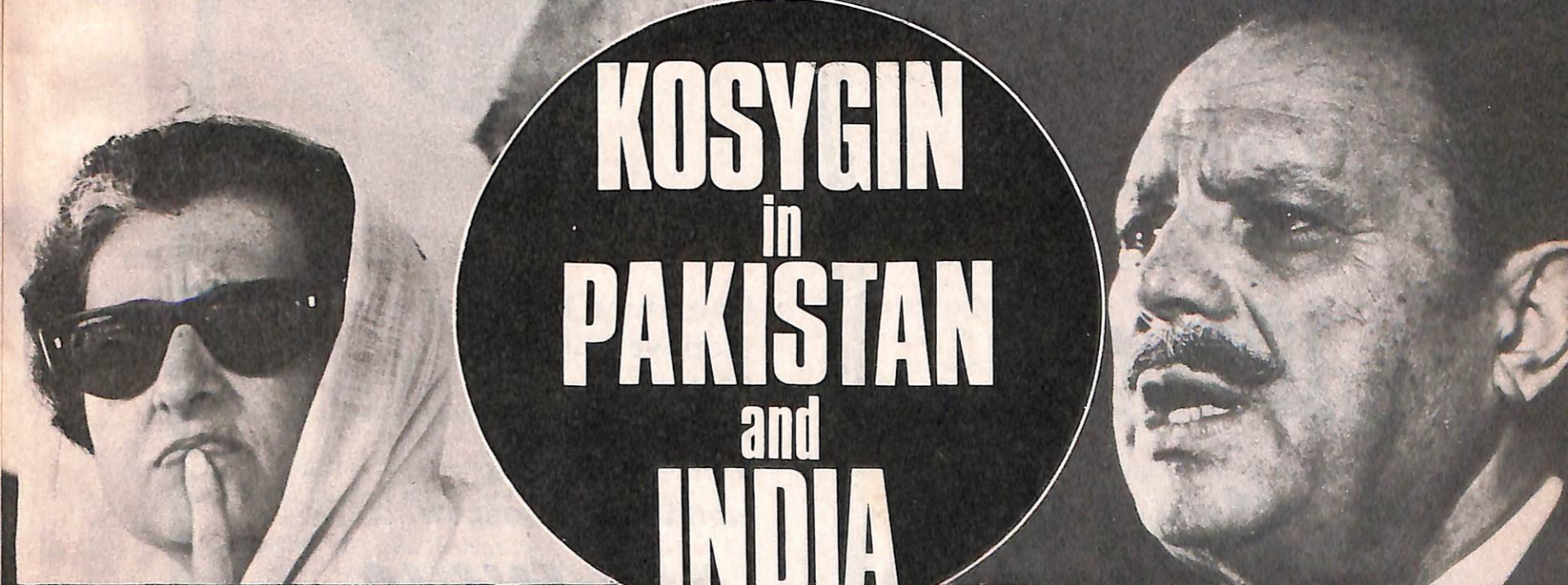
FRIDAY APRIL 26 1968



Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin

**'Heads I win,  
tails you lose'**

p.15



Indian Premier Indira Gandhi

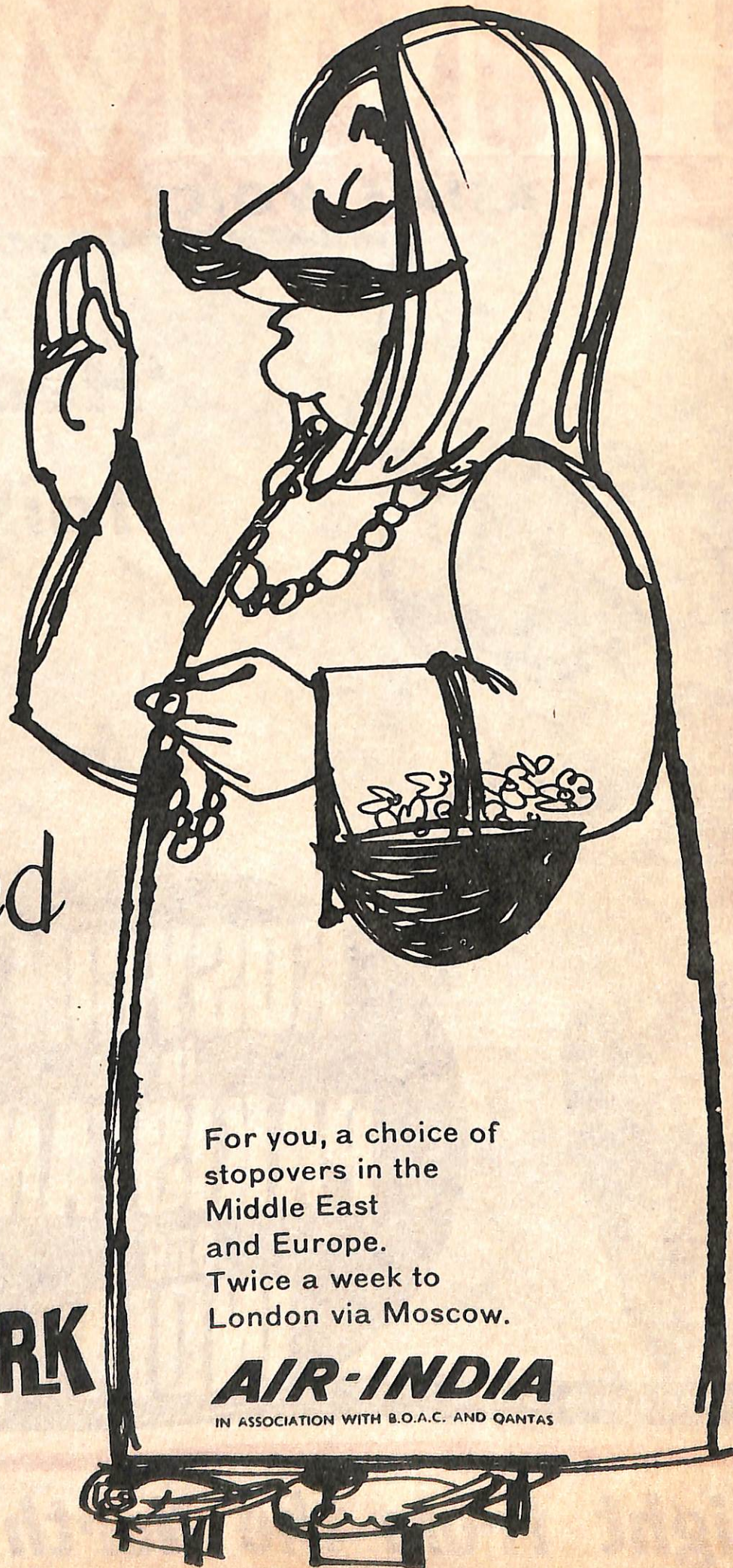
Pakistan President Ayub Khan

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## Editorials

### Ugly face of violence

WHILE we bemoan the brutal death of Martin Luther King, it is worth considering what happens in our own land.

Last month news leaked out from a forgotten village in Andhra that a young Harijan, charged with stealing slippers, was caught, beaten and finally tied to a stake and set on fire by higher-caste Hindus. And while the victim cried out in pain, others screamed with delight. Lest anyone be shocked, a newspaper reports that there are a thousand murders a year in Andhra's villages and in most cases the culprits are never found.

There is another face to cruelty. Nayantara Sehgal, a niece of the late Jawaharlal Nehru, writes in *The Sunday Standard*, "Now we have a fascist element growing in our midst through fanatic Hindu organisations. Leaflets distributed recently in Allahabad called upon the Hindus in the 'sacred city of Prayag' not to rest till they had driven out every Muslim, and sanctioned various ghastly acts that would ensure this result." She compares these tactics to those of the Muslim League which launched their direct action in 1946 in undivided India.

The recent incidents are not so much a case of two

communities settling their scores in a mood of uncontrolled frenzy. As *The Hindustan Times* notes, "Much of the communal violence today would seem to be far more calculated."

Why is there a rash of these incidents? With political instability, the machinery of law and order has been corroded. Also, as the bonds that bind India grow weaker, men with parochial, divisive interests raise their hands. Occasional statements by some of our leaders condemning communalism crack no ice because those who make these statements are often associated with sectarian interests themselves — and the people are well aware of it.

If political leaders do not give our people the lead they should or inspire them with great aims for this nation, the responsibility on others not so fortunately placed is even greater.

Condemning communalism is one thing, trying to change communalists is another. Some of them do have a certain kind of love for their country however narrow may be their expression. If we can get them to stretch and include the family of man, they may find a new-born love for the family of India.

### Will Ho talk in spite of Mao?

NEXT TO MARX, possibly no one has been more quoted (and misquoted) in favour of one particular Communist faction than Lenin. President Ho Chi Minh's Vietnamese Workers' Party has now invoked Lenin's name in favour of a certain ideological "independence".

In an editorial on Lenin's 98th birth anniversary on April 9, the Party's official newspaper *Nhan Dan* strongly advocated the formulation of ideological policies independent of either Moscow or Peking.

Lenin, the editorial claimed, had urged Communists in the East "to bring into full play their independence and creativeness in solving problems which had not yet occurred in the Communist movement". Fifty years ago Lenin could be forgiven for not anticipating fully what problems of disunity would emerge among his heirs. *Nhan Dan* went on to say that the reality of the Vietnam revolution has "made us see how correct

Lenin's prediction is".

Perhaps no one appreciates the "realities" of Vietnam more than the Party's First Secretary, Mr Le Duan, who believes (unlike his Indian comrades) that "a Communist Party must firmly preserve its independence".

As talks about where to talk drag on between Hanoi and Washington it is easy to overlook the surprising fact that Hanoi wants to talk at all. In a situation where neither side can afford to give the impression of yielding ground, such shadow-play is to be expected.

It is interesting, however, to speculate on whether this blunt outburst from Hanoi represents a protest against Peking's pressure on Ho not to talk with Johnson. For whatever Lenin may have said about "ideological independence" Chairman Mao does not lightly tolerate it among his Asian satellites.

### Mr Chavan heeds the people

THE UNION Home Minister is to be commended strongly for his decision to stay the deportation order standing against Father Vincent Ferrer (see HIMMAT, April 19).

The original decision to terminate the Spanish social worker's residence permit arose from "adverse reports" made to the Government on his activities. But Mr Chavan reported to the Lok Sabha on Monday that in view of further representations on Father Ferrer's behalf a two-month extension would be granted. He assured the House that the case would be reviewed.

This reprieve comes after what must have been the most outspoken public reaction ever against such an order. Most extraordinary of all has been the obvious supra-communal nature of the support lent to Father

Ferrer. In public rallies and silent marches, Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and others have joined with Christians protesting Father Ferrer's innocence and praising his contribution to the social and economic welfare of the farming district around Manmad in Maharashtra where for the last 10 years he has been working.

As was pointed out so eloquently by speakers at a large rally at Chowpatty Sands on Sunday, it is not Father Ferrer who needs to be expelled but the poverty and misery which his efforts have been directed against.

With political pressures, subtle and not so subtle, upon it, the Government has done well to stay its hand and take another look at the case. In so doing, it has repaired unsightly cracks which were appearing in India's reputation for non-sectarian hospitality.

## A record

JAPAN'S Mitsubishi Heavy Industries launched the world's largest ship last month, a 276,000-ton tanker. It rolled into the sea less than five months after construction work on it had begun. The launching was delayed by one day — because of bad weather.

## Pipes and powder

NEW ZEALAND has just purchased \$1.5 million worth of steel pipes from India despite several bids for the order from Australia and Japan. India, it is learnt, will use the exchange gained to purchase large quantities of dried milk powder from New Zealand. New Zealand's agricultural economy is severely threatened by the European Common Market. The deal is part of an attempt by that country to find new markets

for its agricultural products in Asia. We hope this will be the first of many such agreements whereby India finds as well an expanding market for her industrial goods.

## Uprooted and enriched

THE revolution in agriculture brought on by the new seeds and the use of fertiliser shows signs of altering the Indian farmer's pattern of life as well as his standard of living. It used to be said that the farmer would sacrifice anything before giving up property handed down to him by his father and his father's father. But in the last few months some 100,000 farmers from the Punjab are said to have applied for lands being opened up by the irrigation schemes of the Rajasthan canal. The vastly-increased harvests in Punjab have made land prices soar. These farmers are selling land at a high price there and buying it cheaply in Rajasthan. It seems the Indian farmer is becoming an entrepreneur and agriculture for him is ceasing to be a "living" and becoming a business.

## Tall story

THE Russian newspaper *Izvestia*, reporting on charges against one Canadian and five American military attaches of "spying at a military base", said that the Canadian served as an observation tower as his "enviable height" enabled him to look over the tops of walls to correct the observations of his American colleagues. The Americans, *Izvestia* charged, who are of shorter stature, had to be content with peering through cracks.

## An overriding curse

Two newspaper editors last week offered their readers a shrewd assessment of the national scene. Shamlal, writing in *The Times of India*, says that India now possesses "a moral climate where petty personal ambitions mean more than any policy and in which every group is prepared to compromise on principle for the sake of temporary gain".

"It is irrelevant," he writes, "to ask whether it is a failure of persons or of institutions. Both have failed. For institutions are what men make of them."

Frank Moraes, Chief Editor of

Admiration: our polite recognition of another man's resemblance to ourselves.

AMBROSE BIERCE, 1842-1914

*The Indian Express*, states that the "overriding curse" of Indian politics "has invariably been an appeal to the narrowest of sectarian loyalties... Britain, it is well to remember, conquered India with Indian help," he continues. "The lesson is that only when personal and parochial interests are subordinated to the overriding national interest, will this country's independence be firm and consolidated... The self-seekers have had their long weekend. It is for the common people of India to really care for India to ensure that these individuals do not convert their long weekend into the country's lost weekend."

## Palaces everywhere

It is almost as uncomfortable to be a friend of China as it is to be an opponent. North Korea has enjoyed (if that is the word) close relations with both China and the Soviet Union. Lately she has rather favoured the latter. This may be the reason for a furious attack on North Korean Premier Kim II Sung as reported recently by *Indian Express* correspondent B. K. Tiwari.

*Wenco*, a Canton newspaper, in an editorial described the North Korean Premier as an "Emperor". It said, "Kim II Sung is an out-and-out counter-revisionist of the Korean revisionist clique as well as a millionaire, an aristocrat and a leading bourgeoisie. He has palaces everywhere in Korea."

**Birbal**

## STILL GOING UP

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## The good Uncle Alexei

**NEW DELHI** Why did Prime Minister Kosygin decide to make a sudden visit to New Delhi at the end of his history-making tour of Pakistan? Was it in response to Mrs Gandhi's request made some days ago for the purpose of giving her a report of what took place between President Ayub Khan and him or as a reassuring gesture to the Indian people that although he is keen on becoming better friends with Pakistan he has no intention of forgetting tried and true friends like India?

They say that Mr Kosygin came here with one purpose — to tell Mrs Gandhi that if she is serious about a settlement with Pakistan on the major issues of dispute between the two nations she should work fast. Apparently the Russian leader got the impression after watching Mr Ayub at close quarters that he may not continue as head of state long and it was advisable to deal with him while this was possible, instead of with a successor who might not prove as accommodating as Mr Ayub.

Mr Kosygin is believed to have made it clear to Mr Ayub that he will not give arms to Pakistan, but at the same time he has amply made up for this rebuff by promising the Pakistanis much larger ladlings of economic aid than they have been getting so far. This, and the promise of increased trade, should give a powerful upward thrust to the booming Pakistani economy.

## What Kosygin wants

But, according to these observers, there is no doubt Mr Kosygin is deadly earnest when he says the prospects are bright for improving relations between India and Pakistan, and although he has denied that he has suggested that Mrs Gandhi and Mr Ayub sit down and talk things over that is exactly what he expects them to do.

These observers say they will not be surprised if the Russians have made it clear that their continued supply of arms to India depends on a speedy settlement of the outstanding disputes in the Tashkent spirit. Mr Kosygin would like to do as much as he can to please Mr Ayub without at the same time causing offence to India. He wants to be equally friendly with New Delhi and Islamabad, but he cannot do this unless India and Pakistan shed their enmity.

The Russian leader's visit was the logical sequel to his recent visits to Turkey and Iran, and there is no

doubt he is genuinely anxious to be on as good terms as possible with these three countries, which have a crucial role to play in connection with Russian strategic ambitions in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

The historic importance of Mr Kosygin's visit to Pakistan is that it marks the end of the special relationship which New Delhi has been striving to establish with Moscow. From now on India and Pakistan are equal in Soviet eyes, and to deserve Moscow goodwill they must do what Moscow expects them to do.

Mr Kosygin has installed himself permanently in the role of good uncle of these two nations, and he is

pledged to see that they behave well towards each other. If they do so, they will be adequately rewarded. Conversely, if they misbehave, they will surely be given a taste of uncle's displeasure.

## Russia an Asian power

Mr Kosygin's parleys in Pakistan and the formal recognition of that country as worthy of Russian esteem is the third decisive step in the Soviet policy of establishing itself as the leading Asian power. The preceding steps were the intervention to bring about the Tashkent agreement in 1966 and the establishment of its naval presence in the Mediterranean during the war between Israel and the Arabs last year. From the Middle East to South Asia is only one jump, and it will not be long before the Soviet Navy will be regularly established in the surrounding waters.

## on your toes

### THE RUN ON KUTCH

THEY WERE a brave lot, those hardy territorials who marched with the national flag 'neath the blazing sun towards the sandy wastes of Kutch last Sunday. With tricolour rosettes pinned to their sweat-soaked khadi kurtas and wearing a variety of headgear (white sports hats, saffron-coloured caps and knotted handkerchiefs), the first batch of 175 satyagrahis trod their stony way towards the great Rann to demonstrate against the Indian Government's decision to comply with the award of the International Kutch Tribunal. This said that some 350 square miles of the 3000-and-odd square miles of swamp and desert should go to Pakistan.

Always looking for some popular cause to champion, the SSP, PSP, Jan Sangh and others seized upon the plan to obstruct the efforts of the joint Indo-Pakistan demarcation team now at work in the Rann of Kutch.

No doubt the satyagrahis imagined that public emotion would be stirred and the millions would march with them. (Perhaps they were there in spirit, but they weren't there on foot.) But what a dismal jingo it became.

The area was declared prohibited by

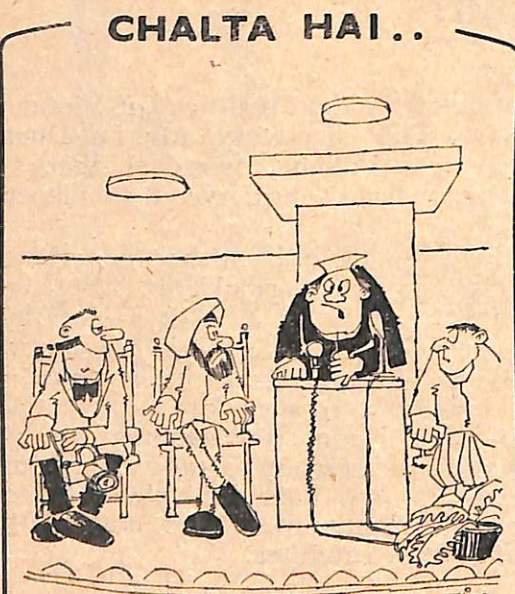
the District Collector. And when the thirsty marchers (some of them had even asked the Prime Minister to provide water wagons and transport for their anti-Government trek) reached the barrier, the police very nicely but firmly put them all under arrest. Then — with a smile no doubt — they carted them off in different directions, depositing them at isolated places.

Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee, MP, President of the Jan Sangh, immediately telegraphed the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. He complained that he and four other MPs were arrested without warrant and that their being stranded 80 miles away constituted a "gross breach of parliamentary privilege".

The Action Committee of the Anti-Kutch Surrender Samiti protested later that if the Government reduced their arrests to a "farce" it would have to adopt "other methods of Satyagraha".

Perhaps if they waited a few months — when the monsoon will sweep the Arabian Sea in to flood all but a few isolated hillocks in the Rann — another attempt might take the form of a flotilla of rowboats in which Messrs Vajpayee, Nath Pai, Madhu Limaye, Raj Narain and Hem Barua paddle towards the forbidden land — or seabottom.

*Freebooter*



"We should invite more foreign guests and dignitaries, so we get the chance more often to clean our buildings, remove our garbage, etc."

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BIG SHOT

# VERDICT!

## This week HIMMAT...

**UNDERLINES** Home Minister Chavan's attack on the trend towards "a permissive society" where men are robbed of the ability to distinguish between right and wrong.

**IS STRUCK** by the conflict between Soviet Premier Kosygin's praise for capitalist industrial efficiency expressed in a recent speech and Party Chief Brezhnev's immediate contradiction that the drive for technological advance must in no way undermine Party authority.

**OBSERVES** that at least 26 of the 32 defectors in the last State Assembly in Haryana are recontesting their seats on non-Congress tickets in the State's mid-term elections in the face of the Congress Party's decision not to grant any tickets to defectors.

**DOFFS ITS CAP** to the Planning Commission for aiming to cut dependence on foreign aid by 50 per cent in 1973 and proposing in the Fourth Plan to remove licencing regulations from all industrial units that can be put up without imported equipment and know-how.

**PREDICTS** that the Bill to raise the permissible age of marriage to 20 for women and 25 for men will be as unenforceable as an earlier Bill that called for compulsory sterilisation of couples with over three children.

**DEPLORES** the evidence of police partiality in the communal disturbances in Allahabad and **DEMANDS** that the Central Government back up its slogans against communalism with stringent action wherever evidence shows that malpractices have taken place.

**NOTES** President Ayub Khan's statement at a banquet honouring Premier Kosygin that "as students of history we learnt that when nations become too strong, too confident, too arrogant they destroy peace" and **WONDERS** whether he was referring to his guests or somebody else.

## Race—"a contemptible philosophy"

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

**LONDON** A strong attack on Commonwealth immigration made by the Conservative Party spokesman on Defence, Mr Enoch Powell, was described at an MRA conference here as "a poisonous injection of a contemptible philosophy".

Meanwhile, Conservative Party leader Mr Edward Heath described the speech as "racialist in tone..." He added, "The Conservative Party is utterly opposed to racialism or discrimination of a racial or religious kind." He emphasised that while immigration must be stringently limited everyone already in the country "must be treated as equal before the law".

Mr Powell, since dismissed from his Party post for the speech, told a Birmingham audience last Saturday that "British people have been made strangers in their own country by the inflow of immigrants".

"We must be mad, literally mad, as a nation to be permitting the annual inflow of some 50,000 dependants. It is like watching a nation busily heaping up its own funeral pyre."

Mr Powell made his remarks in the

course of an attack on the Labour Party Bill proposing to make race discrimination in housing and employment an offence.

Mr Hugh Elliott, a former colonial administrator in Nigeria, told the MRA Conference that Powell's speech was an example of black power white power confrontation. "I want to apologise here today to every member of immigrant communities in Britain for this stuff. Especially I want to apologise for the arrogant assumption which takes it for granted that every coloured man is a problem."

Charles Ong, welfare officer in a nationalised industry and a Chinese, said that there must be a change on both sides, in the host community and among the immigrants. "There are ugly forces which keep saying, 'We must hate what is wrong' but never say, 'We must love what is right.'"

Chairman of the MRA Conference was former West Indies cricketer Conrad Hunte who said that Britain now had a chance to create a mixed society which the whole world would want to copy.

### Best World Press

#### Hanoi - Washington talks

The recent diplomatic developments concerning the Vietnam conflict have been received for the most part with anxiety in those capitals which outside of Saigon have engaged their forces alongside the United States.

They have asked to be included in the conversations. On this point Washington remains very firm: even the sending of observers by these countries has been ruled out according to a State Department spokesman. But it remains to be seen if, in case talks with the North begin to take shape, Washington could contain reactions in which deception, fear and rancour are mixed.

LE MONDE, Paris

The United States has been advocating that should Hanoi agree to peace talks, the United States would send its representatives anywhere within 24 hours. If it remains so nervous about the problem of the site for the talks, it will invite criticism that it is not acting like a big power.

MAINICHI, Tokyo

#### The American crisis

The events of recent weeks... show that free men and free institutions can still respond to crisis in effective and unorthodox ways. A President renouncing to regain his powers of leadership, a Congress rising above passion and bigotry to enact a major civil rights law and a nation mourning together and reaffirming its common ideals — each of these is a scene of health and hope.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

America is a hard nation to explain... It believes in the "king size" and the "quick sell". It is computerised to the last fact, and its libraries are stacked with knowledge. It is buoyant and its people generous. Yet it does not yet understand the human heart.

Time is running out for America. If the nation is to prosper into the greatness it deserves, Americans will need to understand the human condition of men at home and abroad a little more... The effectiveness of the nation's computers is not challenged. What is to be hoped is that they can teach the American people tolerance of themselves — and others.

That way lies greatness.

HONG KONG STANDARD

HIMMAT, April 26, 1968

## How to check defections

BY PROF. BALRAJ MADHOK, MP

DEFECTIONS are not something unheard of or unthinkable in a multi-party Parliamentary Democracy.

Generally speaking there are two kinds of defections:

(a) Defections based on genuine and conscientious ideological differences or considerations of public interest like those which impelled Sir Robert Peel to defect from his

Since the general elections last year 216 legislators have crossed the floor in various state assemblies. About half have been awarded the prize of ministership. The defections have resulted in such instability that President's rule has had to be imposed in five states.

An all-party committee on defections has been formed by the Union Government to propose ways to prevent defections. A distinctive contribution has come from Professor Balraj Madhok, MP. In a note to the committee, Professor Madhok says there should be no blanket ban on floor-crossing but a moral climate that will make it fruitless.

A professor of history, Mr Madhok was President of the Jan Sangh.

party or made the late Dr S. P. Mookerji to resign from Hindu Mahasabha. They are inherent in a system which draws sustenance from freedom of thought, belief and conscience. Such defections cannot be ruled out in any democratic set-up.

(b) Defections prompted by narrow consideration of personal or factional gain and encouraged by appeal to baser instincts of man. It is defections of this kind which have created a feeling of revulsion against them in all right thinking people in the country. There is imperative need of putting a check on them if people's faith in democracy, democratic institutions, political parties and politicians is to be restored and maintained.

#### Discover causes

But in order to find an effective solution to the problem posed by this kind of defections one must be clear about the cause and circumstances leading to them.

The first, and in a way the most important of them, is the absence of ideologically coherent and well-knit

national political parties. The Congress, which was the sole ruling party up to 1967 is, strictly speaking, not a political party. It is a continuation of the broad movement built by countless patriots to wrest freedom from the foreign hands. As such it is a conglomeration of individuals and groups with different socio-economic outlook and approach. Even on basic questions of concept of Indian nationalism and requirements of Indian unity and security it has different and distinct streams of thought and groups based on them which are kept together by one supreme consideration of preserving and sharing power. So long as Congress provided the only road to power all such disparate elements willy nilly kept together. That situation changed after 1967 when new roads to power were opened. Therefore individuals and groups in the Congress who never had any ideological bond with the ideology of its dominant section began to defect from it without any qualms of conscience.

The same is true, more or less, of many of the other parties. Some of them are just splinter groups of the Congress and therefore defections from them to Congress or vice versa do not really mean a fundamental change of loyalties or ideology.

The Jan Sangh and the Communist Parties are the only really distinct parties in the country. But the ideological understanding of all their legislators is not of the same order and they have not remained totally unaffected by the general scramble for power in the country.

Democracy is run on conventions rather than the letter of the law and constitution. The Congress Party had the rare opportunity to set the right conventions without any fear of losing power. But it failed to do so in pre-1967 years. Even after 1967 elections it set the ball of defections rolling in Rajasthan. This absence of right conventions has also contributed a good deal to unprincipled defections.

The general fall in values and lack of idealism resulting from too much stress on the material side of life has affected politicians and legislators no less than the common people.

There is no provision in the Indian Constitution for some minimum



Prof. Balraj Madhok

qualifications for intending candidates. Many of them are as ignorant as their electorate or even worse. Therefore they cannot be expected to be very much conscious of democratic niceties and codes of behaviour.

The Indian electorate, though it is much more awakened now than ever before, still continues to be indifferent to political behaviour of its representatives. The wide areas of the constituencies and vastness of the electorate in each constituency also contributes to the growth of this general indifference of the electorate, particularly after the elections are over.

Indian society is too much status conscious. Ministerial office gives both status and power. The emoluments and other facilities given to

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

### SO THEY SAY

*You cannot have the same kind of relationship with Nagaland as you have with Uttar Pradesh.*

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

*I thought it might be refreshing to spend a few days with the animals in the Kruger National Park.*

— AVERY BRUNDAGE, Olympic Committee President, on reason for visit to South Africa

*The gulf (between India and Israel) is not widening. It is where it is.*

MRS INDIRA GANDHI

*I saved Bihar. I sent as much food as was needed.*

Food Minister JAGJIVAN RAM

Ministers and the wide gap between the position of Ministers and ordinary

legislators has also contributed to defections to gain ministerial position.

Steps will have to be taken to remove these causes if a lasting and

effective remedy to the malady of defections is to be found. Broadly speaking steps on the following lines need to be taken:

1. Evolution of ideologically coherent and well-knit national political parties. This demands disintegration of the Congress Party as it is today and regrouping of nationalist and democratic political groups and parties into two major parties with left and right orientation on socio-economic matters with the Communist party or parties as the inevitable third. The regional parties like the DMK will have to align themselves with one or the other national party on national questions. This is an essential pre-requisite to provide stability to our political system and check defections. The present fragmentation of Indian political life may prove a prelude to this ultimate consummation.

2. Proper conventions and moral climate must be created against defections. Ways and means to do so can be worked out through a consensus of political parties.

3. The size of Cabinets should be fixed and the gulf between the Ministers and legislature should be cut down. The strength of no Cabinet should exceed 10 per cent of the total strength of the legislature.

4. Independents and splinter groups should be eliminated. The necessary steps to that end should be worked out.

**Blanket ban unwise**

I am opposed to putting a blanket ban on change of parties by legislation. That would encourage dictatorial trends within the parties and in the long run may prove to be a remedy worse than the disease. Furthermore it is doubtful whether such a legal ban is feasible under our Constitution.

**FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS**

**Pakistanis seek better links with India**

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

**KARACHI** Some sections of the Western press describe Pakistan as a nation which has almost become a Chinese satellite. Those coming from India expect to see a country armed to the teeth, ready to pounce upon its neighbour. Neither of these pictures is true.

Pakistan is a nation very conscious of her independent position. The people, whatever they might think of the Government, are proud to be Pakistanis. "I love Pakistan more than my father and mother," a student with leftist views said to me.

One's first superficial impression is of the variety of cars and the impressive growth of building. The variety of cars stems from the Government's past policy of allowing firms to assemble vehicles or, like Toyota, to import several thousand Japanese cars — now parked near Karachi beach until enough buyers appear to acquire them. The import of new cars is now stopped.

**Intense business activity**

Several new townships that have come up around Karachi are a sign of the intense business activity of this city. The economic life of Pakistan is still concentrated in Karachi. The embassies and most Government offices have moved to Islamabad, near Rawalpindi, but there is no sign that this move has slowed down the economic and

**cultural life of the former capital.**

The main preoccupation of people is the economic situation. These have been difficult years, but the general feeling is that things are starting to improve. There is a genuine hope and expectancy — based on considerable statistical evidence — that within a few years Pakistan could be self-sufficient in food. President Ayub Khan has even said that by 1970 this should become possible.

**Less foreign aid**

General Musa, Governor of West Pakistan, is also stressing the need to make development plans as independent as possible of foreign aid. Obviously, huge projects like the Tarbela Dam, which will be built by a French-Italian consortium, will necessitate foreign aid, and so will the needs of defence.

Leading Pakistanis are concerned about the "brain drain" to Britain and the United States. Many Pakistani scientists, engineers and physicians are not willing to return home, and more who do return find it very difficult to get jobs which correspond to the training which they have received abroad.

**Questing youth**

As in most countries, the younger generation is full of questions. Many youth ask how their Muslim faith can be made more relevant to modern society. Others are engaged in political discussions. When Central Ministers warn that the Pakistani youth should beware of "modern trends towards a 'permissive society' which are contrary to Pakistan's national ideology", one can measure the importance the Government lends to developments with the younger generation.

But the main subject, in press and private conversations, remains what

**The week in ASIA**

**SAIGON** — 33 members of South Vietnam's 60-seat Senate demanded the resignation of the 5-month-old Cabinet of Premier Nguyen Van Loc. Senator Pham Nam Sach who spoke for the 33 said a new team was needed to win the backing of the people and defeat the Communists.

**KATHMANDU** — Dr Tulsi Giri, former Chairman of Nepal's Council of Ministers, was arrested at Janakpur on charges of anti-national activities.

**KARACHI** — The Soviet Union signed an agreement with Pakistan to study the technical aspects of a plan to build a nuclear power plant in East Pakistan.

**TEHERAN** — The Soviet Union has indicated it would grant Iran \$300 million of credits to aid industrial development following the visit of Premier Alexei Kosygin.

**COLOMBO** — The Ceylon Government decided to abolish altogether the existing restrictions on foreign travel to end the black-marketing in foreign currency.

**TOKYO** — The Japanese Communist Party has penetrated the communications industry and other key sectors of business and Government, according to Mr Kyosuke Hirotsu, an official of the Public Security Investigations.

**CAIRO** — President Nasser called on all Arabs to prepare themselves for a "long, bloody and decisive" battle with Israel.

**HANOI** — The North Vietnamese Cabinet was expanded to include Mr Xuan Thuy, Secretary of the Vietnam Workers' Party Central Committee.

**SINGAPORE** — The new 11-man Cabinet headed by Premier Lee Kuan Yew was sworn in after the general election. The People's Action Party secured all 58 seats in the Parliament.

**SAIGON** — The Viet Cong has increased their hold on 1.06 million people in South Vietnam as a result of the Tet offensive, according to Mr R. Komer, American Deputy Ambassador. Sixty-one per cent of South Vietnam's 17.2 million inhabitants lived in relative security, according to surveys at the end of March.

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"I've always held the theory that life has an opening for me..."

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

is and what should be Pakistan's attitude to India. All that is going on in India is reported and commented upon widely. On two subjects the whole of the Pakistani press is especially alert — on Indian defence acquisitions in foreign countries and news of any communal troubles in India. These incidents touch off bitter reactions and stormy editorials. Feelings run high and deputations are assembled to visit the Indian High Commission or members of the Central Government. But in spite of all this, most Pakis-

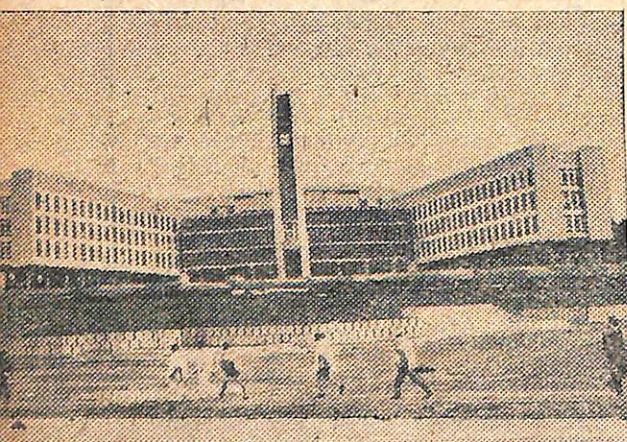
## Emperor looks forward to Indian visit

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

**ADDIS ABABA** Ethiopia, custodian of 3000 years of history, is the bridge between Africa and the Arab World, between the great Christian and Muslim religions, between Africa's ancient traditions and her present aspirations. Little wonder that her capital, Addis Ababa, should have become the home and headquarters of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

Eminently qualified to serve as a focal point in the building of the new Africa, this ancient land of freedom is proud to have stood with India and others in the defence of Asia's freedom 17 years ago in Korea.

His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie, who arrives in India on April 28 on a tour of Asian countries, has reigned as Regent and



Modern building in ancient Addis

Monarch for 52 years. He has nursed his nation through hard and cruel times, from a feudal age of warlords to the front rank of modern nationhood.

This expansion and modernisation imposes severe strains here, as elsewhere, on the human mind and spirit. The youth especially are in an explosive mood. The University of Addis Ababa, among many on other continents, has this month seen fierce

tanis seem to feel the need of better relations between their country and India. The senior leadership are conscious that there is a growing ignorance inside Pakistan about the real facts of Indian political and social life. They also feel that it is up to their generation, which still know the leadership of India, to put Indo-Pakistani relations on a new level. Statements by Indian leaders get widely reported. Only last month, Dawn's headline was "INDIRA WANTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN". But everybody waits for some extraordinary event or person to make a real dialogue possible.

## Nasser's blue-print for Egypt

FROM HARRY ALMOND

**BEIRUT** ON May 2, citizens of the UAR vote to register their approval of what President Nasser recently called "a new plan of action to rebuild Egypt as a modern science-based state". The blue-print is generally considered to be a response to last month's student and workers' demonstrations.

The proposed changes are to find the right personnel for top jobs in government, industry and the diplomatic corps. The search for oil is to be stepped up. The new constitution proposed would guarantee personal liberty and freedom of the press, and is to replace the provisional constitution of 1964. The drastic reorganisation of the Arab Socialist Union, Egypt's only political organisation, is of particular significance. There will be elections for a new Arab Socialist Union Congress on July 23, which is the 16th anniversary of the Egyptian Revolution.

With all the changes promised at home and decentralisation, which seems to be one of the aims of the promised reforms, President Nasser nonetheless stressed the need "to be prepared for battle". He said to a national audience on radio and television, "It is essential to mobilise the whole nation..." He indicated also that Egypt's armed forces have now been restored to what they were a few years ago.

A nation-wide campaign will be undertaken to explain the programme to the Egyptian people, concluding with a speech on May Day, on the eve of the referendum.

## Indian Ambassador nails allegations

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

**KATHMANDU** In an unusual outburst recently India's Ambassador to Nepal took strong exception to what he called mischievous allegations questioning the sincerity of India's friendly attitude to Nepal.

In a well-worded address, Mr Raj Bahadur spoke of the high regard India has for Nepal, not as a "big brother", but as a strong and equal partner for peace and progress. The oft-alleged "big brother attitude of India", he said, at best was "a myth" and at worst "the work of vested interests bent on trying to poison

India's good relations with Nepal". India and Nepal, he said, have "either to swim together or drown together".

He clarified that India's multi-million rupee aid to Nepal is given not as a mere donation out of self-interest but as a sincere contribution to Nepal's progress with the firm conviction that India's own progress depended on Nepal's future.

Referring to a newspaper allegation that India was exporting Communism to Nepal, he said that the threat of Communism does not come from India "but elsewhere" — an

obvious reference to China.

Recalling his remarks at the presentation of his credentials to King Mahendra, the Ambassador said that it would be his duty to try sincerely to bring the two countries closer by striving for better understanding and appreciation of each other.

While the official *Gorkhapatra* welcomed the Ambassador's "forthright and outspoken" statement, *The Commenter*, often dubbed as pro-Indian, censured it, giving rise to a wrangle between the paper and the Indian Embassy.

## Britain's many races—headache or hope?

FROM GORDON WISE

**LONDON** It is sad that a nation with Britain's tradition of sanctuary for the oppressed should find it necessary to pass a Bill legislating for race relations. But such are current realities, emphasised by the tragic breakdown across the Atlantic.

What is quite avoidable is that the Race Relations Bill should become a political football. Publicity is focused on a split in the Tory ranks whose Shadow Cabinet has decided to oppose the Bill, but whose liberal wing believes it to be a measure worthy of support. The Tory front bench decision was forced by a threatened right-wing back-bench revolt, if the Conservative Party were to support the measure.

The official Conservative reaffirms condemnation of racial discrimination and accepts the need for steps to improve matters. But it says the Bill "on balance will not in its practical application contribute to the advancement of racial harmony."

In fact the Bill has been well received by most of the bodies concerned with racial integration and discrimination, though many have expressed alarm that the enforcement provisions are too weak.

The Bill outlaws discrimination in public places, housing, employment, in the provision of goods, facilities, services and advertising.

The chief hope is that this legislation will help to avert a situation like that which followed the assassination of Martin Luther King.

Laws cannot remove colour prejudice. But well-formed laws can at

least discourage acts of prejudice. The fact that something is illegal does not halt every law breaker but it does deter many.

The other positive attribute of the legislation is that it reassures Commonwealth immigrants that the Government is concerned with their welfare. This goes some way to balance the Commonwealth Immigration Act which seemed to smack of racial discrimination.

The Government has to walk a tightrope here. If the law discriminates in favour of a coloured immigrant then there is a risk of increasing the fears of the white population. If the law does not go far enough then the discrimination which exists will be perpetuated, fanning colour bitterness, the bill for which will have to be paid five or ten years hence.

Conrad Hunte, until recently Vice-Captain of the West Indies Cricket Team, one of the million and a half coloured Commonwealth community living in Britain, had the foresight to anticipate this problem over a year ago. He and a multi-racial team have been stomping the country, holding public meetings on the theme, "Britain's many races — headache or hope?"

### Colour-blind society

He and his friends, who include former advocates of Black Power, say they want to build a society here which is colour-blind because it is character-built. Hunte says, "The issue is not colour. It is character. The issue is not race; it is a revolu-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



Conrad Hunte

## The week in INDIA

**NEW DELHI** — President Zakir Husain dissolved the Uttar Pradesh Assembly, accepting the Governor's recommendations for a fresh poll "as early as possible" on the ground that no political party in the assembly could form a stable ministry.

**KOHIMA** — The Tuensang unit of the Naga underground announced its secession from the "Federal Government" in protest against its pro-China policy. A similar announcement was made by the Mokochung unit a few weeks ago.

**MADURAI** — A "Tamil Sena" — regionally called "Tamilian Padai" — was formed here. Mr S. Muthu, MLC and Secretary of the Madurai unit of the DMK, was elected President.

**NEW DELHI** — Mrs Indira Gandhi will pay a 4-day visit to Bhutan and Sikkim on May 3, according to official sources. This is the first visit by an Indian Premier to the mountain-countries in the last 10 years.

**BHOPAL** — Nearly 10,000 coal miners from Surguja district began a 600-mile march to Delhi to seek implementation of the recommendations of the Coal Wage Board, according to PSP sources. They are expected to reach Delhi in a month's time.

**SHILLONG** — Mr B. K. Nehru was sworn in as Governor of Assam and Nagaland.

**COCHIN** — The State Committee of the Kerala Samyukta Socialist Party decided to break away from the all-India body following the National Committee's direction to the two SSP Ministers of the State to resign their offices and join the Party's *satyagraha* programme in protest against the Kutch Award.

**GODHRA** — Nine people were killed when two goods trains collided at Anas station, 90 kilometres from here. Hundreds of goats and other livestock in one of the goods trains also perished.

**NEW DELHI** — 308 out of the 520 members of the Lok Sabha were elected by a minority of votes, a Home Ministry study revealed.

**JAMMU** — Mr G. M. Sadiq, Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, offered to contest a by-election against Sheikh Abdullah anywhere in the State if the Sheikh accepted Kashmir's accession to India.

tion to eliminate distrust and hate from the minds of all men."

Hunte believes that "in the 1960s Britain is the last bastion where the races can work out together mutual respect and forge racial unity for the sake of the whole of humanity". If this becomes reality then the Race Relations Bill will have a chance of being implemented.

UK FEDERATION

LONDON—The Liberal Party made public a plan to change Britain's political framework into a Federation in which Scotland and Wales would have separate Parliaments. Northern

Ireland would keep the Parliament which it now enjoys. The United Kingdom Parliament in London would become the Federal Parliament with its membership reduced from 630 to 400.

BURMA RED BOSS KILLED

RANGOON—The Chief of the Military Bureau of the pro-Peking Communist Party of Burma, Bo Zeya, was killed in a clash with an army patrol. Bo Zeya was one of those who led the struggle for Burma's independence from Britain. He is said to have recently visited Peking.

NEGRO QUILTS VIOLENCE

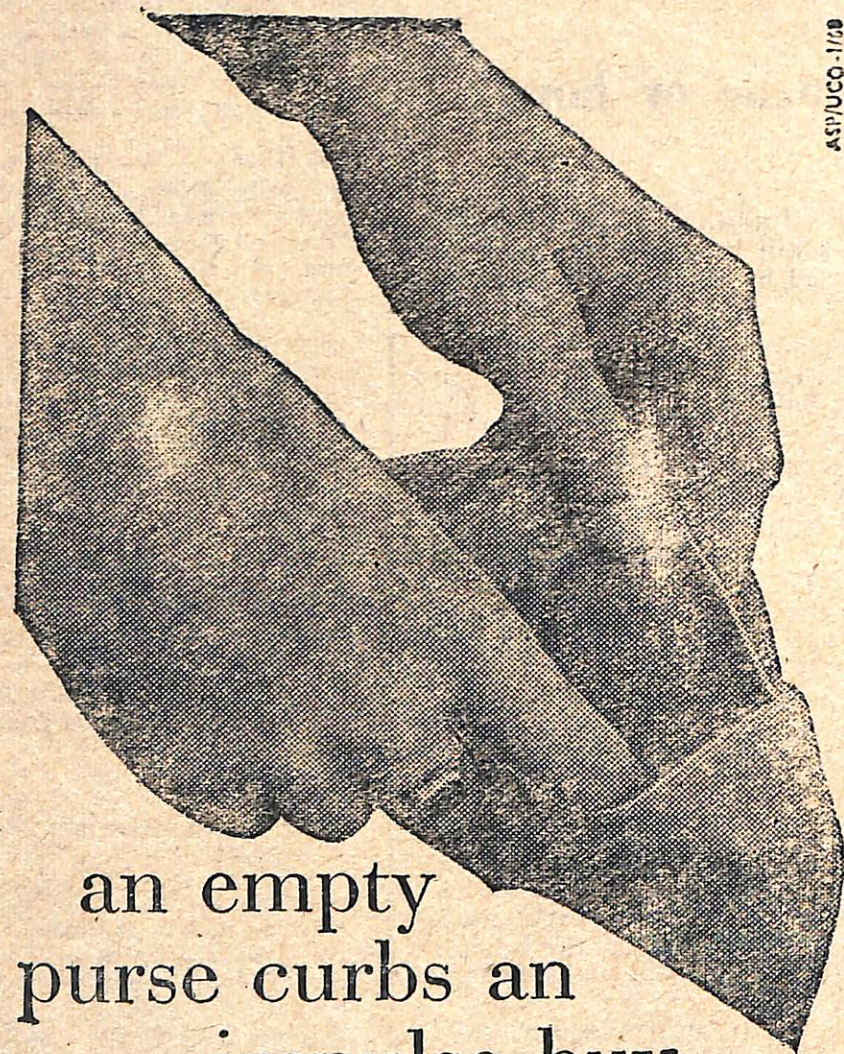
CHICAGO—Negro comedian Dick Gregory, a prominent exponent of Black Power, announced he was cancelling plans to lead mass riots and demonstrations in Chicago this summer. They had been aimed at forcing the army to take charge of the city on the eve of the Democratic Party's National Convention. "As a citizen and as an American I am not going to be responsible for any violence or any rioting at all," Gregory declared.

IRAQ REBELLION

BAGHDAD—Fighting has broken out again between Iraqi troops and Kurdish insurgents, breaking a 22-month truce. The Kurds had been promised a degree of autonomy after agreeing to a cease-fire in June 1966. They claim the Central Government failed to implement its pledges.

ANOTHER GOLD RUSH

WASHINGTON—Mr William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, warned that the United States faced its worst financial crisis since the great slump of 1931. He said that unless taxes were raised and government spending was reduced nothing could halt a world-wide devaluation of currencies. In London, meanwhile, the *Financial Times* stated in an editorial that, with President Johnson's proposed 10 per cent tax rise as far off as ever, nothing appeared to stand in the way of another rush on gold.



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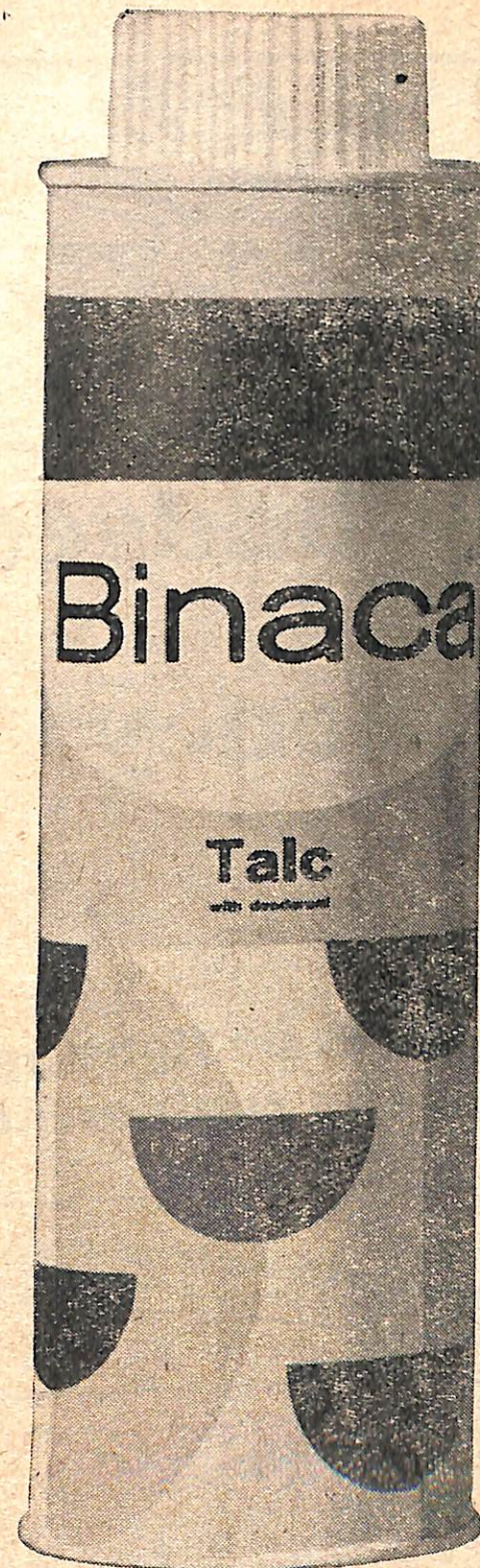
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C I B A

MADRAS

Congress rejects prohibition

FROM K. S. RAMANUJAM IN MADRAS

THE fourth All-India Prohibition Conference held at Madras in the middle of this month was a challenge to the lack of courage and wisdom of governments who are abandoning prohibition for one reason or another. To the political leaders of the Central Government, the Madras deliberations were an impassioned appeal to search their hearts on the eve of nation-wide celebrations of the Gandhi Centenary.

The Conference adopted a resolution asking for the enforcement of total prohibition throughout the country before Gandhiji's birth centenary, October 2, 1969.

Rajaji, who was the first to introduce prohibition in the country when he was Prime Minister of Madras State in 1937, commented, "I can well understand state governments getting revenue by open 'plunder', but drink revenue is indeed making the poor people part with their money by 'doping'. It is a kind of plunder not even known to dacoits. By supplying drink through licenced liquor shops, you put something in their mouth but steal their brains, their judgement and their sense of shame and make them pay for the drink given to them..."

Money an illusion

Rajaji said he understood Socialism to be a principle of attempting to uplift the poor and the depressed. Instead of this, the country witnessed the strange phenomenon of Socialist Congress governments, except Gujarat, going back on prohibition and opening toddy shops because they were after more money.

"What is this money?" he asked, "It is an illusion; it is cannibalistic; you eat up poor people's resources and imagine you are a Socialist."

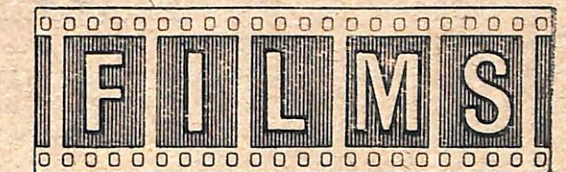
Acharya Kripalani favoured the picketing of liquor shops wherever they were in the country.

Despite his totally anti-Congress politics, Mr C. N. Annadurai, the DMK Chief Minister of Madras, has proved to be an ardent champion of prohibition. Mr Annadurai offered to lead a team of prohibition enthusiasts, including former Congress President Kamaraj and former Madras Chief Minister Baktavatsalam, to

all the states where prohibition had not yet been enforced or was being given up.

"Nothing would give me greater satisfaction than to be jailed by those governments for doing this," he declared. He emphasised that a whole new generation of young people had been brought up in Tamilnad without knowing what it was to live with toddy shops and the free availability of liquor.

"I know I can get Rs 50 crores if I scrapped prohibition," he said, "But what is that money worth if we take into consideration the loss sustained by the poorest of the poor."



"The Great Train Robbery"

METRO, BOMBAY

IN black and white, this latest in the avalanche of robbery films is made by a German company. The screen journey, based on the famous hold-up of the Edinburgh-London mail train in which a British gang got away with over £2 million, certainly keeps passengers on the edge of their seats. That the British authorities frowned on the film is obvious from the introduction which states: "As no co-operation was received, no thanks are given."

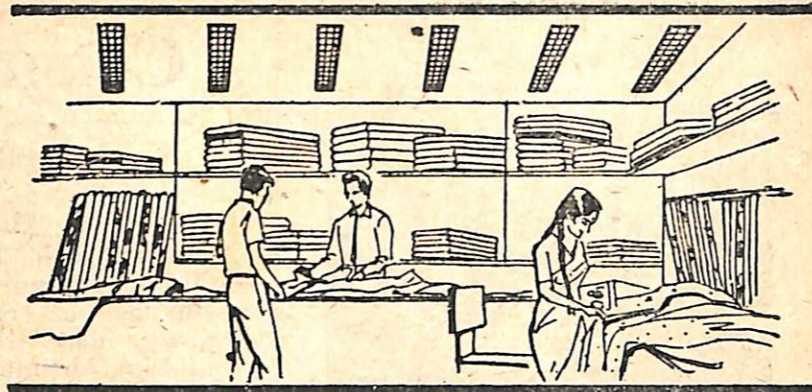
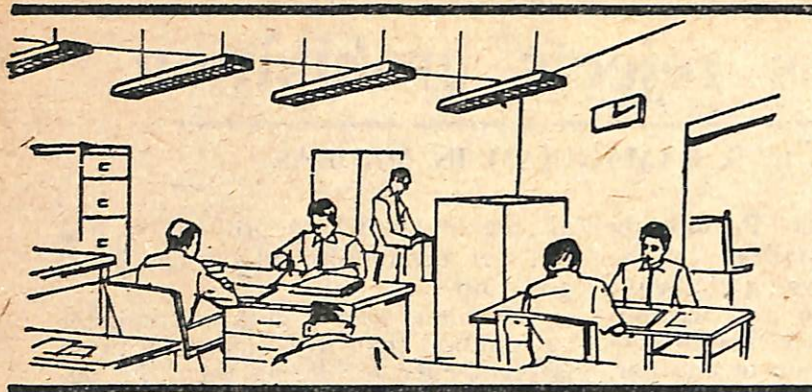


The realism of the action is increased by the actors being unknown to English-speaking audiences. But it suffers somewhat from the rather obvious dubbing of the German soundtrack into English.

As a German version of Britain's crime of the century, "The Great Train Robbery" is striking. The film makes it clear that the law shows no mercy. The original greed that spawned the plot leads to 30-year jail sentences for the robbers. £2 million is a tidy sum that they are thereby deprived of spending.

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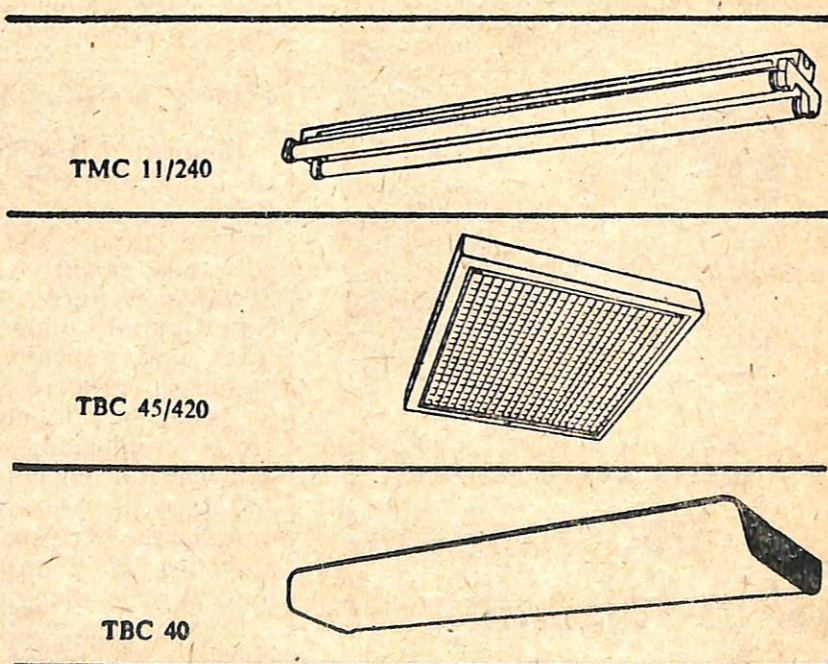
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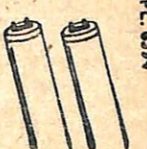


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## KOSYGIN IN PAKISTAN AND INDIA:

# “Heads I win, tails you lose”

BY R. M. LALA

SOVIET PREMIER Alexei Kosygin's quiet diplomacy seems to get the Soviet Union further than his ebullient predecessor Khrushchev's torrents of words and gestures. After four days in Pakistan Mr Kosygin probably felt it better to give Mrs Gandhi his first-hand version rather than let India's fears distort any reports of his talks with the Pakistan President.

Is another Tashkent in the offing? At a press conference in Delhi the Soviet Premier said there was no such proposal but added that the two leaders of India and Pakistan “will get together if needed”. The “spirit of Tashkent” is not quite fizzing and Mr Kosygin reportedly told Mrs Gandhi that he found in Pakistan a greater readiness than before to negotiate a settlement. He is believed to have made it clear that President Ayub will want to discuss Kashmir — and not just everything other than Kashmir as India wants.

The compulsions of Soviet foreign policy demand normal relations between India and Pakistan, and Mr Kosygin knows from the experience of America and Britain that you cannot be friends with both for long unless the basic dispute of Kashmir is settled between them.

What exactly transpired between Mr Kosygin and President Ayub may not be known for a long time — not even by Mrs Gandhi. What is clear is that Pakistan's main aim in the meeting was to get the Soviet Union to restrict the flow of arms to India. The coming months will show how far it has succeeded in that objective.

Mr Kosygin's aim is no doubt to get Ayub Khan to resume the dialogue with India's Prime Minister which was broken off on Shastri's death. Mr Kosygin's other objective is to get Pakistan to refuse to renew the US air base facilities in Peshawar on expiry of the agreement on July 1, 1969. It was from this base that U2 flights were conducted over the Soviet Union and Gary Powers was shot down.

In the bargain the Soviet Union has offered certain economic inducements to Pakistan.

Where formerly Soviet help was restricted to oil exploration, the Soviet Premier has now promised a \$100 million steel plant and a nuclear power station.

It is not known what arms aid the Soviet Premier has promised Pakistan. To give lethal arms would be a major policy change that India would react to sharply. It is conceivable that non-lethal weapons, with possibilities of conversion for offensive purposes, may have been promised; for example more helicopters, transport planes, etc.

### Making hay

The changes in Soviet policy towards Pakistan need to be viewed in the perspective of the shifting world scene. In the last 12 months, both US and British influence in Asia has been considerably weakened. The US because it is immersed in the Vietnam conflict and Britain because she wants to withdraw from East of Suez. Russia can hardly be blamed for making hay while the sun sets on British commitments in the East. The Soviets have taken the diplomatic offensive on a wide front stretching from the Mediterranean to Pakistan. Their main aim is to get the US influence out of the Mediterranean and Asia. Hence the flotilla of Soviet warships that sailed into the Mediterranean and the massive aid, including tanks and missiles, to North Vietnam.

This month Kosygin has made overtures to Turkey, and visited for the first time both Iran and Pakistan, once America's strongest allies. Pakistan is a necessary link in the chain of Russia's neighbours that Kosygin wants to win over. India remains the keystone of Soviet strategy.

India's policy towards the Soviet Union is based on two premises: (i) in foreign affairs, that the Soviet Union will always back India against China; (ii) in economic affairs, that Russia will buy our goods.

How solid is our premise of Soviet support against China? Kosygin told President Ayub in 1965 that “the differences between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China were not ‘organic’. They were a temporary phenomenon and the Vietnam situation could not accentuate them, it would only help to resolve them. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China belong to a ‘common theory’.” (From President Ayub Khan's autobiography, “Friends not Masters”, Oxford.)

### Economic stranglehold

The Soviet hold on India is already great — largely by virtue of being our main arms supplier. Now it also bids to be our leading trade partner. Recent Soviet offers to buy India's surplus steel for five years and 10,000 Indian railway wagons a year (worth Rs 100 crores) makes India's economy precariously dependent on Soviet goodwill. A move is also afoot to integrate India's production with the needs of the Soviet Union, eg. supplying 6 million pairs of footwear and 20 million shirts by 1975.

Increased dependence on Soviet trade will further reduce India's scope and initiative in foreign affairs. It will also strengthen Soviet say in our domestic matters. Mr Kosygin is aware of that. Are the Indian leaders?

Mr Kosygin is not only blessed by the international developments of the last 12 months. He is a master with the coins of diplomacy. He no doubt hopes that by continuing his present policies, where India and Pakistan are concerned, it will be a case of, “heads I win, tails you lose”.

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## Hockey management in a muddle

The Indian Hockey Federation can be justly proud of its national team in the past four years — regaining the Olympic Championship in Tokyo in 1964 and annexing the Asian title in Bangkok in 1966. But it has to hang its head over the suspicious manner in which it has been managing its financial and technical affairs during the same period, judging by the revelations of one of its committee members, Mr Kartar Singh, secretary of the Delhi Hockey Association.

In a signed statement to the press after the Federation's annual general meeting in Bombay over the weekend, Mr Singh has made some serious charges against the arbitrary and irregular manner in which accounts have been maintained. These concern large sums of money spent on tours and travel of officials, causing the auditors to pass severe strictures. The charges involve making cash transactions while ignoring the existence of a bank account; failure to produce vouchers and bills for almost Rs 20,000; and the non-submission of the bank pass-book for scrutiny.

In addition, the Delhi official has brought to public notice flaws in the general administration of hockey by the Federation officials; and the arrogant manner in which his questions at the general meeting had been treated, causing him to leave the meeting.

Even if part of Mr Kartar Singh's charges are true several members of the committee may have to be rooted out of office. Indian sport takes great pride in its hockey supremacy. This should not be jeopardised through having fools or knaves in key posts.

## Even Brundage bows

A golden principle can be compromised by brute majority. A victim of such sacrifice is likely to be the Olympic Movement, the pride of modern sport and the most universal of human organisations, all because one nation which practises racialism at home has been re-admitted to the Olympic fold after having been kept out for a spell because of its policy.

South Africa is the nation concerned. It was denied entry to the 1960 Olympic Games in Tokyo because of its apartheid policy. It was re-admitted recently after a solemn promise to keep its home politics out of the Olympic Games. A team fully representative of South African sport, regardless of race, colour or creed, was given permission to take part in the Olympic Games to be held in Mexico next October.

But a group of nations have threatened to leave the Olympic Movement un-

less South Africa either gives up its racial policy at home as well or is banned again from participation.

Eighty-year-old American president of the International Olympic Committee, Mr Avery Brundage, with the concurrence of a majority of Olympic members, tried his utmost to prevent a cleavage in the movement by pointing out that the exception made by South Africa to its Olympic team was itself a triumph for sport, and could be a fore-runner to a change of policy in other spheres also. But the protestants have been adamant.

And Brundage has bowed to the threat of boycott. In agreeing to a re-vote on the re-admission of South Africa Mr Brundage has not admitted conversion to the agitating group's principles. Obviously he is compromising his own to save the movement. This is the first time he has unbent his rigid attitude to any type of pressure-politics. The next step is likely to be his withdrawal from Olympic presidency.

## Cricket visit

India continues to be a happy hunting ground for foreign cricket teams, at a price. And in keeping with the general trend of rising costs, the price of cricket visits also is on the upgrade. On the Indian Cricket Board's anvil is a proposed short tour by the Australians next winter — with five Test matches and a few regional matches. And the cost to India will be around £75,000!

Our cricket officials thrive on international tours and visits, and do not hesitate to influence Government into accepting expensive visits. They point out that when the Indian team goes abroad it brings back foreign exchange also.

The catch is that what our teams gain abroad is only a fraction of what the visitors take away. For instance, India's recent tour of three countries — England, Australia and New Zealand — is stated to have brought in an aggregate of £35,000. But an Australian visit alone will cost us in exchange more than twice that amount. Not that we should grudge the difference to our friendly visitors, but can Indian sport afford it?

It was admitted recently that sports goods made in India are still far below what our millions of players and athletes need — both in quantity and quality. Unless our top prospects have access to equipment of international standards they are handicapped in competitions with other nations. Precious foreign exchange is needed to meet in part the needs of most games.

Sooner or later Indian cricket will have to educate its friends abroad on "playing cricket", in the financial sense. This policy of buying tours at exorbitant cost so that our teams also would be invited abroad must change; and so should the exploitation of lesser cricket nations by the so-called upper circle.

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# This India

## THE "ME FIRST" ATTITUDE

INDIA'S ROLE in the world could be to unite the most deeply divided elements. A few decades ago India launched the idea of independence from colonial rule. Many nations of Asia and Africa followed suit. The next great idea of uniting the world could also be this nation's gift to mankind.

The promotion and multiplication of division and armed violence is a frightening fact. The right and left factions of the Students' Federation, the Communist-controlled students' union of Calcutta's Presidency College, recently fought with arms and arson on the campus. The police had to intervene. Fights are now conducted with rods and knives and it is no longer a matter of mere difference of opinion. Murders are committed in broad daylight.

A young college girl I know is petrified by her father and is like a nervous bird in his company. Usually bright and talkative, it is difficult to get much out of her in his presence. I suppose that is typical of many Hindu families. In America, division takes the shape of one in three marriages ending in divorce. Division in the heart, home, industry, political party, nations and between nations is the work of human pride, hate and fear.

*Pravda* on the eve of the world-wide conference of Communist parties held in Budapest recently said, "Ideological differences between world parties are too deep to be solved."

Many divisions are created, and traditional prejudices used, to gain control and power: between Hindus and Muslims, Arabs and Israelis, Malays and Chinese, Thais and Cambodians, Greeks and Turks, Biafrans and Nigerians, French and English-speaking Canadians, not to speak of blacks and whites, which is plunging a powerful nation like the US in civil war.

It is infantile to think that political pacts and trade agreements alone will patch up these differences without a fundamental change of heart on both sides. The fragmentation of our own country is a real threat. The cause of fragmentation is the "me-first" attitude which leads to my-group first, my language, my class, my nation and to hell with everyone else. People somehow expect that the result could be an unselfish policy that works.

Unity comes from change and not chance. It is a by-product of honest apology which breaks down the bitter resentment of the other person and race. Enemies become friends. Thus change in one person can be the starting point of the nation's unity.

*Neerja Chowdhury*

# This was a Life

## TOKUGAWA IEYASU 1542—1616

TOKUGAWA was the youngest of a great trio whose united labour rescued Japan from her "Wars of the Roses" and reunited the country under a strong central government.

The first of the three, Oda Nobunaga, was appointed vice-shogun and commissioned by the imperial court to restore order in the empire. Within ten years he had established control from the Kyoto to the Tokyo region. Meanwhile his lieutenant, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, set about subduing the country, and by 1590 the rule of Hideyoshi as regent for the emperor was acknowledged.

Tokugawa consolidated the work of his predecessors with considerable statesmanship and inexhaustible patience. He was officially appointed shogun in 1603, and this office was handed down to his descendants until 1867, giving Japan more than 250 years of peace and order.

Tokugawa encouraged the revival of Confucianism, seeing in its emphasis on the spirit of loyalty a stabilising factor. In so doing he shaped the conventions of Japanese society which have endured until today.

Tokugawa Ieyasu was not essentially anti-foreign; in fact he made strenuous though unsuccessful efforts to develop overseas trade. But since the arrival of Spanish and Portuguese missionaries in the 16th century there had been growing fears of political interference by European powers. To forestall this he decreed in 1614 that all foreign missionaries be deported.

After his death Christianity was ruthlessly suppressed, and from 1636 onwards all Japanese were forbidden to go abroad. While this policy may seem reactionary, he acted in the interests of preserving peace at home. He would probably have been horrified had he foreseen the fossilisation that set in under his successors.

Ieyasu remained shogun for only two years, resigning in favour of his eldest son. Realising that many of his descendants might be very ordinary men, Ieyasu endeavoured to create an organisation that would function efficiently, whoever was at the head. It was this administration that continued as the real government of Japan for two and a half centuries.

H. E. W.

## STUDENTS IN ACTION

Now most of the university examinations are over. The enthusiastic students, instead of spending their summer vacation in leisure, should come forward in the field of social activities. They can play a big role in ameliorating the sufferings of poor and illiterate communities in our country.

Last year many college students in Bombay raised funds and collected clothes for drought stricken areas in Bihar. At Dhulia students helped in construction of a leprosy home. Similarly the Andhra Agricultural University students started a poultry project.

With these encouraging precedents, recently about 500 students from different colleges in Poona decided to take part in rehabilitation of educational institutions in Koyna Nagar, during this summer vacation.

Youth bespeaks fresh ideas coupled with action. Cannot universities and other organisations chalk out some programme to mobilise the youth force for productive work?

VASANT WANKHADE, Bombay 77

## ELECTED GOVERNORS

FOR the past year Indian democracy has not only become the victim of political defections but now a casualty at the hands of governors.

The manner in which appointed governors have (mis)managed the political affairs in UP, Haryana, West Bengal, Bihar and Rajasthan clearly stresses the dire need of having elected governors. It is quite natural for appointed governors to show their loyalty to those who have appointed them but if the governors are elected, then such governors are bound to be loyal to the people.

Similarly, the appointments of Indian envoys to foreign countries need some reconsideration as it has become a general practice to appoint ex-ministers, per-

# Letters

sons defeated in the elections (particularly of the Congress Party), and some famous personalities. It is one of the many reasons why India's correct image has not been properly presented abroad. If experienced persons from the Indian Foreign Service are appointed the results will be far more encouraging.

K. RAMASWAMY, Bombay 22

## "ENQUIRIES" ENGAGED

HAVE you ever tried ringing "Enquiries" at any of Bombay's mainline stations? I'd like to warn you not waste your time. You're certain to find all the lines permanently engaged.

And I think I know why. The other day, having failed once again to reach "Enquiries" on the phone, I rushed to Bombay Central Station, only to find the train I was meeting hours late. While standing in the queue to get more detailed information on its arrival, I glanced down at the phone. During all the time I was there it remained off the hook.

Obviously the man behind the counter considered he was busy enough, without being bothered by the phone as well!

THOMAS E. WILLIAMS, Bombay 1

## LEFT OR RIGHT?

I WAS most interested in your editorial about Chinese police using copies of "Mao's Thoughts" to direct motor traffic. Could any reader tell me whether traffic in China keeps to the left or the right?

P. BAGEWADEKAR, Nagpur



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# Light from North-East?

by Rajmohan Gandhi

Jorhat, Assam

A SLENDER land strip running between China and Pakistan links India's crucial North-East with the rest of the country. Along it men and material move by rail or road from one part to the other.

It is a slim connection. But it is the link in heart, mind and will between the people of the North-East and the rest of India that needs greater attention and consolidation.

This connection will not be strengthened merely by the rest of India demanding loyalty. It cannot and will not be tightened by attempts to enforce it militarily. In fact, if our main aim in our dealings with the people of the North-East is to ensure their allegiance to us we may, step by step, lose that goal.

If on the other hand our dominant concern is their greatness, their role in Asian and world affairs and the healing of their problems we shall find them our most reliable comrades.

## Rich rewards

The people of the North-East of plain and hill are searching for their destiny. They want to know what they are meant to do and be. Can we in the rest of the country help them discover this destiny? Rich will be the rewards if we do.

Strategically situated, having boundaries with China, Burma, Pakistan, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, the North-East is in a position to influence all these lands.

The fact that racially many of the people living here have an affinity with the Chinese, Japanese and South-East Asian populations is to India's great advantage. You see Asia in miniature here. Travelling from Bombay to Gauhati, Shillong and Jorhat you realise that you have moved not only from one Indian region to another but also from one Asian zone to another.

Asian lands may accept points from men of this area which they will not accept from Delhi- or Bombay-wallas.

And the amazing collection of tribes, cultures and languages available here is an asset beyond price. I believe that they are placed here so close to one another

not because of accidents of history but as a result of God's design.

Then there is the remarkable eagerness of the people of this region to obtain fundamental solutions.

The region in fact has the potential to become the ideological capital of Asia. Answers developed here would have validity for countries like Vietnam and one day for Peking.

There are many, of course, who feel that it is too late to make of the North-East a base where one could experiment with the creation of a new Asia and from where one could send out to all corners of the world the results of that experiment. They think that the hates, fears and prides of the region will soon create serious chaos.

These hates, fears and prides are real all right. There is also indifference which is often worse than hate. People prefer being heartily disliked to not being noticed. Here, as in the rest of the country, you have some who are not bothered by the knowledge that other kinds of people or tribes live next door. And people here as elsewhere have often laughed at others and other caste, tribal and language groups, not with one another.

Yet with groups as with individuals it is true that those we act against or are jealous of or hate or look down upon may be the ones we need. Their fellowship can increase our effectiveness and theirs.

It is not too late in the North-East.

## New gift for politicians

An answer in fact is beginning to come. Some men and women are applying the secret of Moral Re-Armament and the results give hope. Politicians of plain and hill want to become statesmen — to take a greater interest in the next generation than in the next election.

An MLA, a key leader in Assam, said, "I have been bluffing those who elected me for too long. I have looked into my heart and this is the truth." This leader wants to change. When politicians acquire the gift of seeing themselves

as others see them they get the power to teach others that secret.

Hates are melting and people are feeling lighter as men forgive and ask to be forgiven. Hope is abroad that suspicions can make way for trust.

Twelve prominent and influential men met one evening in Shillong. They had and have major differences of opinion. After talking about the possibility of listening to the inner voice, one of them had the thought, "X is not the man you thought." He shared the thought with the man concerned. Together they want now to bring unity to others.

If individuals can find a cure to division between them cannot castes, tribes and groups?

## Delhi and Peking need it

The North-East may yet shed light for north, south, east and west. New Delhi is not the lighthouse it could have been. Peking's flame may be hot but it is erratic and disturbing. The North-East's lead may be required by both.

People are legitimately concerned about the Nagas visiting China and what they might bring from there. But can we not, must we not, plan for the day when Nagas and others from the North-East take a revolution superior to Communism to China?

It is human to think and feel for "our crowd" and "our lot". But we will be selfish and also harming our own people if we do not care for the other lot and the other nation. The Africans, the Europeans, the North and South Americans all have needs we could help meet.

They feel the way we feel. Love their loved ones the way we do. Hunger and cold hit them the way they hit us. The break-up of families affects them the way it affects us. Is there nothing we can do for them?

Will the North-East of India lead the country in the discharge of our duties to other nations? There are men in the Assam hills who want a separate state. There are others against them being given one. Will all now work together to change the state of the entire Indian Union?



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WIN  
Rs. 50  
or more

2nd Prize: NEW  
**2 HIRA** LUXURY  
TOOTHBRUSHES  
WITH DELUXE CONTAINERS

### HOW TO PLAY

The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is mark a cross (not circle, arrow, etc) where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and coupon and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1 before noon on Monday, May 6

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

Nearest entry wins Rs. 25  
On the ball wins the Jackpot\*

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_ BLOCK LETTERS

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

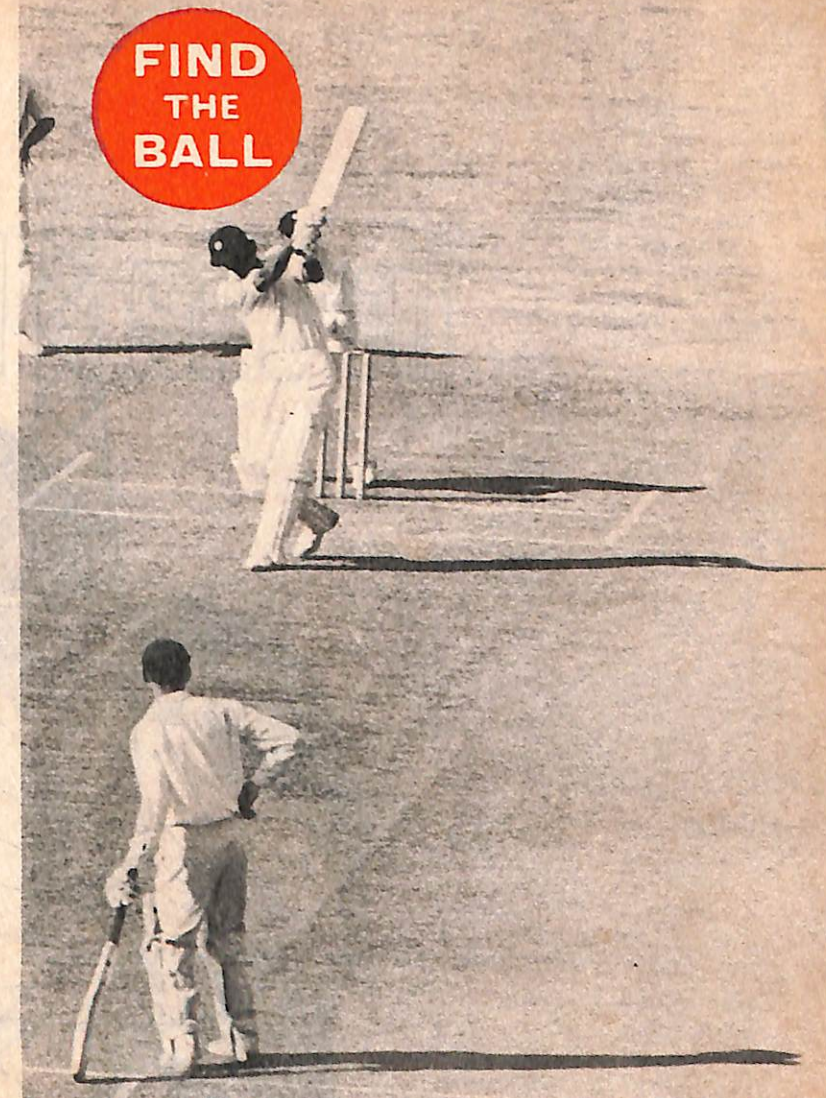


## WINNER OF COMPETITION 67

Jackpot Prize of Rs 175, goes to Mr. B. J. Mehta, The T.M. Hostel, 44-C Road, Churchgate, Bombay 1, who Marked the ball exactly.

2nd Prize (2 Hira Luxury Toothbrushes in Deluxe Containers), goes to Balasaheb Keshav Anekar, 99/2974, Pant Nagar, Ghatkopar, Bombay 75.

Next Week's Jackpot: Rs. 50



FIND  
THE  
BALL

PLEASE CUT HERE

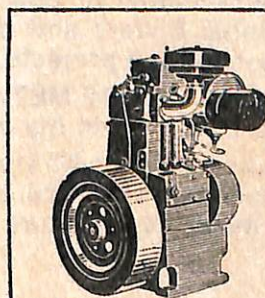
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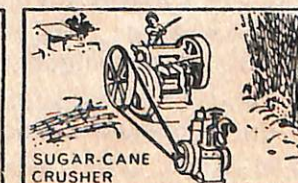
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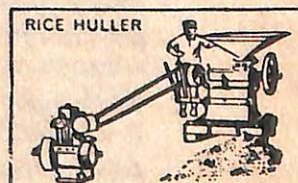
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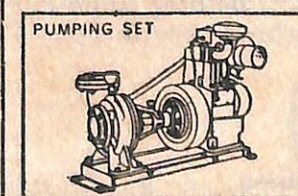
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