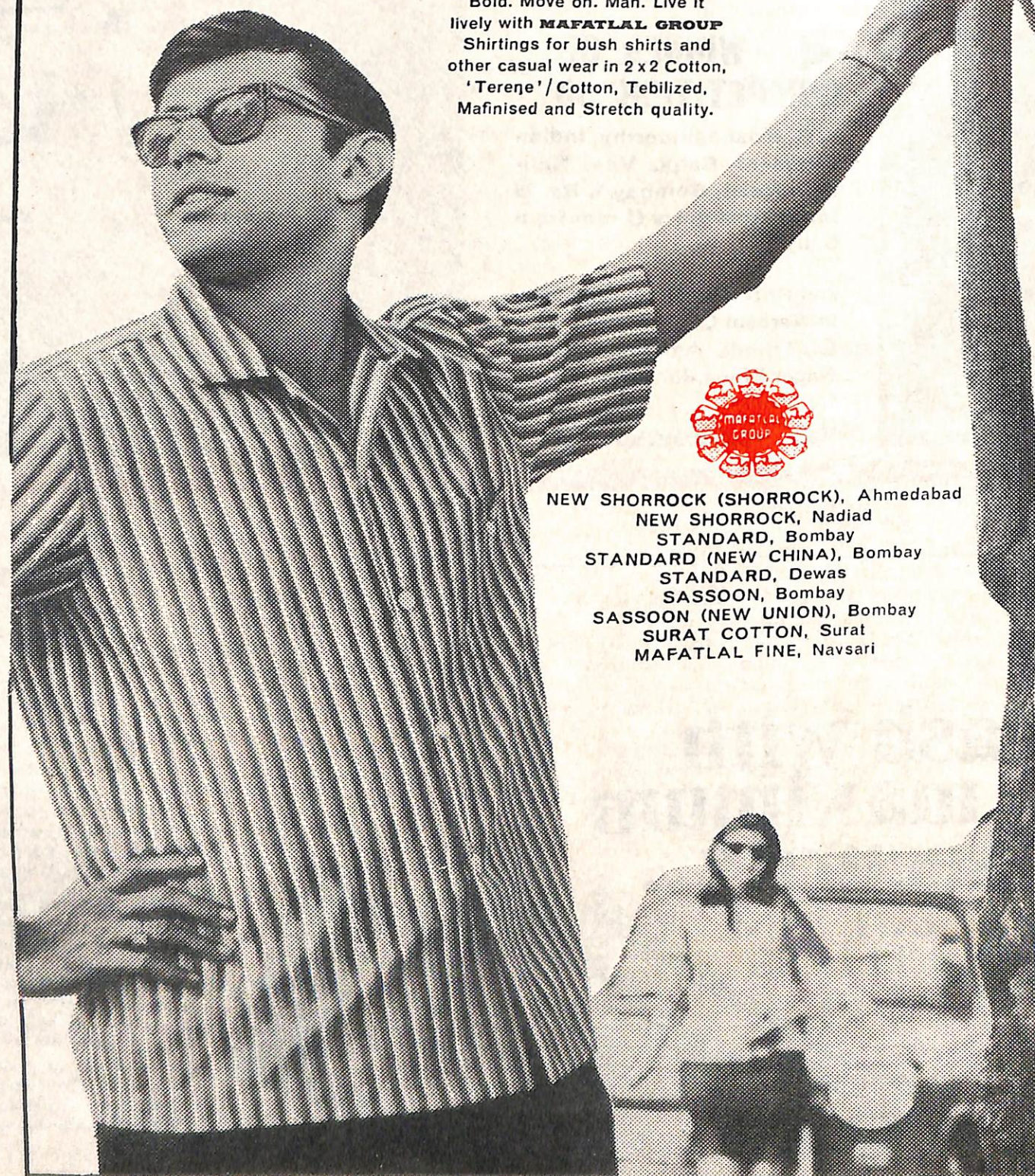


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# HIMMAT

WEEKLY 30p.

VOL 4 NO 10

ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY JANUARY 5 1968

## S.K. PATIL

speaks to

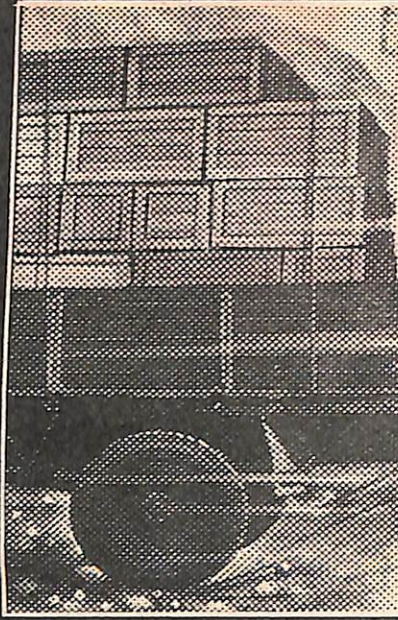
**HIMMAT**

- ★ Congress will join Bengal Ministry
- ★ AICC and after

**RAJMOHAN GANDHI IN NAGALAND**



## ROUGH ROADS?

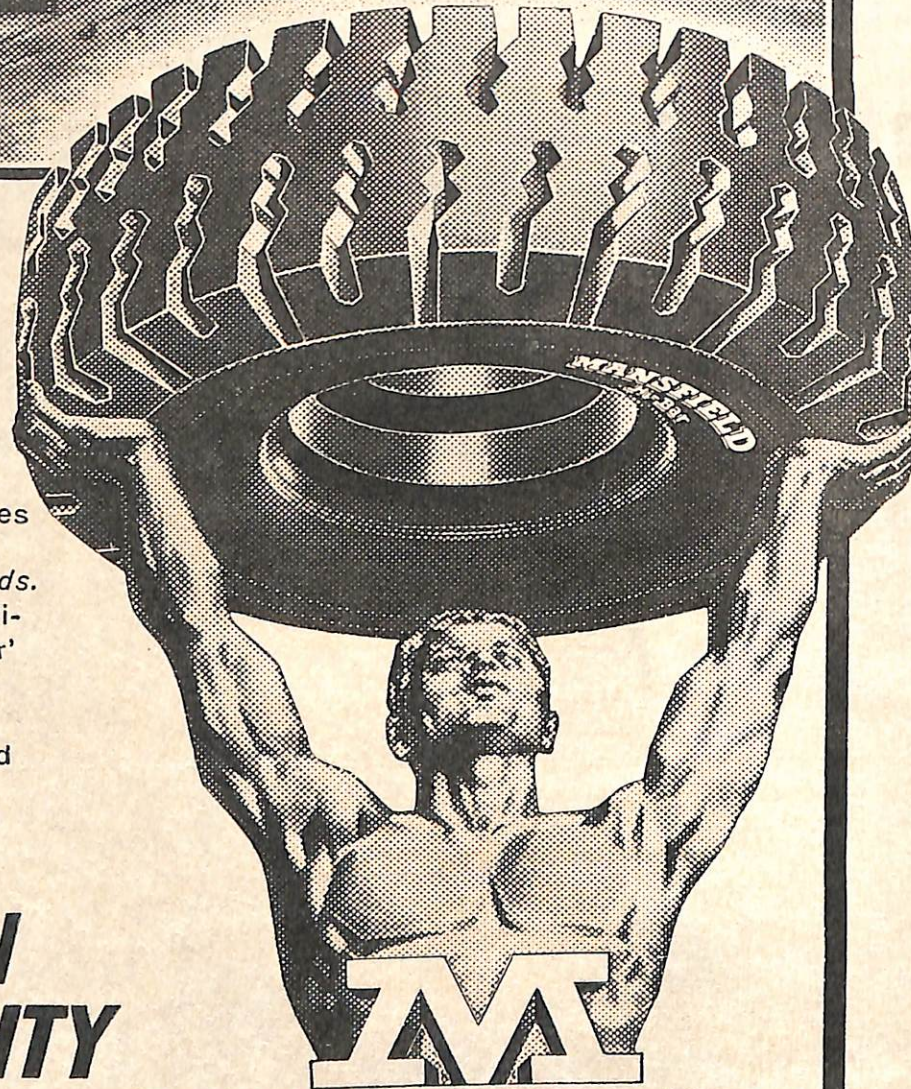


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## Editorials

### Change of tactics—inadequate

AS THE OLD year bid goodbye, political parties met for stock-taking at their annual conventions—the Jan Sangh in Calicut, the SSP in Gaya, Bihar and the PSP in Kanpur. It could have been a time of heart-searching, but the SSP and the Jan Sangh made it an occasion to cover up some of the footprints of their recent policies. Both parties took a strong anti-English stand in December and alienated the South. To make up for it, the SSP Chairman extended his hand of friendship to the anti-Hindi DMK in the South, and in a brilliant exercise attempted to discover points of similarity between the two parties. If the SSP finds some strength in the South it may have a chance of becoming an all-India party.

The Jan Sangh was shrewder. It dared to hold its session in the South and in the citadel of the Communists and the Muslim League. There it threw a challenge to these two main opponents. It changed its tactics on the language issue, conceding on December 30 what they had opposed on December 20 — that Hindi must grow on the basis of voluntary acceptance. Belated though it be, its wisdom is welcome. A significant feeler was thrown out by Jan Sangh leaders that the Congress and their Party might jointly fight the municipal elections in Kerala to defeat the Communists and

the Muslim League. If accepted, it could be a significant development in coalescing forces of the Right on one side and the Left on the other.

While the SSP continues on its blind course and like a modern Cato cries that Congress — as Carthage earlier — “must be destroyed”, leaders of other opposition parties are having fresh thoughts. 1967 has been a year of political experiments — and disillusion. It was perhaps essential to try out United Front Governments in various states if only to prove that they “disintegrate like houses built on sand”.

PSP Chairman N. G. Goray in his presidential address, observed: “The opportunists in political parties, whether in power or in opposition, bestow no thought on the rapidly deteriorating economic and social values.” He warned that linguism, student unrest, language fanaticism, were Marxist means to sap the people's morals as a prelude to take-over. He foresaw that if this process of erosion was accelerated a couple of states will opt out of the Indian Union by the end of the decade.

Who will reverse this trend? If no single political party will, like-minded democrats of all parties may have to take on the task of maintaining both our freedom and our unity.

### Opportunity in West Asia

CAN THE FORTHCOMING Arab summit meeting at Rabat in Morocco create a united front among the Arabs, and devise a policy to win an honourable peace in West Asia?

The prospects for the conference, convened by King Hassan on January 17, are evenly balanced. Syria's refusal to receive UN representative Gunnar Jarring, who had already had talks with UAR, Jordanian and Israeli leaders, underlines the divisions between the Arab leaders. The Syrians, so far, are refusing to attend the conference. However, there are signs of a more realistic approach by the UAR and Jordan, and a readiness to reach a compromise with Israel.

This readiness to compromise does not appear to be matched, outwardly at least, by the Israelis, whose suspicions are most understandable, but who do not

seem to understand the feelings of their Arab neighbours. Their insistence on direct talks with the Arab leaders, for instance, appears to be unnecessary when UN and other intermediaries are available.

The need for an effective peace-making policy is urgent. The opportunity for the peoples of West Asia to settle their own affairs is slipping away. Continued crisis draws the super-powers into the area in support of their allies. In consequence the affairs of both Arab and Jew are likely to be settled in Washington and Moscow rather than Cairo and Tel Aviv.

At the Rabat summit, the “peace-makers” among the Arab leaders (as opposed to those who want renewed war with Israel) are likely to be in the ascendant. Rabat could be the first step to a happier future for West Asia. It may also be the last chance.

### Peace not sell-out

EVEN during the New Year's truce, Viet Cong and South Vietnamese soldiers hacked each other to death during ferocious fighting in the Mekong Delta.

Anti-war demonstrations and diplomatic admonitions have proved futile. Delhi has maintained that Hanoi will sit down at the conference table as soon as America stops the bombing. A statement by North Vietnam's Foreign Minister seemed to vindicate this view, but soon came President Ho's New Year message which dashed these hopes.

Anti-war campaigners should realise that the jungle war is much more than mere stubbornness on the part of America. Whether we like it or not, the continued

existence of democracy in South-East Asia — however infant and imperfect it may be — is at stake. Clearly, Ho and his allies believe that they can push out all American influence and run South-East Asia their way. This is one explanation for Ho's tough stand.

The Vietnam war must finish as soon as possible, but in the right way. Peace is the result of a change in man's aims and intentions. One gladly concurs with the Pope's appeal to all involved to attempt to find an “honourable solution” which, as he says, can be found if sustained by a “higher assistance”. But it will need hard and patient work. Any short cut may mean sell-out and sorry oppression for millions.



# Briefly Speaking...

## "Wizard at needlework"

CHARLES BARTLETT, one of the leading American columnists, recently in India, has interesting comments to make on Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in the *Los Angeles Times*: "She is a wizard at the needlework of parliamentary politics, the simple jockeying for advantage among legislators... But she gives no signs of being a national leader with the decisive force to dissipate India's crust of lethargy and cynicism... Her cleverness has combined with the bumper harvest and the caution of her rivals to tighten her hold upon the Congress Party and the Government."

"She is clearly prey in fact to the same bias which marked her late father, a disposition to be more severe in judging capitalists than Communists. Her British training

has left her somewhat haughty toward the United States, and her leftist friends...make it seem important to show no deference in return for American sympathy."

Bartlett said this attitude resulted in a strong pro-Arab stand in the West Asian crisis last June and continues: "Everyone, including Mrs Gandhi, is now aware that this intercession damaged India by diminishing the enthusiasm of Jewish liberals in America for Indian aid."

## Discouraging violence

NORTH VIETNAM'S Foreign Minister, Mr Nguyen Duy Trinh, has said at a dinner for a visiting delegation that his country would enter peace talks if US bombing and other acts of war would stop unconditionally.

Is this the beginning of the end of a war almost everybody would like to see ended? President Johnson is said to be keen on peace before the November elections provided it can be an honorable one.

Fourteen eminent American scholars including Robert A. Scalapino, Edwin O. Reischauer and A. Doak Barnett, who want to speak on behalf of "the moderate segment of the academic community...lest other voices be mistaken for majority sentiment", have warned that a Communist victory in Vietnam would encourage those who advocate violence as the best instrument of change. Such a victory, they feel, would be likely to lead to larger, more costly wars rather than lasting peace. This certainly is a side to the Vietnam drama to be weighed.

In this context it is interesting that the *Times of India* of January 1, 1968, says in its editorial that all South-East Asian governments, even Cambodia and Burma, "fear China's designs and look towards the United States for protection".

## Worse than "bandhs"

ABSENTEEISM, according to an *Economic Times* report, costs the country far more in lost productivity than strikes and *bandhs*. A survey of various industries, showed that at its best, in the cotton mills of Ahmedabad, absenteeism averaged 7.9 per cent during 1960-65; at its worst, on Mysore plantations, it was over 20 per cent. The article said only one per cent absence per day among the industrial population would be the

To refuse praise reveals a desire to be praised twice over.

DUC DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD,  
1613-1680

equivalent of five or six fully successful "Bharat Bandhs".

Government, trade unions and employers should urgently study ways to lessen this crippling loss to the nation.

## Politics of Babel

A conference of "citizens and students" in Banaras is said to have urged the Education Minister to see that foreign delegates to the Indian Science Congress speak in their own languages. Only the British delegate could speak in English.

In what languages do the worthy "citizens of Banaras" expect delegates from North America, Australia or the West Indies to address the Congress, one wonders? And how will Indian science be prospered by these politics of Babel?

## Birbal

### VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

- \* Should all private schools in India be abolished?

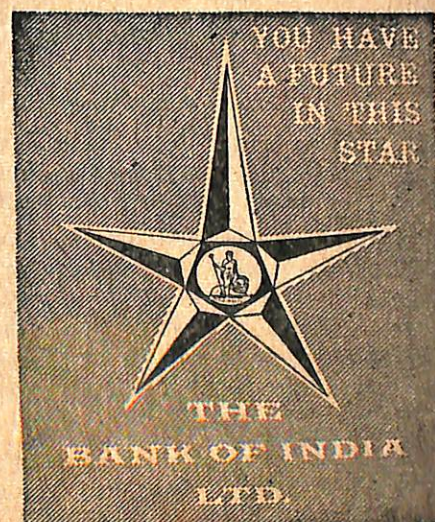
Closing date: January 5

- \*\* Congress, Jan Sangh, Swatantra and PSP should now work together.

Closing date: January 19

Prizes: Rs 25, Rs 15

Send entries of not more than 500 words to Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate St., Bombay-1.



RAASIP/24

HIMMAT, January 5, 1968

## S.K. PATIL SAYS :

# Congress not party but platform

BY R. M. LALA

THERE IS A resilience in S. K. Patil. Those who crowed over his election defeat last year woke up with a rude shock when he bounced back like a punch-ball and got the Prime Minister to reject her candidate, Mr Nanda, and accept Mr Nijalingappa as Congress President. "If Nanda stands," he threatened, "I will contest myself." The Prime Minister bowed down.

When Mr Nijalingappa gets installed as Congress President next week at the Hyderabad AICC, there will be a smile on king-maker Patil's face.

I first interviewed him in 1952. Time has not altered his flamboyance nor his gesticulations, wide enough to make a man swim. His accent is broad as ever; his dark features rough, yet chiselled like a rock impression. His eyes are restless and mischievous. Yet, as in the case of Morarji Desai, months of political adversity seem to have mellowed him. He is amazingly fit for his 67 years.

With a mixture of bluff and bluster, shrewdness and superb organisation, Patil emerged as the top Bombay Congressman almost 30 years ago, to be known as "the uncrowned king", or Bombay's "Tammany Hall boss". For the same period he has also sat on the Congress High Command.

Born in Savantwadi, Sadashiv Kanoji Patil was only 10 years old when both his parents died. As the eldest of the family, he looked after his three sisters and two younger brothers.

He got a scholarship to St. Xavier's College, Bombay, but left it to join the non-co-operation movement. "I had nothing to lose by following Gandhi," he admits. Four years later he set out to study journalism in Missouri University, but stopped in London after a rough voyage "to get on my legs". His legs led him to the London School of Economics under Harold Laski. His native toughness did not permit either the socialistic theories of his mentor or British habits of speech and manners to impinge on his personality.

He returned to join as a reporter in a Bombay daily and left after five years to devote his full time to Congress politics.

Between 1930 and 1945 he spent two-thirds of his time in gaol, sen-

tenced eight times. He is reported to have taught "political theory" to his imprisoned audience. Many among those co-prisoners now occupy positions of power. He became known as a lieutenant of the Congress strong-man Sardar Patel. Knowing his Right-wing views and partiality for America, Mr Nehru kept him out of his Cabinet till 1957.

When Patil became Cabinet Minister, his main achievement was negotiating with President Eisenhower for a shipload of wheat a day from 1960-64. He was then attacked, but his policy still continues.

At a TV appearance in London he compared Mr Nehru to a "banyan tree under whose shade nothing grows". Patil told me a couple of years back, "He never forgave me."

In 1963 in the Kamaraj plan, Mr Nehru axed him out of office.

His strength within the Party re-

mained. He played a leading part in Shastri's and Mrs Gandhi's first election to Prime Ministership. He returned to Cabinet under Shastri. In Mrs Gandhi's first Cabinet he waited to be offered a major portfolio but got embittered when she shunted him to the Railway Ministry.

Patil is a skilled parliamentarian. The *Hindustan Times*, reporting one of his performances as Food Minister, says that he "allayed all fears, raised all hopes, forgave the ignorant, complimented the knowledgeable, soothed the mills, consumers and cane-growers, and by the time he had finished he had managed to convince the House that there was not only no 'sugar problem' but that, if anything, India was on top of the world as regards this commodity".

## Hate will not last

It will be less easy for him now to dismiss the challenge the Congress faces from a combination of political parties determined to dislodge it from power. "They are more concerned about pulling the Congress down than giving a better govern-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## On your toes

### A MODERN LEXICON

FOR SOME TIME NOW, I have been disturbed by the great variety of definitions of terms in common use in the political scene in India today. I have therefore decided to prepare a new dictionary for the guidance of readers and political students. A first selection is published below:

**CONSENSUS:** A general agreement among members to accept policies dictated by party bosses.

**CONSTITUTION:** Document guaranteeing rights of citizens but subject to regular amendment by the ruling party to facilitate implementation of policies which would otherwise be unconstitutional.

**DEFECTION:** The act of resigning from some position in the Government party and the readiness to accept a higher post in the Opposition which then becomes the Government; sometimes known as "Snakes and Ladders".

**EMERGENCY, STATE OF:** A period when, due to real or imagined threats to peace, Government suspends the Constitution. When the original danger passes it can be extended by Government to meet other

threats, including that of its own defeat.

**ENGLISH:** Official language of the State of Nagaland.

**NEUTRALITY:** A status in world affairs which gives a nation the right to advise others to maintain the peace. However, in cases where the State itself is involved in a conflict it can expect full support from all other neutrals.

**NON-ALIGNMENT:** A flexible foreign policy designed to avoid any distress to the "People's Democracies" but generally aimed against "Imperialist Powers".

**UNANIMITY:** The nomination for some high post of one party faithful following months of speculation, lobbying, deals and finally compulsion or purchase of the withdrawal from the contest of all other nominees.

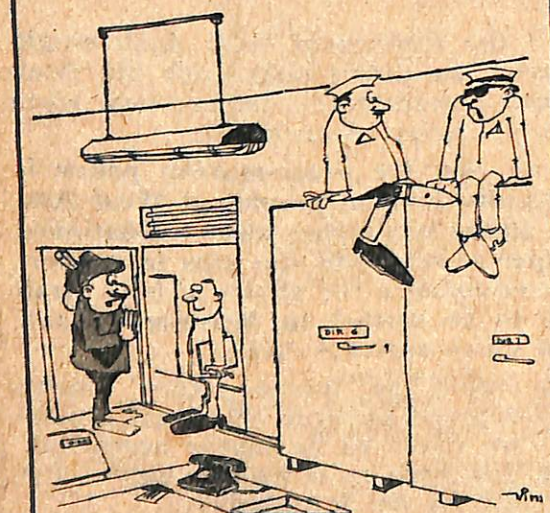
**UNDER REVIEW:** Designation given by government servants to some file or application which has been lost.

This is just a beginning. The task is so immense that I would welcome any suggestions from readers. Please send your definitions to: Freebooter's Dictionary, HIMMAT Weekly, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1.

Freebooter

HIMMAT, January 5, 1968

## CHALTA HAI..



"You'd better come back a bit later. Right now they are having a high-level meeting."

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VALENTINE



# VERDICT!

This week HIMMAT...

**CONGRATULATES** the Government on refusing to yield to outside pressures and allowing Soviet defector Ouloug-Zade to go to the country of his choice — Britain — but **WONDERS** whether officialdom needs always to refer to the "highest authority" genuine cases of political asylum of this type.

**HAILS** India's exporters for boosting sales abroad by 25 per cent over the previous year.

**QUESTIONS** whether Madras Minister M. Muthuswami, by addressing thousands of dismayed teachers at an All-India Education Conference in Tamil, did any service to the cause of Tamil.

**LIKENS** Madras Governor Ujjal Singh's saying student unrest is due to the educational system to blaming the Constitution for walk-outs and rowdiness by MPs.

**ADMITS** that its mind boggles at the claim by a venerable citizen of Goalpara district to be 182 and to have over 800 descendants.

**IS STARTLED** to learn from the US Freedom House annual survey that in 1967 the most perceptible gains for freedom were in Asia.

**SALUTES** the generosity of Tibetan refugees in donating woollen garments and money to Koyna earthquake victims.

**CHUCKLES** at the 50 members of a religious sect who shut themselves in a nuclear shelter because of a prophesy that atomic war would break out at Christmas, and **WONDERS** if they felt glad or sorry when they found their expectations unfulfilled.

**SHUDDERS** at the fate of school-children if a recent proposal that one more Indian language, say Tamil or Bengali, be adopted as a link language along with Hindi were taken up.

**SUGGESTS** an elementary lesson in justice would be taught if Andhra students, who did Rs 5 lakhs damage to state transport during their agitation against higher tuition fees, had to make good the loss.

S. K. PATIL — FROM PAGE 5

ment", he said. "Hatred is the basis of their policy. Anything based on hate will not last."

I inquired if there was any point in having a conference of politicians of various parties who believe in democracy, in order to give a constructive leadership to the nation. "Such a conference is possible to meet a challenge. Where no one party has an absolute majority, parties who believe in a democracy can stand together. You can have a coalition of the Congress, PSP, Swatantra, Jan Sangh, on the basis of a given programme. I will not include the SSP in it because I don't know what it is."

## Congress 'pseudo-Communists'

"But for that to happen," he continued, "there has to be a pointed polarisation between the democratic forces on the one hand and the Communists on the other, including the pseudo-Communists now within the Congress." He proceeded to say: "The Congress is not a party but a platform. I compare it to a railway platform, but there at least people know in which direction they are going to catch the train." He added, "In the Union Cabinet, I would not recommend a coalition unless there was a national emergency."

Mr Patil did not expect anything special to happen at the Hyderabad Congress next week. "There are no special problems and the session will have no special significance. There may be discussions on how to strengthen the basis of the organisation," and he went on to explain how the whole Congress structure needed to be changed.

"Why is the Congress in Bengal not joining the Ghosh Ministry after having encouraged its formation?" I asked.

## Bachelor Chief Ministers

"Atulya Ghosh (the State Party boss) is very shrewd. He has stayed away because he does not want Congress to risk unpopularity by joining the Government. But we will have to compel him to join the Ghosh Ministry now." He added, "There is some sort of curse on Bengal in so far as only bachelors can become its Chief Ministers. P.C. Ghosh, Dr B. C. Roy, P. C. Sen, Ajoy Mukherjee and again P. C. Ghosh."

Mr Patil had interesting comments to make on various national issues:

**ON THE EMERGENCY** — "I fought against it a hundred times in the Cabinet. It is now being removed on January 10. Why should it not be removed on a day like this (New Year)? Perhaps they have consulted the stars!"

**ON DEMOCRACY** — "It does not mean freedom to vote once in five years only. It means you are free all the time. Are you free when you have to beg for a P form to leave the country or queue every day to get your minimum requirements? If you don't feel freedom in your daily life what is the use of it?"

**ON LANGUAGE** — "Where was the need to rake it up now? Even after 50 years nothing would have happened had we continued the same way. If the North wants Hindi but the East, West or South want to take their time over it, let them. Everyone now recognises that no leader can have an all-India image without a knowledge of Hindi and they will have to learn."

**ON LEADERSHIP** — "People complain of growing indiscipline amongst students but it is worse among the leaders."

## God in democracy

Unlike Morarji Desai, who over the years has spoken of God and morality in politics, Patil kept away from it and made no secret of his fondness for the so-called "good things of life". Yet a couple of months back in Ahmedabad he said that democracy is a fabric woven out of moral values, that politics now needs to be spiritualised and that in democracy the voice of God should prevail.

When I inquired whether there was any chance of rejuvenating the Congress Mr Patil replied, "I have become cynical of my generation changing — the younger ones perhaps." I added, "What a difference it would still make if one of your generation could permit God to lead them and through the Congress help rejuvenate the nation." He replied, softly, "It is true." And added with passion: "But for that it needs a man who is Prime Minister or Chief Minister. Then he can implement his views."

One could sense at that point Mr Patil's own desire for high office which has eluded him. When S. K. Patil lays down his desire for high office and decides to do what he knows deep in his heart is right irrespective of results, his immense abilities may be used miraculously to advance this country.



from the Capital

## The case of the defecting Russian

by ANTENNA

**NEW DELHI** — Christmas festivities in the Capital are not usually widespread, nor are they noted for being particularly joyful. But this year they were given a novel twist, thanks to Mr Aziz Ouloug-Zade, the Tadzhik instructor in Hindi at a Moscow Institute, who chose this season to defect to the West.

Defection is not an uncommon occurrence since the cold war descended on the world after the second world war, but this defection was notable for the misconceptions and misinterpretations it occasioned in the local press and the, to put it mildly, peculiar manner in which it was handled by the Minister of External Affairs.

What was apparently a straightforward decision on the part of the 28-year-old Russian, after careful consideration of all the consequences of his action, not to return to his homeland, has been transformed into a devilish plot concocted by that universal dispenser of evil, the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, to involve India in the cold war.

It is not my intention to hold a brief for the CIA. But what occasions surprise is the celerity with which organs of the "progressive" press and politicians of the same stripe raised the howl that Ouloug-Zade had been instigated to defect by the CIA to score a propaganda victory for the Americans over the Russians.

If one is to believe the "progressives", the charge of CIA involvement was taken seriously by the Indian

## SO THEY SAY

*Life is such fun and so worth living. It isn't worth living if you give up fighting.*

DAME FLORA MACLEOD  
89-year-old Chief of the Scottish Clan Macleod.

*Nationalism... the lamentable delusion that only the separate can be free.*

DR EDMUND LEACH  
Provost of King's College,  
Cambridge, U K

Government, which ordered an investigation to ascertain its truth.

Much of the wind was taken out of the sails of these gentlemen when it was learnt that Ouloug-Zade had actually expressed a wish to go to any English-speaking country, preferably Britain. The US was his second choice. But if one can find justification for the behaviour of the professional friends of the Soviet Union and say that they were only performing their duty to Moscow, what is one to say of the strange postures adopted by the Ministry of External Affairs in this matter?

## Cold war cockpit

First, we were informed through a spokesman of the Ministry that the Government was deeply disturbed because the big powers were trying to turn Delhi into a cockpit of the cold war and entangle India in their mutual rivalries.

When this charge did not seem to be as effective as it was expected to be, Ouloug-Zade was publicly reprimanded in absentia for seeking refuge in the US Embassy, and the Embassy officials were similarly taken to task for giving him refuge and further refusing to hand him over when the Soviet Embassy retaliated by cancelling his passport.

The cancellation of the passport meant, it was said, that Ouloug-Zade had become stateless and as such should have yielded himself up to the Indian authorities promptly.

But the question may be asked why he did not, in the first instance, seek the protection of the Indian authorities?

The answer, one may conjecture — as Ouloug-Zade has not been able to speak out, — is very likely that he was aware what had happened in the case of Svetlana and decided to take no chances. Svetlana had asked for permission to stay on in India, but this had been refused and she had to

escape to the USA from the Soviet Embassy in Delhi where she was held virtually prisoner and was to be put on an Aeroflot aircraft and sent back to Moscow against her will.

Another argument put out by official spokesmen here was that the diplomatic mission of a foreign country cannot give asylum to a citizen of another country without the sanction of the country to which the mission is accredited.

Further, that it is not the custom for foreign missions in India to give asylum to citizens of other countries who seek it. Only a country, not a mission, could provide this. These arguments run counter to international practice. There are numerous instances of diplomatic missions offering asylum to political refugees. And it is internationally acknowledged that the premises of a diplomatic mission are part of the country to which the mission belongs and that the laws in existence in that country apply to it.

What, then, is the reason for the strange attitude adopted by the pundits of the Ministry of External Affairs? To ask the question is to answer it: The obvious desire not to displease our great and good Soviet friends, among whose recent manifestations of friendship for India have been hostile references to this country's government over Radio Peace and Friendship and in the Russian press.

## "Equal" friendship

Make no mistake about it. The Government was under much pressure from the Soviet Embassy to compel it to hand over the teacher. That this has not been done is not due to any reluctance on the part of the officials concerned but because Ouloug-Zade had Indian law and international practice on his side — and because of the fear of the adverse reactions in the Western world. The moral of this incident is that by all means let us be as friendly as possible with the Arabs and the Russians and everybody else who wishes us and treats us well. But let it be an equal friendship, in which we give only as much as we get.





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**FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS**

**Algeria in flux**

FROM MATTHEW MANSON

**RABAT** Since June 1965, Algeria has been governed by a 23-member Council of the Revolution headed by Colonel Houari Boumedienne. On November 1 last year, Minister of Labour Zaldani and Minister of Agriculture Ali Yahia resigned. On the same day, the anniversary of Algeria's independence, Chief of Staff Colonel Tahar Zbiri absented himself from the ceremonies held to celebrate the anniversary.

The Ministers and the Chief of Staff acted thus to protest against the President's continued refusal to convene the Council of the Revolution. They claimed that Colonel Boumedienne had convened only a certain section of the Council, leaving the army representatives out. They further claimed that he was surrounding himself with "technocrats" who had no share in the military glories which liberated the nation.

Colonel Boumedienne remained deaf to these protests and still did not convene the Council. This produced an explosive situation which erupted in a fierce revolt by units of the National Army at Blida, headed by Chief of Staff Zbiri himself.

A concentration of tanks heading for the capital along the Blida-Algiers road was stopped by a rapid and massive intervention of the Air Force still loyal to President Boumedienne. But Colonel Zbiri and his fellow insurgents escaped and are still at liberty. A number of army com-

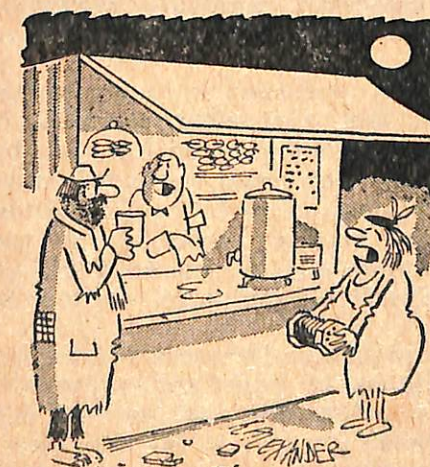
manders, especially in the Algerois and Mitidja departments, have not yet pronounced themselves for or against the revolt, and the situation therefore is still very precarious for the President, who now has added the post of Chief of Staff to his Presidential functions.

President Ben Bella was overthrown, it was said, because he had assumed too much "personal power". It was decided to govern the country by a collegiate system of leadership. After two and a half years of difficult experimentation, events have thrust complete power into the hands of the President once more.

It has been a high hope in Morocco where the Arab Summit Conference is due to be held on January 17, that President Boumedienne will be present, as he had accepted the invitation. It is now a question whether he will be able to leave his country.

Algeria's stability will greatly depend now upon whether the Army will follow unquestioningly their new Chief of Staff, the President, and on whether Colonel Boumedienne can follow a straight path free from all external and internal pressures.

**Ek-minit!**



"Of course we charge extra on cabaret nights!"

**"Peace is not pacifism"**

FROM FRED LADENIUS

**ROME** Every New Year's day, beginning with the January 1 1968, should be celebrated as "a day of peace". This is the idea launched recently by Paul VI. He does not however wish it to be considered a Catholic proposal and the Pope himself underlines this point in the first words of his message.

There are two points to be underlined in this message. In the first place there is the reference to "the true peace," very different from the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

**The week in ASIA**

**VIENTIANE** — The Laos-North Vietnam border suddenly became alive when Government forces repulsed North Vietnamese regulars at several points.

**SAIGON** — William C. Westmoreland, US military commander in Vietnam, said he planned to inflict heavier casualties on the Communist forces during 1968.

**HONG KONG** — China claimed she had 86 million atom bombs in the form of 86 million copies of Mao's works but maintained silence on her seventh nuclear test. Meanwhile clashes between pro- and anti-Mao forces erupted in several parts of the country.

**BANGKOK** — Japan, Singapore and Thailand signed an agreement to set up a South-East Asian fisheries development centre with Japanese aid. Japan will provide experts, fishing vessels and equipment while Thailand will contribute buildings and land.

**KARACHI** — In a bid to stem its population growth, Pakistan is planning to sterilise 2000 men a day. By the end of the century Pakistan's population could rocket to over 200 million.

**RAWALPINDI** — Pakistan's trade with China increased 4½ times in the last five years to Rs 38 crores last year, stated Planning Commission Deputy Chairman M. M. Ahmad.

**JAKARTA** — Police uncovered a secret Chinese organisation which had called on the Chinese community in South Sumatra not to do business with Indonesians. It called itself "The Patriots of the People's Republic of China".

**MOSCOW** — Soviet scientists have compiled a structural and geological map of the lighted side of the moon which will help them choose sites for space ships to land on.

**KUALA LUMPUR** — In a countrywide swoop, Malaysian police tracked down members of the Muslim underground organisation, "Tentera Sabuillullah" (Army of the Holy War). It was a new threat to create countrywide racial disorders, police said.

**MANILA** — Liverfluke, a parasite, is killing Philippines' cattle and water buffaloes at an alarming rate, involving an annual loss of £30,000,000 sterling. The Freedom From Hunger Campaign is seeking £20,000 to combat this disease.



FROM PAGE 9

comfortable peace that is the fruit of compromise and endorsed by the pseudo-pacifism of those who refuse to pay the price of the true peace.

The Pope declares: "We must hope that the exaltation of the ideal of peace should not favour the inertia of those who fear they may have to

## Johnson hard to beat in 1968

FROM WILLARD T. HUNTER

**LOS ANGELES** A salient feature of United States election campaigns is that they start early and often. Hardly is one election over when a rash of speculation about the next one breaks out.

The British seem to have worked out their system with less pain — and cost. An election is set, the candidates campaign for six weeks, and it is all over. The American way is long, hard, and expensive. The late President Kennedy, with the financial backing of his father, mounted a high-level campaign at least two years before the election of 1960 — with nation-wide publicity and speech-making.

And so as we enter 1968, election fever is mounting. Here are the leading possibilities for the nomination by the Democrats at their convention in Chicago in July.

**LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON** A party in power always nominates its willing incumbent. To do otherwise would be an admission of failure, which comes hard for everybody, and especially a political party. Mr Johnson has shown every indication that he will enter the fray this year with zest and present his case to the voters from coast to coast.

Although the public opinion polls have shown the President's popularity to be at low levels recently, the power of the presidency to command the news and the resourcefulness of Mr Johnson as a politician make his chances for election in November better than those for any candidate in either party. Presidents don't lose elections. Only one American chief executive in this century has lost at the polls. That was Herbert



President Johnson

give their life in service to their country and their fellows and who are really trying to escape from responsibility and risks that are an integral part of duty and generosity.

"Peace is not pacifism — it does not veil a wicked and lazy attitude to life but it proclaims the highest and most universal values of life: truth, justice, freedom, and love."

Then in the second place the Pontiff underlines the contribution that each one of us can give to the realisation

**Hoover, who had the disastrous misfortune of an economic crash in 1929, half way through his first year in office.**

**HUBERT H. HUMPHREY** The Vice-President is completely committed to the Johnson programme and the Johnson candidacy, and will be called on by his chief to enter the political wars in virtually every state. Mr Humphrey, former Mayor of Minneapolis and Senator from Minnesota, is an ebullient and effective campaigner. He has no power base of his own any more. Once the darling of the liberals, he has basically lost most of their support because of his unwavering loyalty to and defence of the Johnson policies in South-East Asia.

Mr Humphrey, who is only a "heart-beat away" from the presidency, has no chance of receiving the Democratic nomination for President this year unless he should succeed to the highest office before the Democratic convention, in which case the party leadership mantle might well — though not inevitably — fall on his shoulders as well.

Mr Johnson's enormous energy makes it easy to forget that he suffered a massive heart attack in 1955, and the kind of campaigning the President will do this year may or may not be just the ticket for a former heart patient. At any rate, Mr Humphrey, by force of circumstance, must in every respect play second fiddle as long as the concertmaster is still in the picture.

**EUGENE MCCARTHY** The Minnesota Senator, a Catholic, and former college professor, who so eloquently nominated the late Adlai Stevenson for President at the Democratic convention that chose Jack Kennedy, has jumped into the Presidential primary elections in several

of this peace, especially through prayer, "which offers to each one of us the possibility to question ourselves individually and with honesty, what are the roots of the bitterness and violence which can be found in the heart of each of us."

In this way peace is created and this is the same thread of thought that ran through that encyclical "Pacem in terris" of John XXIII, which so inspired the mind of Paul VI — the thought that men change.

states as a peace candidate. By doing so, the Senator, (no relation to the late Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, who gave the word "McCarthyism" to the language) has provided a focus for the dissident, liberal wing of the Democratic party who are opposed to Johnson because of the Vietnam war.

**No one realistically expects McCarthy to get anywhere with his campaign, but he will provide Democrats with an opportunity of registering opposition to the present administration. And he can cause some embarrassment to Mr Johnson.**

**ROBERT F. KENNEDY** At 42, the New York Senator is just the age his late brother was when nominated in 1960. He is said to agonise over his own best course of action to recapture the White House for the Kennedy clan and carry on where his brother left off when felled by an assassin's bullet in Dallas over four years ago. Senator McCarthy has been seen by some as a "stalking horse" for Bobby Kennedy.

**It is highly doubtful that there is any "deal" between McCarthy and Kennedy, but if the former should seriously hurt Mr Johnson politically in the next six months, and a genuine tide in the Party should turn against the President, Bobby would be the logical beneficiary and could become the Democratic candidate. However, few seasoned observers expect this to happen.**

Bobby's problem is compounded by the fact that although 1972 is supposed by some to be his year, by that time he could be confronted with having to dislodge Mr Humphrey in his own party, or, in the other party, the second term bid of a successful Republican elected in 1968.

Although the Democrats are probably going to buy Lyndon Johnson next summer, the outcome of the Republican contest is far less clear. A summary of the potential candidates for the nomination by the Republican party out of power will appear next week.

## The Gurkha soldiers

FROM RAM PATRO

**KATHMANDU** As a result of the British Government's economy axe on commitments "East of the Suez", the end of the Malaysia-Indonesia confrontation, and the devaluation of the pound, Britain has expressed to Nepal her desire to further reduce the strength of the Gurkha troops in the British Army.

At the end of a week's visit to Nepal, British Minister for Defence Administration G. W. Reynolds disclosed that the contemplated reduction of Gurkha troops would not fall below 10,000. He thereby dispelled the apprehension that the Gurkha brigades might be wound up. At the moment, Britain employs about 50,000 Gurkhas. The recruitment of Gurkhas is to be reduced from 700 to 300 a year by 1969, some 2000 Gurkhas retiring each year.

Mr Reynolds during his talks with the Nepali Government is learnt to



"The world's toughest fighting men"

have submitted an annual £80,000 plan for rehabilitation of Gurkha ex-servicemen. Refraining from critical comments on the proposed rehabilitation scheme itself in the absence of a complete blue-print, the Nepali press welcomed the British gesture. But the compensation, as the nationalist daily *Commoner* commented, "does not seem to be really enough". Organised rehabilitation and mobilisation of the ex-servicemen has already been under the serious consideration of the regime here. "Frustration among the ex-soldiers could be most dangerous for the stability of the country," to quote the official *Rising Nepal*. Hence an official Veterans' Organisation is being created.

Interesting is the story of the British recruitment of the Gurkhas. Known as "the world's toughest fighting men", they migrated in the 12th century from Rajputana in India to the hilly tracts of Western Nepal. Following the famous Treaty of Sagauli (1846), the practice of admitting the Gurkhas in the then British Indian Army began. In 1947, when India

became independent, a tripartite agreement between England, India and Nepal upheld the British rights to draw upon Nepal's manpower resources up to 12 battalions' strength from recruitment depots in India.

At first India did not approve of the arrangement although she has taken full advantage of it. In 1952, when India displayed discomfiture at British recruitment facilities on the Indian soil, a new agreement providing for British recruitment facilities within Nepal itself was signed in the teeth of opposition, as the then Nepali political parties, press and public alike demanded the abrogation of the agreement with Britain. Hence two recruiting centres were established — at Tauliwaha in Western Nepal and at Dharan in Eastern Nepal — for direct recruitment over an initial five-year period. And in April 1958, King Mahendra extended the Anglo-Nepali agreement for a further 10 years, when the country was, as it is now, under his direct rule.

The demand of many Nepalis, especially of the young intellectuals, has been — with little awareness of the likely consequences — for the cancellation of the agreements with Britain and India and the recall of the Gurkhas. A former Prime Minister told this correspondent that Gurkhas were employed "as mercenary soldiers by foreigners for imperialist purposes". However, the same leader explained that his stand bore no reference to India, for "India's defence is our defence".

### The King's opinion

Nevertheless, visualising the absence of any means of re-employment within Nepal upon the Gurkhas' return, the King was deterred from taking any action. However, owing to the changes of political climate, King Mahendra too is of the belief: "Recruitment of Nepali citizens into foreign armies would have to end some time, though direct action could not be taken immediately due to treaty obligations".

Needless to say, the termination of the British recruitment will be the end of the traditional manpower export which for generations has been a source of foreign exchange for this hardy country.

## The week in INDIA

**KOZHIKODE** — The Jan Sangh annual conference called for priority in developing a nuclear deterrent, defence self-sufficiency and immediate steps to check Chinese and Pakistani infiltrators. It demanded independent ties with S.E. Asian countries to contain China.

**NEW DELHI** — The Red Book of Mao Tse-tung's thoughts has been translated into Punjabi, according to a Radio Peking broadcast quoted here.

**MEERUT** — Police fired on rioting mill workers at Modinagar, killing two and injuring 40. Two-month-old labour trouble became acute when a lock-out was declared.

**MADRAS** — Sarvodaya leader J. P. Narayan proposed that Acharya Vinobha Bhave call a meeting of the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers, and elder statesmen like Rajaji to tackle the language problem.

**LUCKNOW** — Setting rail coaches on fire continued to be the latest "fun" for anti-English mobs. Agitators stopped a passenger train at the outer signal of Padrauna station in Deoria district and set two coaches ablaze.

**NEW DELHI** — According to Health Ministry figures, 3,039,911 sterilisations have been performed in India.

**JORHAT** — Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said the Mehta Committee recommendations on the reorganisation of Assam could no longer be implemented as the Hill leaders had boycotted the panel. Hill leaders interpreted her statement as meaning the Government would give them a separate State.

**NEW DELHI** — Home Minister Y. B. Chavan told ex-rulers of princely states the Government had decided to abolish their privileges and privy purses in stages. The princes, it was reported, would go to court if the Government acted.

**JAIPUR** — The backward classes of Rajasthan are to have a new deal soon. Several panels are to be set up to earmark funds for their development.

**BOMBAY** — Shiv Sena volunteers and Communists clashed at a rally held by the latter, in the second incident within a week. Earlier the Shiv Sena had stoned a Communist Party office.

**HYDERABAD** — Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting K. K. Shah said that there were a million unlicensed radio and transistor sets in the country. It had been decided not to ask any questions if unauthorised owners applied for licences now, he said.



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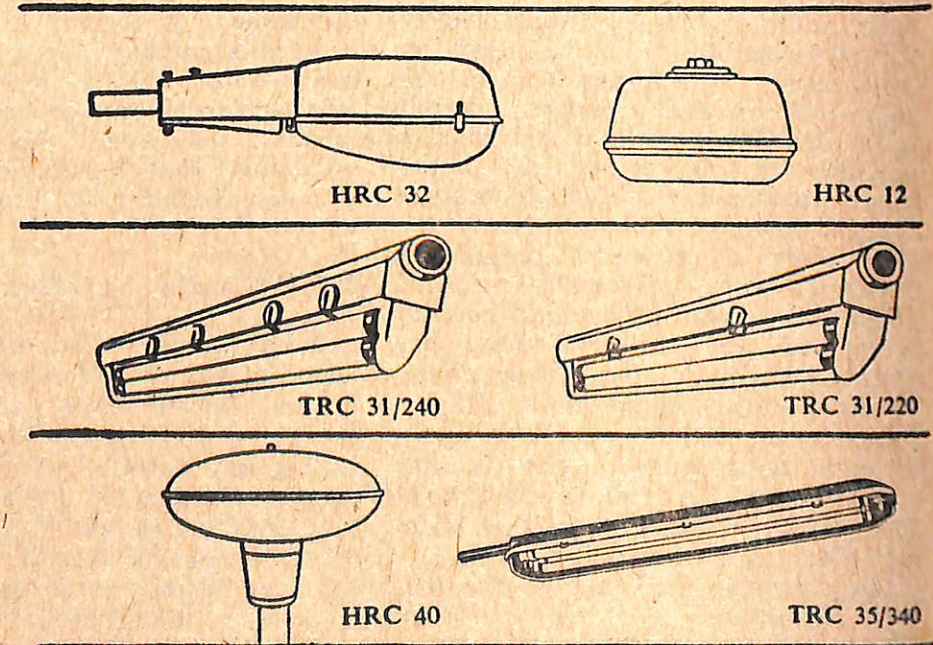
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# PHILIPS

## "Britain is NOT finished" say workers' leaders

A fresh breeze from Britain blew into Bombay last week.

The "breeze" was a group of workers' leaders, with an unwavering belief in the future of their own country and a whole-hearted desire to serve the people of other countries.

The four men, who are typical of millions of industrial workers whose

grievances, but refused to exploit them for class war.

All four men share the view, based on experience, that sound industry can only be built through soundness in men. "You can only build a nation on honesty," says Mackie. "When I put right the division with my father, whom I hadn't spoken to for two years," relates Howe, "I was able to forge unity with my men." John Pate says that his change of attitude on meeting Moral Re-Armament meant that he "set out to create sound homes, teamwork in industry and a united nation".

They have come to India in response to an invitation by Rajmohan Gandhi to share their experience with men on both sides of industry here. More than 1000 people contributed £2005 for their fares — a demonstration, they say, of the concern many British people have for India. An old age pensioner gave Mackie £7.10 — her entire life savings. The workers in Howe's factory raised money through a raffle. Says Howe, "The lads threw out their chests and stood taller," when they heard about Gandhi's invitation.

Howe's father, who died just before he left England, told him, "In earlier years men like myself went to India to protect British interests. It is about time we went out to protect India's interests. You ought to go."

During their two-months' stay Howe and his friends expect to tour India meeting men in industry and politics. In their first two days here, they addressed 7000 factory workers and their families at open-air showings of the MRA play "Jo Bhool Gaye Hain" ("The Forgotten Factor") in Poona, and met leading employers and politicians.

"We have met many of the men in industry who could lead India to a new life," says Pate. They hope many will come to the MRA Training Centre at Panchgani when it opens on January 20.

HIMMAT questioned the men about the grave crisis in their own country.

*Is Britain finished?*

MACKIE: "No, far from it. We'd be terrible defeatists if we thought that. We workers of Britain want to roll up our sleeves."

HOWE: "I do believe Britain will pull out of her economic ailing. The

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets people

chips are down. In a crisis people give a little extra."

PATE: "I'm absolutely certain Britain is not finished. With the right leadership and response from the ordinary man we can put our own house in order and contribute to Europe and developing countries." *What's the reason for the crisis?*

MACKIE: "Spending more than we can afford."

CARROLL: "The working man hasn't played fair with the Labour Government he helped to create. We asked for 'em, but what have we done?"

MACKIE: "Strikes have been a terrible setback to Britain."

*How does the economic situation affect the ordinary man?*

MACKIE: "Costs are bound to go up."

PATE: "It's affected the Midlands and North. There's more employment and short-time working. Prices



Ron Howe (left) and Jack Carroll

labour and skill maintains Britain's economy, were:

John Pate, city councillor and shop steward in a Sheffield steel factory.

Jack Carroll, chairman of the Bristol dockworkers' branch of the Transport and General Workers Union.

David Mackie, chairman of the fish porters of Aberdeen.

Ron Howe, deputy convenor of shop stewards (number two man on the workers' side) at the Shell petrochemical plant near Manchester.

Each of these men has behind him years of experience in industrial negotiations. Howe, at 33 youngest of the group, took a leading part in a recent factory agreement which upped productive capacity 150 per cent, wages 28 per cent, and was hailed by the press as a radical advance. Carroll, who two years ago took part in a dock strike which cost Britain millions of pounds, shortly before leaving England battled for his men to accept "decasualisation", giving a measure of security to dock labour, and to reject calls for wildcat strikes. Mackie, who says, "We have to think beyond the pay packet to the country," has won gains for his fish porters on the basis of straightforward dealing with management, while Pate has fought for just and speedy settlement of his men's



John Pate (left) and David Mackie have risen and wages stayed down. Housewives find it difficult."

*How do people react to the crisis?*

PATE: "They're frustrated because they don't understand it."

HOWE: "Devaluation was a blow to people's pride."

CARROLL: "One docker said, 'Now the money's devalued, we must work harder and get it revalued.' That's common sense to me. Men are beginning to do it."

*What's the answer?*

MACKIE: "All-out effort by workers and management."

*Are the Government's economic measures enough?*

PATE: "Not by themselves. We've

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



# Mr Pramanick gets going

FROM IVAN SASSOON IN CALCUTTA

A tough-looking negotiator with a soft heart for the downtrodden; a strong man able to talk around employers with a weakness in favour of the employees; an enthusiastic politician with a cool sense of judgement — that's Gangadhar Pramanick, Minister for Labour and Employment, Public Works Department and Housing, and Land Revenue.



Mr Gangadhar Pramanick

This 53-year-old experienced administrator with three portfolios is a key man in Dr P. C. Ghosh's Progressive Democratic Front Cabinet of West Bengal. When HIMMAT met him, his neat office in Writers Building was a hub of activity, with a continuous influx of callers and the almost continuous ring of telephone interrupters. On the wall behind the Labour Minister was a gallery of four framed photographs of Gandhi, Shastri, Nehru and Radhakrishnan.

Already Mr Pramanick's effect in office is beginning to produce results. The United Front Government, which claimed to be a People's Government, upset the industrial life of the State (150,000 lost their jobs since the UF came to power), setting up a war between employer and employee.

Mr Pramanick was installed as a Minister on December 4. In about five working days, Mr Pramanick was able to open 37 factories, which have re-employed 21,000 workers. In

one factory, Asbestos Cement, when the office bearers of the union refused to co-operate with the management, the individual workers went above their union leaders' heads and arrived at a workable formula with the manager. The factory opened and 1200 workers were re-employed.

"This," continued Mr Pramanick, "was a triumph of good sense. The party that brings the most comfort to workers will be the most popular. The Marxists have really no interest in the workers."

Do you have any comments on the recent civil disobedience movement?

"It was not popular. People came to see the fun out of curiosity in the same way as they come out to see monkey-shows."

The UF has another round of activities in middle and late January. What is going to happen then?

"The movement will end in bubbles. In a fortnight all the closed factories will have their locks removed and when industry is restored to normality, we'll see a healthy life return to West Bengal."

What about the future?  
"It couldn't be better and brighter. The United Front is at the crossroads. There is a likelihood of more depletion in their number. A firm sense of decision is required by the Government which runs West Bengal."

Mr Pramanick has been so far a catalyst in improving employer-employee relationships. A working Bengal is a happy State. Mr Pramanick's greatest desire is to see labourers with *himmat* to provide leaders from their own ranks.

still got to give people the will to work."

How can this be done?

CARROLL: "By thinking further than ourselves to our industry and country."

PATE: "By changing the attitude from what I get to how can I practically contribute."

HOWE: "The average Briton does care for his country. Caring for the country, and for the part she can yet play in the world will pull us out of the crisis."

Is this happening?

PATE: "In my city some firms are planning for expansion — that means more work and more exports."

### Common Market

Should Britain join the Common Market?

CARROLL: "No. We'll lose trade with Australia and New Zealand. We forget what they've done for Britain in wartime."

PATE: "I'm pro-Common Market. A formula could be worked out so as not seriously to interfere with Commonwealth trade."

With new methods of production, there'll be more leisure for workers. How should it be used?

MACKIE: "People should wait till the country's on a sound basis before worrying about that. No worker with the country on his heart would ask to work less."

CARROLL: "I'm worried about the working man. We fought for a 40-hour week. But he often works 60-70 hours a week, nights and Sundays. He doesn't have to. It's just for greed of gold. When we can answer greed in a man's heart we can talk about what to do with his leisure."

A. de L. F.

results of Israeli aggression were eliminated.

### TURKISH CYPRIOTS SET UP GOVERNMENT

NICOSIA — Turkish Cypriots set up their own "transitional" government in areas of the island controlled by Turks. The Vice-President of Cyprus, Dr Fazil Kutchuk, was named president of the new administration, and Mr Rauf Denktash Vice-President. This followed fighting recently and near war between Greece and Turkey.

# India's bold experiment

BY PETER HINTZEN

WE WERE EIGHT in a railway compartment. There were Bengalis, a resident of Bombay, a lady doctor from Kerala, my wife and myself. My neighbour, a Calcutta businessman, was curious to know what language my wife and I conversed in. Soon all the passengers in our compartment joined in the conversation. We talked of present-day India — riots in Bengal, earthquakes in Maharashtra and language troubles. And English was the tongue that Bengalis, Hollanders, Maharashtrians and Keralites could best communicate in.

Peter Hintzen is HIMMAT's correspondent at The Hague, Holland. He returns to India after 12 years and describes how he sees us. — Ed.

Indians may be justly proud of, especially seeing that most other developing countries are either ruled by generals or bossed by some strong man who has never faced the polls.



Peter Hintzen

Some things have struck me after 12 years of absence. The people I talked with in the train were all rather comfortable middle class people. They discussed India's grave problems (which according to some may tear her asunder) as if they were talking about another nation's troubles. They laughed and joked as if they were not involved.

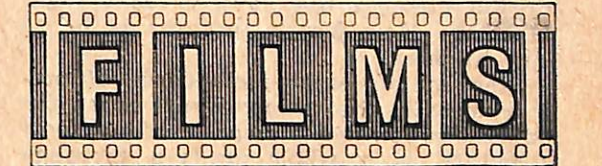
Also, India to them seemed to be an ocean of unsolved problems. This is how the world's largest democracy is portrayed in the Western press. And, in my view, wrongly so.

There is a lot more to India than her problems of food, population and language which the whole world is talking about. This country practices democracy in a way that may serve as a lesson to many Western nations. Independent India has had four free and honest general elections. There is complete freedom of speech. This is a remarkable feat that all

gives hope to countless millions elsewhere who have to suffer oppression in the name of social justice. Nobody should be a bit surprised if some non-democratic forces are working day and night to make India's attempt to progress in freedom fail. Could this be the explanation for the seemingly needless inflictions like the sudden invasion by China in 1962 or street violence of today?

Because of her bold attempt at democratic rule, India no doubt has a mission to perform. She can show the world by words, deeds and example that man has got to choose

either to be ruled by the inner voice of conscience and progress in freedom or to suffer from violent methods of dictators who solve nothing. If India's democracy fails, it will mean despair and disillusion for many nations. Maybe recognising this responsibility to the rest of the world would help many here to shoulder their nation's task and to sink their differences.



## "Grand Prix"

STRAND, BOMBAY

THE PROBLEM with Cinerama is that it tends to be limited by its scope: to take full advantage of the process a producer has to select a vast spectacular subject. But then the danger is that his whole film is submerged by the spectacle — to the detriment of character and story.



This is what happened to Grand Prix. Some of the photography is extraordinarily good. The subject is dramatic. The acting on the whole is fine and there are one or two very moving and telling scenes. And yet, something is missing.

It is not an insult to its actors and actresses to say that the real stars of this film are its producer and director. They take us through a Grand Prix world season — nine races in nine countries, from the Mediterranean principality of Monaco to the Monza track in Italy — and to Belgium, France, Holland, Germany, USA, Mexico and England in between. It is a triumph of cinema organisation and effort.

By far the best performance was by Yves Montand as Jean-Pierre Sarti, who, although he can never quite give it up is tired of motor-racing, tired, almost of life. What is it about? Motor racing. Yes, but what is its theme? This I still cannot answer. It is a film with a brilliant subject, but no apparent object.



Yves Montand in his role as the Manetta-Ferrari racing driver, Jean-Pierre Sarti.

SCREENER

## The week elsewhere

### GIANT TANKERS ON ORDER

LONDON — Construction of giant tankers would make the Suez Canal uneconomical for transport of oil by 1975, predicted UK Chamber of Shipping President Anthony Cayzer. The Canal's closure for the second time in 10 years had sharpened demand for big tankers. Over 100 had been ordered since the Canal closed in

### CANAL STAYS CLOSED

CAIRO — The proposed release of 14 merchant ships trapped in the Suez Canal since the June war did not mean the Canal would be re-opened, stated the authoritative Al Ahram. It was Egypt's view that the Canal could not be re-opened until the

June. By 1970, 160 tankers of 200,000 tons or more would be in service.

HIMMAT, January 5, 1968

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# SPORT

## Primary objective

INDIAN SPORT'S balance-sheet for 1967 provides little to enthuse over. So drastic changes will have to be brought in if the New Year's turnover is to be any brighter.

Stagnant or sagging standards of performances in the various games apart, the administration and promotion of our sport structure as a whole needs a thorough overhaul. A lead in this direction has been given by Union Education Minister Triguna Sen when he took the All-India Council of Sports to task for deviating from its primary objective of spreading sport-awareness within the nation and devoting much of its time, energy and money in trying to project the image of Indian sport abroad. His suggestion that we take a holiday from unequal international engagements until such time as our representatives attain the expected standard deserves the fullest support.

## Olympic Year

THIS being the Olympic Year, with the Games in Mexico looming large in every calendar, the Indian Olympic Association will soon be setting about selecting, preparing and equipping the national contingent, with the help of the national games federations. Both the IOA and its member units would do well to heed the Education Minister's veiled warning and desist from embarrassing themselves and the Government by assembling a huge army of probables and having to whittle it down at the last moment to the chagrin of all. If the All-India Council of Sports and the IOA are abreast of our prevailing standards — they will have further opportunities for assessment in this month's National Games in Madras — they can give clear instructions to the federations about what standards are expected of their respective teams for Olympic consideration. The numerous camps and trials can then be restricted to the few really top performers instead of being cluttered up with sub-standard favourites. Once selected, the nation's representatives should be given the fullest facilities for attaining their best form. Even a small but elegant contingent can bring credit if not glory to the country.

## Hockey rules

No international game has been subjected to the wind of change in the last few years as has been field hockey, at which India has been at the top for the past forty years. With the acceleration of competitive interest is associated a series of alterations in the laws of the game.

Strangely enough, champion India has had little say in these changes, so much so that one may be pardoned for thinking that these were intended to neutralise India's overwhelming supremacy. The scoring semi-circle was enlarged, the bully (characteristic of the game) was restricted, the manner of taking the penalty corner and the penalty bully were altered, and the "sticks" rule relaxed and then tightened. And now the move is for a larger playing area and an easing of the off-side rule.

Changes intended to make the game more enjoyable to the player and the spectator are always welcome. If the proposed changes are intended to give greater scope for the display and deployment of individual and team skills and the reduction of meaningless stoppages, we are all for them.

## Crowded season

As has been happening invariably for many years, the winter months of December and January are packed with major competitions in every branch of sport in the country, often to the detriment of each other. In a country like ours where fair weather prevails almost through the year a more sensible programme should be drawn up so that each game can have its quota of public attention and support.

The National Badminton and Table Tennis Championships, conducted concurrently, concluded simultaneously over the week-end. Railway players swept all before them in both the men's and women's events of the Badminton Championship at Madras. Suresh Goel, winner of the singles title for three years running before Dinesh Khanna (Punjab) checked his reign last year, returned to his top form to wrest the crown back. He beat rather easily the giant-killer of the competition, Dipu Ghosh, in straight games, 15-6, 15-3. Dipu had removed Goel's biggest obstacle, Khanna, in the semi-finals.

## Title retained

THE National Table Tennis Championships at Gauhati brought Maharashtra players a major share of the honours. While holder Farrokh Khodaiji's defeat of V. M. Merchant at 21-14, 21-15, 21-5 was easily obtained, an "outsider" in Maharashtra's Alka Thakur caused a sensation when getting the better of Prisca Rozario in an aggressive five-game final. Mrs Rozario was also at the losing end in the mixed doubles when with R. R. Chachad she lost a full-length battle to Khodaiji and Kaitie Chargeman. The Railway pair P. P. Haldankar and A. Rangoonwalla took the limelight off Maharashtra when beating Chachad and U. S. Gurjar for the men's doubles title.

● **topscorer**

# This India

## CAN WE CARE FOR OTHER NATIONS?

WHETHER we like it or not, deserve it or not, can explain it or not, the world has an intriguing and strange fascination for India. How much it has to do with the undefined, elusive, "mystical" quality of us Indians, I do not know. The still-lingering myths of snake charmers, rope tricks, tigers, and now Yoga and Maharishis have their part, though a disappointing one, when the traveller arrives in modern, cosmopolitan Bombay. It is certainly to be said that beggars and a *baraat* of *baksheesh* hunters have a great fascination for foreigners here.

But our Indian fascination for ourselves far surpasses all that.

Our internal struggles have such compelling absorption for us that by comparison what goes on in the rest of the world is of a dull and insipid nature. Naturally the policy of many of our national newspapers is to keep out or tuck away in an insignificant corner happenings in the rest of the world. Our floor-crossing politicians and our rioting language crusaders are rewarded with ample publicity, large photographs and felicitous followings.

## False issues

It is a possibility that if the Indian public took less interest in these banal goings-on and more interest in the world, these false issues might be replaced by a tackling of the real needs of India.

The world has compassion and conscience about the hungry and homeless, dirt and disease of India. Many in other nations care deeply about India. Cannot we care equally for other nations?

I was at a dinner the other night with a seventy-two-year-old lady who had recently arrived in India. She was comfortably settled in a small town in England before she came. As British as British can be would be the best way of describing her, and with an amazing tale of courage.

She had been in India from the beginning of World War I to the end of World War II. She visited the villages of Mysore, teaching people hygiene. She did not imagine she would ever return. Age was also overtaking. Then she encountered the men and women of "India Arise", the Moral Re-Armament production that was recently in Europe. She heard them speak of the needs in their country and heard them ask for help. They said that they wanted Britons back — with a difference — Britons of all ages. So she said to herself, "That's me."

She packed her bags and arrived in India ready to help and serve.

*Neerja Chowdhury*

HIMMAT, January 5, 1968

## This was a Life

### CINCINNATUS 5th Century B C

LUCIUS QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS is the classic example, in Roman history, of a statesman whose sole aim in holding office was to serve the state and not his own ends.

He was in private life only a farmer in a small way; but he was twice appointed Dictator. This position, in Roman times, did not mean, as it does today, the holding of absolute personal power. In the early days of the Roman Republic a Dictator was appointed at any time of national crisis, when the existing machinery of government seemed likely to prove inadequate to cope with the situation. The Dictator had a special seat, and wore a robe of honour with a broad purple border; his office was held for only six months, and during that time he was given powers sufficient for doing what needed to be done.

Cincinnatus was chosen Consul in 460 BC, and two years later he was appointed Dictator for the first time in order to deal with a national emergency.

Rome had been attacked by the Aequi, a Latin tribe living to the east of the city who gave the Republic much trouble till they were finally integrated into it. A force had been sent out to engage them, but was trapped and surrounded.

This was the situation which confronted Cincinnatus as Dictator. The messengers who came to tell the Consul of his new dignity found him busy ploughing on his small farm. He took up his office, skillfully defeated the Aequi and rescued the trapped Roman army.

On his return to Rome he was given the traditional victor's triumph, with its procession and its acclamations. But sixteen days later, instead of exploiting his success to make himself politically powerful, as a personally ambitious man would have done, he returned quietly to his farm.

But his services to the state were not yet ended. At the advanced age of eighty he was once more called to the office of Dictator, this time to deal with an internal conspiracy. This crisis too he was able to resolve effectively. Throughout Roman history Cincinnatus remained one of the great national heroes.

D.M.P.

HIMMAT, January 5, 1968

## PRESS BIAS AGAINST MISSIONARIES

AN All-Chotanagpur Seminar was recently held in Ranchi on the role of Christian Churches in the fields of health and socio-economic development. The major address was delivered by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. The following excerpt from his speech not only disposes of the false accusations against missionaries but also exposes the deplorable partiality of our Press:

"About seven days ago I spoke to a gathering in Patna and gave a Press conference. I do not understand why that part of my speech which thanks the Christian missionaries for their relief work was blacked out. The rest of my remarks were printed.

"To my own personal knowledge, nothing like forced conversions took place. I do not know of a single conversion because of famine. On the contrary, personally I know that the leaders of the Christian Churches, the Bishops, were particular about this and gave clear instructions to their priests or padres. I do know that relief work had nothing to do with the normal work of moral persuasion or, if you wish, conversion.

"I told my Hindu friends that I could not understand how, after the Christians had done so much for them, saved millions, they could turn around and make such false accusations. There seems to be some poison in the heart of some people. Not the village people. If left alone the villagers live in peace and happiness. The poison is in the hearts of educated people.

"We must therefore ask how education has failed. This is the question. Are we educating them to be human beings? If not, all development is meaningless

# Letters

and doomed unless it finds and roots out the evils being enacted in the name of language, boundaries and religion."

ALEX FRANCIS, Poona 1

## MEETING PLACE

PANCHGANI\* will be not merely a beacon in the gloom enveloping us but, I have no doubt, a meeting place for the peoples of Asia to find an answer to their own problems and the problems of the world. I am eagerly looking forward to the day when people will be coming to Panchgani to find this answer.

SHANKAR NARAYAN, Secunderabad  
\*New Moral Re-Armament Training Centre near Poona—Ed.

## OWLS AND FOXES

HATS off to Freebooter for his scoop under the caption "Flowers for the Sheikh".

This extract I think throws more light on the personality of Mr Chavan. He is, it seems, not only an artful dodger and a cunning fox but also a cunning owl. In fact it is his own colleagues like Mrs Gandhi, Mr Patil, Mr Morarji Desai and even the Congress President, Mr Nijalingappa, who call him so. Today they may be calling each other in fun but tomorrow they may be doing so in earnest. And imagine in what condition our country will be when the Congress members have time only to call each other names like owls and foxes and no time to look to the country's welfare and well-being.

V. THOMAS, Mysore 5

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INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS

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# The North—East

by Rajmohan Gandhi



## Shillong

KHONOMA, a hill-top village 11 miles from Kohima, has given birth to Phizo and a number of his comrades. There, in a hut, I met colleagues and senior relatives of the leader-in-exile and of Mhasiu, accepted by the underground as Nagaland's President. The trim and obviously disciplined old men were clad in Naga shawls, their bare feet rough and thick with dust. They spoke with courtesy and firmness.

"We want to be equal neighbours of India, good neighbours," said a stately elder. "When the British left we made it plain to them that we were going to return to our own rule. We didn't feel we were part of India. After twenty years our feeling is the same."

## A link with India?

It was impossible to discover how widespread this view is in Nagaland. Clearly a number of Nagas accept a link with India. Chief Minister Angami, for instance. A warmhearted and sincere person, he laughed and laughed when I said that we Indians found it difficult to say "sorry" and "I don't know".

Exceptional soldiers — a Naga boy takes to a gun like a politician takes to speeches — outstanding in soccer and athletics, unusually gifted in music, uncommon in intelligence and knowledge, the Nagas are altogether a magnificent race. They make tough opponents or supremely loyal allies.

With groups as with individuals it is easier to say, "I love you," and mean it, than to force the other side to say, "I love you, too, and feel one with you," and mean it. We may have spoken to the Nagas of our love, but have we, as a people, really had it? If we had, we would have schooled their uneducated and nursed their sick during these last decades. We didn't. The missionaries did.

But we have attempted, all these independent years, to pressure and persuade the Nagas to have and profess an attachment to us. The

failure, bitterly costly in human terms, is scarcely shocking.

Some, or many, Nagas may oppose any Indian connection. The hill tribes now in Assam, among whom are the Khasis, Jaintias, Garos, Mikirs and Cacharis, are, on the other hand, happy to be Indians. But they are against being part of Assam. They want a separate hill state, with Shillong as its capital, and their demand is likely to be met.

## Co-operation or confrontation

Yet not without opposition from the people of the Assam plains, whose leaders allege that granting it will threaten the country's integrity. Larger, rather than smaller, states may understandably be preferred. But is it practical or justifiable to foist on people a belief that they are a part of Assam or Assamese culture when they don't feel they are? To be angry with those who feel they are distinct or to attempt to enforce the contrary feeling can only strengthen the desire to separate.

Certain attitudes and remarks have hurt the hill people deeply and are remembered. There was pressure in Assam not long ago for a capital other than Shillong. Some said, "The capital should be nearer the people." What they meant was nearer the Assamese-speaking majority. But the implication that the hill tribes were not quite the people registered.

If enforced union of hill and plain inside Assam is impossible apart from being unwise, the State's partition will not automatically create friendship and partnership. There is a fall-out of bitterness on mountain and valley that needs washing out. Will there be co-operation or confrontation? India will watch.

The mammoth cost of unfriendly relations between India and Pakistan is particularly obvious in Assam and the North-East. Geography made what is now East Pakistan Assam's natural trading partner. Politics has snapped the tie. "There will be no economic or political stability in this area without a settlement with Pakistan," a prominent leader told me.

The briefest glance at the map reveals the incompleteness, and almost the irrelevance, of any overall co-operation in the region that excludes Pakistan. As supplier of raw materials and manufactured goods, market for plantation and industrial products and pathway to the sea and the outside world, a friendly East Pakistan would be more than a boon to the North-East.

Christian missionaries from other countries have been accused of fomenting trouble and division in the region. My conclusion, based on observation and inquiry, is that the opposite, by and large, is true. The Christian spirit brought in by the missionaries has challenged tribe-centredness. It has plainly made the hill tribes more responsible for the region and country than before.

Leaders of the Protestant and Catholic Churches in Shillong told me that it was forbidden for their priests to dabble in politics or to convert through material inducements.

## Effective contact

Most precious of all are the region's people. They are fools who think that the Mongoloid races and tribes among them are our liabilities. They could be our best bridge with the rest of Asia, our natural and effective means of contact with the countries that curve from South-East Asia to Japan.

Will India adequately assess the region's needs, qualities, potentialities and importance? Will the North-East find the unity it requires, with its components outbidding one another in generosity and largeness of spirit? And will the North-East see in the rest of the country a vigour that attracts and holds?

It is said that Phizo once told hill leaders who wanted to stay within India, "We are going down the same river. You are in one boat, I am in another. If yours founders, step inside mine. If mine founders, I'll climb aboard yours."

In any case, strengthening our ship will pay.

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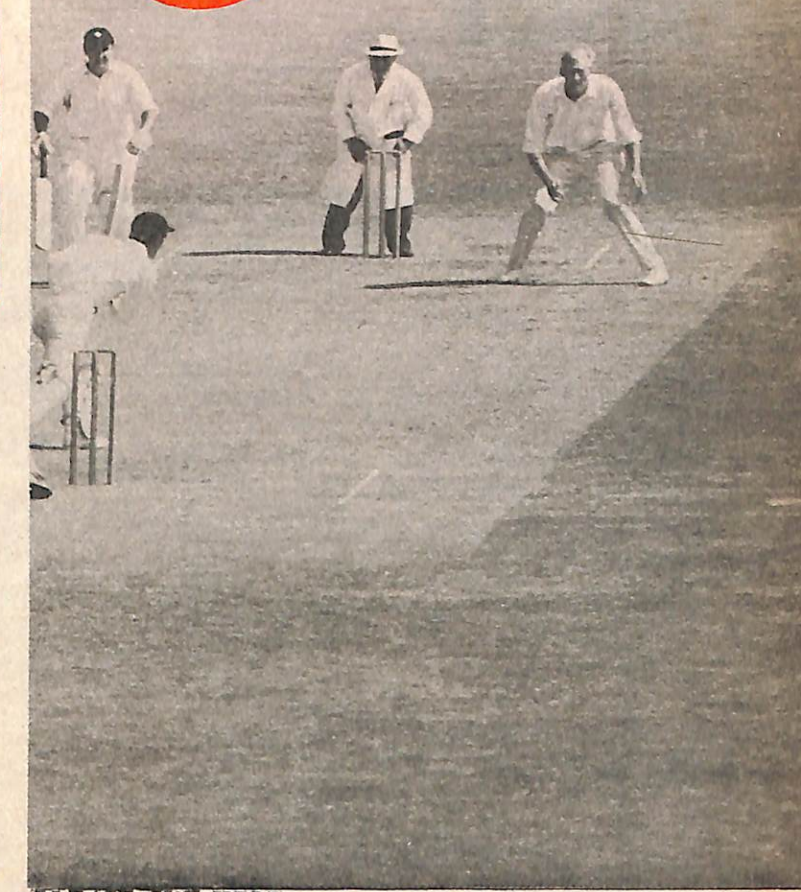
The winner will be announced in the following issue. There is no limit to the number of entries you can make, but only one cross may be marked on each picture. The Editor's decision is final.

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

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FIND  
THE  
BALL



## WINNER OF COMPETITION 51

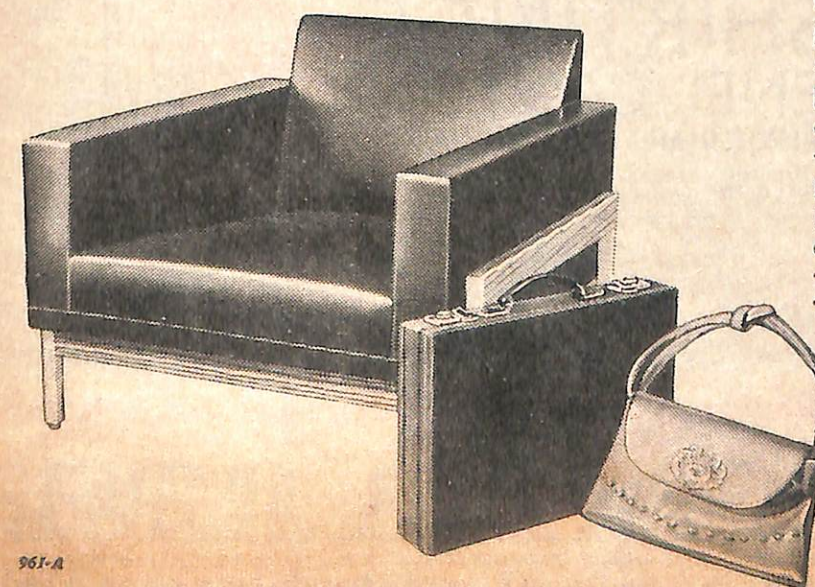
is T. K. Vishwanathan, Inspection Dept, PAL, Kalyan, Dombiveli, Maharashtra. Rs. 25 for nearest entry (2cm from ball).

2nd Prize (Swish Shaving foam in Aerosol Can) to Vijay K. Arora, C/o. Kamals, Rashtripati Road, Secunderabad, A.P. (2.5 cms from ball).

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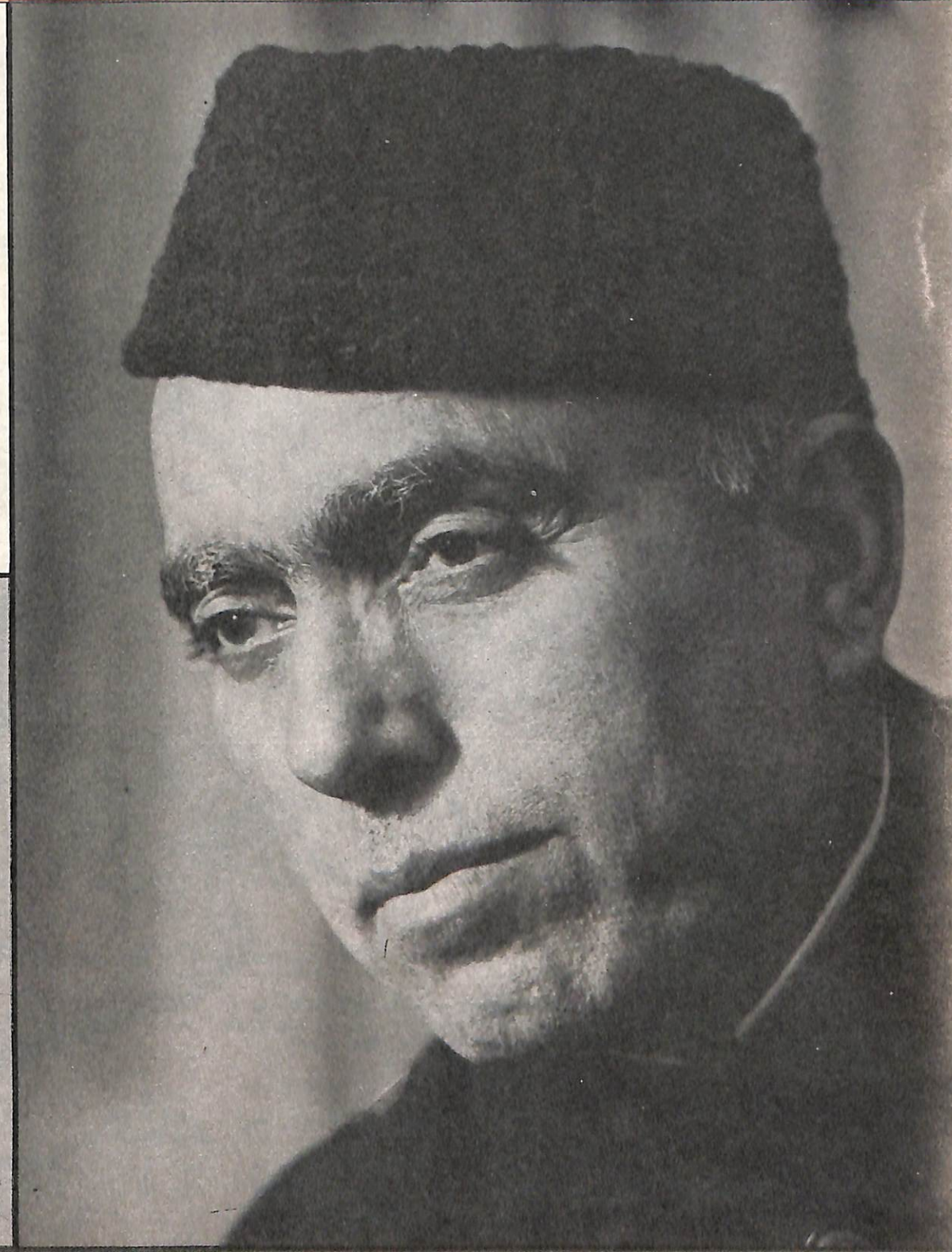
ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY JANUARY 12 1968

**SHEIKH  
ABDULLAH**

**What  
does  
he  
want?**

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