

HIMMAT

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SIKKIM: *Why the turmoil*



Exclusive
HIMMAT meets Bombay's
new Mayor

A false battle

THE Government's economic policy has been marked by its inconsistency. It is caught between the official policy of working towards social justice and an equitable distribution of wealth and the realisation that this will only be possible if economic growth is increased.

In a recent statement the Industrial Development Minister, Mr C. Subramaniam, admitted that at least during the Fifth Plan the Government could not do without the private sector. It did not have the competence or the administrative ability to take over the larger industrial houses.

Mr Subramaniam said the financial and managerial resources of the private sector needed to be utilised to increase growth. This could be done through the joint sector which had so far been only for new industries but would now be extended to existing industries. Larger business houses wishing to expand and start new industries could do so in the joint sector.

However encouraging Mr Subramaniam's statements might sound they still do not replace the need for an overall consistency in the Government's economic policy. If its aim is to go all out to achieve a growth

rate of 15 per cent in the next five years, and it admits the usefulness of the private sector in achieving this target, then it needs to push aside dogmatic fences and give the assurances needed to stimulate growth.

On the other side of the fence our business community also needs to show realism. It was disappointing that at the recent FICCI meeting leading businessmen took to advocating strikes to protest the grain takeover and talked of having the strength to "paralyse the entire economy of the country". Whose interest will such a policy serve? Neither the Government nor these industrialists will suffer — but the ordinary man will. Instead of protesting against what has already happened, the business community would do better if it helped the Government to do the job more efficiently.

In the conflict between the Government and the private sector the nation suffers. It is a false battle. It has diverted their attention from the real battle — which is to feed, clothe and house every one of the millions in this land. Next week HIMMAT is bringing out a special issue which will put forth some illuminating ideas on this subject.

Questions the South Africans ask

THE riot of Zulu workers in Durban, in support of a wage claim last month, reveals something of the frustration under the surface in South Africa. There are however signs that South Africa may change, not by violent upheaval, but by other means. And these, right-thinking people throughout the world should support.

In the heart of the Afrikaner establishment the question is being asked, can South Africa survive in the long run when it represses 80 per cent of its population? This question and others are being raised by such men as General Hiemstra, the recently retired Chief of the Defence Staff.

Only 1800 Africans graduate from university per year. A modern industrial and technologically-minded society cannot grow and diversify if the bulk of the population is not given an opportunity for high level education. Afrikaners are realising this more and more and this will have a profound effect on the politics of apartheid.

Alert to this fact the British newspaper, "The Guardian", has been campaigning for all British firms in

South Africa to pay above subsistence level wages to their African employees. Many firms, of course, pay considerably more. The UK-South Africa Trade Association is also trying to persuade British firms to be fair in their wage policies and conscious of the need to heighten the economic level of the Black South Africans.

A further crack in the wall of apartheid took place with last month's multi-national games in Johannesburg. Here White, Black and Brown all competed with each other in the fire and fury of sports. Afterwards they mixed together at drinks and meals in the hotels of Johannesburg.

The intelligent approach by the world community must now be to ensure these cracks broaden and that the South Africans are not provoked into trying to close them out of fear and suspicion. Violent demonstrations in foreign capitals against South Africa and attacks on her sportsmen are not likely to help the change that may be beginning.

A-sailing we will go

THE Anzacs are at it again — trying to stop further French nuclear tests in the Pacific. How trying the French must find them!

The New Zealanders have nailed their colours to the anti-nuclear mast, literally. They have already sent one ship into the nuclear test area and they plan to send many more. What is more, the New Zealand Deputy Prime Minister Mr Hugh Watt, while on a visit to London has invited Mr Edward Heath, the British Prime Minister to captain one of them!

Mr "Ted" Heath is quite qualified for a calming-the-troubled-Pacific-waters mission as much because of his political importance as his reputed ability as a yachtsman. Says Mr Watt, "I suggested that, as a man of the sea, he might become captain of the ship, and the

Prime Minister of New Zealand would be most willing to serve under him." But what about Watt himself? Will he go too?

Should Captain Heath say "Aye" and the Marshall-Heath team go a-sailing, summit conferences and tedious communiques could well become outdated in the near future. For instance the Bolshoi ballet, accompanied by the midnight pianist of the White House, Mr Richard Nixon, could tour the Middle East.

India too could cash in on this diplomacy of imagination. The Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation, Dr Karan Singh could invite King Hussein of Jordan, a competent pilot with extraordinary powers of survival, to fly him to Peking in an Avro. The Chinese may then be persuaded to place a large order with HAL (Hindustan Aeronautics Limited) for Avros.



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Briefly Speaking.....

There are those whose sole claim to profundity is the discovery of exceptions to rules.

PAUL ELDRIDGE b. 1888

Storm at Sagar University

THE waters of Sagar University are still troubled. First there was the ugly incident on Holi day when an abusive group of boys were said to have tried, forcibly, to enter the girls' hostel and were prevented from doing so by the hostel warden. Later the Vice-Chancellor is alleged to have sided with the boys and forced the hostel warden to submit a resignation. The newspapers took up the case. A judicial enquiry was ordered.

A fresh chapter was added to the story when the warden, Miss Jain, returned to her duties, claiming that she had received no official acceptance of her resignation. She was



"You are invited to inspect the drainage system in Stuttgart, water supply in San Francisco, pollution in Tokyo, and congratulations on becoming mayor of this great city."



mobbed. The Registrar of the University, an ex-Army officer, went to her aid and escorted her to the hostel. But soon after he too was mobbed. He was rescued by his wife who rushed to the spot with a revolver.

Something stinks. One hopes that the judicial enquiry will soon be able to establish who are the villains and who the heroes (or heroines) of the piece.

Black elite not wanted

THE Chief Minister of Papua New Guinea, Mr Michael Somare, has talked sound sense to students in his country. He discouraged the formation of a black elite in the country which would be as cut off from their people as any past colonialists had been. The existence of an elite would create the possibility of corruption and distort the economy.

Mr Somare pointed out that the country spent between \$40,000 and \$70,000 on every graduate — more than was spent on any single village. "We need university graduates prepared to serve the people, not just looking for ways to improve their position in life."

The existence of the elite Mr Somare talks about has been the bane of many developing countries. It has helped create vast disparities and a false prosperity for a few while the majority remain poor.

Papua New Guinea, which is progressing towards independence, has the chance to combat this trend and show that it is possible to build a modern society where the maximum number of people share the benefits.

Hope from Belfast

THE Irish Republican Army (IRA) through its gun-running has internationalised Ulster's problems.

Now another group of Irishmen with radically different ideas is internationalising what could turn out to be Ireland's answer. Recently this group visited the United States and spoke to Senators and Congressmen and were received by the National Press Club in Washington.

Two of the group of 13 men and women—Protestant Tommy Ellwood and Catholic Jack Lavell — had both toyed with the idea of joining rival militant organisations in Belfast until they met Moral Re-Armament. As Ellwood told Senator Ted Kennedy, MRA offered them a way of

rebuilding Ireland "free of the bigotry and hate and prejudice that have been her lot for so long".

According to one Washington newspaperman the Irish left behind an "indelible impression". Hope can be internationalised and this could be the role of Ireland despite the terror and crisis.

Birbal

Next Week

SPECIAL BUSINESS ISSUE

Graham Turner, British award-winning industrial journalist, addressed the Bombay Management Association at the end of his tour of India last January.

On 20th April, HIMMAT will publish Mr Turner's comments on the Indian business scene in a special business issue.

Also published will be an exclusive interview with Mr Frederick Phillips, Chairman of the world-wide Phillips organisation, and other features by Indian business writers.

UPON MY WORD!

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

UPON MY WORD PUZZLE NO 24

You should find 30 words this week.

(Answer next week)

E S O
O R E D
R M T

ANSWER TO PUZZLE NO 23

Attire, augite, egret, gait, garget, gate, geat, grate, great, greet, grit, guitar, gutta, gutter, iterate, rate, ratite, rite, tare, target, tart, tear, teat, teer, tiger, tire, trait, treat, tree, trig, trite, true, urate, urite, utter, EGURGITATE.

SIKKIM: why the turmoil

by Kalpana Sharma

THE tiny mountain kingdom of Sikkim, nestling in the Himalayas, has suddenly erupted and caught the world's attention.

The present trouble has been simmering for many years and has finally come to the boil. It goes back to when the British left the sub-continent in 1947. After Indian independence Sikkim had a democratic movement demanding the abolition of landlordism, a responsible government, and merger with India. The ruling family conceded some of these demands and a popular ministry was formed under Tashi Tsering. The ministry lasted less than a month and there was administrative chaos. The ruler, at that time Sir Tashi Namgyal, father of the present Chogyal (king), appealed to India for help. New Delhi responded thinking, possibly, that it would be easier to deal with one man, who would be obliged to them for restoring his rule, than a whole group of independent-minded individuals whose loyalty to India could not be assured. This short-sighted policy is largely responsible for the present trouble.

So in 1949 a Dewan (now called Sidlon) was sent from New Delhi who was given administrative powers by the Chogyal. A year later in 1950 the Indo-Sikkimese treaty was signed through which Sikkim officially became a protectorate of India and the latter had control over its defence, external relations and communications. Sikkim had autonomy in internal affairs.

SO THEY SAY

I am not weak.

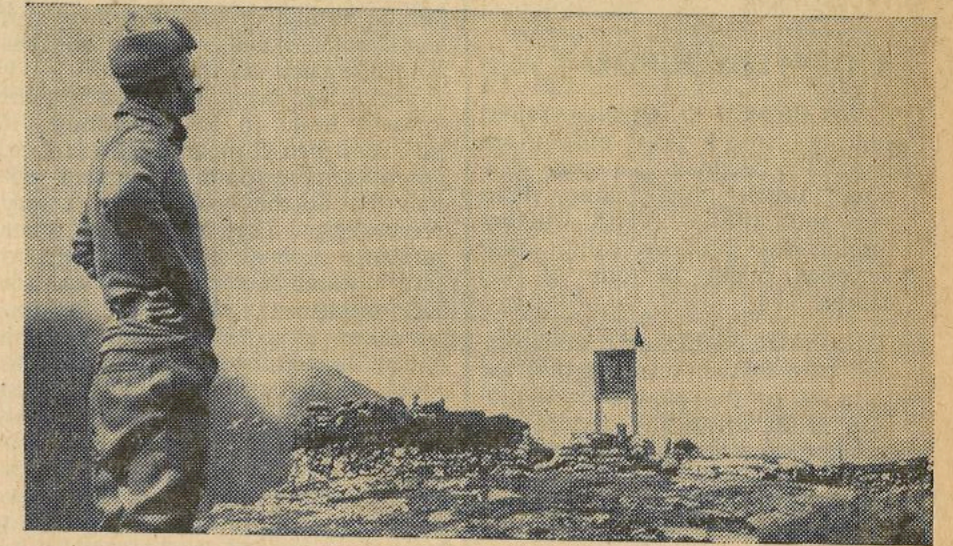
GHANASHYAM OZA
Congress Chief Minister of Gujarat
facing a revolt by some party men.

We have created a monstrous society in which nothing can be achieved by normal means.

PILOO MODY
Swatantra Party Chairman

We should not trust any of the Big Powers. They make friends and drop them as it suits their own purpose.

J. R. JAYAWARDENE
Opposition leader in Sri Lanka



Indian soldier at border post in the Himalayas

In 1953 Sir Tashi Namgyal went a step further and created a Sikkim Council of 24 members, 18 of whom were elected. He also created an Executive Council (like a Cabinet) which comprised the Dewan or Sidlon and one or more Councillors appointed by the Chogyal.

Sikkim's mixed population has necessitated a voting system on communal lines. The original inhabitants of the kingdom are the Lepchas. Then came the Bhutias, who are of Tibetan origin. These two communities are Bhuddist and make up only 25 per cent of the population. The remaining 75 per cent of the population is made up of recent Nepali immigrants. Most of them are Hindus. There is no mixing or inter-marriage between the Nepalis and the Bhutia-Lepchas. To correct this imbalance the voting pattern had to be such as to give the original people of Sikkim an equal say in running their state and to prevent them being over-ruled by "aliens".

Through the existing voting system the number of Bhutia-Lepcha representatives and Nepali representatives in the Council are seven each.

The opposition consists of the Janata Congress party, led by Mr K. C. Pradhan, and the Sikkim National Congress, led by Kazi Lhendup Dorji. The latter has been agitating for democratic reforms since 1948, and has clashed with the rulers. Pradhan and the Kazi went their separate ways for some years but have recently come together again.

These two parties have formed the

Joint Action Council, with the Kazi as its President, which is spearheading the present agitation.

Besides the two opposition parties the main political party is the National Party, an inspiration of the Chogyal.

The ruling Sikkimese Royal Family is of Tibetan origin. Sir Tashi Namgyal, the former ruler, died in 1963 after ruling for 49 years and his son, Palden Thondup Namgyal, became the Chogyal.

The Chogyal has been conscious of and has promoted the Sikkimese identity for many years. He has worked hard to develop its uniqueness and this has been interpreted in some parts as an assertion of independence from India's "protection". In recent years he has also made statements hinting at revision of the 1950 treaty with India. Privately he has been known to talk of settling with the Chinese.

Many Sikkimese feel that India only began paying adequate attention to Sikkim when she realised the full extent of her strategic importance after the Chinese aggression in 1962. Sikkim, only 2828 square miles of it, lies between Nepal, Bhuddist Bhutan, the Chumbi valley of Tibet which extends south between Sikkim and Bhutan, and the tea estates of Darjeeling in the north of West Bengal.

It offers a direct route from Tibet to the Siligur corridor, the narrow neck of land linking the North-East of India to the rest of the country.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT . . .

IS CONCERNED at the U.N. report that the world grain output has markedly declined last year despite "miracle" high-yielding varieties and **SPECULATES** whether forcing the soil by using these varieties might be one of the causes.

IS DUMBFOUNDED at the suggestion of a British scientist that the solution to the population explosion is to drastically reduce the number of women by means of a "boy" birth-pill whereby 90 per cent of the newly-born children would be boys and **WONDERS** whether the scientist himself is slightly unbalanced.

FEELS CHASTENED at the report of the Meteorological Department of India that natural disasters took a heavy toll of life, caused colossal damage to crops and property, and brought misery to millions of Indians in 1972, one of the worst years on record, and **PRAYS** for deliverance.

IS SADDENED at the statement of Mr V. A. Naik, Chairman of the Industrial Tribunal, that industrial law is observed more in its breach by government, management and workers and **REMINDS** everyone that lawlessness in all fields is the basic cause of chaos in the world today.

CONDEMNS the shooting down by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam of an international peace-keeping helicopter because "it had strayed from its strict path" and **SAYS** to the attackers that innocent human lives are far more valuable than any "strict path".

YAWNS at the reported discovery of an English clergyman of a "novel" cure for insomnia, namely, reciting his own sermons at night in bed, and **ENLIGHTENS** him that parishioners have known it all along.

IS BEWILDERED at the UN report branding Tokyo as the costliest city in the world and at a Japanese Government report which gives that distinction to New York and **DECIDES** to stay at home.

SIKKIM — from page 5

The well-known mountain passes of Nathula, Chola and Jelepala are in Sikkim where Indian and Chinese troops face one another under freezing conditions. China has claimed Sikkim as one of the "five fingers of her Tibetan hand". So far she has not gone back on this claim.

There has been some resentment towards India in Sikkim though it has remained beneath the surface. The Sikkimese found the Indian officials sent to their country often very overbearing. Then there were other incidents such as Sikkim's desire to have a watch factory. India was not over enthusiastic. When the Sikkimese called in some Swiss experts, the Indian Government was moved to action and promised a factory set up by the public sector. There is no sign of the factory yet! An interesting point, however, is the fact that Sikkim's annual per capita income is Rs 700 — almost twice as much as India.

The progress that Sikkim's eastern neighbour, Bhutan, has made towards independence and world recognition has made Sikkim conscious of its lack of autonomy. Sikkim has wanted to have co-operation and collaboration with other foreign countries, has wanted to join the UN, the Colombo plan and other such organisations but because of treaty obligations all such moves have to go through India. Sikkim's main exports also have to go through India.

In contrast to the situation in Sikkim that of Bhutan is quite different. There in 1968 the late King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk introduced a revolutionary measure by proposing that the National Assembly have the right to remove the King by a simple majority vote at any of its sessions and that the King should seek a vote of confidence every three years. His contention was that no king had a right to rule if he did not enjoy the support of a simple majority of his people's representatives. The Assembly disagreed but finally settled for a two thirds majority being allowed to remove the king. Perhaps there is no historic parallel of a king handing over the sovereignty of his kingdom to the collective will of the elected representatives of his people.

In 1971 Bhutan became an independent sovereign state. It is a member of the United Nations and has good relations with India.

The present turmoil in Sikkim was apparently triggered off by a very small incident. It was the counting of votes at a polling station at Gangtok during the recent fifth general election. The opposition parties felt they were rigged.

Further when the last Indian to be Sidlon completed his three-year term some months ago the Chogyal then took on his executive powers. He also dismissed the Executive Councillor, who was Kazi Lhendup Dorji, for publicising an alleged seditious article in the National Congress party's official organ which called for electoral and administrative reforms and a written constitution. Then the Janata Party General Secretary K. C. Pradhan was arrested.

Demand for democratisation

The agitation began for Pradhan's release and then grew into a demand for democratisation. The main demands of the Joint Action Council are a written constitution, possibly patterned on the Indian one, and an end to communal franchise. They demand one man one vote because the present system aggravates the differences between the communities.

The agitation has reached such a peak that the Indian Army was called in to restore law and order. All sides have cheered the presence of the Army. The Joint Action Council has issued statements urging India to take over the administration till things return to normal.

Even so India is in a very awkward position. She is not concerned with Sikkim's internal affairs. However, as there is a complete breakdown in law and order and the ruler has appealed for help India has been obliged to intervene. Yet being a democratic nation India cannot be party to any effort to suppress obviously democratic forces in Sikkim.

The Indian Government has advised the Chogyal to negotiate with the opposition. The Joint Action Council has called off the agitation. At the request of the Chogyal New Delhi has sent Mr B. S. Das to be the Chief Administrator of Sikkim. The Chogyal obviously cannot bring about constitutional reforms overnight, but the extent of the turmoil should persuade him to change with the times. He would do best to emulate the example of the late Bhutanese King, even if his situation is not exactly the same.

India needs to think of Sikkim keeping the future in mind. The kingdoms in the Himalayas want to stand on their own feet. They have an identity of their own and are rich in culture and tradition. It is not inconceivable that at some future date there could be a merger of Himalayan states.

India must do the right thing by Sikkim today. Pragmatism and self-interest at this stage will backfire again in the future with possibly more serious consequences.

Bombay's determined new Mayor

Interviewed by Padmini S. Kirtane

MEET Sudhir Joshi, Bombay's new mayor. At 32 he is the youngest this twelfth largest city in the world has ever had.

Since his election on April 2 he has jolted Bombay into taking a long look at herself, at the blemishes that mar her beauty. He has called for preserving old maidans and beaches and for creating more open spaces, planting trees, etc.



MAYOR JOSHI

Mayor Joshi has voiced his conviction that Bombay can regain some of her lost beauty if decisive action is taken.

What sort of a man is he? Courteous, with a sense of humour and also courageous. I was intrigued to find that the man who had refused to move into the mayoral mansion to keep his touch with the ordinary people of the city was dressed in a smart suit and silk tie. Quite a contrast from the oft-prevailing combination of austere garbs and lavish living. Having congratulated him on his election and on the boldness with which he had outlined the steps to be taken to save Bombay I asked how he intended to implement these.

"That's it. Everyone asks me what I want to do. But the point is how to do it. The mayor's chair is a decorative piece. I have no executive powers. And one year is too

short a time." With a flash of humour he continued, "Don't think I want to or hope to spend two or three years here. But what can anyone do in a year?"

Expressing his desire to bring about a working co-operation between the Corporation and the state Government he continued, "Even if in one year no problem is solved, I will at least have had the satisfaction of having set the ball rolling. Even if after three or four mayors have completed their tenures something begins to happen I will find satisfaction in it. But they will also have to be enthusiastic and hard working. Let us see..."

He talked about the futility of reclaiming land and building skyscrapers while the constant influx into the city keeps adding to the problem. His solution is to stop any more factories from coming up. "If you keep creating the employment potential people will keep coming to this city."

One of the two phones on his desk, having made one discreet attempt at claiming his attention decided on shrillness. With a polite "excuse me" Mr Joshi attended to it. When he finished I asked him what he thought of the twin Bombay project.

"They will probably build another Bombay with the same problems."

"What are your relations with the state Government?"

"Already we have been reduced to the level of a gram panchayat. The state Government can rescind any resolution passed by the Corporation. How can any work be done if there is no trust? The people who elect

us have trust in us. Who are these people to say they don't believe in us? And yet that is democracy. You must take the rough with the smooth. If we didn't believe in a democracy we could have had a dictatorship and got things done..."

"You came into office through the joint efforts of a number of parties. Do you have any plan for widening this co-operation so that it can be extended to cover all civic issues?"

"I am now above politics. But I do hope that all the parties will form a co-ordinating committee. Ninety per cent of the issues before the Corporation are problems of public interest. On these there can be no conflict. On the other 10 per cent they can do what they like. At least in this way somebody can side with the Administration. At present there is no one to support the Administration and direct it.

"You don't live in the Mayoral bungalow..."

"When I was not Mayor my door was open to all people...more poor and lower middle class people. If I go to the Mayor's house they will not come. They will feel, 'Sudhir Joshi is detached from us'.

"Now since I became Mayor more people are coming in. My family life is disturbed. Even at that cost I feel it is worth it. But I will use the Mayor's house for functions. In the name of austerity I should not lose the reputation of the city. I use the Mayoral car. I just can't say I'll come by a BEST bus or a local."

"What family have you?"

"A seven-year-old son, a wife, a mother."

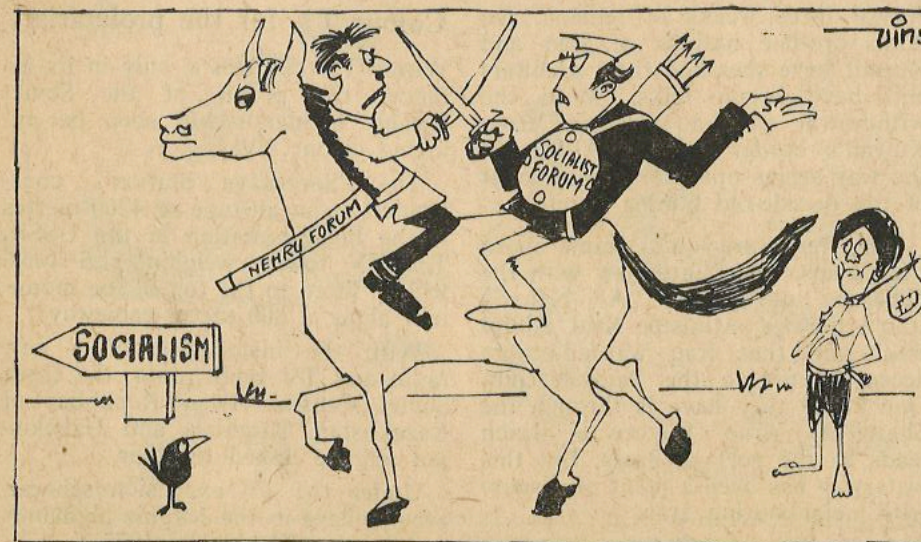
"When did you enter politics?"

"I can't say I entered politics. I entered social service. When I joined the Shiv Sena there was no idea of contesting elections."

"Do you have any hobbies?"

"I had some hobbies. Before I entered all this. I represented my college (Ruparel) in inter-collegiate dramatics. I was in the cricket and badminton teams. I played many other games. I am very fond of music."

The promised half hour was up. I kept thinking on the way back and still do that it is a shame that this man who has the courage and enthusiasm to tackle Bombay's gigantic problems, and who is big enough to rise above party politics, should be hampered by distrust and restrictions. Is it so impossible for Sachivalaya and Corporation Building to be partners?



CAMBODIA:

Sihanouk tightens noose round Phnom Penh

THOUGH a few ships have been able to get supplies to Phnom Penh via the Mekong River, Cambodia's capital remains besieged by pro-Sihanouk forces. With food, water, fuel and war material in short supply, the Americans may need to begin a massive air lift of supplies soon.

US bombers are reported to be making over 100 sorties daily, but the military situation remains desperate. However, it is unlikely that the pro-Sihanouk forces want to capture Phnom Penh for fear of provoking the Americans into taking extreme counter-measures. Rather the attack may be to put pressure on the local population to make them demand the return of Prince Norodom Sihanouk to power.

The battle in Cambodia has been going on, though the Vietnam ceasefire overshadowed any news of it. But events came to a head with the bombing attempt on the President's palace by So Potra, son-in-law of Prince Sihanouk. Unfortunately for him, the bombs were dropped on the palace compound and not on the palace where the Cambodian Cabinet was meeting.

So Potra made his get-away, but Marshal Lon Nol immediately put the Royal Family under arrest. Fighting has become more ferocious since. It has now been revealed that Prince Sihanouk spent the last month in Cambodia, moving freely in the nearly 90 per cent of the country his supporters hold.

Whatever the Americans may think of Prince Sihanouk, it is clear he is loved by many of his people. In their eyes, Sihanouk, whilst in power, kept Cambodia free from direct fighting in the Indo-China war. The Communists used the Ho Chi Minh trail, but Cambodia was not affected. Sihanouk was deposed when he was on a foreign tour, trying to get the Americans, the



SIHANOUK: return to power

Russians and the Chinese to guarantee the neutrality of Cambodia. The irony is that this is also Marshal Lon Nol's policy.

The ailing President of Cambodia seems to be getting desperate. Inflation is so high that prices of food stuffs, including rice, has risen 800 per cent. Lon Nol blamed Finance Minister Ith Thuy for the rising inflation and forced him to quit last week. The next to go was his own brother, Brigadier-General Lon Non, the Interior Minister in charge of pacification and reunification.

Any settlement in Cambodia will have to involve Prince Sihanouk. Though he says he does not want to have the reins of power it is difficult to see him keeping his hands off them.

Sihanouk has spent a long time in Peking as a guest of the Chinese. He is at present in Hanoi for a few days as a guest of the North Vietnamese. If it is only a matter of time before Sihanouk is back in power, he may find the bill for enjoying Communist hospitality and aid very high. The Communists will continue to use the Ho Chi Minh trail and the neutrality he sought for his country will remain a dream. This is the tragedy of Cambodia after three years of bloody fighting.

PERSIAN GULF:

Sheathing their scimitars

AFTER three weeks of tension, the Arab brother nations of Iraq and Kuwait have sheathed their scimitars and have begun talks. With the withdrawal of Iraq's troops from Kuwait's border post of Al-Samita, the way seems open for a settlement of the decade-old border dispute.

The Iraqis are quite frank about their plans. In an interview with the Lebanese newspaper, "Al Nahar", Iraq's Foreign Minister Said Abdul Baki said that Iraq wanted more access routes to the Persian Gulf. One outlet they have is through the Shatt Al Arab Waterway which leads to the port of Basra. But this waterway has been a point of dispute with neighbouring Iran.

Iraq's Foreign Minister has now

demanding control of two Kuwaiti off-shore islands — Bubiyan and Warbah — as a precondition for a settlement with Kuwait. If the two islands were given to Iraq, it would provide a second access route to the sea from the Iraqi naval base of Um Qasi. This base was built by the Russians and their warships frequent the naval base.

But the Kuwaitis have said that they have no intention of even considering leasing them, though they seem ready to make other concessions.

What Kuwait fears is the growing Russian presence in the area. When oil was discovered in southern Iraq, Kuwait was ready to allow Iraq to build a pipeline across its territory to meet Iraq's need for a deep-water port. But the plan was put into cold storage because the Iraqis insisted that the Russians should carry out the pipeline survey.

BANGLADESH:

The Sheikh flies a kite

ONE indication that America is attempting to mend her fences in Bangladesh is a news report that President Nixon is considering inviting Sheikh Mujib to visit the US soon. The report was carried under a banner headline by the Dacca newspaper, "Banglar Bani", which is edited by Sheikh Fazul Huq Moni, the nephew of Sheikh Mujib.

Sheikh Moni is the President of the Awami League youth wing and a member of the Awami League's high command. With much anti-US feeling around, the tentative aspect of the report may be because Sheikh Mujib wants to fly a kite.

SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA:

Colour TV for the proletariat!

WHILE TV in India is only in its infancy, the people of the Soviet Kirghiz highlands will soon be enjoying colour TV!

The "Severnaya Station", constructed at an altitude of 4200 metres is the highest station in the USSR. The TV tower, weighing 1.5 tons, will be lifted to the top of the mountain along a 800 metre cableway.

With the installation of a new radio and TV relay route, the three Soviet Central Asian Republics of Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and Uzbekistan will be linked together.

Under the TV expansion scheme, every village in the Kirghiz highlands will have a TV set by 1975.

No aid for Hanoi says U. S. Senate

Indo-China still worries Washington and the Americans:

● This week President Nixon despatched the US Army Vice-Chief of Staff, General Alexander Haig, to assess the situation in Indo-China as the Cambodian capital, Phnom Penh, lay under siege. After conferring with leaders in South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand General Haig will make his recommendations to the White House on American policy towards Sihanouk as the exiled Cambodian head of state grows in influence.



RICHARDSON

● Last week the Senate by a vote of 88 to 3 forbade any reconstruction aid to North Vietnam unless President Nixon obtained prior Congressional approval. Behind this action lay the mounting public disapproval of aid to the former enemy power following the horrific revelations from returning US POWs over television and in the press of the tortures many Americans endured at the hands of their Communist captors.

● South Vietnam's President Nguyen Van Thieu at the same time conferred with President Nixon and Cabinet officials and thanked the American people for their sacrifice in support of a small nation "even when the going was rough".

● Defence Secretary Elliot Richardson said he would not rule out the use of American air-power again over North Vietnam if the peace treaty were broken and the situation warranted it.

The picture of life in the North Vietnamese prisoner of war camps only became public after the last American prisoner had been released. The returning POWs said that captured US servicemen were beaten, drugged and tortured — sometimes fatally — by the North Vietnamese who wanted them to make anti-war statements.

Air Force Colonel Robinson Risner, who had been one of the senior American officers in captivity, said that prisoners died from neglect and brutality. He himself admitted having made propaganda statements for the North Vietnamese after lengthy torture sessions "when the pain became too severe".

Another prisoner, a civilian, Philip Manhard, was kept in solitary confinement for four and a half years out of the five years he was in the camps. At a press conference, however, he

made a victim's plea for the unpopular cause of providing US economic aid to North Vietnam.

"I have a great respect for the common man in Vietnam. They have suffered a great deal. I think we must do what we can to heal the wounds of Vietnam. I think the Vietnamese people need this. There is a human need that goes beyond the ideological boundaries," he said.

It is difficult to estimate what the effect of the Senate's rejection of aid to North Vietnam will be. Mr Nixon is a resourceful man who has often weathered public criticism. If he decides to give aid to Hanoi he will find the means of financing it from what is already granted in the budget without having to go to Congress to seek approval.

Public disavowal of aid to North Vietnam may also strengthen the American President's hands in his future dealings with the leaders of Hanoi. American popular opposition to aid can act as a lever causing the North Vietnamese to be more conciliatory, especially if they need US economic assistance.

Dr Henry Kissinger, the President's national security adviser, is a strong supporter of US aid for America's former enemy. He believes that it will help make the road of peace a more attractive and viable proposition to the North Vietnamese.

Also, Dr Kissinger, who has been a chief in the peace powwows with the Chinese and Russians, will not be eager to give them an undue advantage in winning their way through aid with the suspicious and embattled leaders of North Vietnam.

Whatever may happen about Hanoi, it is clear that the US Government is going ahead with economic assistance to South Vietnam. President Nixon assured President Thieu of this after his conference with him in the Western White House in San Clemente, California. Some observers think that Mr Nixon may also have given an undertaking to supply the South Vietnamese with military equipment in certain circumstances.

Having spent the first four years of his Presidency trying to extricate his country from Vietnam and achieve "peace with honour" Nixon will not sit by and watch that peace disintegrate. Aid to both Vietnams may play a part yet in that peace.

The US President has many corners to negotiate before he can finally turn off the deadend road America got on to by her military involvement in the Vietnamese war. Indo-China will remain on the American mind and perhaps conscience for some time yet.



"Big chiefs in Washington say, 'No aid, North Vietnam'. Me thinks big-time aid for Wounded Knee."

Rebellion in the Philippines

The increasingly ferocious Moslem insurrection in the Sulu Archipelago in the Philippines could prove a serious challenge to the viability of President Marcos's regime and to the stability of the region generally.

President Marcos is stuck with a situation which he should never have allowed to develop and which Malaysia, with a curiously reckless disregard not only for its relations with the Philippines but for the future stability of the region, is exploiting with barely concealed interest.

While one may dismiss President Marcos's statement that he will attempt to invoke SEATO — there is no doubt that the present situation comprises a clear and present threat to Filipino security. The most discouraging feature of this dismal picture is that it comprises an even graver threat to the continuing stability of ASEAN, which, Kuala Lumpur might do well to reflect, is essential to Malaysia's ambitious plans for neutralisation of the area and its accommodation with China.

SYDNEY MORNING HERALD

Another Indo-Pak summit?

A summit to decide trilateral issues is beginning to look less remote. But India must be clear as to what the next step should be in case events turn out differently. The essentially bilateral issues with Pakistan like trade, travel and exchanges need not be allowed to wait until trilateral issues are settled. An Indo-Pakistan summit could conceivably break the deadlock and get some movement on both counts. If therefore, Mr Bhutto is set on a summit, Mrs Gandhi should not hesitate to meet him. There is something to gain and little to lose.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi

Changing climate

Were the philosophy behind the White Paper eventually to become the effective basis of Ulster politics, the morale of the men of violence would necessarily decline. Even now there are signs that this is happening.

In spite of the mounting death-roll of British servicemen, Mr Whitelaw has been able to claim that last month was the best-ever for the apprehension of terrorists. Nor can those desperate men draw much comfort from the situation in the Irish Republic, where the new Government co-operated splendidly with the Royal Navy



Courtesy: THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, London

last week in effecting the first ambush of an IRA arms ship.

Violence needs a particular moral climate in which to flourish. It is to be hoped that, all over Ireland, the climate is changing.

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, London

THIS INDIA

THE ABILITY TO TALK

INDIA through Japanese eyes — what is the sight that meets the eye? I asked a Japanese visitor.

"I can look at the stars at night," was the reply. Coming from Tokyo where pollution is at its thickest, they have to wear oxygen masks to ease breathing. In other Japanese cities noise pollution is becoming a menace. The guilty are fined heavily. Husbands and wives are forbidden to fight loudly. Though in India there are no curbs on sound production, there is no dearth of it. "Indians talk, talk, talk all the time," observed this bewildered Japanese visitor.

An Indian host invites his Japanese guest to give his views after the inevitable "do you like India?" Maintaining an effort of polite interest, he poses the next question, "What are your trains in Japan like?" It is quickly supported by "You have the fastest train in the world, don't you?"

Then his well imposed (but alas short-lived) control snaps and he lets himself go. Without waiting for his guest's reply, he forges ahead, "We have a good railway network now, but with so many people travelling, our trains are so crowded." Views are expounded on the hazards of travelling by an Indian train; the subject of the Government's ineptitude in handling the growing demand for travel is fully explored and exhausted; the merits and demerits of a nationalised transport system are discussed — all in a monologue.

The Indian is pleased with himself. The Japanese listens with a polite expression. Whether he appreciates the profundities that fall from the Indian's lips matters little to the host. He has found his audience. At the end of the conversation, the Indian gushes how interesting it has been to meet the Japanese. "One learns so much from these encounters." The Japanese conceals his sentiments admirably.

Travelling by an Indian train, the Japanese visitor is poring over a newspaper. Openly curious glances follow him. Soon his neighbour peers over his shoulders and proceeds to read. The Japanese fidgets uncomfortably. The Indian smiles at him warmly and continues his reading exercise unabashed. After sometime the Japanese folds the paper and puts it on the seat next to him. With a "what is yours is also mine" philosophy, without a word the Indian picks up the paper to go through it. There is no shortage of examples of such community sharing in our country. We excel at them.

Traffic war is a well known feature of Tokyo. So is it of many of our cities — but with a slight difference. In Tokyo when a taxi collides with a car, the drivers halt immediately, emerge, meet each other half way, bow formally. They are seen exchanging polite words. For all you know they may be comparing notes on the weather or enquiring about each others families. Then the taxi driver returns, rattles off a few words into the walkie talkie, apparently to the boss of the taxi service. He goes back to the car driver and delivers the message that all is well and the damages will be

paid. They bow again and part on the friendliest of terms.

Imagine this scene in an Indian street. What visions it conjures up. The taxi driver would emerge, hands gesticulating, beard bristling, his steps moving threateningly towards the occupant of the car. A detailed description of his bruised emotions would be delivered in colourful language. It would be countered by equally volatile expressions from the car driver who instead of being sheepish because of his mistake would flex his muscles for a showdown.

Meanwhile dozens would have gathered around watching the drama approaching a climax. The audience joins in, takes sides, applauds or abuses. There is a perfect traffic jam on the road. Finally a policeman may come and break up the party after everyone has had their fill. The Japanese looks on baffled.

Keerja Chowdhury

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Brazil builds mammoth highway

From Sachidananda in Rio de Janeiro

Brazil is embarking upon an ambitious highway building programme to integrate its vast, under-populated hinterland and more fully exploit its rich natural resources.

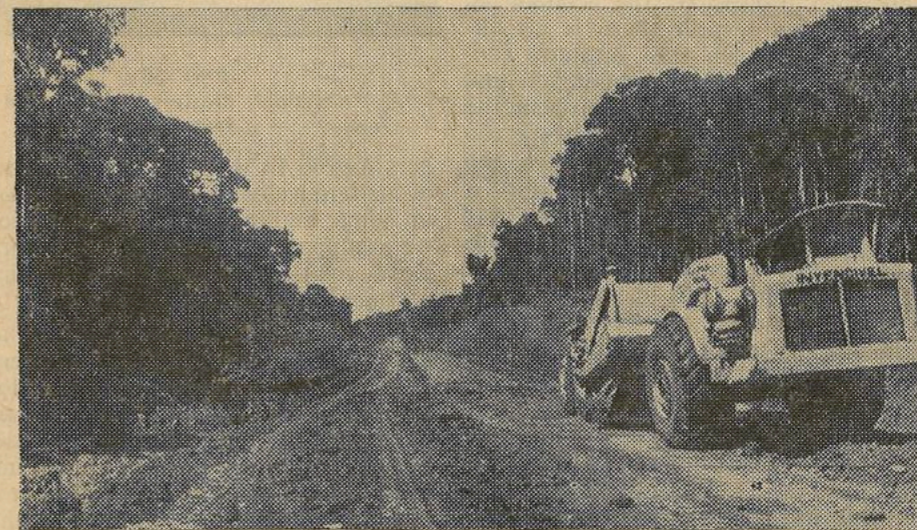
We in India can learn from the planning and forethought put into the programme. For instance, even the construction camps are built in such a way that they can form the core of a new township.

"TO govern is to populate. But we cannot populate without opening roads of all types," said President Washington Luis in his 1927 message to the Brazilian Congress. Nearly forty-three years later, the Federal Government has taken action to integrate the vast nation through modern highways.

Brazil occupies 8.5 million square kilometres, i.e. 47 per cent of the territory of South America with a population of 100 million. (India has 3.79 million square kilometres with 555 million people). For centuries Brazil was a nation of shore-dwellers. More than three-quarters of its in-

light causes intensive leaching of the soil which contains thick layers of humus (vegetable mould) accumulated during centuries. However, Amazonia is not a solid mass of impenetrable jungle. There are many plains, seldom more than 80 kilometres in width, which are subject to periodical flooding. Though much of the region is undulating, the highlands are at a relatively low level and it is these fertile highlands that are suitable for colonisation, cultivation and cattle raising. Since they cannot be reached by rivers, highways are essential.

Some parts of Amazonia produce



HIGHWAY THROUGH THE JUNGLE:
5000 kilometres from the Atlantic to the Pacific when completed

habitants still live along the coastline. Earlier, the population was insufficient to open up the huge hinterland. However, significant headway has been made by the mining communities in spite of many natural obstacles.

To expand its economic frontier beyond the coastline, Brazil is engaged in an ambitious programme to integrate and populate the huge area of the Amazon River and thereby obtain the maximum benefits from its natural resources.

Amazonia covers an area of five million square kilometres with only 8 per cent of the total population. It is a tropical forest, with an annual rainfall of 80 inches. Tropical sun-

iron ore in great quantities; others are believed to have reserves as rich as any in the world in gold, diamonds, rock crystals, aluminium, bauxite and manganese, all economically exploitable. With this wealth of mineral resources Amazonia could become one of the most prosperous regions in Brazil.

The Transamazonian Highway (see page 17 for map) links the easternmost point of South America with the Peruvian road network, thus reaching the Pacific — 5000 km through the very core of the world's largest tropical forest.

In building Brazil's east-west highway, the following factors have been

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17

The week in INDIA

NEW DELHI — A Rs 32 lakh surveillance radar, imported from West Germany, with a range of 60 nautical miles and capable of detecting aircraft flying at a height of 37,000 ft, has been installed at Palam airport.

— India's first auto-engine, running on ammonia vapour instead of conventional petrol, is undergoing preliminary trials at the Indian Institute of Technology.

ALIGARH — The Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, Prof Abdul Aleem, has ordered its closure for an indefinite period due to mounting student indiscipline on the campus.

DURGAPUR — Eight senior officials, including the general manager of the state-owned Durgapur Chemicals Ltd., and the Durgapur Projects Ltd., have been asked to quit by the inquiry committee investigating the charges of rampant corruption, malpractices and mismanagement in these plants.

ROURKELA — Some 500 housewives demonstrated before the Union Steel Minister, Mr Mohan Kumaramangalam, demanding that the Central Reserve Police be permanently posted there to ensure "the safety of their lives and honour".

AHMEDABAD — The Gujarat government has appointed a four-member expert commission, headed by Mr V. V. John, former Vice-Chancellor of Jodhpur University, to report on the future needs of higher education in the state during the next decade.

NAGPUR — The grant of new industrial licences and letters of intent by the Maharashtra government to the already over-congested areas of Bombay, Thana and Poona, in violation of its oft-repeated policy of dispersal of industries throughout the state, has been condemned by Mr Dhanraj Acharya, President of the Vidarbha Industries Association.

BOMBAY — The Government Milk Scheme has started distributing milk in polythene bags, on an experimental basis, for the first time in the country.

— The first hydrofoil boat, which rides on a cushion of air over water, has arrived in Bombay for the use of the City Industrial Development Corporation of Maharashtra (CIDCO) for ferrying men and material between the city and the New Bombay project.

SANGLI — A Hindu temple dedicated to Nandikeshwar (Lord Shiva) has been built by a retired Muslim police officer, Mr M. K. Shaikh, at Kundal village in Tasgaon tehsil of Sangli district, in dedication for a miraculous personal healing.

PANAJI — A 29-year-old French architect, Mr Alan Lobel, is planning to lead a three-man cruise from Panaji (Goa) to London.

People—as well as money—build a nation

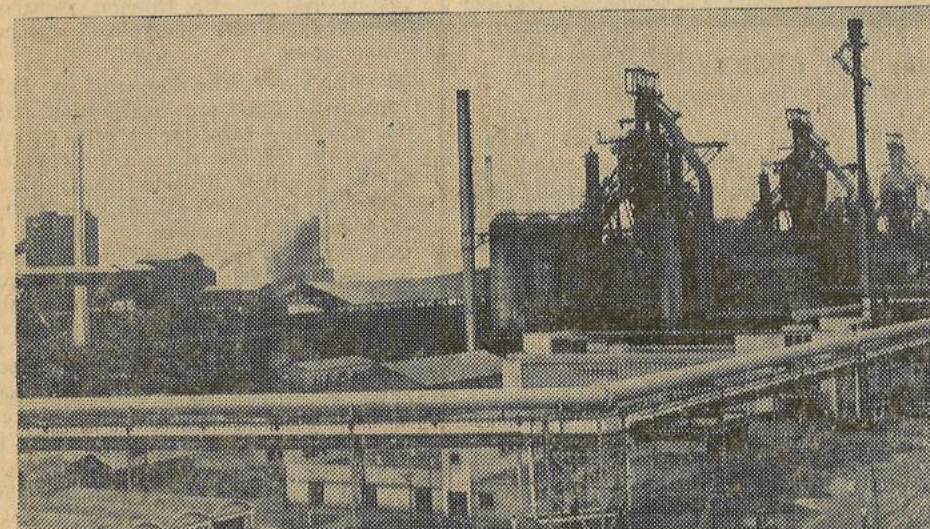
by Gunnar Myrdal*

I DO believe, and I believe it very strongly, that the lack of development or its too slow speed is caused generally by the failure to take into account the human dimensions of economic growth.

In India, Mahatma Gandhi was adamant in stressing the human factor in economic development. To him development meant that people everywhere in the country, and not least in the village, where most of the people live, were brought to begin to act more rationally and effectively and that they then changed their society to make this more possible.

Gandhi was certainly a planner, and a rationalistic planner, but his planning was all-embracing and laid a main stress on sanitation and health; the raising of nutritional levels by more intensive agriculture; a redirection and not only an expansion of education so that it became "basic" and not merely literary and "academic"; and a redistribution of

*From an address to the One Asia Assembly in New Delhi in February, 1973



STEEL PLANT:
the usual estimate of national strength

wealth and land to create greater equality.

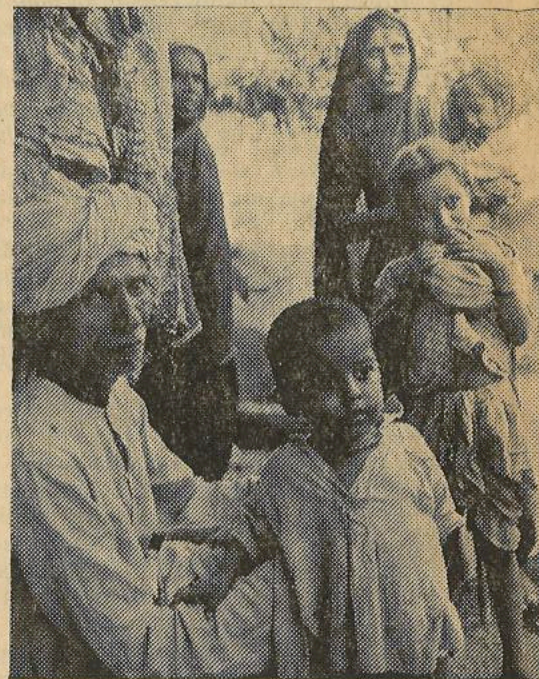
It is only in the latest years that we have more generally come back to Gandhi's ideas, when even some economists have been moved to press for "integrated planning", which is the modern term for what Gandhi was all the time teaching. My Indian friends will not be offended when I say, that if Indian planning has not been more successful than it has actually been, the main explanation is that they have not kept so close as they should to the fundamentals of the teaching of the Father of the Nation.

Economists at fault

A main responsibility for this failure should squarely be laid on my own profession, the economists, and in this respect there is no difference between the Western economists, the Asian economists and, indeed, also the economists from the Communist countries. All were too narrow-minded in their approach, too "materialistic" in a sense.

When research on planning for development in underdeveloped countries began on a massive scale after the hurricane of liberation from colonial bondage, the economists all thought in terms of physical investment, mainly in industry, and of financial and fiscal appropriations.

At the time of the Second World War when economists in great num-



PEOPLE:
a nation's greatest resource and investment

bers moved to work on the problems of underdeveloped countries, studies in some highly developed countries were supposed to have shown a very close relation between physical investment and economic growth.

As we all know, the approach to economic planning for development in underdeveloped countries was for a long time, and is partly today, dominated by the concept of the capital/output ratio. This always implied a narrow attention in economic planning to physical investment and financial and fiscal appropriations. It thus meant a non-consideration on a large scale of the "human dimensions of economic growth".

Closer studies, again carried out in highly developed countries, proved, however, that in reality physical investment could only account for a minor part of economic growth. Even in those developed countries with their superior statistics we have not succeeded in pinning down what these other factors are and how they collaborate in determining growth.

Economic theory has been biased ever since the writings of the classical authors more than a hundred years ago. Economists have believed that social reforms carry their costs, and that they are apt to slow down economic growth.

In my own country, Sweden, where

the Labour Party has been in power for forty years, we have had an accelerating social reform activity for greater equality, which cannot be ended because there are still and always will be inequalities and new ones are created by the development itself. During this time most economists, supporting the conservative parties, have at every substantial reform warned of economic catastrophe.

Sweden above the USA

But, meanwhile, what has actually happened is that the country has experienced an economic growth that in my opinion has now placed Sweden even above the United States if the economic levels were not reckoned on the flimsy figures of gross national product but proper account were taken of the many things which imply an exaggeration of these figures for the United States.

I am mentioning this convergence between economic growth and egalitarian reforms, because it has a lesson for South Asia. If such a convergence can exist in a very rich country, it must be even more important in poor countries. In these poor countries egalitarian reforms are much more needed to raise the productivity of labour, and there they can raise them very substantially.

My view is that egalitarian reforms are not a burden on the economy, but that, if well planned and honestly and effectively carried out, they not only pay for themselves but, more than that, are the means to lift that economy. They, in fact, belong to the most profitable national investment a government in an underdeveloped country can undertake.

Sacrifices by the privileged

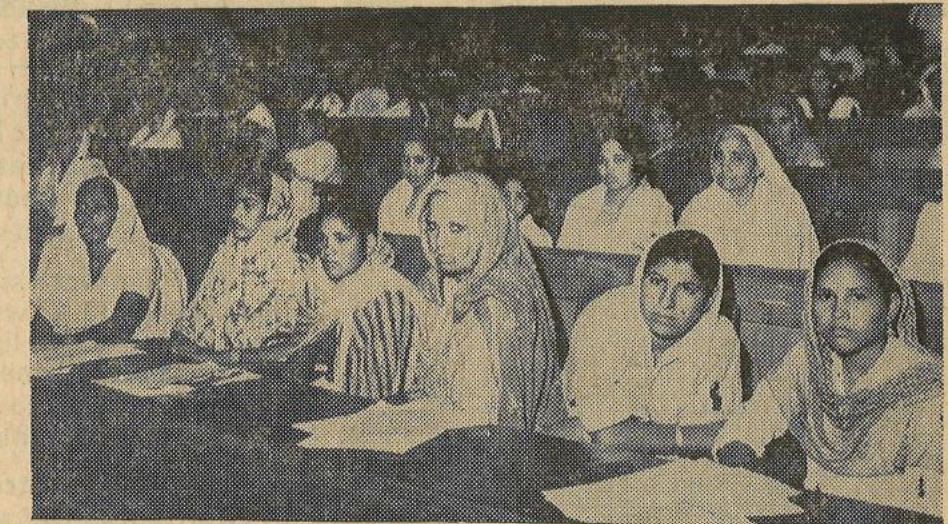
It is true that sometimes they involve an investment with a fairly long gestation period before they mature in returns in form of higher productivity. This implies that for a time they involve sacrifices for those in a country who are privileged and who will have to cut down on less necessary consumption. But even for those who are better off, I believe that this does not in the long run

imply losses, at least in so far as they share in the common interest of economic progress, national integration and consolidation, and political stability.

I am thinking of reforms of land ownership and tenancy, aimed at creating such a "relation between man and land", that man is given the possibility and the incentive to work more, and work more efficiently, and to invest everything he can lay his hands on, in the first instance his own labour, to improve the land and raise the yields.

Assessment and collection of taxes need to be vastly improved in all countries of the region. Corruption should be stamped out.

In "soft states" illegal practices spread through the whole society. But it is persons who have political, social and economic power who can



OVERCOMING ILLITERACY:
vital part of the campaign to give the masses a better deal

really use these devices for their own enrichment.

Taking effective measures against corruption and favouritism is therefore in the interest of social justice. But even more it is needed to improve effectiveness in all human relations, and thus to raise productivity of the economy.

Planning aimed at liquidating mass poverty will, however, imply that a much higher priority will have to be awarded to making labour scarce in order to decrease the immense under-utilisation of the labour force, which is the basic cause of extreme poverty, and to redirecting production to-

wards producing goods and services for the poor masses.

In the Indian Approach to the Fifth Plan, 1974-1979, this is the theme stressed right in the beginning. To what extent this Fifth Plan and following Plans will succeed in adjusting the whole economy, production at all stages and consumption, to these goals, is still to be seen. But it is an advance in that the desired direction of change has been formulated more clearly than before.

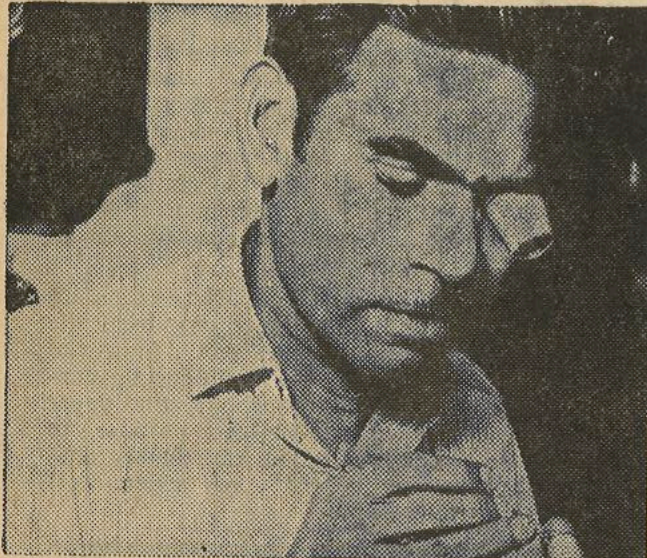
Such a fundamental change will, among other things, imply a much lower level in the consumption of luxury goods in the upper strata. I do not say this with the simple meaning only. It is needed in order to increase incomes and consumption in the lower strata.

With a small industrial basis to start with, it is necessary from the beginning to redirect industrial growth away from producing consumer goods simply for the upper classes. It is for this purpose, to redirect production, that luxury consumption for the upper strata must

be restricted. In a country like India this must imply a rather radical change in the functioning of the whole licensing system.

This type of austerity in the consumption and living patterns of the rich was what Mahatma Gandhi was demanding from them. Austerity in the upper classes is called for primarily to avoid difficulties in the re-direction of production towards what the masses of people need in order to liquidate poverty. Such a redirection of demand and production is an important element in building a more egalitarian society and, at the same, a vastly more productive economy.

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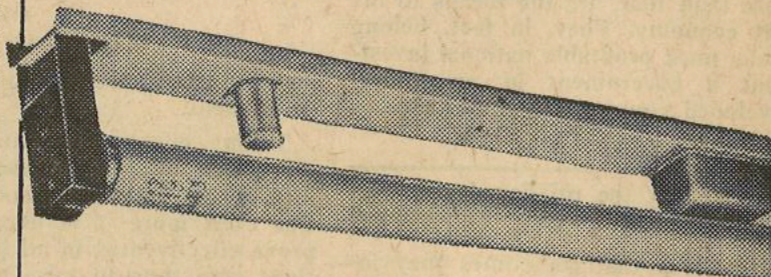


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India's World Cup hockey chances — what the experts think

THE National Hockey Championship in Bombay gained added significance in view of the forthcoming World Cup in Amsterdam.

HIMMAT asked three experts for their views on what they saw. Here they are:

Roop Singh, the doyen, who was honoured with a benefit match during the Nationals, feels that our players by and large do not stick to their positions. With the forwards especially moving everywhere, teamwork suffers, he says.



ROOP SINGH: positioning vital

"In our days we knew exactly where our colleague would be. Thus we could pass or hit a centre without having to first stop and find out where another player was. There was no loss of time or the opportunity for the defence to regroup itself."

Roop Singh believes that the hard-hitting tactics of the European teams are not best suited for our players. However, he bemoans the lack of stickwork and ball control.

How can our forwards improve their shooting ability? Says Roop Singh: They must first learn to trap the ball. Once they do that they will find shooting a lot easier.

Sacru Menezes has already hit the headlines with his classic question: Who is Pardeshi?

For those who have not been catching up with hockey news, Pardeshi is among the 35 players chosen by the Indian Hockey Federation for the two teams to be fielded by the federation in the Beighton Cup and Rene Frank Tournaments. In other words, the 35 players are viewed by the selectors as the probables for the World Cup.

Menezes says he has nothing personal against Pardeshi. However, he is at a loss to understand how a player who was not found good enough to represent either Bombay or the Railways could be considered worthy of a place in the Indian team.

Pardeshi lives in Bombay and is employed by the Western Railway. As one entrusted with the shaping and performance of the Bombay team, Menezes should know what he is talking about.

Menezes is highly critical of the ways of our selectors and cites the instance of Pardeshi's inclusion to advance his contention that hockey players are getting a raw deal all round. Our officials are breaking the hearts of the players and the morale of the team as a whole, he says.

Menezes also feels that Balbir Singh, of the Railways, ought to have found a place in the I.H.F. list. Asked how good he thought Balbir was, Menezes put a counter-question: "Who else is there?"

As one who donned pads with distinction and just missed India colours — a cut above the lip still bears mute testimony to his daring — Menezes is best qualified to speak about goalkeepers. He is emphatic that Cedric Pereira is still the best. Watch out for John Correa, he adds. "That lad has tremendous talent."

Menezes strongly disapproves of the tendency of most goalkeepers to kick the ball. It is effective at times but extremely risky as the custodian may completely miss the ball should he mistime the kick. The margin for error can be eliminated by first stopping the ball, he says.

While most prophets are predicting a gloomy forecast for Indian hockey, **Leyland de Sousa**, the widely travelled correspondent of "The Times of India" takes the opposite view.

Indian hockey seems to be turning the corner, he says. The performances in the Nationals showed a steady improvement among the players and this was reflected in the large attendances.

Incredible though it might seem, there was a full house for the Services-Railways final and many were turned back. This itself is a healthy sign, feels Leyland.

The new two-man offside rule, he says, has considerably enlivened hockey and led to less interruptions by the umpires.

Leyland, however, feels that our strategy will have to be revised if India are to perform well in the World Cup.

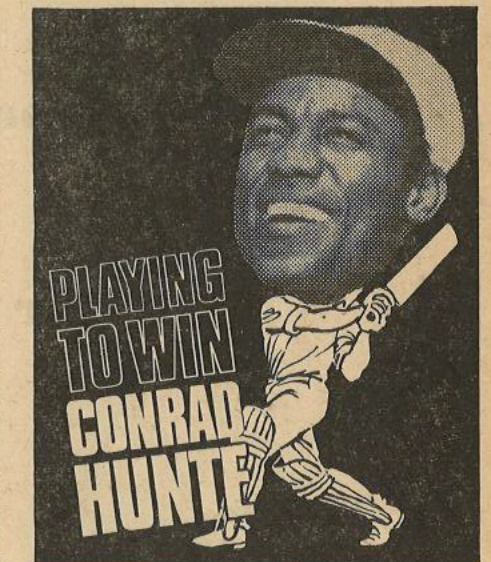
Even the leading teams still followed the pattern under the 3-man off-

side rule, says Leyland. Under the new rule, one or more forwards can be stationed well upfield and will have to reckon with only one defender, besides the goalkeeper. With the exception of Bombay, no side tried to modify its attack in a bid to make the most of the new rule, says Leyland.

SPORT

Shor (Mysore centre-half), Trevor Fernandes (Mysore centre-forward), Malkiat (Punjab left wing), Ajit (Punjab University inside-left) and Asaf Purthi (Bihar centre-forward) are some of the young players who have impressed Leyland.

Playfair



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BRAZIL — from page 11

taken into consideration:

— providing a permanent land route which complements the waterways of the Amazonic basin. (There are 19,000 km of navigable rivers);

— interconnection of the main populated centres along the southern edge of the river basin;

— utilisation of favourable land strips, six miles wide, on both sides of the road, set apart for colonisation;

— creation of access facilities for prospective mining activities;

— and adequate planning to retain the natural environment.

The Transamazonic Highway is being built in stages. At first it will be a low cost road with the basic function of meeting the requirements of a small amount of traffic.

Special highway studies are necessary for the execution of the project. Due to the characteristics of some parts of the region which make it difficult to carry on direct field studies, an aerophotogrametric survey has been carried out, utilising infra-red film. These photo analyses provide the road designers with topographical, geological, pedological and hydrological data. As a result of these investigations, the definite location of the route is marked, so that the felling of trees can begin. Once the central strip is cleared, the geometric design of the road is executed together with the drainage system. Due to the rainfall and lack of adequate soil, the road grade has to be elevated. Drainage and maintenance of a gravel surface is a constant challenge to the engineers.

Construction camps have been built in such a way they will be kept

as nuclei for colonisation. These camps may become the new townships for agricultural communities known as agrovilas. These are the smallest integrated centres for the rural-urban community. Equipping these agrovilas with medical facilities and technical advice for agricultural machinery has not been forgotten. Plots of land for ownership are of 100 hectares each, and are located between 500 metres and 5 kilometres from residential areas. The value of a plot has been fixed at 1000 cruzeiros (about Rs 1300) to be paid off over 20 years.

Twenty agrovilas are planned to make one agropolis. This will have the regional administrative bodies, co-operatives, social assistance posts, secondary schools and agricultural industries. Finally, a ruropolis will



be formed to serve as a centre of regional integration and spearhead the development of industrial activities.

When the Transamazonic Highway is completed next year it will become the pride of Brazil. It will certainly represent the quality of the nation's leadership and the hard work and dynamic faith of the people.

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— TIMES OF INDIA —



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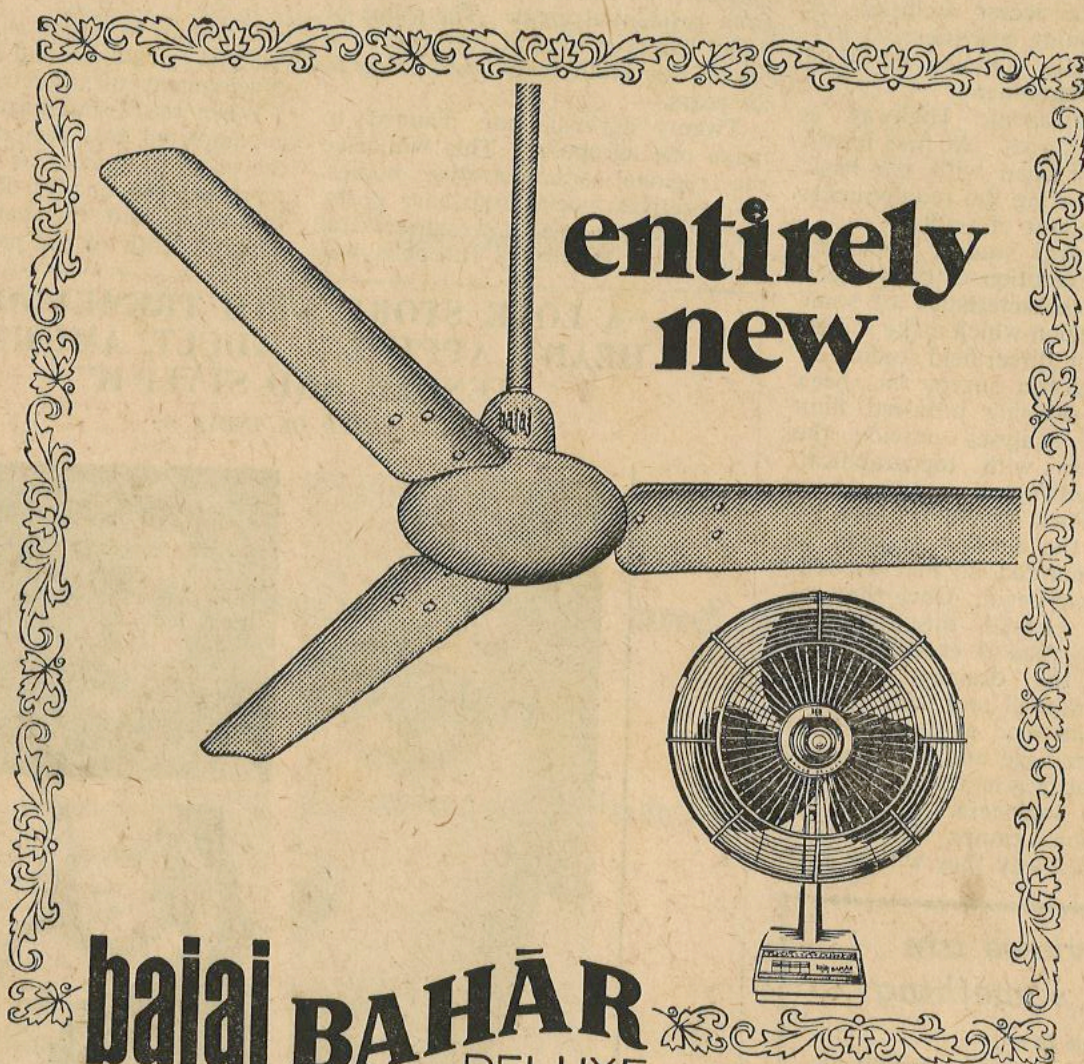
when the blind heroine gets back her sight.

This film may not be an entertainer in the usual sense of a typical Hindi film. It has no spine-chilling suspense, no breath-taking fights and not many run-around the tree romantic scenes. But the music of the film rates considerably higher than the usual. Its songs are sure to be on the hit parade. Most of them have a folk touch which is very typical of

S. D. Burman, the music director of the film.

Rajesh Khanna appears in the film as an innocent florist and does his job quite well.

Moushmi Chatterjee emerges as a very powerful actress. She has already won several awards in Bengali films. Her maiden Hindi venture will certainly help her to rise towards the summit of stardom. The producer-director of the film is Shakti Samanta.
Gautam Das



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Letters

A MINISTER FOR POWER

RECENTLY several articles and reports have appeared in the leading newspapers of India about the failure of electricity, particularly due to the failure of the Electricity Boards to carry on efficient administration. In fact the workings of these semi-Government authorities is worse than the vicissitudes of nature.

In order to combat the shortage of electricity, in my opinion, it is absolutely necessary that a full-fledged Minister of Cabinet rank be appointed exclusively in charge of electricity and power. This would enable the Central Government to give proper attention to electricity and power so that the objectives of the Government to accelerate economic growth in a frame-work of social justice and self-reliance are quickly achieved.

R. N. LAKHOTIA, Calcutta 14

MONKEY BUSINESS

I HAVE read with disquiet and some distaste the remarks of BIRBAL in your issue dated March 30, 1973. The problem of the export of monkeys to other countries, often under appallingly cruel conditions, has for many years been faced and fought by those engaged in animal welfare work. One is rather startled by the light-hearted approach to a very serious subject.

Rev C. G. EARLY, Medak, Andhra Pradesh

WARRING BANKS!

THE recent statement of the Union Finance Minister that the nationalised banks had flouted the Reserve Bank of India's directive not to win over large accounts of over Rs 25 lakhs from other banks by increasing their own interest rate, raises some important policy issues.

The trouble started with a nationalised bank taking away a big account from the State Bank of India. When the latter protested to the Reserve Bank, it was ignored. Thereafter, SBI, with its massive resources, started beating other banks in this game.

The Reserve Bank's role in this affair raises the following questions: 1) Why did it not act on SBI's protest in the first instance? 2) All nationalised banks have on their boards a Reserve Bank nominee each who apparently is a party to the transactions. Did they receive any instructions from the Reserve Bank of India to put an end to such deals or are they independent agents? 3) Since over 90 per cent of SBI shares are vested in the Reserve Bank, could not the Reserve Bank have exercised its proprietary rights to stop the SBI from acting as it did?
M. R. PAI, Bombay 1

TRAFFIC AND POLLUTION

WHEREAS most may agree that traffic should be "public conveyance oriented", there are other factors such as pollution that should be taken into account. In fact, if one has to take into consideration the traffic in the next 10 years, it will be best for the health of all concerned if no motor vehicles are permitted within a pre-determined radius of 20 to 40 miles from the centre of the city.

Even the railway administration should refrain from using diesel or coal-fired locomotives as these undoubtedly pollute the atmosphere. Not only truck terminals, but also airports, bus terminals, railway stations, harbours, taxi-terminals, etc should be situated on the periphery of the city. There should be no offices, residential buildings, or places of public recreation near these terminals.

The harbour area and sea-front can be kept clean only if motor boats, and pleasure cruising, are not permitted unless the fuel used by them is such that there are no exhaust fumes, oil leaks, etc.

B. MEHTA, Pondicherry



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SIR NOEL COWARD 1899-1973

"For I believe
That since life began
The most I have had is just
A talent to amuse."

This verse from a song in his musical "Bitter Sweet" could have summarised Noel Coward's own estimate of his extraordinary career. Actor, dramatist, director, singer, composer, dancer, story-writer, novelist and autobiographer, he truly deserved his popular title, "The Master".

He was born in Teddington, England, on December 16, 1899 to middle class parents. His father worked for a firm of music publishers and his mother ran a lodging house. He recalled that as a child he was vain and precocious — ready to burst into a tantrum if denied an opportunity to sing and dance. The initial push came from his mother to whom he was devoted till her death at the age of 91.

Starting with his first public appearance at the age of 10, in a children's play, "The Goldfish", he never looked back. Around his nineteenth birthday he was clear that he wanted to do much more than acting. He started writing plays and became one of the best paid artists of the '20s and the '30s and was almost knighted for his enormous patriotic rouser called "Cavalcade". He was a fanatical worker who worked hard to make his work appear easy. A great publicist, he deliberately fostered the image of a sophisticated aristocrat with a style of flawless polish and sleek elegance in whatever he wrote.

He was noted for his kindness and generosity, unobtrusively paying off the debts of his friends. One endearing quality about him was that his success never went to his head.

His best known works were "Blithe Spirit", "Bitter Sweet", "Hay Fever" and "Private Lives". He was knighted in 1970.

The Master, with his cigarette-holder, the silk gown and that look of "a heavily doped Chinese illusionist" died in Jamaica, on March 26, 1973, of a heart attack. He was a supreme professional. He may not have left the world better than he found it but, without doubt, he left it merrier.

S. C.



What Mrs Gandhi can do

by Rajmohan Gandhi

It is extremely difficult for people in charge of countries to devote their energies solely to nation-building, even in times of peace.

That this applies to the India of today is obvious to everybody. The Prime Minister and her colleagues are obliged to use a large portion of their time — the proportion is hard to estimate but is undoubtedly high — to sort out political tangles. Not a day seems to pass without provincial spokesmen arriving in Delhi to demand political changes or to defend themselves. Currently, traffic for such purposes is heavy between Andhra, Gujarat, Mysore and Assam on the one hand and New Delhi on the other.

No head of government can adopt an attitude of lofty unconcern towards what might be called purely political issues. The restoration of political peace in a province does not automatically solve the practical difficulties of the general public. Yet administrations cannot function without a measure of political stability, and Prime Ministerial energies are therefore understandably applied to its achievement.

Today our central and state governments are not able to concentrate on administration. The needs of political consolidation continue to preoccupy them. For this position of affairs the opposition parties cannot claim all the credit. Congressmen not in power are as active as opposition politicians in thrusting political issues onto the Prime Ministerial plate, if not more so.

Thus in Andhra, Gujarat, Mysore and Assam the political uncertainty that is evident is the result of Congress in-fighting. One need not deny that real issues such as the Mulki rules in Andhra and the medium of instruction in Assam colleges call for solutions. But it is also clear that the addition of political hurts and ambitions to "real" elements produces a pretty combustible mixture. To prevent it from exploding becomes the task of the Prime Minister and her colleagues.

Surely this is a pity. Our country is ready for a period of construction. We have a strong and

stable government at the centre. The leadership of the Prime Minister is nationally and internationally respected. While we cannot yet claim that complete friendship exists between us and all our neighbours, we can note with gratification the absence of hostile relations. The end of the war in Indo-China is an indirect help to peace and progress in our land.

The desire for progress has spread far and wide and deep among our people. Our Prime Minister is keen for India to be modernised. Simple and necessary facilities of drinking water, sanitation, transport, education and housing do not appear to lie beyond the grasp of our millions. Yet these millions are not able to grasp them. Of course there has been progress. The present drought in several parts of the land should not blind us to it. In cities and villages our countrymen and countrywomen are eating and dressing better than, say, 20 years ago. Yet the pace is small, and the gall is great because we know that it could be larger.

Mrs Gandhi's success in defending herself and her beliefs during the time of the Congress split drew considerable admiration. Her triumph in subsequent polls increased it. Her leadership of the nation during the Bangladesh crisis caused it to soar.

The examination she now faces is possibly the severest that has come her way. Can she defuse the various political crises? Can she manage to create across the country an atmosphere favourable to steady work? Can she give the country a respite from political squabbling? If she can, she will establish herself as a truly exceptional stateswoman.

Authoritarian techniques, whether or not successful elsewhere, are not open to her. By choice and conviction she is opposed to them. She has to win by teaching and persuasion and by being firm in the right way at the right time.

She has little possibility of victory if she does not have a competent and selfless group of people working with her. Competence is difficult enough; selfless-

ness is even more demanding. Yet those with faith in man and in India cannot rule out the emergence of able and unselfish men in responsible positions.

Magical qualities cannot be demanded of anyone, not even a skilled Prime Minister. On her own Mrs Gandhi cannot convert the natures of the leading politicians of our country or even of the Congress party. However, it is possible to think of certain useful steps she could take.

She could fight for and obtain a moratorium on sloganeering and on the competition in radicalism that she has herself decried. Naturally she cannot ask for such a moratorium from parties other than her own. But cannot Congress accept such a ban? Is it not possible for Congress governments in the provinces and at the centre, and for the party organisations behind them, to concentrate on the development of an honest, efficient and courteous administration?

The Prime Minister has often stated that nationalisation will not cure every disease. Men in the private sector would do well to realise that nationalisation is not the source of every disease.

Is co-operation or confrontation meant to be the norm for India? Are some Indians devils, and the rest just and noble? Or is it that all of us need restraint and discipline and honesty? Those who subscribe to confrontation can be rightists or leftists. Businessmen who take pleasure in the defects of the public sector are as guilty of confrontation as the extremists who want businessmen to disappear.

The Prime Minister can help by throwing her weight more decisively behind the goal of co-operation and by reprimanding more sharply than she has done the advocates of confrontation in her own party.

The political disturbances that fill our newspapers are real. At the same time, it would be an error to overlook the national mood that favours progress without destructive confrontation. Mrs Gandhi can strengthen this mood and use it to build an India nearer her hopes.



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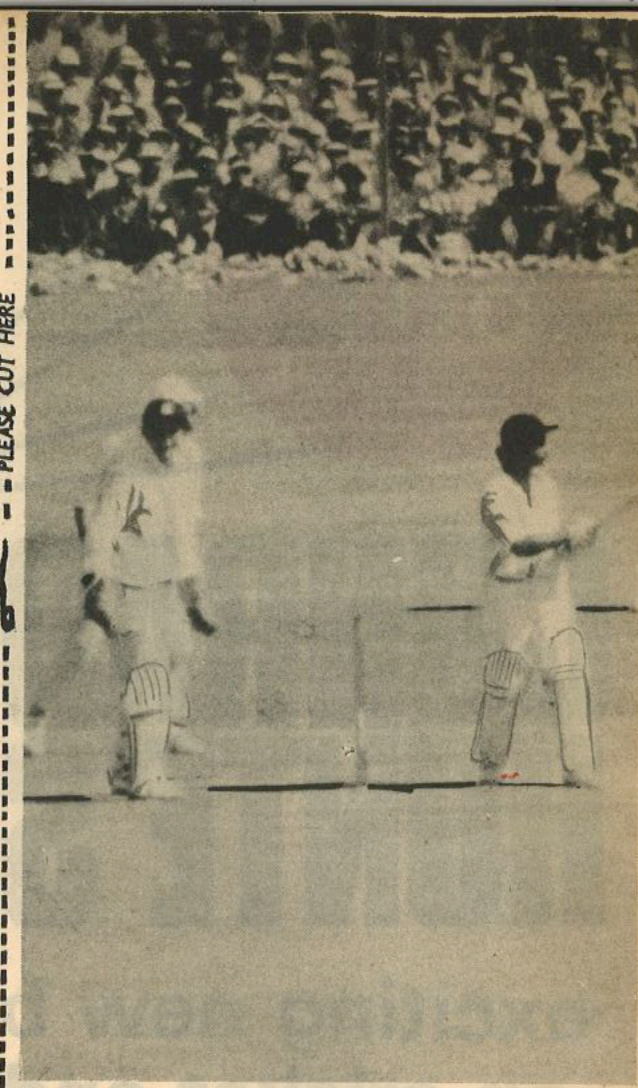
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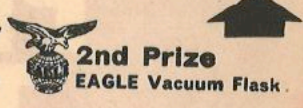
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