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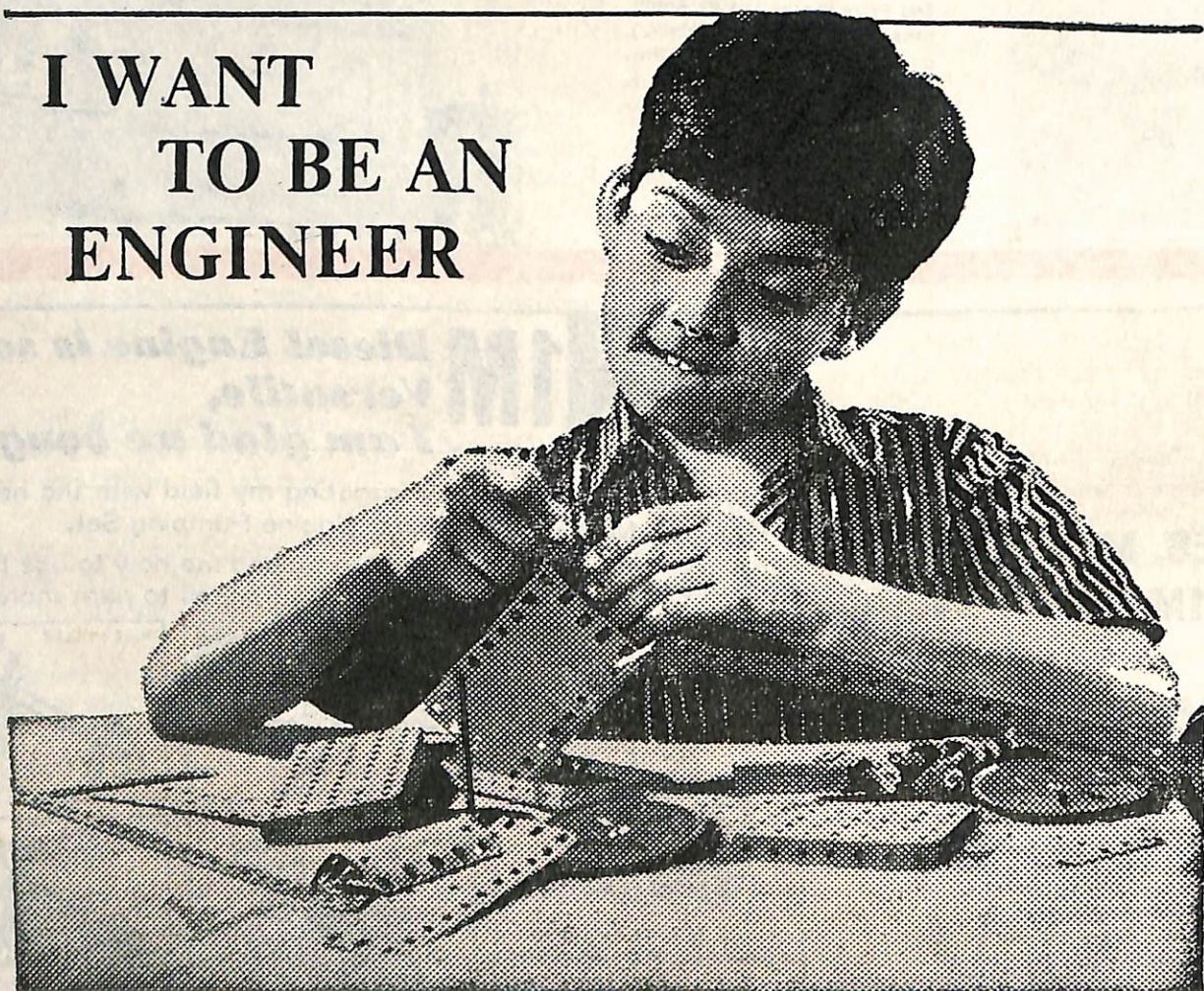
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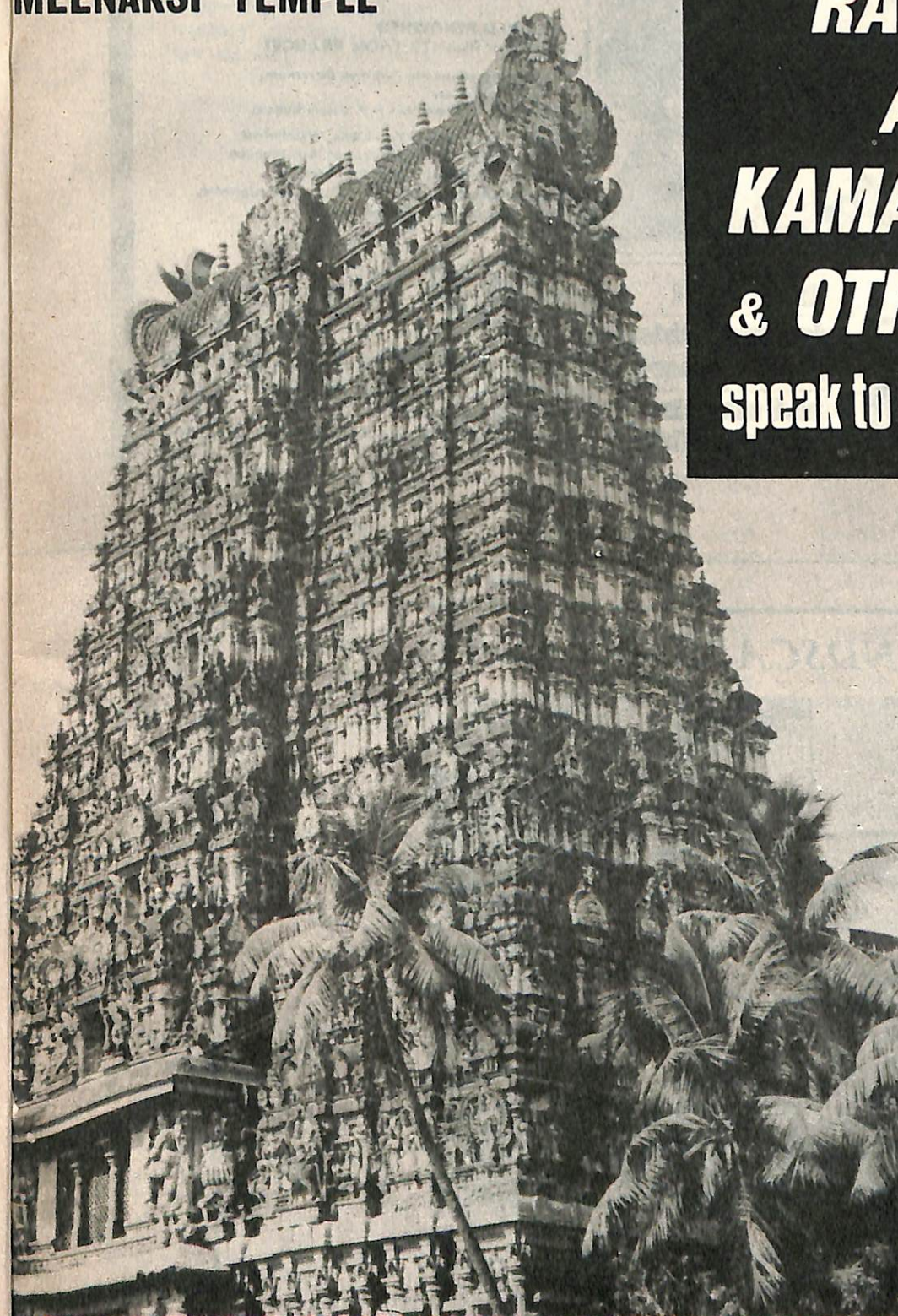
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ENGINEER**



MEENAKSI TEMPLE



**RAJAJI
ANNA
KAMARAJ
& OTHERS
speak to HIMMAT**

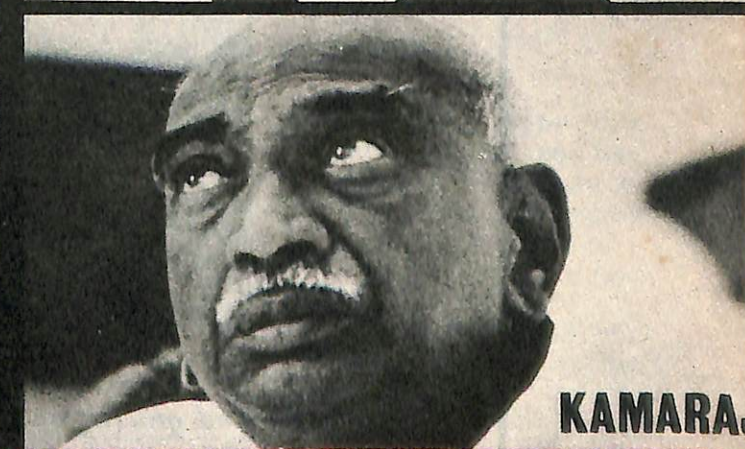


RAJAJI

sketch by
E. GNADIG



ANNA



KAMARAJ

Assam storm awaits Indira's return

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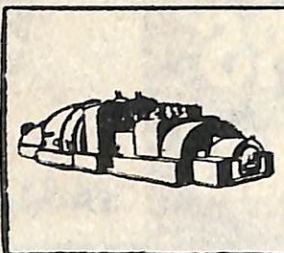


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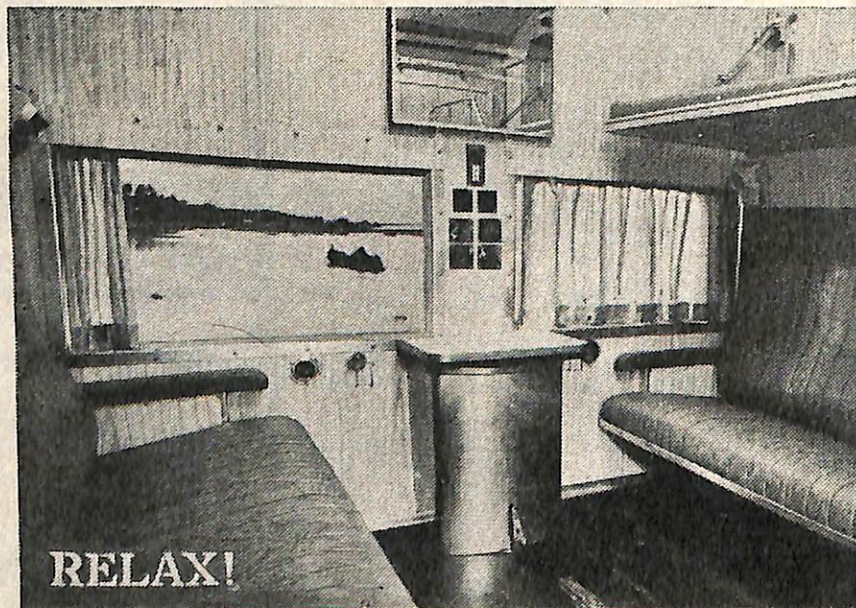
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[Indian Railways]

Editorials

Garland of broken promises

Is the Assam issue never going to be settled? New Delhi has been trying to garland the State with a string of broken promises. It is not surprising that Assam's citizens, of mountain and valley, feel choked rather than honoured.

The successive dates by which the Central Government was to have announced its final decision on the hill leaders' demand for a separate state will long be recalled as unpleasant proof of New Delhi's dithering.

The Central attitude, interspersed with declarations of imminent decision, has been to wait for "an agreed solution" between Shillong and Gauhati. HIMMAT feels that, despite the steady hardening of the rival positions,

such an agreement is not utterly impossible. Changing the state of the entire Indian Union is more important than asking for, or opposing, a new state in it. If this is accepted by both sides they can yet reach a settlement.

New Delhi's homilies to Assam's different groups on this score, however, sound hypocritical and unconvincing. Assam can with accuracy remark that the boot is on the Central foot. The public display, and private existence, of deep division among the top Cabinet Ministers has damaged the credibility of policy statements.

The Centre needs to know its mind. And, in coming to a conclusion, it should worry itself more about what keeps love of country intact in people who feel aggrieved.

Flattery blinds de Gaulle

Will the democratic institutions of France survive until President de Gaulle's referendum on June 16? The world and anxious Frenchmen are asking this question.

After three weeks of rioting, worst in a generation, there is no guarantee that the crescendo has been reached. Those who saw the return of sanity in the compromise agreement reached by Prime Minister Pompidou with trade union and business leaders, after a 15-hour session, have been disappointed. The rank and file thumbed their noses at it.

And yet the agreement was far-reaching: 35 per cent increase in the minimum wage; 10 per cent overall wage rise in two stages, with an annual review of wages; progressive reduction in working hours; new family allowances and social pensions. Even these rejected proposals were considered more than the economy could bear without suffering crippling inflation at home and unacceptable export price rises abroad. There are rumours that Finance Minister Michel Debre, who feels that too much has been conceded already, may resign.

M. Pompidou has been Premier longer than any predecessor since the 18th century. No one wants to see France crumble into the shapeless disorder that attended the Fourth Republic before de Gaulle reshaped it.

At the heart of France's crisis is the refusal of her citizens to be responsible for their nation. Of 15 million

industrial workers, only 2 1/4 million bother to become dues-paying trade unionists. And of these more than a half are controlled by the Communist CGT.

After years of suffering dozens of leaders with no followers, France found in General de Gaulle a saviour. He has served France well. But he has served her too long. Frenchmen have praised and blamed him too much. Their flattery has blinded him to the weakness of his solo rule. Their criticism, coming mainly from those jealous of his throne, has confirmed him stubbornly in his path. The majority have basked in France's new-found glory but left its maintenance to the General.

The June referendum will not likely end the crisis, or de Gaulle's reign. France's conservative countryside can poll more votes than its angry cities.

At 77, has de Gaulle the strength, sagacity or will to launch a new crusade for a greater France? Will he follow up a referendum's "Yes" with dignified retirement? If so, who and what will he leave behind? This failure, as much as his uncontested achievements, will dominate the historical record of "France, 1958-68".

Many will now make de Gaulle a scapegoat but who will speak out responsibly for alternative policies? While France may lack the discipline for stable rule she has never lacked the talent and it is the forceful display of this talent that the world now awaits.

Export and survive

A GOOD convention is being established. When firms secure a fresh export order they announce it with a fanfare.

Last week Kamani Engineering Corporation announced the award of a Rs 6 crores contract with the Central Electricity and Water Corporation of Sudan for transmission line towers.

Mukand Iron and Steel Works celebrated on Saturday the shipping of their share of a Rs 8.5 crores order for high speed cast steel bogies for use on the Korean National Railroads.

Other export orders have recently been secured from Kuwait, Singapore, Burma, USSR, Greece, Malaysia and Iran. In each instance the firms secured the business in the face of keen world competition.

The Union Minister for Industrial Development, Mr

Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, in expressing his hope that industry would strike a growth rate of six per cent this year, announced further export prospects: a Rs 2 crores contract for transmission towers from Iraq, and orders for railway wagons from East Europe.

The Government expects exports of steel to rise to Rs 70 crores this year, twice last year's figure.

The State Trading Corporation expects a seven per cent increase in exports with increases in engineering goods, cement, leather goods and bananas.

Industry must develop this export initiative. Along this road lies economic solvency at home and influence abroad, for powerful links with other countries can be forged through trade. Also, as the nation looks out to the world, many petty, divisive issues will disappear from the domestic scene.

Briefly Speaking...

Turkey pays

TURKEY is the latest country to adopt a special exchange rate for tourists. It adds one third to the value of a pound or dollar, which is said to be even better than the prevailing black market rate. With political instability blighting neighbouring Greece, the Turkish Government hopes to boost Turkey as a popular alternative for sightseers.

Oh, when will the Indian Government realise what a bonanza in foreign exchange its anti-tourist policies are denying the country?

Cold-blooded migration

MANY West Indian migrants to Britain are returning home. A survey published earlier this month in *Race*, the journal of the Institute of Race Relations, investigated the case histories of 60 Jamaican immigrants.

Their average length of stay in Britain was nine years, during which many of them saved enough to buy property on their return home.

A popular reason for leaving Britain was the weather. Said one of them: "I could not stand it. The cold keeps the blood awake all the time."

Who runs Haryana?

CHIEF MINISTER Bansi Lal says he is not going to make "daily" or "weekly" trips to Delhi. Which, put in simple language, means he proposes to run the show from Haryana itself.

—THE STATESMAN, May 22

THE composition of the Haryana Cabinet will be finalised after the Prime Minister returns from abroad. This was announced by the State Chief Minister, Mr Bansi Lal, after a one-hour meeting with the Congress President, Mr Nijalingappa. Mr Bansi Lal has, however, been authorised by Mr Nijalingappa to appoint one Minister, pending the final approval of his Cabinet by the Prime Minister.

—THE TIMES OF INDIA, May 27

"Football keeps me sane"

THE parish priest in Mickleover, England, has begged prospective brides not to book their weddings on Saturday afternoons as he does not want to miss the Derby County football matches.

"I am quite sure," he writes in his parish magazine, "that by the grace of God it is this interest in football which helps keep me reasonably sane and able to do my job as a parish priest."

Musical chairs

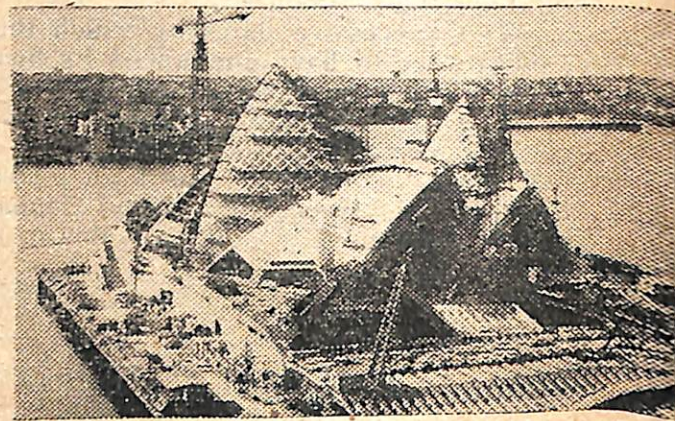
AUSTRALIAN External Affairs Minister Paul Hasluck flew from Canberra to play host to Mrs Gandhi at an unusual luncheon in Sydney last Saturday. Fifty prominent writers, artists and journalists changed seats between courses to enable as many as possible to sit at the main table and chat with the Prime Minister. The informal function, given at a famous harbourside restaurant, was described by *The Times of India* correspondent as "an immense success".

Another date Mrs Gandhi kept was a visit to Sydney's controversial Opera House. This wonder of archi-

Fanaticism consists in redoubling your effort when you have forgotten your aim.

GEORGE SANTAYANA, 1863-1952

ecture (or white elephant, as its critics dub it) is nearing completion at a cost of \$50 million (Rs 37.5 crores). With its steel and marble structure,



Sydney's \$50 million Opera House

and sail-like roof of sculptured concrete, this cultural centre has stirred world-wide interest and local hostility. It was originally estimated to cost only \$7 million. Successive State Governments have dodged taxpayers' ire by meeting spiralling costs out of State lotteries.

Progress in prison

THE Maharashtra Government has set up an open-air prison thirty miles from Aurangabad. The inmates, all serving time for murder though none of them are professional criminals, will work on the Godavari irrigation project and earn an income for work done. One fifth of their earnings will be given them for day-to-day pocket expenses. The rest will be held for them until they return to society. They will be trained in improved methods of agriculture, in masonry, plumbing, carpentry and other crafts. The Government deserves congratulations for an imaginative first step in dealing with the over-crowded and archaic state of prisons.

What's the rush?

NEW DELHI—The regional passport office here has been issuing more than 3000 passports every month for the last three months, and most of them were prepared on an emergency basis, according to Mr C. Bhalla, Chief Passport Officer. (UNI)

Where, I wonder, are they all rushing to?

Birbal

FROM THE CAPITAL

BY ANTENNA

Assam storm awaits Mrs Gandhi's return

NEW DELHI Political forecasters here predict squally weather for Mrs Gandhi when she returns from her pathfinding tour of South-East Asia and the South Pacific. They fear it might even turn stormy if the Deputy Prime Minister chooses to make an issue of the Prime Minister's proposal, based on the recommendations of the Home Ministry, that the demand of the hill tribe leaders in Assam for autonomy be conceded.

The day before Mrs Gandhi left New Delhi, Mr Morarji Desai is said to have indicated at a meeting of the full Cabinet that he would oppose the proposal on principle. He considers it would set off a chain reaction in other tribal areas, particularly along the sensitive northern border, for self-rule. This might weaken India's security.

It should be noted that Mrs Gandhi argues in support of regional autonomy for the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and the Garo Hills. She thinks it necessary to quell the unrest in Assam which threatens to disorganise the security set-up in the strategic North-Eastern areas.

Mrs Gandhi is caught between two conflicting fires — one from the hill leaders, who have resigned from the Assam Legislative Assembly to start their non-violent movement of protest against the Centre's delay in meeting their demands, and the other from the Assam Congress leaders, who are preparing counter-action if the Centre goes through with the plan for autonomy.

Supporters disagree

Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, one of Mrs Gandhi's stoutest supporters in the Cabinet, has reportedly threatened to resign in sympathy with the attitude of the Assam Congress. He is the victim of conflicting loyalties, for he cannot be loyal to the Prime Minister without being disloyal to the party leaders of the State to which he belongs and thereby putting an end to his political career.

In his opposition to the move, Mr Ahmed is said to have the backing of another close supporter of Mrs Gandhi, Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh. His argument against it is believed to be that the hill peoples of his home State of Uttar Pradesh will be encouraged to press their longstanding demand for a separate state for their territories, some of which have a common border with Nepal and others with Tibet.

Apparently, there is a move to take

the issue from the Cabinet into the wider arena of the Congress Party, and the inspiring force of this move is said to be the Party President himself. Whether, as alleged, Mr Nijalingappa has a deeper motive in doing so is not easily discoverable, but he has expressed a desire to visit Assam before the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee opening here on June 3 to discuss the question of an autonomous hill state with the Assam Congress leaders.

Whatever Mr Nijalingappa's intentions, and there are whispers here that the move is connected with a new offensive that the Syndicate plans to mount against Mrs Gandhi's leadership at the Congress Committee

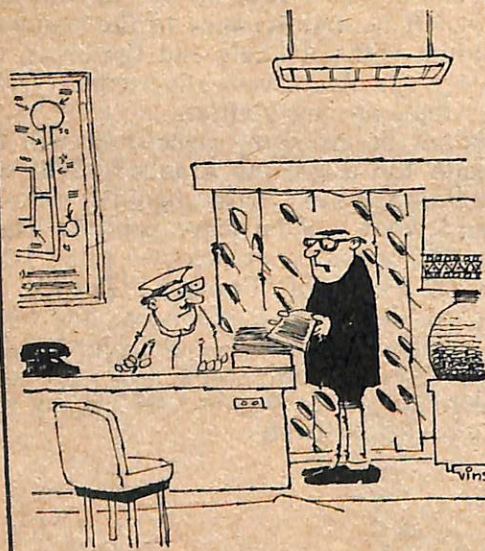
Meeting, his intervention is bound to complicate matters and cause irritation to the Prime Minister.

The plain fact is that if Mr Desai within the Cabinet and Mr Nijalingappa in the Party forum openly declare their resistance to the autonomy demand of the All-Party Hill Leaders' Conference, the Centre's bid to satisfy the hillsmen will be scuttled. This will be a defeat for Mrs Gandhi and an indication that the forces within the Government and the Party working against her leadership are growing in strength. Just before she left on her foreign tour, Mrs Gandhi herself admitted that differences existed in her Cabinet.

But there is a strong point in Mrs Gandhi's favour. Her survey of new horizons abroad has been a tremendous success from all accounts and she returns with her prestige outside India immeasurably increased.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

CHALTA HAI..



"You told the people that things would get worse before they got better. I suppose that means things are getting better, because they are certainly getting worse."

THIS WEEKLY FEATURE comes to you through the courtesy of the EAGLE VACUUM BOTTLE MFG CO (PVT) LTD

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BIG SHOT

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LET US HANG TOGETHER

As our leaders point out, the nation is facing an unprecedented emergency and unless we all hang together we shall hang separately because the time has come when every mother's son who loves his country should shore up the gaps which are appearing in the body politic, threatening disintegration to our secular state, and jeopardising the territorial integrity of our sacred Bharat.

What they have in mind, of course, is the film crisis. It is hard on the public because, apart from Parliament, where else can they get some drama?

To get the picture I turned to that doyen of cinema fans, Shri Talibajav, head of the powerful Filmgoers' Sena (165,798,324 members). Readers may recall I last met him in the 75 paise queue at the Annapurna Cinema two months ago. He is hard to find. There are 63 cinemas in Bombay, so he doesn't have much free time.

It is years since he saw the sunlight so, when he is free, he prefers to sip *falooda* with his friends in Andy's Cave, a dimly-lit restaurant on Lamington Road. I found him there at noon.

I hear that your rivals, the Screen Sena, are threatening to disclose the black money earned by film stars.

"It is a case of projection," he said, nervously adjusting his dark lenses. "They pay two rupees a day to their demonstrators. No receipts or anything. So they can't whine if the stars get two lakhs of rupees in black money."

I read that 249 film people make more than Rs one lakh a year each.

"That was a printer's error. One lakh earn more than Rs 249 a year. Very different story, you see."

How do you view Government going into feature film production?

"We welcome it. Our policy is more films and longer films," he replied, shielding his eyes from the sunlight as a customer opened the door.

"We should be self-sufficient in film-production by 1987. To achieve this, the Government will have to step in. They aren't interested in profits, being socialist-oriented, so they can nationalise the studios.

"Of course, you won't get quality, but you'll get quantity. And, let's face it, with our population going up every hour by as many people as can fill the Annapurna, the emergency will become serious if people are starved for celluloid."

I took my leave, amazed at the lucid way in which Shri Talibajav unravels the mysteries of this vital industry.

Freebooster

HIMMAT, May 31, 1968

HIMMAT, May 31, 1968

VERDICT!

This week HIMMAT...

JOINS Calcutta's residents in **HEAP-ING PRAISE** on the Centre for its decision to bear the cost of a second bridge over the Hooghly River, a sum of Rs 16 crores.

WISHES it had foreign capital to invest after reading L. N. Birla's enthusiastic advice to foreign investors that India's economy was "just ripe for sustained development".

SEES HOPE in the announcement that Ghana will return to civilian rule in September 1969.

HAILS the recommendation by Maharashtra educationists that the teaching of English be compulsory from the fifth standard.

IS APPALLED at the loss of six million man-hours in West Bengal alone last year, half India's total loss, due to political unrest and the recession.

WILL CHARGE the Government with criminal negligence if it does not take immediate measures to house the bumper grain harvest and save thousands of tons of wheat now threatened by the advancing monsoon.

CHORTLES at the sartorial chaos that prevailed when Poona University attempted to "Indianise" academic garb and students turned up to receive their degrees in *dhotis*, trousers, *churidars*, *Jodhpurs* and *achkans*.

REGRETS Mr Kosygin had to leave Karlovy Vary, the famed Czech health resort, before he could view the Indian film epic "*Upkar*" due to be screened there in early June.

IS AMAZED that it needed Congress victories in Haryana, Kerala and West Bengal before the Communist Party concluded that the voters would demand "united working" from United Fronts or throw them out.

URGES our administrators to emulate the Governor of Tokyo who imposed on himself a cut in salary as punishment for bribery among his subordinates.

This in turn should strengthen her own position in the country and in the Party, increase her confidence in herself, which has been steadily growing in the last few months, and thus enable her to face any signs of revolt against her leadership with firmness. Her opponents in the Government and the Party should realise that, however strong their case, this is a very inopportune time to try collision with her.

Thus, even if the coming squall over autonomy for the hill regions should turn into a storm, the odds are that Mrs Gandhi should be able to weather it without much difficulty. If she chooses to press for the acceptance of the Home Ministry proposals, there may be some initial opposition, but her will should finally

Best World Press

Soviet-Czech moves

No one believes that Moscow intends to intervene violently in Prague as it did in 1956 in Budapest. But the next Warsaw Pact manoeuvres are scheduled to be held in Czechoslovakia. What happens if the Soviet troops, after entering Czechoslovakia, don't leave? This is the danger. The intervention could occur without drama, without noise. The Soviet troops would not shoot, but they would not go away.

CORRIERE DELLA SERA, Milan

Ferment in France

A regime that has claimed order as its first achievement is shown to be presiding over disorder. A movement that boasts of being the wave of the future discovers that it, too has its next generation in revolt. The "profound transformation" President de Gaulle repeatedly claims he has accomplished in France turns out to be not so profound after all. Domestic, social and economic problems have never attracted de Gaulle's real interest. Most of his attention has focussed abroad. The search for prestige, the effort to restore the grandeur that was France; has alienated old friends without winning new allies.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

During Charles de Gaulle's presidency, the French electorate has changed from being the oldest to being the youngest on record.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Boston

Opportunist coalitions

Within an astonishingly short period — little more than a year — the non-Congress political parties which held such

prevail.

Another reason for strengthening Mrs Gandhi's confidence in herself is the good certificate the Aid India Club has given her Government. It has noted with approval the Government's efforts to increase grain production and to bring about an overall improvement in agriculture, made a favourable assessment of India's needs of foreign aid and has agreed to a partial rescheduling of its debt payments this year and to consider a similar concession in the next two years.

If these are not clear indications of increasing confidence in Mrs Gandhi in Western capitals (Mr Kosygin indicated his confidence last month when he made an unscheduled visit to New Delhi at the end of his Pakistan tour), what is? And they are signs that her opponents cannot afford to ignore, except at their peril.

high hopes after the general elections, are in various stages of disarray and confusion.

Opposition parties cannot by their nature evolve a consensus. Each attempts to utilise United Fronts to its own advantage irrespective of the damage it may be doing to the interests of its partners. In the eyes of the public these unstable opportunist coalitions have lost all credibility.

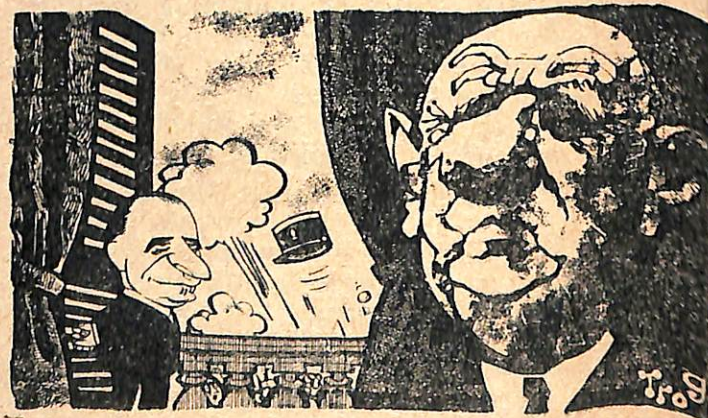
THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, New Delhi

Nuclear Treaty

India has the same security problem as Australia, with a possible enemy armed with the nuclear weapon too close to her borders. And that potential enemy has not signed and will not sign the (nuclear non-proliferation) Treaty.

Australia and India, faced with this grim situation, cannot be made to give away the reality of a future nuclear defence weapon for a vague promise by the three nuclear powers to come to their assistance.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, Sydney



courtesy of THE OBSERVER

"And where shall we hold our peace talks, Mon General, Washington or Hanoi?"

What does the DMK want?

BY R. M. LALA

MADRAS can either be a uniting or a dividing force in India. The ferocity of recent anti-Hindi agitation and riots, coupled with the previous demands of the ruling DMK Party for a separate country, has made many wonder where this State of 35 million people is heading. To understand the Madras of today one needs to understand the origins and growth of the DMK and its leader, Mr C. N. Annadurai.

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam is the product of an anti-Brahmin revolt that started in 1916 with the Justice Party. This revolt was stimulated by E. V. Ramaswami Naicker's "Self-Respect Movement" which started in 1929. He tried to cooperate with the ruling Justice Party, but on account of his anti-religious views, fell out with them. Naicker propagated the "rationalist" movement and a separate country for the people of the Dravidian race. This policy was a reaction both to the "imperialism of the North" and the domination of the Brahmins. He drew a bunch of dedicated young men around him, the most outstanding of whom was an editor, writer and brilliant orator, Annadurai.

Broke away in protest

In 1949, the 71-year-old Naicker married a party worker, aged 26. The bright young men who worked with him, led by Annadurai, felt this was not quite in keeping with the rationalism he preached. They broke off and formed the separate Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. Eighteen years later, last year, they captured power. Their main platform was and remains opposition to Hindi. Until a few years back they held to their demand for an independent State of South India. When a Bill was passed in Parliament making any demand for secession illegal, the DMK gave it up. In their earlier campaigns they had publicly burnt copies of the Indian Constitution and the National Flag. Such was their sentiment.

What sort of men are the DMK leaders? What do they really want?

I met a number of the DMK Ministers in office. They appeared to me to be dedicated and sincere. Elsewhere in this issue their views are given both on language and the Centre-State relationship. Mr Annadurai wants an impartial commission to be appointed to investigate the

working of the Indian Constitution since 1950, and to advise on future Centre-State relationships.

The youngest in the Madras Cabinet is the 33-year-old Minister for Law and Labour, Mr S. Madhavan. He says, "Unless the political set-up is changed, there is no real solution. We want a real federation. The present is federal in name only. In actual fact it is like a unitary State. Except for Defence, Communications and External Affairs, other powers need to be vested in the states and not in the Centre."

He elaborated, with feeling, "Why should the Central Government dictate to us in Madras what legal terms we should use even in our District Courts? We will defend India, but if our (Tamil) civilisation and language is attacked, we will oppose it. We want unity, but not uniformity."

The DMK Party has 500,000 members and 4000 branches throughout the State. Many of its leaders are writers, scholars and artists — men who greatly affect public opinion. They have a superb organisation. Annadurai and his friends have taken politics to the masses of Tamilnad.

Though rationalists, their appeal has been mainly emotional. They have given the young people an idea — however limited — and a sense of participation in protecting the interests of the South. Mr Annadurai once wrote, "Politics is not the other man's job — it is everybody's problem. But let me add this, the brain is not enough — the heart is all-important."

An idea and a personality

The success of the DMK is due to the fact that it is a party with an idea, and also has a personality that symbolises it. The personality is Annadurai. For many years, even in the darkest days of struggle, Anna and his wife have been a father and mother to the DMK party men. A gracious hostess, his wife has fed them at any time of day or night when they came to see Anna.



Mr Madhavan

As one sits with Anna today, one realises that he is a man with a large heart as well as a brilliant mind. He is once reported to have said that India should be divided into separate countries. But over the years he has mellowed in his views and I believe it is a genuine change.

Annadurai wants to play a part in national life but says he finds it difficult to do so because of the handicap of languages — not knowing Hindi. Many of his supporters feel their ambitions, too, may have to be restricted to Madras and feel irked.

In the last fifteen months they have proved cautious administrators and have kept the administration running efficiently. Bringing down the price of rice to one rupee per kilo is their major achievement. The DMK Party has demonstrated that when a single party with an absolute majority takes over, they can rule as well as the Congress, and even better.

But what of the future? "The DMK in six months or more," said a shrewd observer, "will have to find a new theme — the old gramophone record of protecting the interests of the Tamil people will get worn — and what will that be?" The DMK is a young party. Its men are fresh, ready to try out new ways and yet not rash enough to experiment for the sake of experiment. For example, the Minister for Prisons is not satisfied with primitive punishments but wants to know how to change the prisoners.

Though there was a strong streak of anti-religion in the DMK, in 1965

CONTINUED ON PAGE 33

SO THEY SAY

The measure of India's success is the measure of success of the future world.

SIR ROBERT MENZIES, Former Australian Prime Minister

Life is a process of finding stepping stones and treading on them. Maharashtra was one of our stepping stones.

GEORGE HARRISON of the Beatles I still love them. I will love them whatever they say. As long as they meditate they will be mine.

MAHARISHI MAHESH YOGI, on the Beatles

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Coming to think of it, we will have much to do with his life, even considering what we make now.

And our future growth? That's for him to guide, for what we do is what would do him good, directly or indirectly.

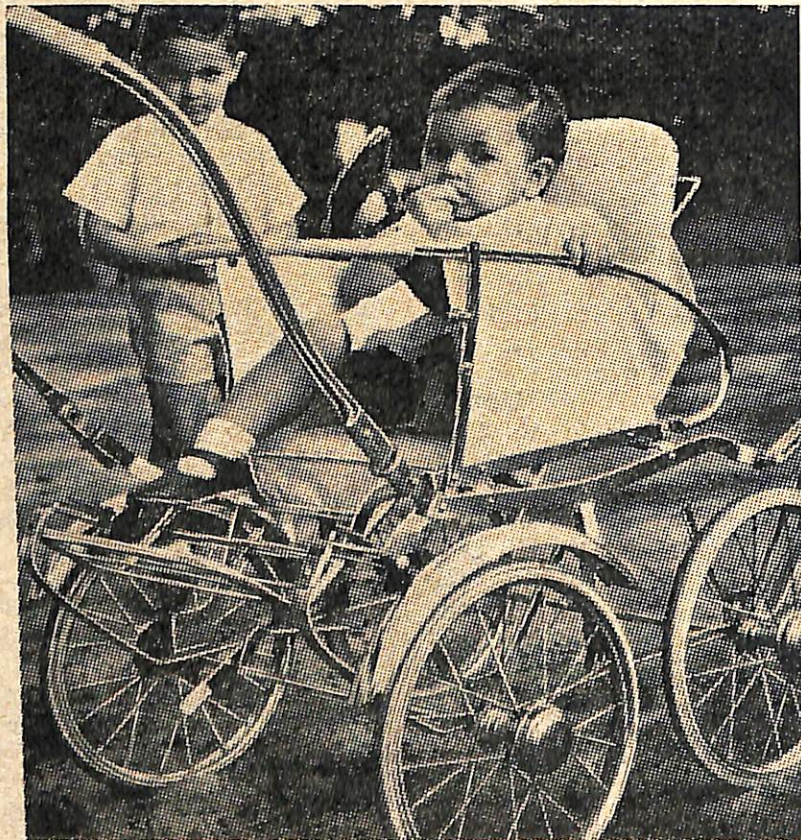
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Scots, Welsh press for home rule

FROM GORDON WISE

ABERDEEN One of the sizeable side effects of Britain's reduced international role has been a proportionate rise in regional nationalism inside the country.

Many Scots and Welsh, who feel that they have less reason to be proud of being part of Great Britain, want "home rule". The Scottish National Party (SNP) not only wants a Scottish Parliament, but their own defence forces.

In the recent local Government elections throughout the country, the Scottish National Party won a hundred council seats in Scotland, taking them from Conservatives and Labour alike. Here, in the "granite city" of Aberdeen, Labour lost control of the town council for the first time since 1945.

The Scottish Conservatives have just held a conference in Perth. Mr Edward Heath, the national Conservative leader, made a bid to counter the upsurge of Scottish Nationalism. He pledged that his party would create a Scottish National Assembly, if returned to power. Having said this he nonetheless rejected either home rule for Scotland or a federal system of Government. In fact, his plans for a national assembly were rather vague.

Mr Heath tried to appeal to the famous Scottish thrift by telling his audience, and the country at large, that without the support of the English taxpayer, Scotland would be very much worse off. The Conserva-

tive leader's gesture would have been more convincing if he had not called the Scottish Nationalists "flower" people a year ago.

The Scottish Nationalists themselves disagreed with the whole idea, and the Conservative brain-child will not be adopted by them. In fact, the first reaction from the nationalists was one of contempt.



Mrs Winifred Ewing

Mrs Winifred Ewing, SNP member for Hamilton, and their only representative in the House of Commons, said that Scotland's electors would never be fobbed off with half-baked solutions to their aspirations to run their own affairs.

The Liberal Party has called for regional government as a platform plank for some time now. But after some earlier gains, Liberal morale is static in Scotland just now.

The Welsh nationalists feel just as strongly about the sins of neglect by Whitehall. The Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh decided that the Prince of Wales will spend some time at a Welsh University, as befitting his title. Extreme Welsh nationalists immediately expressed their opposition and the Prince may have a difficult row to hoe.

I asked a leading Labour councillor here in Aberdeen what Government deficiencies had prompted this regional nationalism. He agreed that there is a big difference between the paternalism of having things done "for you" and having a genuine say in what shall be done. Over the last two decades power has been increasingly centralised at Westminster. Bureaucratic administration can be arrogant. "Do this because we think it is best" doesn't

Ek-minit!



"The mother-in-law gave me this handy little lighter — doesn't need filling for 25 years."

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

The week in ASIA

HONG KONG — More than 300,000 workers, students, soldiers, peasants and Red Guards held massive demonstrations in the South China city of Canton voicing their support for the "just struggle" of the French students and workers, according to Canton Radio.

RAWALPINDI — Pakistan's Foreign Minister Arshad Husain disclosed here that the United States had been asked to close down its communication base at Badader, near Peshawar in West Pakistan, when the agreement runs out next year.

CANBERRA — Army Minister Phillip Lynch announced that at the end of March 1968 there were 8000 Australian troops in Vietnam, 511,000 US troops and 760,000 South Vietnamese troops. Of the Australian troops 56 per cent were volunteers.

SAIGON — The total number of American troops killed in Vietnam since January 1, 1961 was 23,500 and the total wounded 99,082, according to a US military spokesman. The number of Viet Cong and North Vietnamese killed during the same period was 350,074, he said.

GANGTOK — Wangchuk Namgyal, brother of the King of Bhutan, was sworn in as Minister of Trade and Commerce. The strength of the Bhutanese Ministry is now three.

CANBERRA — Twenty-four F-111 bombers would be in Australian skies by September, announced Defence Minister Allen Fairhall. Purchased from the US at a cost of around \$US300 million, Fairhall said the aircraft would meet the country's needs "perhaps into the 1980s".

CAIRO — Fifteen persons were killed in a stampede when huge crowds gathered at St Michael's Church hoping to see a reported vision of the Virgin Mary.

PEKING — Mr Kirti Nidhi, Nepal's Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister, arrived here for a four-day official visit. The Foreign Ministers of Guinea and Mali were also in the Chinese capital.

MELBOURNE — Development of recently-located oil fields under Bass Strait in South-East Australia is expected to produce 1200 million barrels — 24 per cent of Australia's estimated requirements during the period 1970-89.

go down too well with the proud Scots.

There are many real grievances, no doubt. But perhaps the chief lesson which needs learning by the two big political parties — and which they will neglect at their electoral peril — is that the people know whether they are being cared for, or whether they are being merely wooed for political purposes.

Ceylon's cricket tour stumped

FROM OUR CEYLON CORRESPONDENT

MINISTER of Sport V. A. Sugathadasa "reluctantly came to the conclusion that the atmosphere...created was not conducive to sending a team that would do justice to Ceylon cricket". This was the final word in a wrangle that started over a year ago, when it was decided to send a Ceylon cricket team to England in mid-1968.

Fresh from test victories in India and Pakistan, one major aim of the proposed tour was that the ICC should recognise Ceylon as a member. But the announcement by Prime Minister Senanayake (himself a former cricketer) that no foreign exchange would be available seemed conclusive, until news came from London of a massive campaign to raise money.

Live wires behind the project were the Commissioner of the London branch of the Ceylon Tea Centre and the regional managers of the other tea centres. Tens of thousands of letters were sent out to Ceylonese, friends, customers and specially to tea firms, appealing for help. One

reason for this initiative was that a major campaign to promote Ceylon tea was to be launched in Britain while the Ceylon team played cricket.

The green light was given and a four-man selection committee sat down to deliberate. The choice of captain was high on the agenda and many were surprised when players with experience in England were passed over and one of the selection committee was appointed. The most senior member of the committee resigned in disgust. The committee then went on to select its own Chairman for the team! It was indeed strange, as no one had forecast the Chairman's selection, although he is a prominent cricketer.

A senior sports editor of *The Ceylon Observer* commented on the selections: "Never in the history of

this noble game of cricket have so few done so much in so short a space of time to harm the fair name of the game."

Gamini Goonesena, probably Ceylon's most experienced player, announced that "since two selectors have been involved in selecting themselves, I cannot accept the invitation (to play for Ceylon)".

The board of cricket control, in a dilemma, ruled that the committee had been constituted improperly and announced the selection of the team as *ultra vires*.

It is doubtful whether, if a team had gone, they would have brought any credit to Ceylon. The aim of sport, specially one like cricket, is to foster unity. With divided loyalties, this spirit would have been impossible.

Change ahead for Red Guards?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

KATHMANDU Reliable reports reaching here from Peking assert that a series of high-level meetings between student activists and the military are being called to consider the future of China's youth movements.

The possibilities talked of are: the replacement of the Red Guards by a "cleaned up" Chinese Young Communist League (CYCL), which has not been heard of much since the start of the country's Cultural Revolution nearly two years ago; the replacement of the CYCL by a decentralised Red Guard organisation; or the continuation of both groups.

It may be recalled that in January this year the Mao regime issued a call for the "rectification" of all "revolutionary mass organisations".

Meanwhile a Red Guards-CYCL joint rally at Harbin (capital of Heilungkiang Province) denounced some former CYCL leaders for "capitalist restoration" attempts and for their "towering crimes in promoting the

revisionist line of youth work opposing the arming of youth with Mao Tse-tung's thought".

Further, according to Hsinhua material circulated here, the denounced leadership was charged with "harbouring an inveterate hatred for and mortal fear of Chairman Mao and his thought, viciously attacking the Great Leader". They are also said to have propagated "revolutionary fallacies" such as the "dying out of the class struggle" and "the fusion of the public and private".

The long-silent CYCL was founded in August, 1920 — a full 29 years before the Communists seized power in China. The last Congress (the Ninth) was held in 1964. In recent years, no total membership figures

have been divulged, the last known official mention in 1962, being 25 million.

Immediately after the inauguration of the Maoist "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in 1966, the noisy new Red Guard organisations eclipsed the CYCL. When the Red Guards represented Chinese youth at an Albanian Communist Congress last year, it was widely believed that the CYCL had been wound up. But early this year the regime reported that it was considering reactivating a "cleaned up" version of the CYCL.

The week elsewhere

RED MANOEUVRES

PRAGUE—Military manoeuvres of the Warsaw Pact countries will take place shortly in Czechoslovakia under Russian command. Czechoslovakia's Defence Minister General Dzur denied, however, that 10,000-12,000 Soviet troops would be stationed permanently in Czechoslovakia as had been alleged by West Germany's Foreign Minister Willy Brandt. Press editorials stated that the stationing of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak soil goes against the foreign policy of this country which is opposed to foreign bases.

RACE CHALLENGE

LONDON—Prime Minister Harold Wilson declared that the future of the Commonwealth rested largely on how Britain faced and solved her racial problems. "I said the other day one cannot preach against racialism at home and endorse it in Rhodesia. But the converse is equally true."

KENYA CURFEW

NAIROBI—Curfew was clamped down on the area formerly known as the white highlands following the brutal murder of a second European settler within a week.

SUDAN-UGANDA CONFLICT

KHARTOUM—Units of the Uganda and Sudan armies clashed on the border between these countries. The Sudanese Government dispatched a high-level envoy to President Obote to seek a solution to the situation.

SEEKS US ASSURANCES

CANBERRA—Australian Prime Minister Gorton left on his first visit as Prime Minister to the United States. President Johnson sent his own personal plane to Honolulu to pick up Mr Gorton, a gesture that is unprecedented. The visit was almost

The CYCL's younger branch, the Young Pioneers' League, however, appears at the moment totally discredited for having been permeated by the "poisonous influence of the revisionist line". Reliable reports indicate that it is likely to be replaced by a Young Red Guard Corps which all Peking primary schools have been ordered to set up for pupils in the first six grades. (In the past, the Pioneers accepted children between the ages of nine and 15; those considered sufficiently advanced could then seek membership in the CYCL.)

postponed when President Johnson announced the decision to limit the bombing of North Vietnam and open talks with Hanoi without consulting the Australians. One objective of Mr Gorton's visit is to discover what guarantees the United States will offer Australia if Australia signs the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

OUI OU NON

PARIS—President de Gaulle said he would quit if France voted "No" in a national referendum in June. If the referendum supported the Government, he said his aim would be to "change narrow and outworn structures wherever necessary and to open up the road for France's youth".

SOUTH YEMEN REVOLT

ADEN—Three Ministers lost their jobs and 12 others fled to the hills following an unsuccessful rebellion in the ruling National Liberation Front of Southern Yemen. The pro-Chinese elements had accused President Qahtan al-Shaabi's Government of giving up "popular democracy" in favour of "bourgeois liberalism". The army stepped in when it was feared that victory of the extreme Left-wing elements would frighten away essential financial aid from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile the first Soviet Ambassador to the young Republic has been warmly received.

VIET CONG ATTACK

SAIGON—Viet Cong guerillas clashed with South Vietnamese units in this city after sneaking unnoticed through the ring of troops and armoured vehicles encircling it. Military observers speculated that the Viet Cong may have deliberately planned the attack as a show of strength to coincide with the formation of the Cabinet.

The week in INDIA

BANGALORE — Public Works Minister Veerendra Patil was unanimously elected Chief Minister of Mysore in place of Mr Nijalingappa who relinquished the post to devote his full time to the office of Congress President.

AURANGABAD — A new organisation called *Bhim Sena* was formed here to safeguard the interests of Harijans. The Sena would demand separate electorates and a separate university for Harijans, according to Mr Shyam Sunder, organiser of the Sena.

BHOPAL — Mr L. N. Gupta, Madhya Pradesh Revenue Minister, announced the Government's decision to abolish land revenue completely and levy land development tax on agriculture holdings of more than 20 acres from next month.

HYDERABAD — Fourteen thousand out of a total of 150,000 teachers in primary and secondary schools in Andhra Pradesh would be retrenched, according to a recent order of the State Government.

COCHIN — St Philomena's Church at Koonammavu, one of the most ancient and biggest churches in Kerala, was partially destroyed by fire. The fire consumed church properties worth Rs one lakh and many valuable documents.

BHOPAL — Twenty-four unemployed engineers threatened the Madhya Pradesh Government that they would immolate themselves in front of Chief Minister G. N. Singh's residence if discrimination in the appointment of qualified technical manpower is not checked.

GWALIOR — Nearly 200 workers of the Communist Party, including 11 women, were arrested for attempting to *gherao* the Collector. They demanded land for the landless peasants, reduction of water tax and removal of "rotten *jowar*" from ration shops.

SRINAGAR — Kashmir will have a watch factory, a telephone component factory and a television project during the Fourth Plan, Mr G. M. Sadiq, Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, disclosed here.

KOHIMA — About 200 Naga hostiles, trying to sneak across the Nagaland-Burma border on their way to China, were killed by Indian security forces, according to a report received by the Nagaland Government.

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Rajaji's unpopular views are often proved right

BY R. M. LALA

ONE OF my first recollections of Rajaji was at Egmore Station, Madras, in 1963. The platform was fairly crowded with people waiting for a train from Delhi. Rajaji had come to meet some of his relatives. He was then 85. His Chief Ministership and his Governor-Generalship were laid down long before. This lone, stooped figure with a walking stick was making his way up the platform. As he strode forward slowly, people caught sight of him, whispered to their colleagues and made room for him yards ahead. It was the silent respect of a people, proud that Rajaji was one of them, and with them.

As I got to know him better, I realised that in this frail body of his was a will of steel and the heart of a lion. He has the courage to hold unpopular views, and is often proved right.

One of the most moving interviews I had with him was soon after the conclusion of the Indo-Pakistan war, when his outspokenness was frowned upon by the authorities. The then Chief Minister of Madras had threatened him with imprisonment for his views. But Rajaji was undeterred. He was at peace — it was the peace of a man who has spoken his mind fearlessly. Sitting in his little office, he quoted Burke, his favorite author, who said that one can rob a man of anything, but not his freedom to express his mind for that is his most precious possession.

Tashkent declaration

Two months later the Tashkent agreement was reached between President Ayub Khan and the late Mr Shastri. Soon after signing the Tashkent declaration, Mr Shastri thought of Rajaji who had urged a settlement, and dictated a brief note to him:

"I am sure you agree with what we have done in Tashkent, and it would get your full support." Before he could even sign the note Shastri died.

"Do you see the prospects of our relations with Pakistan now improving?" I asked Rajaji the other day in Madras.

"Not under the present Government," he replied.

I have seldom seen Rajaji so cheerful. In the last year, he has not

moved much from Madras and his health seems to have improved. He has even put on a little weight. But for his eyes which give some trouble, he is remarkably fit and alert for his age.



C. Rajagopalachari

When you meet Rajaji, you may not always get the answers you expect, but you hear his views on the subject uppermost in his mind. That evening at his home in Kilpauk, it was South Africa. "I don't see why the world should condemn them," he said. "As America has shown, races cannot get on together, and in South Africa they are trying to make their own experiment." He appeared to justify *apartheid*. Then, like a good lawyer, he saw the other side of the case. "But when man faces God," he said, "there is no black skin and no white skin." He looked at me and chuckled.

What do you think will be the outcome of the Paris talks?

"I hope the US will not withdraw. If it does, the domino theory will start working, and India will go into Mr Kosygin's empire. I suppose India's rulers will not mind making India a bankrupt Czechoslovakia." (Significantly, he used the words "Mr Kosygin's empire" and not Mr Mao's.)

One can only understand Rajaji's sixty years in politics in the context of the age he lived in, and the crusades he waged — and still wages. With Churchillian tenacity he has campaigned for causes dear to him, be it for Prohibition or against Government controls.

"Freedom," he says, "was gained in 1947, but we lost it within a few years through the permit licence 'Raj' which was mistaken for a superior kind of freedom. We must fight to restore India to India. As far as I am concerned this battle is a moral conflict, not a matter of mere party politics. I consider that the subjugation of human personality to state direction is a dangerous experiment."

One wonders where India would



have been today had not his sharp eye caught certain trends and his powerful voice helped to arrest them.

At the age of 81 when most men prepare for other things, Rajaji decided to start a new political all-India party. In two years the Swatantra Party became the third largest in Parliament. In the last General Elections Rajaji emerged as the architect of Congress defeat and of DMK victory in Madras. Even on the anti-Hindi agitation in Madras, it is Rajaji whose leadership has been vigorously followed by the rest of that State.

He is probably the most powerful figure in Madras, equalled only by the Chief Minister. In fact some of his friends bemoan that in the last months he is giving to Madras what he is meant to give to the whole nation.

Rajaji is an educator. He speaks like a father to his people. He heightens his speeches with imagery and similes that delight all. He writes every week in *Swarajya* two features at least — a lead editorial, and another feature of brief items giving the fruit of his thinking and wide reading. There is a wealth of culture behind this educator. When he went to jail once he carried with him four books — The Bible, Plato, Robinson Crusoe and Mahabharata.

Author of a number of books, translator into English of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, Rajaji has always linked morality with politics. Though a man of faith, when I met him earlier this month he was in one of his questioning moods. "The God of some people is too egoistical, too personal," he said.

Our responsibility

"If God is all-attentive," he asked, "Why did He permit twenty years of this misrule in India? Pigmies are ruling the once imperial capital of Delhi, where Akbar and his like once ruled."

I chipped in, "Could the point be whether we were attentive, rather than God?"

"Yes, that is true," he nodded.

His searching mind makes him question even the basis of his own faith. Through a re-examination he wants to find it afresh.

Rajaji is 90. His mind, that races

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24



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Annadurai wants Constitution revised

By R. M. LALA

CHIEF MINISTER Annadurai had arrived just a couple of days earlier from a 37-day tour of Rome, the United States, Japan and Hong Kong.

I found him somewhat tired but once he gave his attention, as he usually does, he gave it 100 per cent. He has a neatly-arranged mind which can draw out precise and clear answers. He impresses one with his sincerity. Time and responsibility of office have matured him into a statesman since I last saw him 20 months ago. He is open to new ideas. On the eve of his foreign tour, he was humble enough to go to Delhi and be briefed by Mrs Gandhi on India's foreign policy.

I tried to probe Annadurai's thinking for whether the DMK was really serious in saying now that it did not want secession from India any more. I told him that the general impression in the rest of India was that Madras, led by the DMK and using the anti-Hindi issue, was creating a rupture in the unity of India.

Wrong impression

Mr Annadurai replied, "This impression is based on propaganda. I would categorically state that if anyone analyses the actions, the utterances or the constitution of the DMK Party no one can say that its aim is to disturb the unity of India. Both during the Chinese and the Pakistani aggression, the DMK stood solidly behind the defence of the country. During the Chinese invasion I was in Vellore Jail and the day I was released I asked our Party to suspend all agitation."

You say that you want more power for the states. What do you really want?

"I want a constitutional expert to gather evidence on the working of the Indian Constitution in the last 20 years. Such a Commission can spell out what changes need to be made to make the states more self-reliant without detriment to the unity of India.

"Even Mr Santhanam has said that the powers of the Centre and the states as allotted in the Constitution need now to be reviewed. It may be that certain powers vested in the states should, from experience, move to the Centre, and certain functions of the Centre should move to the states."

Do you think other Chief Ministers will support you?

"Yes. Jurists and advocates met in

Delhi some time ago. They also felt that a commission should go into the working of the Constitution. And there is something in that suggestion. Even the previous Madras Minister for Industries (a Congressman) had considerable difficulty in getting State projects approved by the Centre."

What do you think Madras can do for the rest of India? What is the one contribution she has made or can make?

"Some of the states can follow Madras in the lead she has given by way of stability. In Madras there has not been a single case of defection either from the Congress to the DMK or from the DMK to the Congress. I know of politicians for example in the Justice Party, who could, if they wanted to, get positions by joining one of the major political parties. But they stick to their convictions. There is in Madras a loyalty to, one might say, an ideology, a more pronounced loyalty than elsewhere." *What is the major achievement of the DMK in the last 15 months of rule?*

"I can only point to our effort on the food front, both in production, distribution and subsidisation of rice. One might say that the industrial pace has slowed down since we took over. I admit there has not been much new activity, but then this is

the cost of recession all over the country, and also the result of the uncertainty of our future plans. The Third Five-Year Plan envisaged a growth of 11 per cent. In actual fact the rate of growth last year was only two per cent."

In view of your visit abroad do you think there is any distinct contribution India can make to a world where both the Communist and the capitalist nations suffer from internal problems?

"To make any contribution to the world we must be strong ourselves. There is much to do at home. Temperamentally we are fitted to take on the role (of a world power) but the weakness of this nation is not conducive to it. Observers like the Pope, whom I met in Rome, felt that India could be the peace-maker of the world."

When do you think India can play such a world role?

"When we are socially integrated, economically self-reliant and work out sensibly what can be Federal and state subjects."



C. N. Annadurai

"Anna" in profile

CHIEF MINISTER C. N. Annadurai, affectionately and reverently called "Anna" (elder brother) by millions of Tamil people, took to politics while still in college. With his in-born gift of public speaking, he also showed a capacity for incisive analysis and self-sacrifice right from his early public life.

Born on September 15, 1909, into a middle-class family of very average circumstances, Conjeevaram Natarajan Annadurai grew up without any special circumstances favouring him. Like many others in his home town, he completed school and shifted to Madras where he joined the Pachiappa's College and took up economics for his Master's Degree. Since Pachiappa's College had many professors with leanings towards the Justice Party, young Annadurai began taking special interest in this movement devoted to the spread of

rationalist ideas amongst the people. His keen participation in college debates is still remembered by many of his classmates.

But it was his meeting with the anti-Brahmin Dravida Khazhagam leader E. V. Ramaswami Naicker in 1934 — in his 25th year — that influenced him to take up politics as a career. He worked hard for the Justice Party for 10 years and later for the Dravida Khazhagam.

Formed his own party

In 1949, when EVR, despite being an ardent champion of the rationalist movement, married a young Party worker half his age, Mr Annadurai decided to break away from his leader and founded his DMK (Progressive Dravidian Party) under the active support and co-operation of

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

those who followed him out of the Dravidian Party.

A great lover of books, Anna is a popular writer on subjects political, economic or social.

He has also written many stories and dialogues for films, some of which have been box office hits. As an outstanding playwright he uses his talents to spread his deep convictions on social justice.

Though a Socialist by conviction he is not wedded to any particular "isms". A firm believer in democratic ideals, Anna has always advocated complete eschewing of violence in word and deed, in politics and public life. Anna has also been an ardent supporter of basic reforms like Prohibition.

Anna's DMK Party entered the battle of the ballot box in 1957, eight years after the formation of the Party. It won 15 seats in the State Assembly. This became 51 in 1962. In 1967 in a House of 234 the DMK captured 139 seats and was called upon to form the Government.

The only electoral reverse Anna has had in his life was in 1962, when he was defeated in the contest to the State Assembly in his home constituency. This reverse proved a blessing in disguise for Anna himself and his Party, which later was destined to take up office. His Party elected him to the Rajya Sabha in 1962.

The Indo-Chinese conflict later in 1962 awakened him to many hard realities of world power politics. As a leader with vision and understanding, he announced the total giving up of his Party's earlier demand for a separate Dravidanad, comprising Madras, Kerala, Mysore and Andhra.

Anna leads a very simple life. He is informal and has a pleasant temperament which endears him to one and all. He has no rival in the Party since he is much loved, especially by his Party workers.

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"Use only English—or all 14 languages," says Nedunchezian

MR V. R. NEDUNCHEZHIAN, Minister for Education and Industries, is reckoned to be the number two man in the Madras Cabinet. A Tamil scholar and former Leader of the Opposition, he has been one of the leading orators of the Party.



V. R. Nedunchezian

I asked him what language solution would satisfy him. He said, "At the State level have the regional language, at the inter-state level English can be retained. Madras will insist that at the Centre, either we have only English or all the 14 languages of India." When I observed that 14 languages at the Centre was a

somewhat tall order, he dramatically pulled out a rupee note from his pocket and showed me written on it every one of these 14 languages!

"When a Tamilian goes to Delhi why should he be expected to read Hindi words in Government buildings like Krishi Bhavan?" he asked, and continued, "Would it be impossible to put the signboards in all 14 languages, so that anyone who goes to the capital also feels that he is a part of India? Surely it won't take all that much space."

And would you have 14 languages in Parliament?

"Why not?"

He went on proudly to say that Tamil was the spoken language of 3.5 crores (35 million) people; Telegu, the language of 3.38 crores; Kanarese of 2.25 crores and Malayalam of 1.9 crore Keralites. Their feelings, he said, cannot be ignored.

VARUNA

"Respect the feelings of Tamil people," says Karunanidhi

MR M. KARUNANIDHI, Minister for Transport and Public Works, is a most polished orator. He can stir and swing the masses of Madras. Able, and alert, he is also a dramatist and founder editor of the Party daily *Murasoli*.

People in Madras say that in the last year since the DMK assumed office, 44-year-old Karunanidhi has edged himself closer to Annadurai, giving indications that he is the heir apparent. He was seated in his office in Fort St George, Madras, that ancient centre of British trade, the old walls of which still partly stand. At the rear of the Fort is part of the original moat and some of the battlements and storerooms. In Madras, where the Nawab of Arcot once ruled, and then the British, the eager men of Annadurai's Cabinet govern. What solution to the language problem would satisfy you?

"As our leader says, don't raise it for the next 25 years. Let's see thereafter."

What sort of relationship would you like with the Centre?

"The DMK has been very consistent from the beginning. If only the Centre would confine itself to the three major tasks of communications, defence and foreign affairs and leave

the other matters wholly to the states there will be no difficulties."

He went on to say, "If the genuine feelings expressed by the Tamil people, where language is concerned, are respected by the rest of the country, there will be a new wave of unity in the country. But for this unity to be widened there should be a spirit of tolerance — as we are showing."

Possibly noting the look of surprise on my face at the mention of Madras' "tolerance on language" he added, "We don't tell the Hindi-speaking people not to have Hindi. We say, 'You have your Hindi, but don't impose it on us.'"

In reply to a question as to what Madras had to show the rest of India, he said, "Madras has shown that agricultural development should be given priority and industrial development should follow. If adopted all over India, this policy will give the right lead."

VARUNA

Kamaraj spoke in English

BY OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

AT LAST the riddle is solved.

When I saw former Congress President Kamaraj at his Madras home this month, the man who has never publicly spoken in English, spoke throughout in the English language. He was in a jovial mood, laughing most of the time. Famous for his monosyllabic replies, he stuck to his reputation.

Will the Congress come back to power? I asked.

"I hope so," he replied.

What did he think about the state of the country and Party he served? He replied, "Regionalism is going up, nationalism is going down."

Did he believe in the sincerity of his DMK opponents that they want to play a part within the framework of India? "They say so, let's believe them."

The man who enthroned two Prime Ministers of India, lives in a barn of an old house and dresses simply. That evening he wore his usual *lungi* and *khaddar* shirt. The shirt's distinctive feature is its half sleeves that grow progressively larger like a trumpet and are twice the breadth of normal half sleeves.

Imprint on India's history

For his large frame his head is remarkably small. William Hamgen in his book, "After Nehru, Who?" says, "Kamaraj, beetle-browed, taciturn and impassive, looks like the captain of a pirate ship." As captain of the Congress he steered the Party after the death of Nehru and Shastri with remarkable skill. He kept it as one whole. Whether one likes Mr Kamaraj or not, both with the Kamaraj Plan which toppled many a ruling head on the eve of Mr Nehru's death — and by his later conduct of the Party, he has left his imprint on India's history.

There was a time when hundreds came to receive Kamaraj every time he landed at Madras airport. Sometimes there were processions along the route. Now when he comes to his bachelor home there are few to receive him. The masses go instead to hail Chief Minister Annadurai. Anyone who thinks, however, that Kamaraj is a spent force is mistaken. His roots remain in the massive volunteer organisation of the Congress Party. It is his pride he knows each one of them by name.

Having enjoyed absolute power in

Tamil Nad for well nigh 15 years, Kamaraj is a consummate political chess player. Not all the pawns he has shifted take to him kindly. When he was defeated by a 29-year-old student leader in the last elections and when his Party also suffered a shattering defeat, a close friend of his told me, "Kamaraj is a shaken man." If he had been, he has since recovered his equilibrium.



Mr Kamaraj

Wealth holds no fascination for Kamaraj, but power does. If C. Subramaniam wants to defeat the DMK he will have to take Kamaraj along with him. Whether the Subramaniam-Kamaraj tandem will work is anybody's guess. Though both will paddle vigorously, the trouble may be that each will want to do the steering.

Can Congress Party be revived?

BY OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

C. SUBRAMANIAM is the rising star and best hope for a Congress recovery in Madras State after the trouncing it received in the elections last year. The Congress, which had enjoyed undisputed rule in Madras for 20 years, found itself in a hopeless minority with only 50 seats in a House of 235, compared to the 138 seats — an absolute majority — captured by the DMK.



C. Subramaniam

Union Minister for Food until these last elections, Subramaniam was one of the ablest Ministers to handle that thankless portfolio. He had hoped to return as Food Minister when he was defeated in the elections. He is now the President of the Tamil Nad (Madras) Congress Committee. Recent reports indicate that there have been differences between him and Mr Kamaraj on the running of the Party organisation. I have reason to believe that there is some truth in these reports.

I saw Mr Subramaniam at his home "Riverside", on the banks of the River Adyar. He comes from Coimbatore and was formerly Education and Finance Minister of Madras.

Bright and alert, Mr C. Subramaniam replied to questions without hesitation.

What do you think of the record of the DMK in the last 15 months?

"It is below expectation. I give them a margin for their lack of experience but even so it falls below

expectation. There is too much Party preference in the administration of the State. And no attempt is being made by the new Ministers to get a grip of the administration. If the State runs efficiently still, it is because of the efficiency of the civil service of Madras which is well known."

To what do you ascribe the shattering defeat of the Congress in Madras?

"In spite of all the development plans people found that the benefits of development actually went to a small percentage of people. This created dissatisfaction in the ranks of the people. I believe that the early process of development usually does benefit only the top few in a country. One may agree or one may not, but that is the bitter record."

Do you see chances of recovery within the Congress, and how so?

"The real problem is how to serve the people. We are getting our workers to concentrate on how to help farmers with agricultural output, how to organise farmers, get them improved seeds, etc."

Better quality needed

Do you have the cadres to do this job?

"Yes, we have the quantity of workers we need but the quality leaves something to be desired. I want to find young men who will take on this job."

In the changes you want to make, do you find that there is opposition from some sections of your own Party people?

"That of course there is, but it is inevitable if you are trying to make any changes."

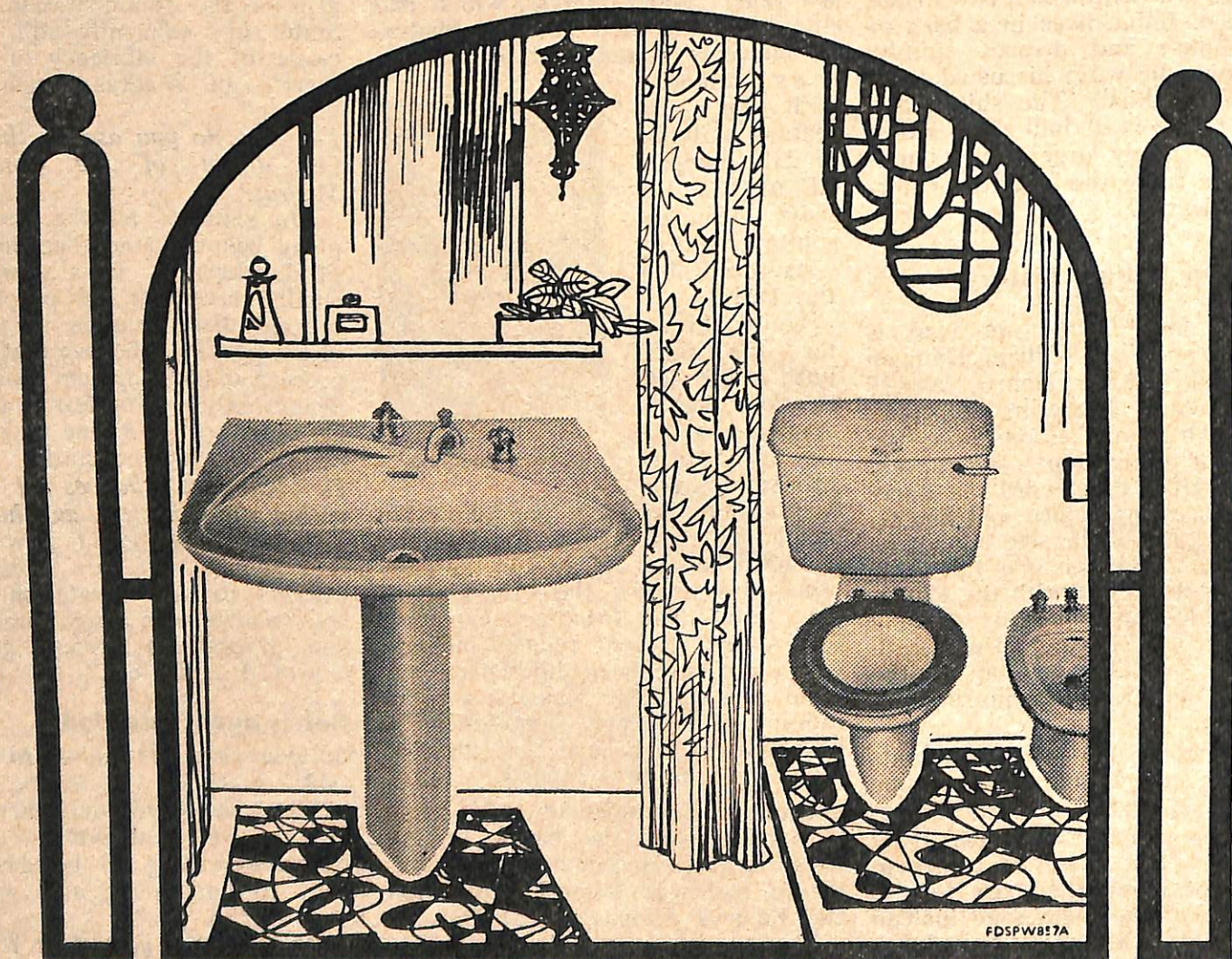
CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

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Industrial progress of Tamilnad

FROM K. S. RAMANUJAM IN MADRAS

A STEADY, confident and forward looking industrial policy pursued by successive Congress governments during the first three plan periods enabled Madras State to make very substantial progress in all sectors of industry, big, medium and small scale. Amongst the favourable factors that helped the active pursuance of a dynamic industrial policy were an inviting climate, a sound administrative set-up, planned availability of skilled and semi-skilled labour, and adequate supply of engineers and technicians at all levels.

Madras has indeed shown the rest of the country, by its great industrial progress during the last 15 years, how a predominantly agricultural state could be transformed into one that could speedily industrialise itself despite numerous adverse factors like a certain lack of raw material resources including minerals, fuels, forests and even water, provided the entrepreneurs at all levels are encouraged to participate in this evolution.

A significant factor that accelerated this process was the setting up of modern engineering and chemical industries during the Second Plan period. No less significant was the stress on electricity generation ever since 1947.

Between the years 1957 and 1967 when Mr R. Venkataraman, presently member of the Planning Commission, was the Industries Minister of Tamilnad, industrialists from in and outside Madras State, as well as countries abroad, were actively encouraged to come in with new schemes. They were generously backed up by the Government's developmental efforts by means of State participation in their capital for the industrial growth of this State.

Physical resources

The lack of physical resources for any big projects, both in the public as well as the private sector, has considerably stalled the pace of industrial progress of Tamilnad as has been the case with all other parts of the country.

Thus, when the new DMK Ministry was catapulted into office in March 1967, as a result of a landslide victory in the fourth general elections, it was faced with a situation wherein no promises could be made nor any high hopes held out for the State in terms of a high rate of industrial progress.

Chief Minister Annadurai, therefore, felt obliged to make known in unambiguous terms that in the changed circumstances his Government proposed to pursue a four-point industrial policy.

This was (i) to work towards ending the present economic recession by helping existing industries to consolidate their units towards greater productivity rather than encourage the starting of new industries; he explained however that this did not mean that his Government was against further industrial progress but that it considered its foremost task was to arrest recession; (ii) that his Government would strive hard to maintain industrial peace by fostering closer unity between management and labour; (iii) that the DMK Government would closely look into the social benefits accruing to the community when they sanctioned or supported any new big schemes; and (iv) that the State Government would press for the establishment of State

sector industrial plants which would bring greater revenues to the State's exchequer.

It must be conceded in fairness to the Anna Government that it has assiduously endeavoured to implement the first two parts of their industrial policy. The third and fourth parts have also been pursued to a limited extent.

Large increases

As against 11 big industrial units which were established in Madras State in 1966, 13 were commissioned in the course of 1967. As against 10,431 small scale industrial units started in 1966, the number for 1967 stood at 11,929, representing an 18 per cent increase.

Four co-operative tea factories were commissioned in 1967. Production of yarn in the State Government-sponsored co-operative spinning mills showed a substantial increase in 1967.

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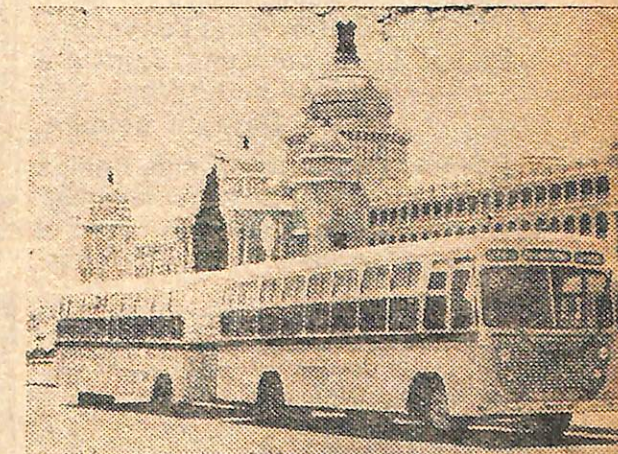
Madras the "Detroit of India"

BY A STAFF CORRESPONDENT

"MADRAS is fast becoming the Detroit of India," says Mr J. C. Watson, Managing Director of Ashok Leyland Limited. (Leyland produce 5000 Comet chassis per year in addition to 500 heavier vehicles.) He explains with pride that almost 95 per cent of the regular components of the Comet chassis are manufactured by ancillary industries in and around Madras. He spoke highly of various TVS enterprises which make most of them, including batteries.

A full range of tyres is also made in Madras by Mansfield.

One of the ancillary firms visited by this correspondent was Indian Pistons Limited, at an industrial estate outside Madras. One of two such factories in the world in layout, design and equipment, it is an enterprise the country can be proud of. It can design pistons to the requirements of its customers, adapt them to tropical climates and manufacture them speedily. One export for the Middle East was designed and the finished product delivered within ten weeks. It places the greatest emphasis on research and staff training.



An Ashok Leyland "Comet" 32-berth luxury sleeper coach in front of the Mysore Legislature Building, Bangalore.

At its factory huge crates are marked "Consigned to Liverpool" where Indian pistons go to supply the British car industry. Dynamic Managing Director Mr N. K. Raju says with pride, "India can make it."

Other significant manufacturers are Standard Motors, which build the Herald four-seater car and the Standard-10 van-cum-minibus, and Massey-Ferguson who build tractors.

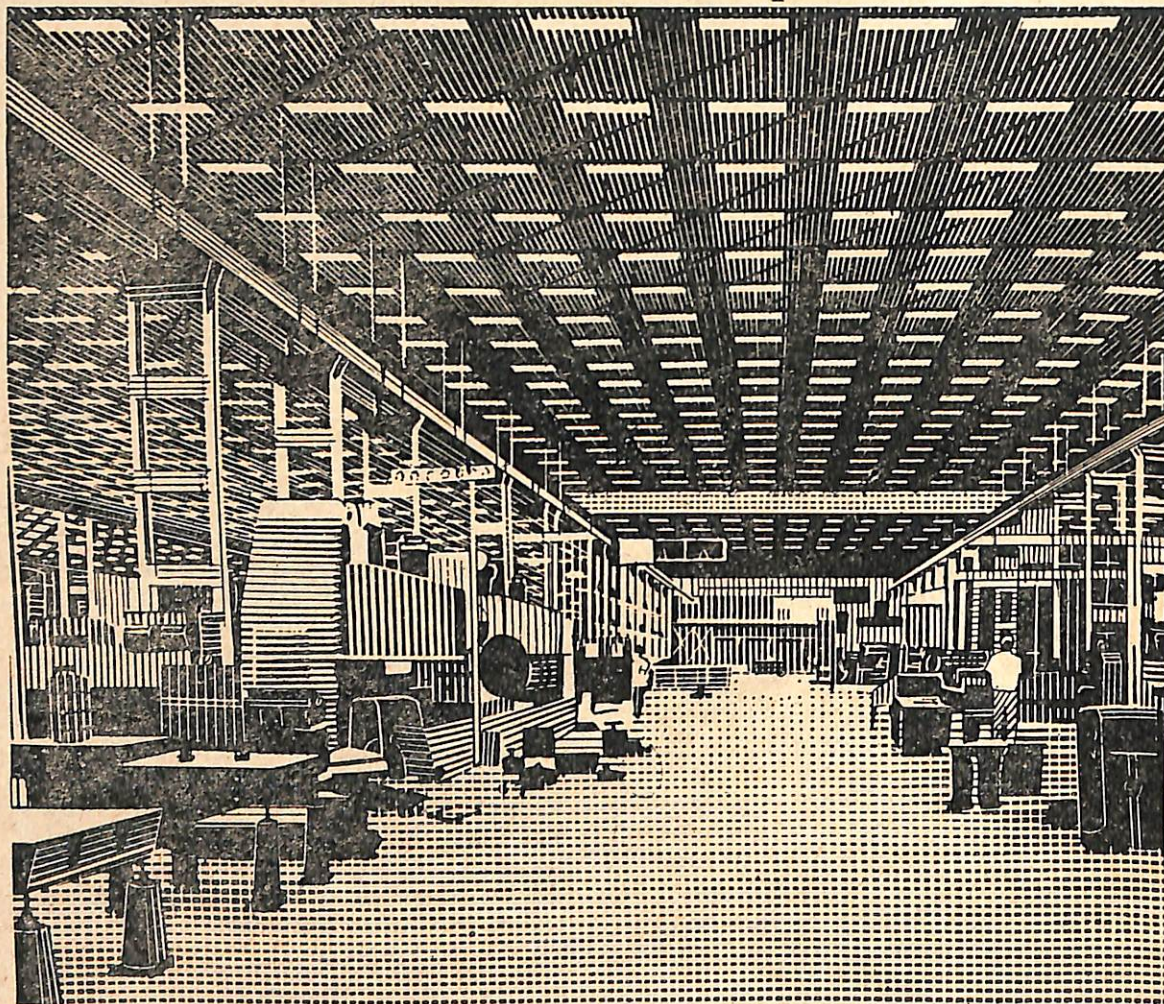
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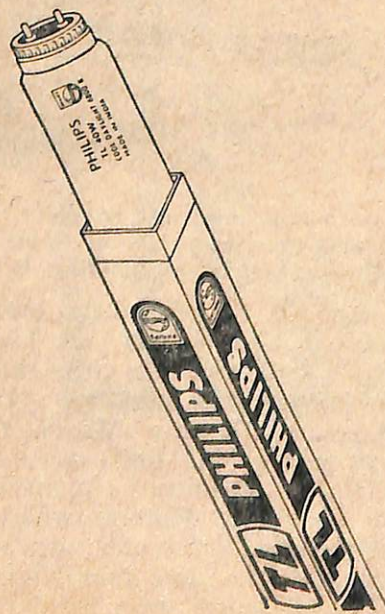
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Bombay is home to them

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

"A HOME away from home" is how the Tamils settled in Bombay look at this metropolis. They are quite a happy lot, and much prefer to make their permanent moorings in this great city. Most of them have absolutely no reservation in paying it the tribute it richly deserves.

Mr Y. B. Chavan, when he was Maharashtra Chief Minister, described Bombay Tamilians as "Maharashtrians". He was right, as the Tamils in the city have tried to adapt themselves to the atmosphere, and have even modified their food habits.

An officer in a leading pharmaceutical firm, Mr P. S. Venkatesan, is one who is willing to be glued to Bombay. Asked what attracted him so much, Mr Venkatesan, a "Bombay bird" for over 17 years, said: "It is the city's cosmopolitan nature."

A native of Tirunelveli district and father of three children, he finds Bombay quite lively. "It was the cheapest city till recently," he said, and described Maharashtra, "my State by adoption", as the best administered province in the whole of India.

He is a bit sore about the functioning of the Government in his home State, which, according to him, "has bungled the language issue". He unequivocally declared that the DMK policy "has caused much embarrassment to the Tamils living outside their State".

While he sympathised with the "genuine" grievances of the Shiv Sena leaders, he was emphatic that "the end does not justify the means". He described the Sena as a chimera which "is bound to meet with the same fate as the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti".

Mr Venkatesan, who visits his home district once in two years, has this advice for his compatriots: "Identify yourselves with the local people by mingling with them freely, and do not try to create a Mambalam in Bombay."

Mrs E. Saradambal of Pollachi (Coimbatore District), a typical Mad-rasi housewife and mother of five children, has lived in Bombay for 22 years. She is quite at home in the comfortable surroundings of her flat near King's circle. Her husband being a businessman, she has no problems. Her liking for the city is such that she seldom makes a trip to her own town — her last was nine years ago.

"Of course, the cost of living has gone up, but still we are not at a disadvantage because we get whatever we want except, perhaps, our staple food, rice." She is not at all interested in politics — local or native. However, she has a word of praise for Mr C. N. Annadurai, Madras Chief Minister.



Mrs E. Saradambal
Chief Minister.

A middle class Tamilian, who has been living in Bombay for the past 32 years, turned eloquent and sentimental when he expressed his desire to stay on in the city even after retirement. Mr N. Arunachalam of Trichy is a Telegraph Master, and likes the environment and absolute freedom in Bombay, which are "totally absent in the South". Father of five children, he finds Bombay comparatively cheap. "Once you solve your accommodation problem, you have no worry," he says.

Mr Arunachalam maintains touch with his native place by frequenting it at least once a year. The DMK regime in Madras "is not up to expectations", he feels and finds it "more sectarian than secular" in its outlook. He lists Rajaji and Subramaniam as his favourite leaders.

About the Maharashtra Government, he has no com-



N. Arunachalam

Our correspondent sought the views of a cross-section of Madras people living in Bombay. In this article four of them speak to HIMMAT.

plaints, except for their rationing policy, "which has broken down". He feels that the Shiv Sena's violent approach, which is detrimental to national integration, has not been properly dealt with by the State Government.

Mr T. K. Mayakrishnan from a village in Ramnad District, a domestic servant in a Marine Drive flat, who has stayed in Bombay for a comparatively short period, is also "very happy" because his earnings are commensurate with his work. He has not brought his family—wife and three children—from his village. They look after his small piece of land while he stays with his master.

"I am not home-sick, because I am permitted to bring my family here whenever I feel like it, and I also go to my place once a year." He finds no difficulty in the city life, and is not averse to settling down here permanently.


Mayakrishnan closely follows the political developments in Tamilnad. "Although it is too early to judge the DMK Government's record, I think they are doing well," he said and cited the repeal of the tax on dry lands by that Government. He calls "Anna" his leader, Kamaraj a "people's man" and C.R. a "great personality".

He is critical of the Maharashtra Government for not curbing the activities of the Shiv Sena, which "is dividing the people who have been living harmoniously".

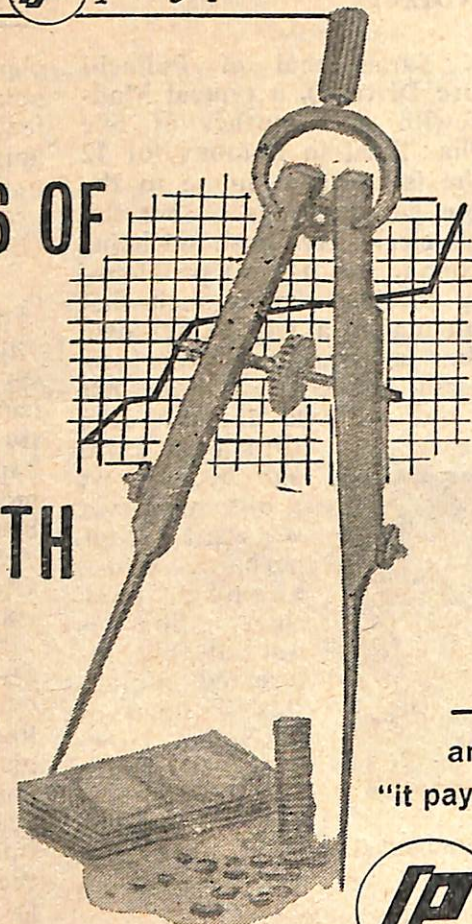
On the whole, the Tamils have nothing but attachment for their city of domicile. They have contributed to the well-being of the city in no small measure. They may not be the "Bhoomiputras", as a new distinction is sought to be made out, but they are part and parcel of its body politic, and one can see the pangs of pain in their faces when they are told, as they are by some, that they are no longer wanted.







T. K. Mayakrishnan

It pays to stock and sell  quality products.

THE BENEFITS OF
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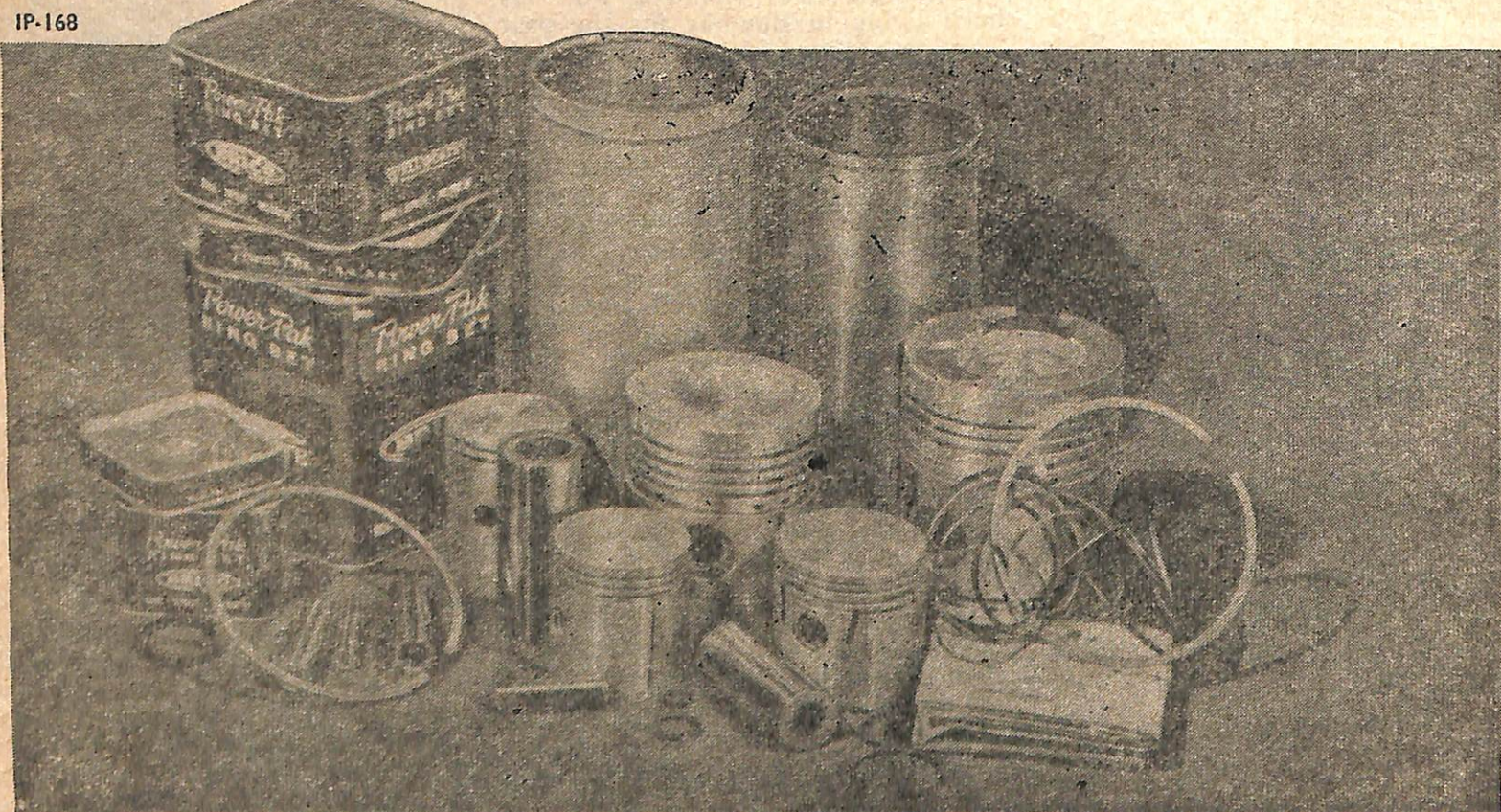


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A PAIR OF SANDALS

a short story by
C. Rajagopalachari

MANIYANUR is one of our famine relief villages. The Harijan part of it consists entirely of half-starved cobblers. Maniyatur is the weekly market place for all the villages a good distance around, and so the authorities have, as is their rule, fixed up an *arrack* shop and a big toddy tavern there. Both of them are flourishing.

Our cobbler hamlet too was well in the clutches of the toddy tavern until the year our relief work began. Then, at our insistence, the men took a pledge of total abstinence, and they have on the whole kept their word.

Munian came up to my hut one Thursday, leading a group of his fellow cobbler-villagers. Thursday was their day for taking grain from the Ashram at half price.

"What has happened?" I asked.

"Nothing. They have drunk toddy and we have come for you to inquire into it."

I was in the midst of writing letters and reminders to organisations.

"If you have paid money for toddy," I said impatiently, "it means you can spare money for buying your grain at the market and we may now stop our relief. If you like to drink, you may."

I thought I should impress on them that they were not obliging anyone but themselves by giving up the consumption of liquor.

"Who are the culprits?" I asked.

"Two men," replied Munian.

"Are they here?"

"One of them is here, the other has not come to take his grain today. His wife has come."

"Is the offence admitted?" I inquired.

"He came home drunk last night and was quarrelling with his wife. The whole village knows, and they must admit it," said Munian.

"What do you say?" I asked the man who was being accused of drinking.

"It is true that I was shouting at my wife last night. But may not a man quarrel with his wife? Don't such things happen in married life?"

"Tell me whether you drank toddy or whether the charge is false. If even one of you buys toddy we must stop relief for the whole village," I said.

"It is false," replied the man.

"What do the rest say?" I questioned.

And they all said that it was true that the two had quarrelled, but they did not know about the drinking.

"Then how does Munian bring this accusation against you?" I inquired of the man charged. "Does he bear any ill-will against you?"

"Yes he does," the man replied, adding, "because I disclosed that grain was being taken out on tickets of absent men who were away for work on the hills."

"Is that so?" I asked Munian.

"Please ask this old man to say if his son did not drink. He is the accused man's father and also my father's brother, and he is father to

Tamil is one of the oldest and most developed of world languages. Mr C. Rajagopalachari has made an outstanding contribution to Tamil literature. He has written a number of short stories including "A Pair of Sandals". His short stories, he says, "have a purpose... I write them for causes I hold dear."

"A Pair of Sandals", written in the 1920s, was also translated by Rajaji and first published in English in 1929. It is reproduced from the collection "Stories for the Innocent", published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Rajaji says of it: "It is better than any of my speeches."

both of us. Let his word decide the question," Munian replied.

"Well, old man," I asked the referee, "did your son drink?"

"He was making noise last night. It is true."

"But had he drunk toddy?" I pressed.

"No, he had not taken drink, he was only quarrelling and making noise."

"Let him say it on oath," Munian interrupted.

"Will you all accept the old man's sworn words?" I asked.

They all assented.

I cast about in my mind as to where and how I should administer the oath. I had not the slightest belief that it would make any difference. The old man had already spoken in support of his son, and I said to myself, "Let me go through the formality and dispose of the matter." Eighteen years of practice at the Bar had left little belief in me about oaths and affirmations.

I was inclined on the whole, on the basis of their behaviour and the stories they told on either side, to believe that the charge of drinking in breach of the pledge was false, and that the young man's allegation that he was disliked for disclosing the villagers' trick of obtaining grain in the name of absentees, was probably true.

While I was thus turning the business over in my mind, I saw my sandals lying below. I called the old man up.

"You all live by working on leather, don't you?" I asked.

"Yes," the old man replied.

"Here is leather that feeds you. Take it up in both your hands," I said pointing to my pair of sandals.

He took them up.

"Say after me," I said, "upon this leather that feeds me, and before God."

He repeated the words.

"Did your son drink?" I asked the man.

"Yes he did," confessed the old

man, looking at me with dazed, wide-open eyes.

It took my breath away. Miracles happen sometimes. This one overwhelmed me.

"Will you take an oath too?" I asked the young culprit. I thought he would stick to his denial. He took up the sandals and said, "Yes I did drink."

This completed an unforgettable experience.

We fined him four annas. This was paid at once and added to the Relief Fund. I asked all the men to swear, one by one, with the same sandals in hand that they would never again touch toddy. They took the oath. I dismissed them.

There my worn out sandals lay which these poor people had sanctified and left, mutely saying, "No! you are wrong in losing faith. Truth and reverence are not dead."

Country sandals are not merely useful things for one's feet. They embody the bread and the faith of poor cobblers. One has to tread lightly and reverently in them.

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MADRAS INDUSTRY—FROM PAGE 19

As against Rs 3.64 crores worth in 1966, it was Rs 5.56 crores worth in 1967, an increase of 52.5 per cent. The State Government has been earnest

PRODUCTION FIGURES IN SOME MAJOR INDUSTRIES IN MADRAS

	1966	1967	Increase
Commercial vehicles	3615	4613	998
Passenger cars	1008	2774	1766
Tractors	3400	3819	419
Automobile tyres	4,23,123	5,15,199	92,076
Automobile tubes	22,306	2,91,576	2,69,270
Bicycles	2,76,514	3,03,300	26,786
Cycle tyres	39,46,066	50,80,811	11,34,745
Diesel engines	8859	10,771	1912
Transformers	9,46,275 kva	9,66,880 kva	20,605 kva
Steel castings	22,039 tons	22,903 tons	864 tons
Fertilisers	2,49,442 tons	2,63,251 tons	13,809 tons

about helping industrialists in every way.

The textile crisis in Coimbatore has indeed been a thorn in the flesh of the DMK Government and talks have been going on between the Centre and the State so as to find solutions of a long-lasting nature to deal with the textile industry's problems. The main problem is that many of the units would have to be completely rebuilt so as to face the current requirements of the markets both in quality and competitiveness. The concern with which the Chief Minister himself has been devoting much of his time to this matter encourages one to feel that solutions will be found.

Whenever any dispute arose, big or small, in any industrial unit, there was not only prompt attention to it but also personal intervention by the Chief Minister and the Labour Minister to bring about a settlement without much delay. This was at a time

when, due to problems forced on them by the recession as well as by stringent money-market conditions, industrialists, big and small, were less willing to accommodate the demands of their workers. Such intervention also enabled the DMK Ministry to get a closer view of the problems of both industry and labour and this experience is bound to serve them well in the years to come.

Far from any attitude of indifference or unconcern, the DMK Ministry, particularly its Chief Minister and Industries Minister, have been earnestly helping to keep the wheels of industry moving without interruption and wherever possible, with greater speed.

C. SUBRAMANIAM—FROM PAGE 17

Are Communists a major force in Tamil Nad?

"They have certain pockets of influence."

Do you think that they hope to influence the DMK by their alliance with them?

"They do have a better future and prospect of influencing the DMK than the Congress."

What in your view is a fair solution of the language problem?

"I happen to have been the first man to propose the bilingual formula (regional language at state level, English interstate communication) at the Gauhati Congress in 1955 or 1956. Mr Nehru got interested and we discussed the issue. I succeeded later in converting Mr Nehru to it. I also managed to get the approval of the other party leaders in Madras for its implementation."

Will he be as successful in converting Mr Kamaraj to his ideas?

I found Mr Subramaniam sincere, earnest and dedicated. If ability and integrity can revive a political party, he can. The question is will he make it? Will his own Party bosses permit him to?

R.M.L.

ON THE SPOT—FROM PAGE 13

over continents more easily than a space satellite, may now be on the brink of its greatest discovery — of a personal God, interested in every human act. Our Creator issues His signals to us to catch if we will, to direct and to lead us. If we attend to them we need not lose the next twenty years of freedom.

Rajaji's name is written across the history of India, but with his heart, hand and mind he may be destined to write the prologue to a new Indian chapter of Indian history.

Education in Madras State

BY K. S. RAMANUJAM

TAMILNAD could well claim to have the most phenomenal progress in education as compared to all other states in the Indian Union, including Kerala, during the first three Plan periods. Even after pruning became inevitable, since Plan allotment in 1967-68 had to be kept at a level below that of the earlier year, the tempo as well as the quantum of progress has been maintained despite numerous difficulties.

The figures below indicate the enormous growth.

The Fourth Five-Year Plan period

is to commence only from 1969-70, as per the decision of the Government of India, and the period 1966-07 to 1968-9 is treated as Annual Plan Periods.

The increase in the Budget estimates for 1968-9 over the provision made in 1967-8 is of the order of Rs 230 lakhs. The expenditure on general education works out to about 22 per cent of the total revenue expenditure which is indeed a very sizeable figure by any standards.

Madras has shown the way to the rest of the country in two very ima-

CATEGORIES	(Rupees in lakhs)					
	First Five Year Plan	Second Five Year Plan	Third Five Year Plan	Annual Plans		1968-9
				1966-7	1967-8	proposed
1 Elementary Education	302.00	829.72	2127.35	240.63	303.18	356.36
2 Secondary Education	—	264.04	908.13	198.62	266.69	204.34
3 University Education	55.40	14.66	31.14	18.52	66.34	107.17
4 Other Education Schemes	135.92	32.57	55.07	48.34	19.14	26.91
TOTAL	493.32	1,140.99	3121.69	506.11	655.35	694.78

WEST BENGAL

By-election win boosts Congress morale

FROM S. K. MUKHOPADHYAY IN CALCUTTA

NOT even the most optimistic Congress supporter could imagine that Shrimati Ila Pal Chowdhury would score such a facile victory in the Krishnagar by-election, beating her nearest rival, Mr Sasanka Sekhar Sannyal, the United Front-sponsored candidate, by more than 41,000 votes.

Both the Congress and the UF had attached significance to this by-election. Both took it as a prestige fight. It was the first open encounter between the two since the last general election. Mrs Ila Pal Chowdhury, a widow who polled 134,361 votes, was defeated when she contested the Assembly seat from Krishnagar in the general election.

There are a number of interesting sidelights to this election. Krishnagar, it might be recalled, became one of the most tempestuous areas when food riots rocked the State in 1966. Immense damage was done to

Government properties — post offices were looted and burnt, and stations and other Governmental properties were gutted. The Army had to be called in to restore order after police firing had caused the death of some young men.

In the last general election, the Congress received one of the severest drubbings in this border Nadia district. Not only was the Lok Sabha seat lost but the Congress could win only two out of the seven Assembly constituencies. Out of the five UF candidates who won, three were from the Bangla Congress, one Communist and the other represented the SSP.

This seat has been a stronghold of the Leftists and the spectacular victory of the Congress candidate will boost the sagging morale of the Party.

A comparison of the results with

ginative measures undertaken during Mr Kamaraj's stewardship of the State which are being continued with greater conviction by Mr Annadurai's Ministry. These are the mid-day meals scheme, whereby all poor children are given a good meal during the day at school; and the free supply of books, stationery etc. for poor children whose parents are not in a position to buy them.

Yet another scheme was that of seeking donations of five acres in each village for serving the needs of a local school. The author of this idea was Mr C. Subramaniam. It has been very successful in many districts.

Madras State is the first to have provided free education up to secondary school leaving stage for all children irrespective of caste, creed or other economic and social considerations.

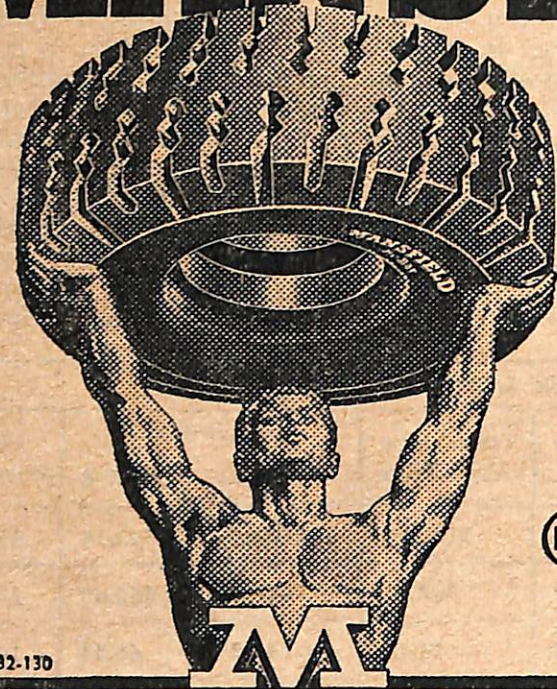
The rate of illiteracy has been reduced very considerably during the last decade and more, and it is hoped that illiteracy would be completely wiped out by 1975.

those of the general election last year shows that the Congress had polled 12,000 votes more while the UF polled 30,000 less. The Independent candidate who also contested last year had polled 24,000 less than last time. The number of votes cast this time was less than 92,000 (about 45 per cent) and though the voters did not evince much interest in voting, there was tremendous excitement while the counting was on.

Mr Atulya Ghosh hailed it as a "victory of the people". Mr Ajoy Mukherjee refused to comment. Mr Jyoti Basu and Mr Promode Das Gupta of the CPI-M thought it was "unfortunate", while Mr Sannyal, the defeated candidate, remarked that the "victory of the Congress candidate is the triumph of black money".

After the routing of the Communists in Kerala's civic elections and the success of the Congress in Haryana, this victory of the Congress over the UF in West Bengal will raise its confidence over the coming election in November. It is yet too early to accept this victory as the people's verdict. But it now makes the political scene of this State most intriguing.

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viewpoint The "P" Form should be abolished

NO—but wasteful Government jaunts should

First prize to Vinod Chowdhury, Delhi 7

It sounds very attractive to argue that all restrictions on foreign trips by individual citizens — of which the "P" Form is the most formidable barrier — be lifted. But if we take a hard look at reality we will find abolition of the "P" Form an impracticable proposal. What can be argued much more effectively is that the tortuous procedure involved in getting this form be streamlined, rather than doing away with the form itself.

Our foreign exchange reserves are far too inadequate compared to our pressing needs and clearly must be rationed. The "P" Form is the Reserve Bank of India's device to keep a check on the outflow of foreign exchange and, therefore, we cannot object to the form itself.

What we can object to are the many irregularities involved in getting this elusive document. Delay and red-tape, with corruption thrown in for good measure, are widespread. Getting a "P" Form can be an almost impossible task without entertaining and pampering the right official quarters. Also it is patently unjust that while the favoured elite of our Socialist society — Ministerial and political bigwigs with bureaucratic sycophants — eats up large amounts of foreign exchange, genuine foreign-bound travellers (like students) get a mere pittance.

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

* Should State Governors be elected?

Closing date : June 7

** Should communal parties be banned?

Closing date : June 21

Prizes: Rs 25, Rs 15

Send entries of not more than 300 words to Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 394, Bazargate St., Bombay-1.

COMPETITORS should note that the maximum length for entries is 300 words and judges will deduct points for extra wordage, cliches and vague argument. —Ed.

In brief it can be said: let the "P" Form be given without dilly-dallying and without any fuss to bona fide

NO—but its misuse must stop

Second prize to D. R. Mohan Raj, Hyderabad 27

No. The Form should stay but its misuse must stop.

The "P" Form is meant for a particular purpose. It is the tool by which the Reserve Bank of India prevents wastage of foreign exchange resources. The permission to go abroad is granted after ensuring that it involves no strain on the economy. Put to this use, it is of benefit.

But it is the allegation of those experienced in travel that the form is not put only to this use. It is a mode of political intimidation, some allege, with the RBI playing stooge to the powers-that-be. Others complain of deliberate delays, "red-tape" being wantonly indulged in by the Draculan bureaucracy. The whole process, they feel, is unnecessary and even pernicious, being the cause of much harassment and humiliation. There is some truth in this.

Others would contest the form on the basis of the Supreme Court's judgement upholding the right to travel as fundamental. This is carrying things too far. True, the right to travel is fundamental; but indulgence in the right should not harm the country. Even such rights have to be regulated in times of

travellers and also let unnecessary official expenditure on foreign jaunts be curtailed. These are sensible demands indeed. But to go the whole hog and demand abolition of the "P" Form itself is, if nothing else, utopian — particularly if we remember our chronic foreign exchange shortage.

"Emergency"; and we are passing through an acute economic crisis.

Doing away altogether with the form would be unwise as it is likely to let loose anarchic forces adversely affecting the exchange resources position and consequently crippling the economy. At the same time, allowing it to be misused causes anxiety and distress to the public.

In summation, the form is merely a piece of paper. Properly used, it can do good. Abused, it causes evil. Much depends on the men who control the process.

Readers were almost equally divided this week, some wanting the regulation abolished or retained under certain conditions. Interesting points made by other readers were:

"The 'P' Form has encroached upon our fundamental right of movement from our country to another. People get frustrated when they do not get a chance to go abroad".

—HIREN H. SHAH, Bombay 58

"I would earnestly urge the Union Government to do away with the 'P' Form at least as an experimental measure for a period of three years."

— T. S. PRASAD, Mysore

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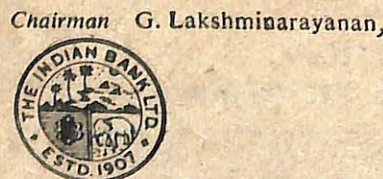
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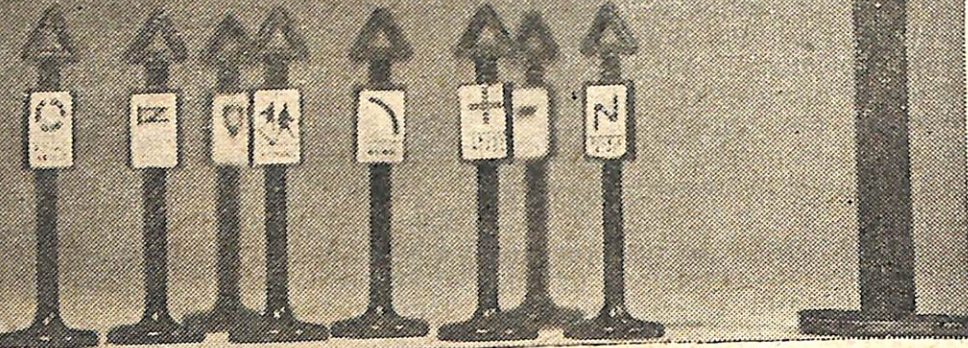
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FILMS

"A Man for All
Seasons"

SHIELA, DELHI

EVERY FEW years we are treated to a really great motion picture. This is one of those years.

"A Man for All Seasons" is great art. The material of Robert Bolt's screenplay is so fine that Producer-Director Fred Zinnemann, Photographer Ted Moore and the star-studded cast, led by Paul Scofield as Sir Thomas More, can really build to great heights. From its foundation the whole film soars like a medieval cathedral.



What this film is all about is what we are all about: that quality which no amount of success or failure, hardship or comfort, flattery or torture can take away from us. Our conscience; our integrity; our sense of right and wrong. This is why, although the film is set in Tudor England in the 16th century, it is of such telling relevance today.

The story covers the last seven years in the life of Sir Thomas More, who rose to the highest position in England — Lord Chancellor under Henry VIII — but who was demoted, imprisoned and finally executed over a question of conscience concerning Henry's second divorce and his marriage to Ann Boleyn.

The Technicolor photography is stunning, especially when on location — the mists and waters of the reedy Thames, Hampton Court, the garden of More's Chelsea house. Yet the most dramatic scene is almost claustrophobic — in More's prison cell when his wife (Wendy Hiller), daughter (Susannah York) and son-in-law Roper (Corin Redgrave), come to plead with him to give up the unequal struggle against the King and to recant. Here Zinnemann and his actors are supreme. The way in which More survives the ordeal and yet ennobles and unites his family will live in my memory for a very long time.

Robert Shaw is a brilliant Henry VIII who forces his will and whims on Church and State.

History books tell us that More was a product of Renaissance humanism. But it was a very different humanism from that preached in the West today. More believed in man because he believed in man's Creator. He believed man could and should become great because he believed in a great God. It was his faith which held him fast to the end. Without it this story could never have been told.

"Born to Sing"

METRO, BOMBAY

WITH his usual touch of magic, Walt Disney takes us behind the scenes of the famous Vienna Boys Choir for his Technicolor story of a bunch of boisterous youngsters who are "born to sing".



Since its foundation in 1498, by decree of Emperor Maximilian of Austria, this famous choral group has entranced millions in the world of Western music.

Selection for the choir is on a strictly competitive basis, and since its early days

CONTINUED ON PAGE 32



Four young actors on an outing — Denis Gilmore, Sean Scully, Vincent Winter and Hennie Scott — take time during their mountain climbing excursion to practise their singing roles as Vienna Choir boys during production of Walt Disney's motion picture, "Born to Sing".

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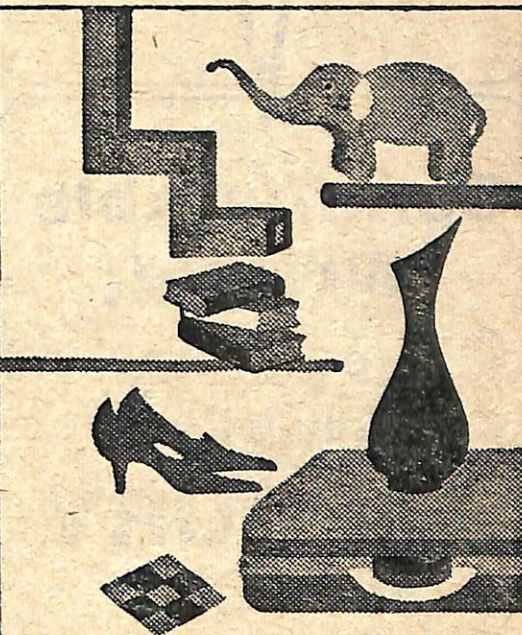
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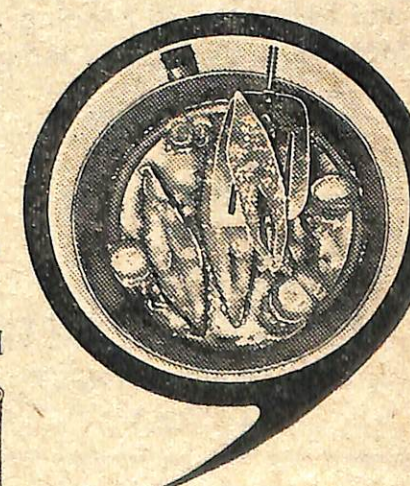
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SPORT

MCC in UK merger

The Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) — one of the most famous sport organisations in the world, steeped in tradition, solemn, justly proud of its immense contribution to the game and accepted as a model for impeccable administration — has bowed again to the demands of progress.

The MCC has stepped down from its high pedestal as an aristocratic and autonomous panel. It is to merge with the Test and County Cricket Board and the National Cricket Association and form a national governing organisation to fall in line with the uniform policy of the Sports Council of the United Kingdom. As such it will qualify for Government recognition and support, including grants in aid.

And to meet Government wishes, the MCC has rearranged the tour programme of its team to South Africa, leaving out Rhodesia. Whether the British Government should have desired its political differences with the Rhodesian administration to affect sport is quite a different question. That the MCC has accepted the directive without debating its merits is of significance to sport administration throughout the Commonwealth.

By its submission to the national authority in sport as well as politics, the MCC has lost none of its dignity. On the contrary, it has added to its stature. For, in acknowledgment of the MCC's incalculable service to cricket, the new governing body is to be called the MCC Council.

Lesson to India

The MCC example has a lesson for Indian sport. The "autonomy" claimed by our national games federations has its limitations when studied in the light of national interests and government aid. The reference is timely in view of the prevailing and impending controversies over the All-India Sports Council's studied recommendations over the size of the Indian contingent to the Olympic Games in Mexico.

Even before examining the standard and potential of its talent, the Amateur Athletic Federation of India is threatening to boycott the Olympic tour unless the Government finances all the athletes it may select! The Indian Olympic Association set the precedent in 1966 when it insisted on all its chosen competitors and officials being sent to Bangkok for the Asian Games, under threat of total withdrawal. The Wrestling Federation of India is spoiling for a show-down on similar lines for the coming Olympics. The IOA is again organising its forces for a repeat performance of the 1966 stunt.

All these units would do well to take a leaf from the MCC book. Autonomy in internal administration of games does

not mean defiance of national authority and policies; nor can aid-seekers also dictate the quantum of scarce foreign exchange to be dissipated on irresponsible adventures abroad.

Sports Council Chairman Gen. Cariappa's suggestion, that our top sportsmen should tour within the country more and engage in unequal competition abroad less, is worth adoption.

Laudable effort

At a time when the concentration is on international contests and national champions, the effort of a modest club, the Matunga Gymkhana of Bombay, in catering to the physical development of youth, comes as a welcome diversion. The Gymkhana introduced back-press and novices' best physique events in its annual power lift competitions, and met with excellent response from weight-lifting clubs and participants from all over the State.

These power lifts are different from the Olympic styles of lifting but are nonetheless popular and exacting; and they enjoy an international following. More than 150 competitors took part in the various lifts and best physique contests. Adi Irani, although arriving too late for competition, demonstrated his form when dead-lifting 232.5 kilograms to improve his own meet record by 5 kg. P. B. Puthran won the official event, with up and coming all-rounder A. R. Eslami a good second. Eslami won the bench press and the best power lifter trophies.

The best physique contest presented a galaxy of young men with rippling muscles. Kersi Kasad was the popular winner of the all-class Mr Bombay 1968 title. The novices section was well patronised and provided opportunities for many a budding enthusiast. The winner was R. K. Daroga.

Competitions of this type, particularly at the club level, are worthy of every encouragement.

Team chess

Chess is sometimes looked down upon as a minor sport, since it is an exercise of the mind rather than the body. But watching the second National Team Tournament completed in Poona recently one felt that physical fitness was an important factor in the make-up of this stagnant game of brain and tactics.

It certainly taxed the physical powers of endurance as much as the mental when teams from nine States engaged in the battle of the boards on a league basis for more than a week.

The championship went to one of the two Andhra teams — composed of players from Hyderabad. Their consistency earned them 22 points out of a possible 32, just edging out a strong Madras team by a solitary point.

The individual honours went to Ranga Rao, Dandekar, Shaligram and Vachha boardwise.

This India

WHOM DO WE WORSHIP?

"You must obey me, treat me and worship me as God from now onwards. You have got to do what I tell you to," said a father to his son and daughters. When his daughter said to him, "Father I love and respect you but God will always come first in my life," he was furious. He beat her and did not give her food for a whole day.

In how many families of India is this story repeated? Mother and Father are expected to be, and often are, worshipped. When man—whether father, mother, brother, sister, husband, wife, child or boss — takes the place that God alone should have, tyranny has begun. Dictatorship in the family is the beginning of dictatorship in the country. The forces that run us and our families are indicative of the forces that govern our nation.

We, in our families, are rather like ships in the night which pass each other but never meet. We all have our private worlds into which we escape with "No Entry" for other members of the family. It would be a pleasant change if we began to tell each other about what we felt, thought, planned, the work we did. Often the children do not know about the kind of work their father does. Children going to their father only when they need his permission to do something or want money is a common occurrence.

There was a couple in North Wales called Mr and Mrs Tom Jones. For twenty years they conversed with each other through their cat. "Pussy, he's late again isn't he?" Mrs Jones would say, when her husband came home late from work. "Hi Puss, I'm sure she hasn't got my dinner ready," Tom would say. Fortunately in India we haven't yet adopted the cat method.

In the Western nations, family life is certainly not ideal by a long shot. I did notice, however, that they enjoy each other's company. They like doing things together. On a Sunday morning you often find the family gardening, painting the house, spring cleaning, washing up, singing together. There's a certain joy.

How many parents tell their children what they were like when they were young? Half the problem of student indiscipline, delinquency and rebellion would vanish if they did and if the children felt that the parents would understand. Love and duty are two different things. There is a lot of duty in our families but little love and companionship.

Is it possible that God could know, understand and care for the good of our families more than we do? God could be the boss in our homes.

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FILMS—FROM PAGE 29

the institution has been a boarding school in which the boys get a normal education amidst their strenuous musical training.

From the tense moments of a boy's audition through the rough and tumble of school life to a tour of world capitals, Disney's camera and microphone fill the screen with sights and sounds that delight. Even audiences who have little appreciation of Schubert, Brahms and Strauss, will feel the wonder and the beauty of what the human voice can produce. And this is nowhere better displayed than by the singing of the Mass in the magnificent baroque Piaristenkirche — repeat of the performance once given by the choir for the Emperor of Austria.

Humorous and moving moments are supplied by the 80 choir boys — described as "almost angels" — as they romp their way through their curriculum in the 200-year-old Augarten Palace, traditional home of the choir.

This is a film you should take all the family to see and enjoy.

SCREENER

People who count read
HIMMAT Weekly

This was a Life

C. SUBRAMANIA BHARATHI 1882—1921

SUBRAMANIA BHARATI, the great Tamil poet, awakened the slumbering Tamils to fight for independence. He was responsible for the renaissance of Tamil literature. He composed songs of fiery patriotism and those who sang his songs were at once arrested by the British.

He envisaged a society having no difference between rich and poor, Brahmin and Harijan. He pleaded that crows and sparrows are our kin. He sang the glory of God and love of all things. He preached that all religions are one and men should live in harmony.

He was born in Ettayapuram in Tirunelveli District. When only eight years old he used to sing verses extempore. For some time he served as the court poet under the patronage of the Raja of Ettayapuram, who conferred on him the title of "Bharati".

In 1904 Bharati became Sub-editor of *Swadesamitran* in Madras. With a few young men he conducted a weekly paper, *Radical Social Reform*.

In the Tamil weekly *India*, Bharati strongly criticised the Government and was a staunch follower of Tilak. It was evident he would soon be arrested. He escaped to Pondicherry, French India, where once again, *India* began to thunder.

By 1910 Bharati's journalistic ventures came to an end. But in spite of misery and poverty Bharati composed his wonderful and soul-stirring poems during this period. In 1918 Bharati came once again to British India. When he crossed the border he was arrested.

In 1921 he was again in Madras. He used to visit the temple of Parthasarathy, in Triplicane, and offer coconuts to the temple elephant. One day it caught hold of Bharati and threw him down. He was rescued. But his physical powers were sapped. In September, aged 39, he passed away.

Bharati's songs are sung in every household today:

"We should exchange the wheat products of the Gangetic plains for the betels grown in the Cauvery region, and for the fine songs of the lion-like Marathas, we should present ivory from Kerala."

He was concerned with Bharat and not only Tamil Nad.

I.A.

NUCLEAR PACESETTERS

The article "Harnessing the atom for everyone" (HIMMAT, May 17) raises the very important question, "Why can't we do as well in other fields as we have done in the sophisticated and complex field of atomic science?"

Capital is not a major question in the public sector. We do not even suffer from a lack of adequately trained persons. What we need is proper positioning and proper harnessing of them. Those placed at the top should be willing to take risks and responsibility for the success of the scheme and not drag their work on till their term ends, which is often a short period because frequent transfers are very common in our public sector. Due to this, policy changes from time to time, from man to man, and an efficient person hardly has time to settle before he is transferred to a completely different project.

Dr Sethna states (HIMMAT, May 17): "We never start a project or a laboratory (for atomic research) until we have found or trained a man to run it." Whereas in other fields you always have ill-planned schemes and scores of politicians from the ruling party (unsuccessful in elections) to handle, or rather mishandle, them!

What we really need is giving the right work to the right hands that give efficient, responsible and dedicated leadership, along with strong and well-thought-through policies, and to do away with, as early as possible, foreign assistance and patronage from government.

Rs 10 to: DHIREN MERCHANT,
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BOMBAY'S BROWNSHIRTS

FREEBOOTER is just echoing the thoughts of millions of Bombayites when he condemns the Shiv Sena atrocities (HIMMAT,

Letters

May 24). In reality, the Shiv Sena has lost all the sympathy of the intellectuals and sane people who were at one time leaning towards it. We had hoped that their election victory would sober the party. But in fact, the Shiv Sena has proved to be worse than the downgraded Communists.

As a Maharashtra, I feel sorry for its hated policy against the non-Maharashtrians, especially the South Indians. The Maharashtra Government should now wake up and use a strong hand against these "brownshirts".

Rs 5 to: K. S. JAGMAG, Poona 2

MINORITY MAJORITY

THE Haryana elections are over and the Congress Party has come out victorious. But only 57 per cent of the total voters turned up to cast their votes. That indicates that they were really not interested in the election.

Out of the total vote, Congress polled 43 per cent. That means that out of every five voters, only three turned up to cast their votes and approximately one chose the Congress.

In our democracy we say Congress got the majority vote. Isn't it interesting!

S. K. GAMBHIR, Hyderabad 20

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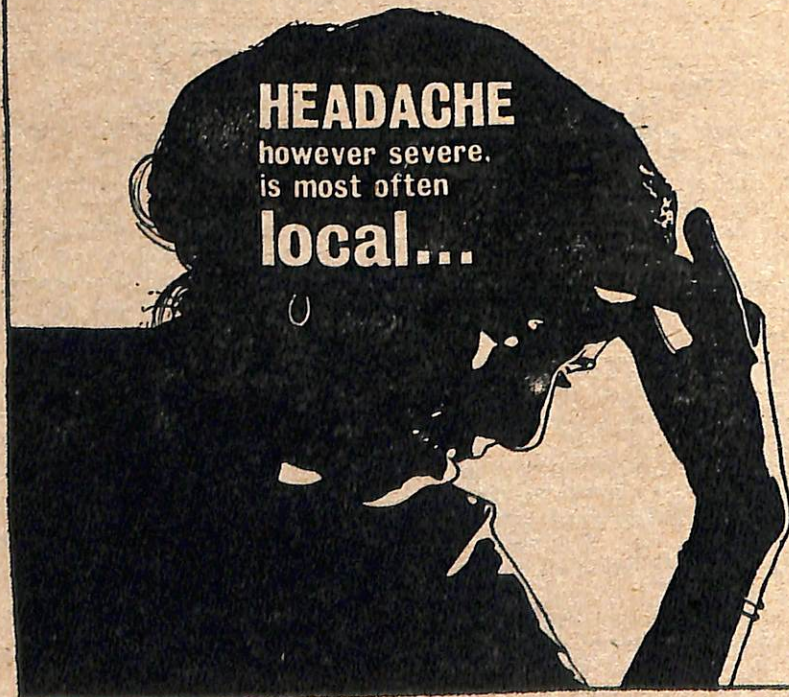
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HEADACHE
 however severe,
 is most often
 local...



Some wild ideas

by Rajmohan Gandhi

ACCORDING to the *Indian Express* Mrs Indira Gandhi has suggested a tranquilliser to restore confidence in South-East Asia.

Her prescription, evidently designed to help contain Chinese expansionism, has three ingredients: regional economic co-operation; free exchange of ideas, resources and technical know-how among the different countries; and an international guarantee by the big powers of the independence of the region.

Mrs Gandhi, in the view of the *Indian Express*, has convinced Australian leaders that India, Australia and Japan are meant to play a meaningful role, that the hands of the present Indonesian leaders should be strengthened and that the economic survival of Singapore and Malaysia is vital.

Natural partners

Japan, Australia and India are natural partners in Asia and the Pacific. If Indira's visit has put even a few teeth into this relationship she deserves high tribute. Some have thought with prize-winning naivete, that Russia's support was adequate, automatic and permanent, and that India could afford to disregard Australia, Japan and the South-East Asian lands. Indira's rejection of their confused assessment has raised her stature.

She is not likely, however, to find India's internal situation improved when she returns. The Assam imbroglio is worse than ever, and some Nagas appear to turn increasingly to China. In Kerala, EMS promises a major struggle against the Centre.

The Bombay Students' Union envisages a "not too smooth" re-opening of colleges and proposes a massive agitation against a fee rise.

Will the French storm also blow across India? Some Frenchmen maintain that in most respects French conditions and reactions are different from those elsewhere. It could be a serious error of judgement if nations like India accepted this picture. The huge success of France's anarchist students and workers will surely spur their counterparts here and elsewhere to similar visions and acts.

With all this, Indira will not be surprised if people request her for a three-tier tranquilliser to restore unity and stability inside the country.

Economic co-operation among the States will be sensational. A free exchange of ideas, resources and technical know-how among different States will have a shattering impact. A Central guarantee of each state's safety from its neighbour will be historic.

There is far less economic co-operation between neighbouring states in India than between distant countries in Europe. Obstacles and *octroi* barriers which clog the trade pipe-line between districts and states would bring howls of protest if erected between European nations.

Is there a free exchange of ideas between, say, Madras and Maharashtra? The hurling of a hate-filled slogan can, I suppose, be regarded as the flow of an idea, but it doesn't exactly create the desired alliance.

Mrs Gandhi may offer Australia and Japan the comradeship of India. However, if trends are not reversed, different units of India may well claim the right to make their separate alliances with countries of their preference. It is not impossible to imagine a situation where one state wishes for and obtains strong ties with China, another with Russia, a third with America, a fourth with Japan.

Will some Central or state leaders fight for an unexpected and revolutionary factor that converts the breaking up process into a march for partnership? Does Indira have the magic medicine? She has conviction, enthusiasm, energy, pride in the country, all in a remarkable degree. But does she yet lack that inspired touch which brings unity to those most bitterly divided? Without that gift impassioned exhortation and untiring example will fail alike.

The swing back to greatness can be initiated by the Centre, or by any state. Take Assam. If leaders there of hill and valley achieve unity and common aims they will instantly become the statesmen every corner of India — and other parts of the world — will turn to.

If Biju Patnaik, Harekrushna Mahtab and Chief Minister Singh Deo of Orissa were to fight for the same goals, New Delhi and all States would rub their eyes with wonder and prick their ears for advice.

If Rajaji, Kamaraj and Chief Minister Annadurai find unity, all India will demand their leadership. They did agree, after years of division, on opposition to the imposition of Hindi. But showing Hindi its place is not a goal likely to bestir all our millions to resurgent action.

Wrongly and hastily called secessionists, the DMK leaders could still decide to fill the statesmanship vacuum in India, and in fact in Asia.

Kamaraj originated a plan that certainly altered India's political history, even if it did not succeed in giving the country the unselfish leadership it was seemingly designed to provide. Will he now teach India the recipe of real sacrifice, the willingness to admit that one has been wrong, an act more powerful than resignation from a post of power?

Will Rajaji concern himself more with the enlisting of others in right action than with being right himself?

Political miracles

All this may be fancy running wild. But without some political miracles of this kind, reality in India will turn out to be fairly bestial.

Most of us remember and recall our grievances and hurts and other people's self-seeking. The causes others fight for are clearly devices manufactured by their ambition. What others think is ambition in us is merely our objective assessment of the role we can play, and others unfortunately cannot, in achieving worthwhile ideals.

Will some Indian politicians decide to acknowledge where they have been wrong? I believe they will. For India's destiny is neither anarchy's noise nor tyranny's silence. It is, instead, the throbbing of an inspired democracy, our reward as brave men listen to the still, small voice.



FIND THE BALL
Competition No 74



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

HOW TO PLAY

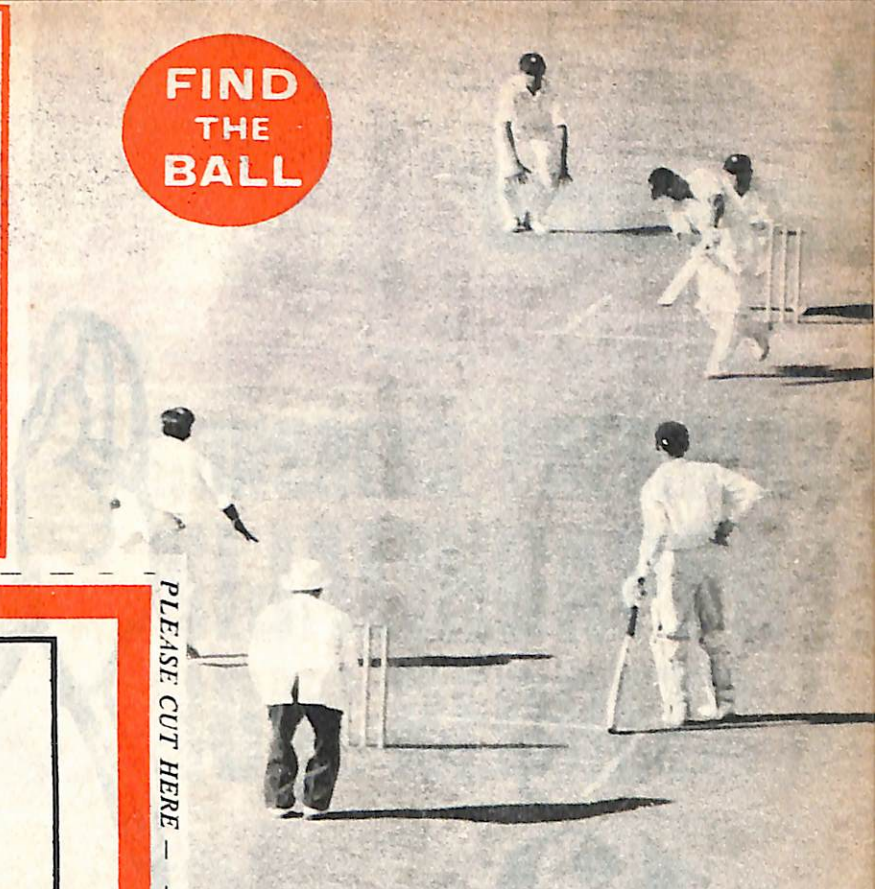
The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to mark a cross (not circle, arrow, etc) where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and coupon and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1 before noon on Monday, June 10

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

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

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

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



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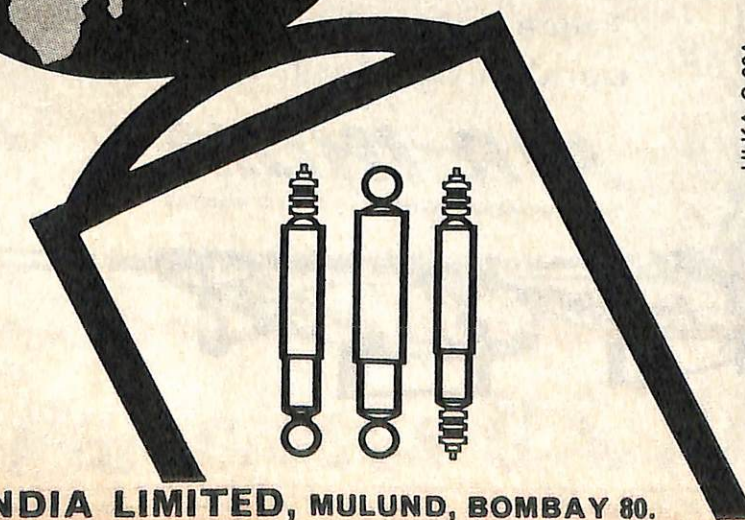
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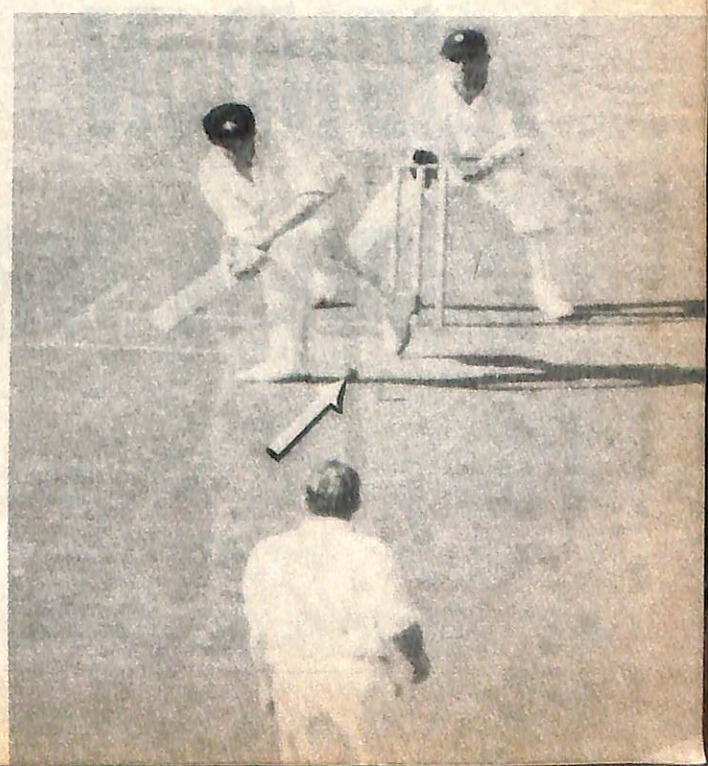
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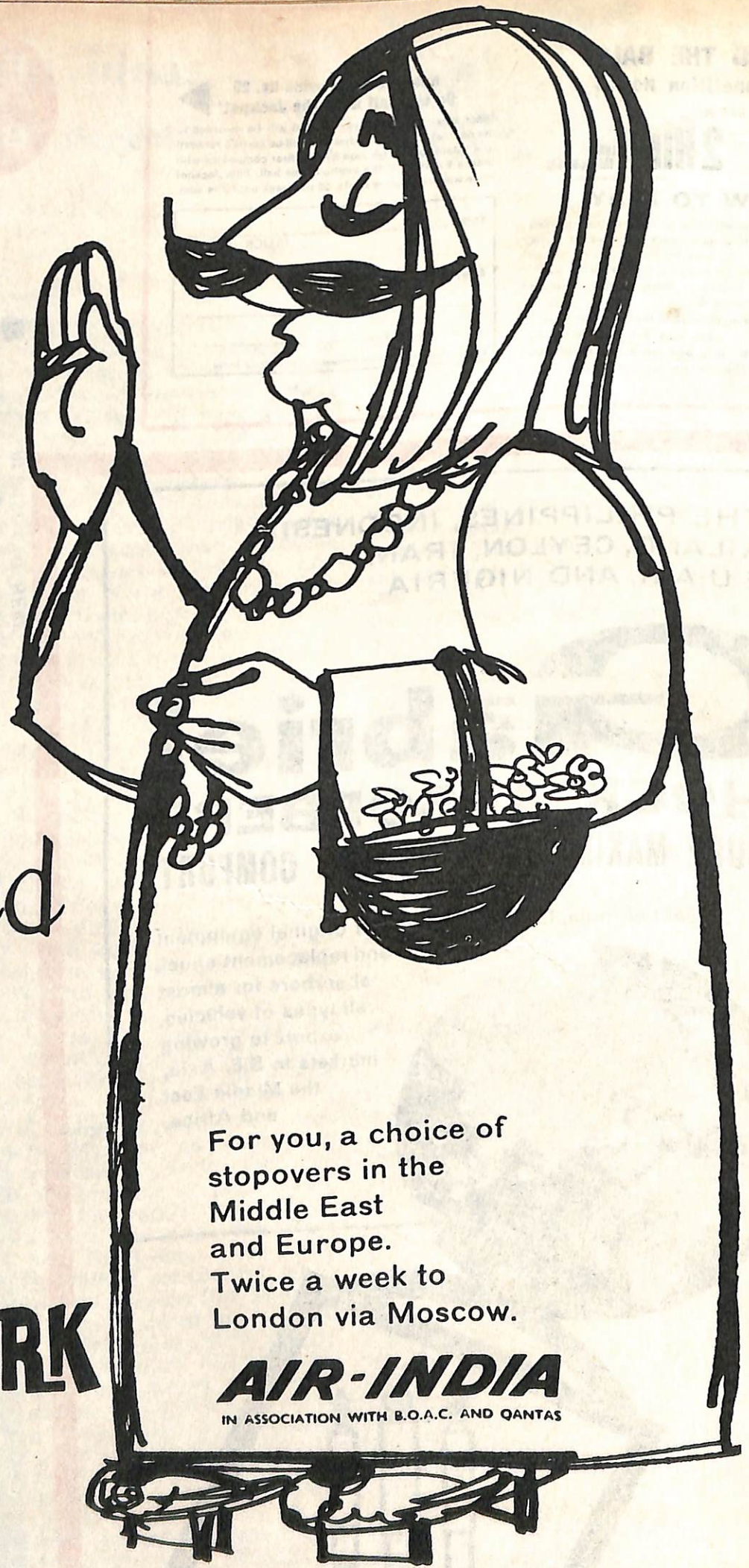
is Thomas A. Pavrey, Flat C, Makani Chambers, Signal Hill Avenue, Reay Road, Bombay 33. Rs. 25 for nearest entry (1 mm from ball).

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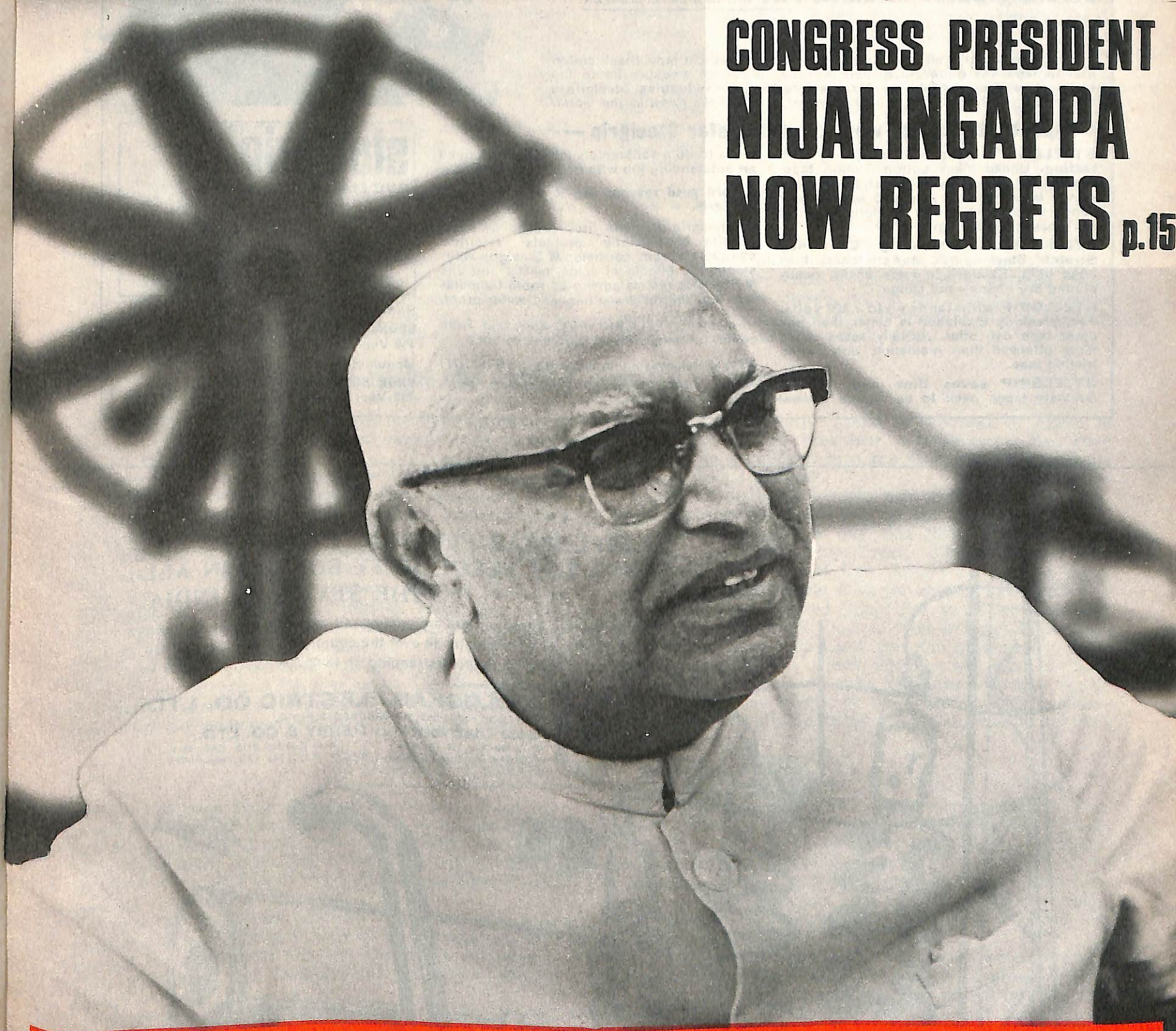
WEEKLY 30p

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FRIDAY JUNE 7 1968

**CONGRESS PRESIDENT
NIJALINGAPPA
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Why Pak closes U.S. Air Base BY ANTENNA