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THE HMMAT

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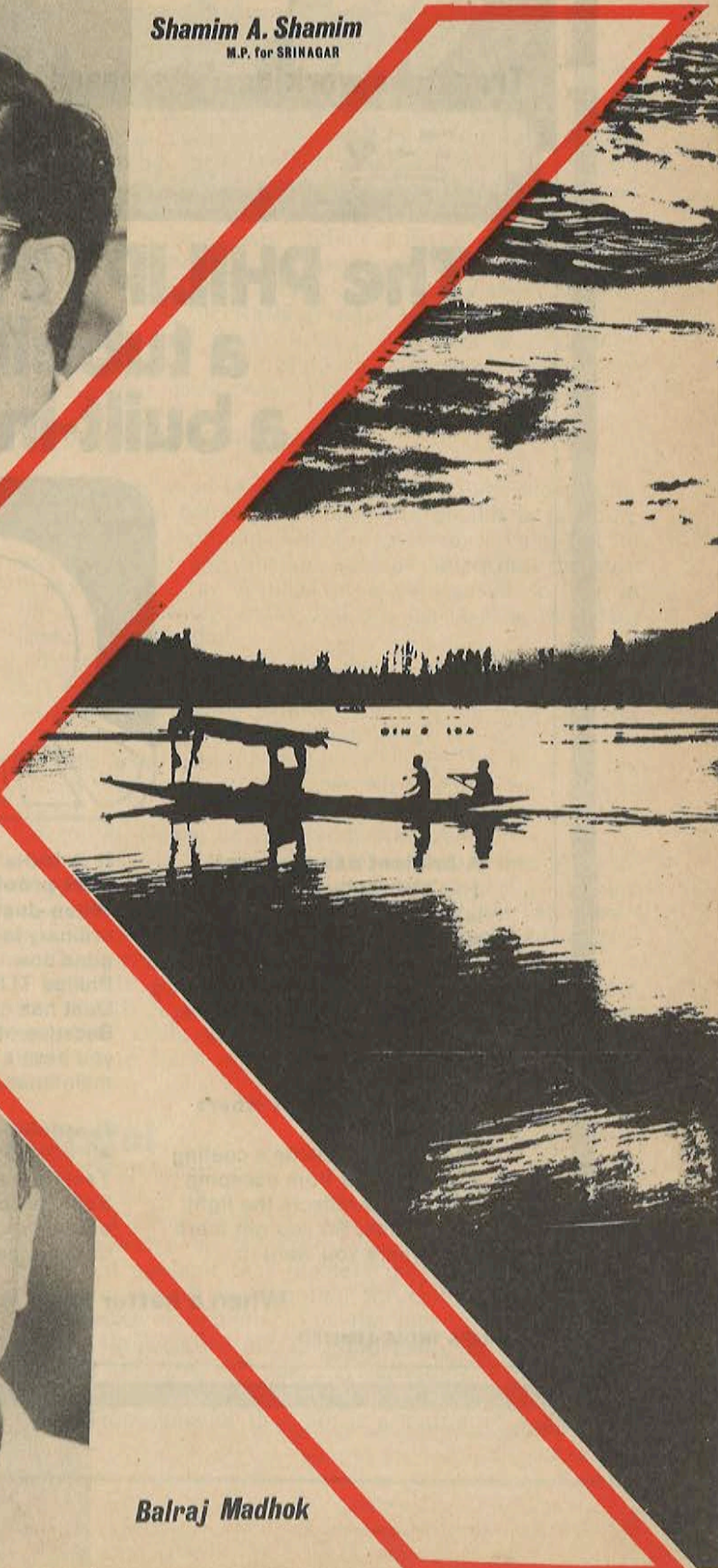
DEBATE ON KASHMIR



Shamim A. Shamim
M.P. for SRINAGAR



Balraj Madhok



Kashmir: key to Indo-Pak relations

THIS WEEK HIMMAT presents a debate on Kashmir (pages 12-16) between Mr Shamim A. Shamim, Independent Member of Parliament for Srinagar, and Mr Balraj Madhok, former M.P. and an ex-President of the Jan Sangh.

Mr Shamim stood for Parliament as a proponent for greater autonomy for Kashmir but accepts Kashmir's accession to India. Mr Shamim won against the late Ghulam Mohammed Bakshi, former Chief Minister of Kashmir.

Mr Balraj Madhok represents the opinion of the hard-liners in India. In a special article for HIMMAT he explains his views in detail. Mr Shamim says that Kashmir is the cause of Indo-Pak conflict whilst Mr Madhok says it is only a symptom of it. Cause or symptom, no one will deny that Kashmir is the main stumbling block to peace on the sub-continent and that this issue has twisted the history of the sub-continent for the last quarter century. It has resulted in increased Indian dependence on the Soviet Union and Pakistan's dependence on China and the United States.

Mr Balraj Madhok says that the state of Jammu and Kashmir can be broadly divided into three parts. 1) The Kashmir valley, predominantly Muslim. 2) Ladakh, which is entirely Buddhist and 3) Jammu which is a Hindu majority area. He says in his article that if perchance the Kashmir valley goes to Pakistan, India should claim from Pakistan other areas now in Pakistan which formerly had a Hindi majority like "Chicken's Neck", etc.

The people of the Kashmir valley, like any other people, may not relish being treated as if they were real estate to be traded, but the fact that Mr Madhok has made such a suggestion shows how far men like him are willing to go to settle the issue once and for all.

It appeared last June that a fresh wind would blow over Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah declared that he accepted Kashmir's accession to India, met Mrs Gandhi and expressed the hope that a "a new chapter" would start in Kashmir.

Vice-Chancellor Parthasarthy of Delhi University was deputed by the Prime Minister to open discussions with Sheikh Abdullah. It was believed that the aim was to bring the Sheikh into the mainstream of Kashmir's political life whereby he and his friends could stand for state elections and sort out the powers Kashmir should have within the Indian Union.

The Parthasarthy discussions appeared to fade out because the Government of India found it difficult to understand Mr Bhutto's mind after Simla and India did not want to queer the pitch in Kashmir. So the Kashmir issue was put once again in the deep freeze. This is a pity for two reasons.

First, after Bangladesh many who hold views like Sheikh Abdullah have rethought their stand vis-a-vis India and Pakistan. However much some Kashmiri leaders may deny it, they have had second thoughts about opting for Pakistan after the way Bangladesh was treated. The Sheikh's acceptance of the accession to India was partly prompted by that. Events in Bangladesh have strengthened India's position in Kashmir.

Secondly, Sheikh Abdullah is getting on in years and is keeping indifferent health. He regrets above all that Mr Nehru left the Kashmir issue as an unfinished item of business and died within a few days of re-opening it in May 1964. The Sheikh would surely like to see the Kashmir issue peacefully settled in his lifetime.

A matter of emotions

There are some men in this land who are short-sighted enough to believe that once the Sheikh is no more the Kashmir problem will be resolved. They fail to recognise that the Sheikh remains important because he symbolises the feelings of a substantial section in the Kashmir valley today and not because he was their leader of yesterday.

Recent statements of the Sheikh have shown that he has been hurt greatly by the way he was treated in 1953 when he was Prime Minister of Kashmir one day and a prisoner of the Union Government the next. It was perhaps more painful to him because the head of the Union Government, the late Mr Nehru, was a dear friend of his and the exercise must have been as painful to Mr Nehru as to Sheikh Abdullah.

Both as Mr Nehru's daughter and as Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi is in a unique position to heal something in the Sheikh's heart which no other person can. Kashmir is not so much a matter of adjustments of articles in the constitution as a matter of human emotions.

It needs a new level of statesmanship to deal with it. Sheikh Abdullah may have made his own mistakes and New Delhi may have made its own. Is it really too late to start, afresh?

Old and graceful

"Grow old along with me!
"The best is yet to be,
"The last of life for which the first was made."

That is what Robert Browning wrote in his poem "Rabbi Ben Ezra". He would have been pleased to know that eminent doctors have met in Bombay to discuss "How to grow old gracefully".

Not surprisingly it was a politician, Education Min-

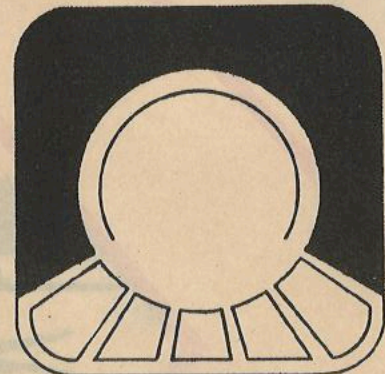
ister A. N. Namjoshi, who was the chief guest. A goal in life, claimed Mr Namjoshi, was one way to gracefully enter old age and that idleness quickened the process.

Where one draws the line for calling a person old is a matter of opinion. But the fact that most of our aged politicians are not idle and many still continue to cherish the goal of one day attaining higher offices proves that we have no shortage of politicians with a goal. How graceful they are is a matter of opinion!

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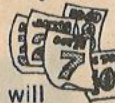
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Briefly Speaking

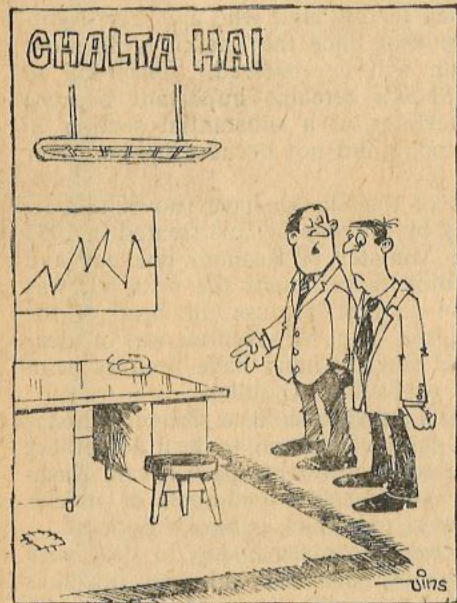
Give the devil his due, but be very careful that there ain't much due him.

JOSH BILLINGS, 1818-1885

Of newspaper bondage

THE Supreme Court has struck down the Government's 10-page ceiling order on daily papers by a four-to-one majority. Most newspaper readers will welcome this. Not just because of the extra reading material but because the freedom we all treasure has no meaning if the press is not free.

As the Supreme Court majority verdict puts it the restrictions were: "rightly said by Counsel for the petitioners to be not newsprint control but newspaper control." Referring to the Government's avowed intention of breaking the "monopoly of big papers and aiding the smaller papers



"Yes the last chairman here was a peon."

GET ODOMOS BEFORE THE MOSQUITOES GET YOU

3 A PRODUCT OF BALSARA

the Supreme Court verdict says, "This intention to help new and young papers cannot be allowed to strangulate the freedom of speech and expression of the big dailies."

Value of free judiciary

A number of times during the last few years thinking Indians have had occasion to say: "Thank God for the Supreme Court. Thank God for an independent judiciary."

Such judgements take courage. There is a powerful Government at the Centre which has passed a number of amendments to the Constitution, thereby clipping the wings of the Supreme Court. So far the Supreme Court has held its own. How long can it do so? The salaries of Supreme Court judges are a problem facing it. A Supreme Court judge earns Rs 4000 per month. Good lawyers and advocates can earn this amount in four or five days. Because of this the best legal talent is not attracted to the judiciary. Pensions are another sore point. At the same time their case load is so heavy that in the words of the Chief Justice of India, S. M. Sikri, "it will crush the present judicial system. Time has come for some radical changes."

A time has also come for India to see just how much she values a free and impartial judiciary and act accordingly.

The unmeeting ends

INDIAN magicians are fantastic. They can even cut a body in two parts and — hey presto! — join it together again. But it seems that most of them cannot make two ends meet in their personal lives.

This fact was discussed at length at a seminar in Nasik, attended by over 50 magicians, last month. The President of the Magicians' Association of India has appealed to magicians all over the country to be united in their demands for a better lot for themselves. And the Government's patronage for magic has been demanded.

Birbal hopes that the pleas of this highly skilled and delightful "trade union" will not be ignored by the Government.

Cooking up a fortune

COLONEL Harland Saunders, 82, has made a fortune after retirement. He started by selling fried chicken by the roadside and built up the Kentucky Fried Chicken Empire. He then sold out to a bigger firm but stayed on as consultant and is now free to travel around the world.

His recipe (for retirement) can be summed up as follows:

Plan retirement not in the spirit of being deprived but having something added to one's life.

Even if you can afford it don't loaf, life doesn't have to be easy to be wonderful.

To retire is merely to stop doing one thing and start doing another.

Self-defeating

AT the "Miss Aravali" contest two girls were crowned the winner. One was a 19-year-old Adivasi girl called Dipi and the other belonged to the non-tribal group.

The organisers' aim — to draw Adivasis into the limelight — was unexceptionable. But they defeated their own purpose by splitting up the contestants into tribal and non-tribal sections.

Birbal

UPON MY WORD!

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

UPON MY WORD

PUZZLE No. 2

You should find 12 words this week.

(Answer next week)

A C E

T A U

J L E

ANSWER TO PUZZLE NO. 1.

Cacoon, canopy, capon, cayman, chap, chay, chop, coach, cocoa, couch, cony, coop, copy, poach, poachy, poncho, CACOPHONY.

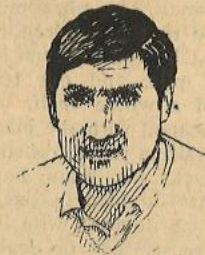
Meet the MCC-1

Tony Lewis, Captain

The MCC England touring side will be playing five test matches against India and other matches from December 5 1972 through February 11 1973.

HIMMAT will be publishing sketches by B. B. Mama of each of the 16 MCC players in succeeding issues.

THE unexpected doesn't always happen, but when it does, you don't expect it. Even though many knew that Tony Lewis was on the short list for England's captaincy after Illingworth pulled out, cricket fans in India hoped that one of the regular stalwarts like Boycott or D'Oliveira would lead the MCC. Bewildered disappointment gave way to indignation that England had foisted on us a team shorn of the famous and skippered by an unknown who had not even played in a Test match.



TONY LEWIS

There are, of course, precedents for such an appointment, the most remarkable instance being that of a father F. T. Mann in 1922-23 and later his son F. G. Mann in 1948-49 both captaining England on their Test debut and winning both rubbers against South Africa! Of more topical importance to us, we in India readily recall that when Nigel Howard brought the MCC on the 1951-52 tour, he had yet to play in a Test.

Tony Lewis, at 34 the oldest and most experienced member of the party, is a shrewd and strong-minded county captain. Since 1967 he has handled Glamorgan so capably that this Welsh county climbed from

SO THEY SAY

When friendship (with the USSR) exceeds the limit we should have a pause for re-consideration of the situation as we did on July 8.

GENERAL AHMED ISMAIL, Egypt's new War Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

A creature of the Constitution (parliament) has an inherent and implied limitation on its power. It cannot impair essential elements of the Constitution.

N. A. PALKHIVALA

No. 14 position the previous year to No. 3 in 1968 and won the Championship in the following season. In 1970, they finished runners-up to Kent. Incidentally, this is the first time Glamorgan has provided an England captain in Test Cricket.

It was when he led an MCC team on a successful tour of Ceylon, East Africa and the Far East in 1969-70 (a team which included Boycott, Fletcher, Roope, Arnold, Taylor and Pocock) that Tony Lewis revealed his qualities of leadership, setting an excellent example in public relations and fostering a happy team spirit.

The cares of captaincy on an arduous tour should not affect his graceful batting, which is easy and fluent. At one time, his first love was music, and this classicism is re-

Squash deserves a better deal

THE conduct of an inter-collegiate squash competition for the first time in Bombay may be hailed as a significant step forward in the promotion of a game that deserves every encouragement.

Though squash has been included in the Inter-University sports calendar, Bombay has all along been chary of holding a competition for the collegians. The reason advanced was that no college in Bombay has a court of its own.

The response to the inaugural collegiate competition, however, showed that the authorities' fears were unfounded. Eighteen players from eight colleges took part and the overall standards were encouraging.

It is strange, that squash, so popular abroad, should receive scant attention at home despite the fact that we have produced some world class players. The reasons are two-fold: the paucity of courts and the need to import squash balls. These hurdles, however, are easily surmountable.

Squash is largely played in India at Service centres. However, the courts can be easily built in cities since they need little space and less attention. Especially in view of the acute paucity of playing fields, squash is the ideal answer to recreational problems in cities. In fact town planners would do well to insist on

flected in his cricket. His batting, indeed, has the delicacy of a man playing the violin. Lewis, all the same, hits the ball hard and is a delightful stroke-player on firm wickets. Somebody once described him as a master of the cover-drive and off-drive.

It may surprise many to learn that Tony Lewis made his debut in first class cricket as far back as 1955,

by B. B. Mama

and played a match for Glamorgan while still at school. He was a Cambridge Blue for three years and captained the University in 1962. His best season was in 1966 when he scored over 2000 runs and came within a few runs of breaking the county record for the best aggregate in a season set up by Gilbert Parkhouse in 1959. His seventeen busy years in cricket have brought him over 19,000 runs and a wealth of experience both as a captain and a player. This darkly handsome, pleasant-faced but quietly determined man will, by all counts, be a tough and knowledgeable opponent.

the provision of squash courts in the basements of skyscrapers.

The import of squash balls is already being allowed and, since the cost is not high, the quota can be easily raised till we are in a position to manufacture them at home.

The value of squash may be gauged from the fact that champions in other branches of sport have benefited immensely by playing this indoor game. Test cricketer Dilip Sardesai, for instance, has been able to keep himself in trim thanks to squash.

Squash, indeed, is an ideal sport for the Asian physique and temperament. Since it requires speed and dexterity more than sheer brute force, Asians can easily shine in this branch of sport as they do at badminton and table tennis. Thus Hashim Khan was the undisputed master of squash for years.

More recently, we have produced an outstanding player in Anil Nayar. He never had the opportunity to play for his college in Bombay, yet won the national collegiate title in the USA. Nayar also won the US and Canadian national championships.

Appropriately, Nayar was the chief guest at the inaugural Bombay collegiate competition won by Raju

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT . . .

APPROVES of India's gesture of repatriating 338 Pakistanis, caught in India during the December war, as a form of Id greetings.

PROSTRATES itself in gratitude in front of the rain gods and **IS GRATEFUL** to know that the unexpected rains will ease the drinking water situation.

NOTES WITH INTEREST that the Bihar Cabinet has decided to lower the retirement age from 58 to 55 years and **WONDERS** if this applies to politicians as well.

MARKS the arrival of the new Standard Herald Mark III on the Indian automobile scene and **STRETCHES OUT** at the prospect of more legroom in the new car.

IS BEMUSED at President Amin's call for an Afro-Arab conference to plan the "conquering" of Israel and **WONDERS** what this odd despot will be up to next.

IS IMPRESSED by the new legislation in Hong Kong to check littering and **WARNS** Indians who visit the colony that a mouthful of pan spat on the road could cost them 1000 Hong Kong dollars.

IS DEPRESSED by the fact that one out of ten adults in the world suffer from high blood pressure and **IS DISCONCERTED** that according to the WHO this "widespread epidemic" is as common in developing countries as in the developed.

IS IMPRESSED that Mrs Gandhi, while inaugurating the Asia '72 fair, made a special reference to the hard work of the 40,000 strong labour force who worked round the clock to construct the 120-acre trade complex.

SYMPATHISES with the Afghanistan Government which has 100,000 of its people facing starvation and **HOPES** the world will help out.

FAILS TO UNDERSTAND how using the Avro (HS-748) aircraft is in the national interest if Indian Airlines are losing Rs 3 crores annually because of its fleet of 14 Avros.

SQUASH — from page 5

Chainani. A frail-looking 20 year-old final B. Com. student of H. R. Commerce College, Chainani displayed commendable skill while romping through the final against Ramesh Nayak.

For the first time, Bombay will be

competing in the Inter-University Championships, to be held in Roorkee in December. Squash deserves a better deal and the best way to promote it will be by making it popular in colleges and schools.

Playfair

THIS INDIA

The alarm rings. The mother turns on her side. "Another morning," moans the subconscious mind. It urges on attractively, "Ten more minutes will not make a difference." But that is not to be. Two fingers poke into her eyes. "Mummy, are you awake?" Pretending not to have felt or heard, she remains still. Little fingers lift up her eyelids to observe. "Mummy, when are you waking up?" The tone conveys a mixture of impatience and persistence which four year-olds display when they've set their minds on something.

She is about to give up the struggle of enjoying the bliss of 10 stolen minutes when there is a crash landing on her bed. Her second son throws himself on top of her and whoops, "Mummy, maths homework." She groans inwardly. What is there to be enthusiastic about in Maths so early in the morning. Her irritation mounts. Fortunately for her, Providence intervenes. The father, pulling the sheet over his head, scolds in muffled tones, "Can't you all keep quiet?" That does it. There are two thumps as the boys, with acrobatic skill, transfer themselves on to his bed. She makes her escape. The father is left to exercise his mathematical genius.

So begins the morning in many an Indian home. The drama proceeds. The husband is in a hurry. The hands of the clock have a habit of

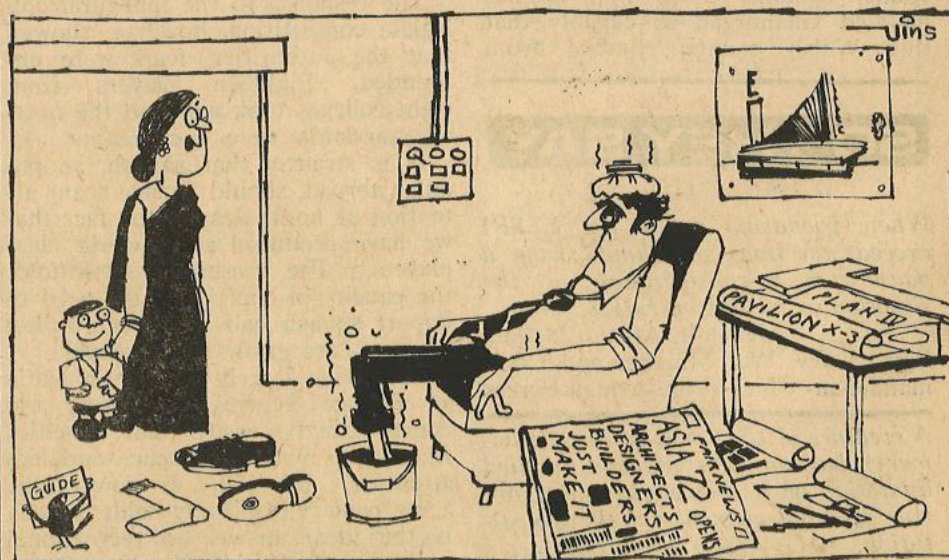
racing at that hour. So the toothpaste is squeezed out quickly. He forgets to screw the cap on again.

The wife comes a little later and finds toothpaste messing up everything. The enclosed paste has come out of the tube with a slow and graceful motion but the pent up feelings of the wife erupt with a force that is far from gentle.

The children's clothes fly in all directions as they get into their school uniforms. Untidy heaps result. The room looks as if it were hit by a hurricane. This phenomenon is not restricted to the children. A shirt is extracted by the husband from the bottom of a pile, and out tumble the contents of a whole shelf. This is impatiently heaped with the pile of washed clothes, waiting to be ironed. The poor servant racks his brain how the ironing pile has doubled in size.

A doctor's wife has found an effective strategy of dealing with the situation. According to the traditions of Indian womanhood, a wife is not supposed to reprimand her husband directly. So she must invent subtler ways. The doctor's wife insisted that the children fold their clothes neatly before going to school. She called them back even if they were inside the lift. To her surprise she discovered her husband's clothes folded properly in a corner. She's now teaching her older son to make the morning tea. Her husband is catching on.

Neerja Choudhury



"Care to come to the Fair with us, dear!"

HIMMAT, November 10, 1972

Oil and political power

FROM GORDON WISE IN PERTH (SCOTLAND)

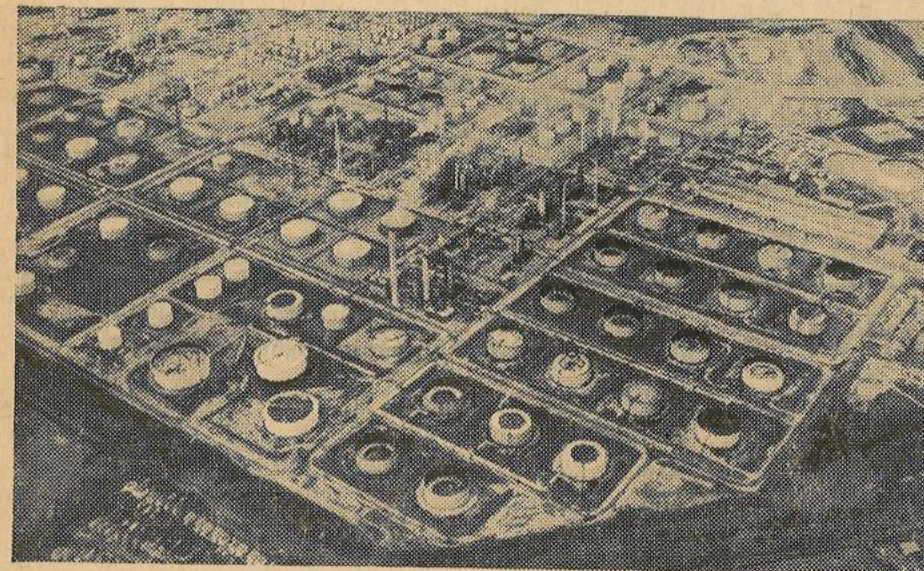
THE Scots are a proud, resourceful, resilient people. But because of the scarcity of jobs at home, traditionally some of the finest of the flower have emigrated to North America, Australia and New Zealand. Whole cities in New Zealand have a Scottish flavour. Many Scots are to be found in executive positions in the City of London and Whitehall.

There is the story of the Glaswegian who went to London for a business trip. When he came back a friend asked him how he liked the English. "I did not meet any," he said, "I was just dealing with the heads of departments!"

But there is, too, a sense of a grudge among the Scots. It is believed that when all of Britain is doing well,

origins lie in 1959, when the exploration of a gas field in the Netherlands made geologists realise that suitable conditions for the accumulation of gas could well exist under the southern part of the North Sea. There followed a massive geophysical programme from 1962 onwards. Commercial gas was discovered in 1965. Today, 90 per cent of the gas consumption of the whole of Great Britain comes from the fields of the eastern shores, under the North Sea.

There are 16 oil rigs operating in the North Sea. It takes two or three years to develop a new discovery fully, and then another year to achieve maximum output. But by 1975, Western Europe will have obtained 10 per cent of its crude oil require-



ONE OF EUROPE'S BIGGEST OIL REFINERIES:
Fowley Oil Refinery on England's south coast

Scotland does half as well. When the whole country has a tough time, then Scotland finds it twice as tough. Unemployment figures are considerably higher, calculated in percentage, than south of the Border.

So the discovery of oil off the Scottish coast is one of the main talking points up here. It is estimated that there will be 40,000 more jobs in Scotland as a direct result of the North Sea oil discoveries. But it will take a decade before there are 40,000 fresh pay packets. And this has to be measured against the present 146,000 unemployed.

An Australian oil executive, Ronald M. Titcombe, has described the potential of the oil discoveries. The

ments from the North Sea.

Drilling for oil under the North Sea is one of the toughest physical environmental challenges which the oilmen meet. Waves of up to 15 metres in height are not infrequent, with winds up to 125 kilometres an hour. Winter days are short. But there is an incentive for the oil companies to search, because any tax they pay on their tonnage will be considerably lower than the 55 per cent tax they pay to the OPEC governments (the oil producing states in the Middle East).

There is also the saving on shipping costs. To ship a ton of crude

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19

HIMMAT, November 10, 1972

The week in ASIA

PEKING — Elated UK Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home, winding up his five-day visit here, said, "The ice between us had been broken before I came. Now the waters are warm and we can swim in them together."

— Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai said that he had been in contact with the United States and North Vietnam over the stalled ceasefire talks and although he was still hoping for early signatures, "the news is not so good".

TOKYO — A JAL Boeing-747 jumbo jetliner, bound for Paris from Tokyo with 260 passengers and a crew of 21 aboard, skidded along the runway of Anchorage airport in Alaska for several hundred metres while landing, sources at the airlines head office in Tokyo said.

CAIRO — The Libyan Foreign Minister, Mr Mansur Al Kekhia, who came here to take part in the meeting of foreign ministers of the federation of Arab republics, rejected the West German request that the Palestinians who hijacked the Lufthansa jet be either extradited or put on trial in Libya.

DACCA — India and Bangladesh signed a five-year protocol agreement on inland water transport providing for a substantial movement of goods between the two countries as well as transit facilities for India to get goods across Bangladesh to its eastern states.

HONG KONG — In an editorial "The People's Daily" of China held the United States responsible for the non-signing of the Vietnam peace agreement originally scheduled for October 31. It added that the US brought in Mr Thieu because it did not want to sign the agreement and furthermore Thieu was not in a position to block the settlement if Washington really wanted it.

SAIGON — Leaders of the National Liberation Front called on their forces to escalate hostilities "on a front wider than ever before" if the United States failed to sign immediately the draft agreement drawn up with North Vietnam to end the Indo-China war.

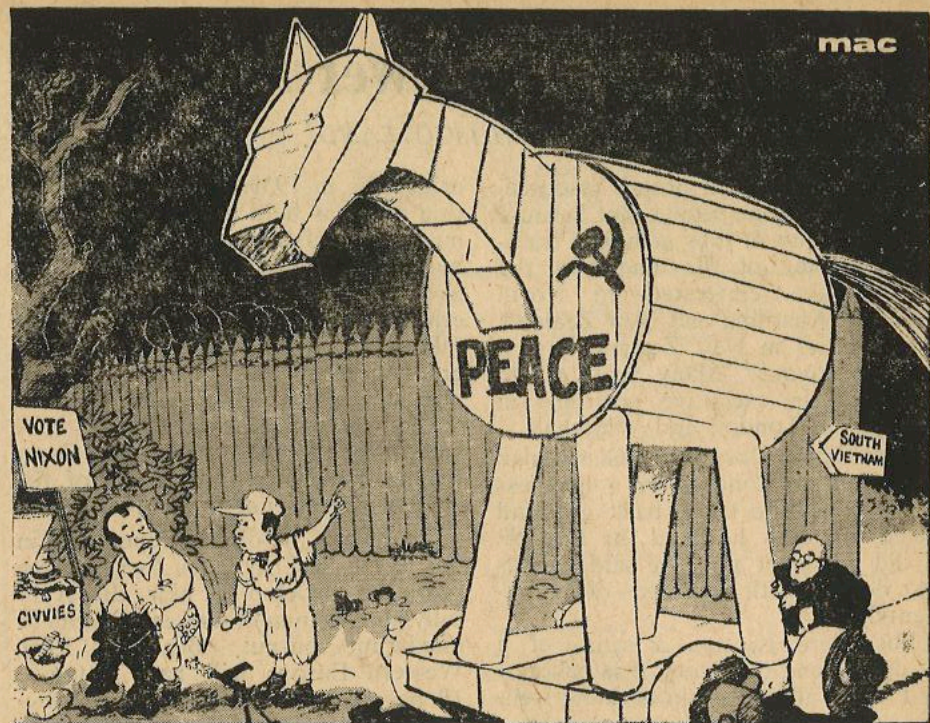
HANOI — United States' B-52 bombers attacked Communist command troop and supply concentrations all over the country of Indo-China, in what military sources said here was a campaign aimed at countering a pre-ceasefire build-up.

BEST WORLD PRESS

Peace is at hand

The word from Dr Kissinger that he believes "peace is at hand" in Vietnam raises as many questions as it answers, beginning with the question: Can it really be? After the killing of hundreds of thousands of people and the maiming and the uprooting of millions more; after the savaging of an awesome part of the resources of the whole of Indochina; after the spending of more than 100 billion resources of the whole of Indochina; after the undermining of the American international position and the rending of the American social fabric—after all this, is it possible that the killing and wasting is finally going to come to an end?

After so long a wait, and so many false flashes of light at the end of so many tunnels, there is a temptation to doubt everything, until an agreement is signed... The shape it takes, the final terms, and the consequences that follow from it in terms of South Vietnam's ultimate destiny, will be the final measure of this long, costly, tormenting American enterprise. We will not know the answers to these questions next week, or next month—perhaps not even next year. So there is no point at this stage even to begin an accounting of gains and losses and costs, and still less a reckoning of credit and blame. For now it is enough to wel-



Before you go home hadn't you better check inside?

Courtesy, DAILY MAIL, London

come Dr Kissinger's heartening word,
THE WASHINGTON POST

Poor Thieu and poor South Vietnam.
The outlook for both is grim and unenviable.

Peace in Communist eyes is only a
method of pursuing victory by other

means — means scarcely less bloody.

Mr Nixon may rejoice, since he will emerge victorious, but from the free world's point of view his is the only victory and one which should properly be celebrated with a bowed head rather than a raised glass.

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, London

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Chile—constitutional rule or civil war?

FROM DAVID HOWELL

PRESIDENT Salvador Allende's Government in Chile still reels from crisis to crisis, but Allende, despite the strikes, is confident that Chilean workers will continue to support his Marxist administration.

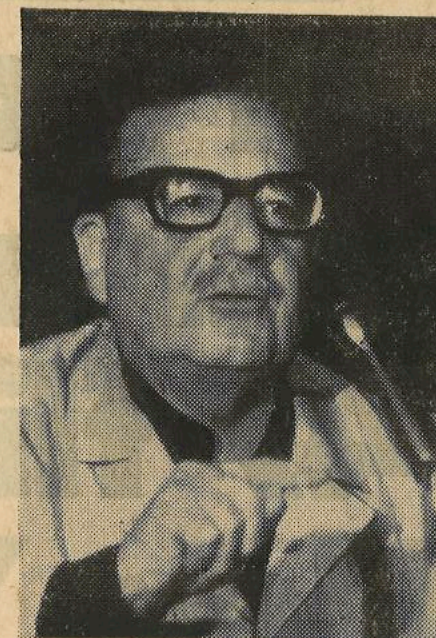
The Government has made strong efforts to win over the striking workers who are threatening the stability of Allende's regime and the whole Chilean economy. Government ministers are trying to speak directly to the striking workers over the heads of their union leaders. This has caused the union leaders to talk to the Government only on a united basis and not separately. What began last month as a hauliers' strike (40,000 men, 56,000 lorries) has become what former President Frei called "the anguish and desperation of a people faced by the disastrous economic policies of the Government". The army has placed 20 of the 25 provinces under martial law with a midnight curfew.

In the face of the political and economic confrontation between the Government and the opposition the Cabinet resigned last week in order to give the President a free hand to reconstruct his Government which he has begun to do. Teargas bombs, hundreds of arrests and the breakdown of road transport are continuing proof of the political torment the people of Chile are going through.

At the beginning of September, on the second anniversary of his Unidad Popular coalition, Allende warned of the possibility of civil war breaking out, and invited the Christian Democrats for talks to stave off armed confrontation. The political difficulties of the regime, the President maintained, were due to the tenacity of the opposition, as well as the undermining activities of minorities of both extreme Right and Left.

Chile's economic problems could be traced, he felt, to the blocking of credit by the United States and to shortage of industrial, port and transport capacity. Inflation soared to 63 per cent in the first eight months of this year, and the Government clamped down on imports of beef and butter for the time being, in view of a trade deficit of some \$300 million.

Chile faces a difficult food situation as Juan de Onis wrote in the "International Herald Tribune": "At the Calo co-operative, where more



PRESIDENT ALLENDE:
free hand to reform Government

than 100 men and women stood under umbrellas early one rainy morning, chickens were being sold one per customer. Rationing is widely predicted to meet the food and clothing needs of lower-income families."

Allende is not without friends, at least those who offer loans, investments and credit lines. During the past year, those have been forthcoming from a variety of sources. The principal ones have been: USSR (\$326m), China (\$181m), Eastern Europe (\$130m), Western Europe (\$34m) and USA (\$10.6m). In addition, the Inter-American Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations Development Programme have extended facilities worth some \$100m.

Allende hopes to win a workable majority for Unidad Popular in the parliamentary elections to be held next March. It was significant that Senora Amanda Altamirano, a Communist dressmaker, won a recent by-election for the ruling Popular Unity coalition in a straight fight with the combined opposition parties by just over 8,000 votes.

Allende has mooted that a "chamber of the workers" take the place of the Senate — if he wins the March elections. But he has also said. "For our part, we have decided to respect the constitution."

The week in INDIA

SHILLONG — The situation in Assam's Golaghat sub-division after several days of mob violence was under control, though tension still lingered in rural areas, Government sources said.

GAUHATI — The whole region of the Brahmaputra Valley was rocked by an earth-quake tremor of severe intensity which lasted about 40 seconds and drove people out of their beds making them seek shelter outside.

NEW DELHI — Mr Mohammad Yunus, Chairman of the Asia 72 Fair steering committee, said here that the Fair was not merely a six-week display of industrial progress and commercial potential but was the spearhead of a new self-reliant trade philosophy for the third world.

— In his argument before a special bench of the Supreme Court, Mr N. A. Palkhivala, the eminent lawyer, contended that certain rights enshrined in the Constitution are unalterable even by a sovereign Parliament in exercise of its constituent power.

SURAT — Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram told a public meeting here that it is better for Pakistan in its own interest to accept the hand of friendship extended by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. "Pakistan should not forget that our army has not left that soil yet and is even ready to face any consequences."

BOMBAY — Speaking at the reception accorded by the Bombay Municipal Corporation, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said that "we are all working for the fulfilment of the dreams of our leaders and while doing so we are having our own new dreams which could be achieved only in an atmosphere of peace and friendship."

— Mr J. Hiraga, leader of the Japanese study group on industrial collaboration — a 22-member study group constituted on the suggestion of Prime Minister Tanaka to explore the possibilities for further Indo-Japanese co-operation — stated in its report that labour unrest in India is one of the main obstacles to industrial collaboration.

— Inaugurating a seminar on "Research and Development in the Chemical Industry" organised by the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation, Mr C. Subrahmaniam, Union Minister for Industrial Development and Science and Technology, said the bulk of research conducted in the country was military-oriented and did not affect the average person in any way.

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Bringing relief to parched land

From M.P. Bakiwala in Jaipur

THE response of New Delhi to the severity of famine in Rajasthan this year, has not been very encouraging. It is feared here that the Centre may not render adequate help.

The state Government's estimates are that over 20,000 villages out of 32,000 are in the grip of acute scarcity conditions, affecting directly nearly 1.5 crore people. There are reports of cattle deaths on a large scale in the remote areas. The Government has said it would welcome people voluntarily shifting to safer places.

The state Government feels that a sum of Rs 70 crores over a period of seven months would be needed to provide relief to those affected by famine.

Mrs Gandhi is being invited to see for herself how the conditions are

deteriorating in the scarcity-hit areas. In all likelihood the Prime Minister will visit the areas sometime in December. Before that a Central study team is expected to assess the severity of the situation. The state Government will soon present a detailed memorandum on drought to New Delhi asking for help.

RAJASTHAN

The Rajasthan Government's financial position is so weak that it cannot think of meeting the drought without Central help. An idea of its weak fiscal position can be gathered from its refusal at one stage to participate in the Asian Trade Fair in New Delhi as it had no money to spare.

By the time the present famine is over the economy could be completely shattered leaving the Government finances in a worse shape. Already the Government has passed orders suspending the collection of land revenue.

Famine is a permanent feature in Rajasthan but the pity is that the Government refuses to learn from past experiences. The present practice is that when famine occurs money is spent like water without ensuring that there are some returns.

In the 1960s the Sukhadia Government spent more than Rs 250 crores to meet famine but in terms of permanent assets nothing can be seen now.

The same path is being followed

by the Khan Government. So far no effective steps have been taken to meet the water requirements of the western region on a permanent footing.

Bold assessment and stringent action needed

From Sanjoy Hazarika in Shillong

AFTER nearly a decade of peace, the Assam valley has erupted again in violent agitation between the Assamese- and Bengali-speaking communities,

The trouble stemmed from a resolution passed in the Assam Legislative Assembly on September 4 to grant a separate university to the Bengali-speaking majority in the district of Cachar. The Bengali-speaking Cachar agreed that Assamese and Bengali be both adopted at university and college level as the medium of instruction. The Assamese people refused to accept this compromise formula and several militant organisations launched a movement for Assamese to be accepted as the sole language at the university-cum-college level.

Extremist and anti-social elements were quick to seize the initiative and began stirring the pot. Violence and riots broke out on October 7. Curfew was clamped on several major cities and towns — in Nowgong, Gauhati, Dibrugarh, Jorhat and Hojai to name a few.

The murder of two student leaders heightened the tension. The state Government announced an enquiry into the circumstances of the death of one of them.

The student population under the leadership of Prasanna Chowdhury, General Secretary for the Assam Students' Union, proved a stable factor in the whole situation. The Student Executive Council conducted its affairs in a sensitive way without becoming drawn into inter-communal politics.

Union Ministers Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Jagjivan Ram and Ram Nivas Mirdha came within a few days of each other for an on-the-spot as-

essment. derground water reserves in the entire region are quite substantial. More tube wells must be dug. More money should be spent on completing the Rajasthan canal so that it can supply water to a number of chronically famine-affected areas.

The Centre should compel the state Government to fix the priorities so that money spent on famine relief is properly utilised. If a sum of Rs 70 crores is spent on ensuring permanent sources of water there would be no famine for at least a decade.

session.

In the meantime, the Council for Gauhati University passed a resolution prescribing Assamese as the medium of instruction while retaining English as an additional medium for a period of not more than 10 years in all colleges within its jurisdiction.

On October 26 the Supreme Court dismissed a writ petition by the Guru Charan College of Silchar challenging the Gauhati University Council's decision. The Court ruled that the college had "no standing" to file the petition since the resolution "does not affect" it at present. In order to prevent the trouble from recurring, a long-term solution needs to be thought out.

A firm administration is essential. But without an understanding among the people that differences can be exploited by unscrupulous ideological forces for their own ends, there can be no lasting peace. Surely, there are enough Assamese and Bengalis who do not want this land to become known as India's headache; but no waving of the wand will waft the problems away. Nor will witch-hunting. Nor will Union and State Ministers who scurry hither and thither.

A bold assessment of the situation backed by stringent political action is needed. Acceptance by both groups of where each has been wrong or chauvinistic can help pave the way to a durable settlement. It has been said that in diversity there can be unity. Assam has a unique opportunity to demonstrate this unity, in no uncertain terms, to the rest of India.

Kashmir—cause of Indo-Pak conflict

by Shamim, A. Shamim, M.P. for Srinagar

Shamim A. Shamim is Member of Parliament for Srinagar, which is the most vital part of the disputed Kashmir valley. By profession he is a journalist and edits a weekly.

SPEAKING of Kashmir, I am at an advantage as well as a disadvantage. The whole country is emotionally involved. Therefore when I speak of Kashmir there is a possibility that my physical and emotional involvement may make me exaggerate at times.

I do not have to convince you that Kashmir is the bone of contention. Kashmir is the one issue which has bedevilled relations between India and Pakistan and Kashmir can be the sole cause for the three wars we have fought with Pakistan. This is not to say that if there was no Kashmir there would not have been tension and friction. But tensions and frictions would not have assumed the same magnitude and seriousness. It is an issue that defies possible solutions.

What is this issue which has poisoned the present atmosphere and to a great extent conditioned our future relationships? With all those who say that if there were no Kashmir issue Pakistan, for that matter India, would have invented one, I may agree, but only to an extent. Basically it has been proved that Kashmir is the only issue. If it were solved the possibility of India and Pakistan coming nearer would be greater.

How has Kashmir affected us in respect to Pakistan? Our foreign policy was greatly influenced. I would say, solely influenced by our attitude towards Kashmir. We would not have found ourselves so near Communist Russia if the Kashmir issue had not been there. We would have pursued a more independent foreign policy. That is also true of Pakistan.

What was our case in Kashmir, and what is our case in Kashmir today? From the beginning we accepted partition as a necessary evil but we have not accepted the two nation theory. This is a debatable subject. But that is not the point at the moment. Very rightly the Kashmir people under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah and Indians under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru decided to be part of India. At a time when Kashmir formed a part of Pakistan geographically, from the population point of view, the Kashmir leaders took a

very bold decision. This decision was not taken in isolation or on the spur of the moment. It was taken prior to the partition of the country.

The people's movement in Kashmir was more identified with Congress than with the Muslim League. In fact, all the attempts by the Muslim League leaders to win over the Kashmiris failed utterly. So the logical conclusion of the historical developments which took place in 1947 was that the people of Kashmir decided to accede to India. And one important point to be remembered, which is generally forgotten, is that at that particular time when Sheikh Abdullah came to the Government of India for accession, the Government of India could have said that there is only one mode of accession, i.e. accession. No provision for provisional accession, or conditional accession or temporary accession. Sheikh Abdullah was in a position where he could not say no. He had to accept the accession of Kashmir to India.

Nehru was a democrat. He said, and rightly so, that in the situation he would like the people of Kashmir to be consulted. That is how a promise was extended to the people of Kashmir that this accession would be ratified after the situation in the valley was settled and the people were able to express their opinion. This is the basis of Sheikh Abdullah's case. Because Nehru, the Government of India, on its own offered the accession to be provisional, therefore it should be ratified.

I asked Abdullah once, "Suppose the Government of India had said at that time, that there is no such provision at accession, if you had had to accede in that way, would you have done so? What is your position?" He had no answer. But from



MR SHAMIM A. SHAMIM

his silence I could guess that he would have said yes.

Our case since then has been that just because Jammu and Kashmir happens to be a Muslim majority state it cannot be argued as being part of Pakistan, because that will weaken the secular fabric of our country. That will create a situation in which the communal parties would question the very presence of the Muslims in India. But something very unfortunate happened. This very basis of a secular society was shaken in 1953 when Sheikh M. Abdullah, then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, was arrested. The whole process and the whole approach was reversed. The Government of India adopted a position which spelt out, "whether you like it or not we are going to retain Kashmir". So the legal position, as it was, remained the same but the moral position of India weakened and weakened considerably.

Pakistan did make a number of attempts to infiltrate into Kashmir to arouse passions. It succeeded to some extent. But Pakistan would not have succeeded if the Government of India had not bungled and the conditions in this country had not strengthened the suspicions of the Kashmiri nationalists that their future in Kashmir as part of India was not safe.

Now, what happened in 1947? It was the Kashmiris' personality which asserted itself against the Pakistani invaders. Just as 24 years after, in Bangladesh the Bengali nationality and cultural entity asserted itself. What happened in Bangladesh 24 years after happened in Kashmir 24 years earlier. But what happened in Bangladesh 20 years earlier is happening to Kashmir today. That was the time when Bengalis asserted their religious personality against the co-religions in United Bengal. They went over to Pakistan on the basis that they were Muslims. Unfortunately the process is reversed in Kashmir.

Today Kashmiris are not asserting their cultural identity. They are asserting their religious personality. This is very unfortunate, but this is factually the case. There are a number of factors responsible for this. Because of the communal riots, and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14

Kashmir—symptom of Indo-Pak conflict

by Balraj Madhok

Balraj Madhok, former President of the Jan Sangh Party, is a professor of history and author of a number of books, including one on "Indianisation" and another on Kashmir.

JAMMU and Kashmir State figures prominently in any discussion of Indo-Pak relations. According to some it is the sole cause of Indo-Pak tensions and the three Indo-Pak wars during the last 25 years. This is an over-simplification of the problem. Kashmir is not the cause of Indo-Pak tension but a result of it. That tension is inherent in the very genesis of Pakistan. Pakistan has to keep up tension with India to justify its existence as a separate state, Kashmir



MR BALRAJ MADHOK: tension inherent in the very genesis.

comes handy to it as an excuse. But if Kashmir was not there, it would surely have found some other excuse to keep up tension with India.

It is equally true that the Government of India by its communal approach and mishandling of the Kashmir issue from its very inception has provided grist to the Pakistani mill for creating hatred against India. It is, therefore, necessary that the Kashmir issue is properly understood in its historical and geographical perspective by all those genuinely interested in a solution of the Kashmir problem and peace between India and Pakistan.

Jammu and Kashmir State, as it existed before 1947, is a vast territory with an area of 84471 square miles. It was the handiwork of Maharaja Gulab Singh, who steadily extended his home state of Jammu through conquests first as a feudatory of

Maharaja Ranjit Singh and then as an independent ruler to include the far-flung and distinct territories like Ladakh, Western Tibet, Baltistan, Gilgit, Muzaffarabad, Poonch, Mirpur and the celebrated valley of Kashmir.

Zorawar Singh, the famous general of Gulab Singh, led four expeditions into Baltistan, Ladakh, and Western Tibet from Jammu between 1834 and 1841. He died fighting at the battle of Toyu on the banks of Lake Mansarovar in Tibet in December 1841. The boundary between Ladakh, which then came to form a part of the domain of Gulab Singh, and Tibet was fixed by the treaty of Leh signed in September 1842 by Maharaja Gulab Singh and the Dalai Lama of Tibet.

Kashmir valley which has a total area of about 2500 square miles, as compared to about 34,000 square miles of Ladakh, 14,000 square miles of Baltistan, 16,000 square miles of Gilgit, 12,000 square miles of Jammu and 5000 square miles of the Punjabi-speaking belt of Muzaffarabad, Poonch and Mirpur, is situated in the centre of that state surrounded by high mountains which keep it cut off from the rest of the state and the world for about four months in a year. Being the best known and most populated part of the state, the whole state is often described as Kashmir state just as the small valley of Nepal has given its name to the sprawling Himalayan Kingdom which goes by that name.

Kashmir valley was for centuries a great centre of vedic culture and civilisation. Islam came into it towards the end of the 14th century and its people were forcibly converted to that faith by Sikander, the iconoclast, a Khorasani adventurer who got control of the throne of Srinagar through strategem. That Islam sat lightly on the people of Kashmir till recently is proved by the fact of their united request to the Maharaja towards the middle of the last century to accept them in the fold of their ancestral religion. Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the illustrious successor of Gulab Singh, was prepared to concede their request. But the small community of Kashmiri



A CROWDED STREET IN SRINAGAR

pandits who then monopolised official patronage at Srinagar blocked his way. They threatened the Maharaja with fast unto death before his palace if he accepted the Kashmiri Muslims back into the Hindu fold.

The Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947, gave the princely states of India choice of acceding to India or Pakistan, keeping in mind the consideration of geographical contiguity. There was no provision for independence for any state even if its ruler so wished. Under this plan the choice of most of the 500 and odd states was obvious, Hyderabad, Bhopal, Travancore, Gwalior, Junagadh, etc. had no other go except acceding to India. Mirpur (Sindh), Kalat, Chitral and Swat, had no other choice except accession to Pakistan. The only states which had a choice were Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, Bahawalpur and Jammu and Kashmir. They were contiguous to both India and Pakistan but a large majority of the people of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer were Hindus while Bahawalpur was a Muslim majority state. Therefore, the former decided to accede to India and the Nawab of Bahawalpur, after toying with the idea of acceding to India for sometime, ultimately acceded to Pakistan.

The choice before the Maharaja

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

accumulated hate on both sides this very unfortunate phenomenon has resulted. After 24 years Bangladesh has realised that Islam cannot be the common factor. The Kashmiris find themselves in a situation where they think they have a greater affinity with Punjabis and Pakistanis than they have with their Indian brothers.

There is a great similarity, as I pointed out earlier, in Kashmir and Bangladesh. Many Indian leaders and its public opinion have hailed Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the hero and the symbol of Bangladesh. But to the same people Sheikh Abdullah is a traitor. To them Sheikh Abdullah's existence as a free citizen of this country is an enigma. That is the reason why every time Sheikh Abdullah tries to raise the question of Kashmiri nationalism he is dubbed as anti-national.

Kashmiri nationalism has come to stay. It is not only Kashmiri nationalism that is creating problems in this country. There is the question of Mizos, Nagas, even the Punjab. All these border states have this sub-nationalism. Dubbed as anti-national, this has come to clash with sub-central nationalism — a nationalism which is centrally oriented, which

starts from Delhi.

Kashmir has assumed international status because in Kashmir the regional entity is combined with religious overtones. Just as in Punjab the Sikhs sometimes find expression in communalistic terms, so it has happened in Kashmir. But because we have treated Kashmir as a special state, as a special problem, we have made Kashmir special. Instead of trying to contain regional aspirations we have used high-handed methods. As a result the nationalistic and regional aspirations, of the people of Kashmir have been strengthened. This has resulted in the alienation of the people of Kashmir from the rest of India. So I won't divulge a secret if I tell you that the events in Bangladesh have not affected the thinking of the people of Kashmir.

It has been argued, "Do the people of Kashmir not know that their fate in Pakistan would be much worse?" The answer is "yes" and "no". Yes, because India to them has been a reality, while Pakistan has been a dream. In a 1968 convention which Sheikh Abdullah organised I read a paper in which I took the case of accession to India, and argued that it is in the interest of the people of

Kashmir to be part of India because India had a democratic society, there was economic development and a socialistic goal. One participant

spoilt the whole effect of what I had said by one simple argument. He said, "Yes, India is a heaven. One has all the facilities here, all the economic and educational benefits. But when the very existence of an individual is in danger what will one do with all the amenities one has got?" In Pakistan, he said, you will live like a beggar but will be assured that you are safe.

Another argument put forward is that India is a democratic country. You can change the government. But this is easier said than done. How does one prove it to the people of Kashmir who have never known democracy. To them democracy is experienced in the form of rigging elections!



SHEIKH ABDULLAH

of Jammu and Kashmir was more difficult. Though his state as a whole was a Muslim-majority state, its eastern half comprising of Jammu and Ladakh, which were contiguous to India, had a majority of Hindus and Buddhists who were deadly opposed to joining Pakistan. The North Western regions of Baltistan, Gilgit,

launched an invasion of Kashmir state spearheaded by tribals who were equipped and led by officers of the regular army of Pakistan. The Muslim personnel of the defence forces of the Maharaja joined the invaders as soon as the first shot was fired.

As the invaders began to advance on Srinagar, the Maharaja had only two alternatives—either to surrender to the invading hordes or accede to India and entrust the defence of his state to the defence forces of India. He chose the latter. Accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India was thus brought about by Pakistan under duress. Had there been no Pakistani invasion, the Maharaja would have waited and watched the situation further. His personal choice was independence and not accession to either India or Pakistan.



A LAMA FROM LADAKH

The Instrument of Accession which Hari Singh signed was the same as signed by hundreds of other princes. It did not provide for any provisional or conditional accession. The offer of plebiscite made by Pandit Nehru for determining the future of the state after Pakistani intruders had been driven out and normalcy restored was, in the words of Meher Chand Mahajan, the late Chief Justice of India, ultra vires of the Indian Constitution and therefore had no validity in law.

As soon as the accession of Kashmir was accepted by the Government of India, the whole of it became an integral part of India legally and constitutionally and the defence of its borders became the responsibility of the Government of India.

The Government of India at that time was in a position to repel Pakistani invasion of Kashmir. But instead of throwing out the aggressor, Pandit Nehru decided to knock at the door of UNO. The first false step was followed by a series of other false steps which culminated in the cease-fire of January 1, 1949, which left the whole of Gilgit, Baltistan, Mirpur, Muzaffarabad and Poonch with the exception of the town of Poonch in the hands of Pakistan as the fruits of aggression.

Jammu and Kashmir state as a whole, according to the instrument of Accession, is an integral and inalienable part of India. Pakistan has no claim on it nor has it any locus standi in the Kashmir issue as such. This had been the stand of the Government of India till July 2, 1972.

It is now well known that at Simla

Mrs Gandhi offered a Trieste like division of Jammu and Kashmir state between India and Pakistan on the basis of the actual line of control as it existed on December 17, 1971. Even maps were prepared in which some more territory was offered to Pakistan in a bid to achieve durable peace from Mr Bhutto. It can now be said with near certainty that Mr Bhutto agreed to the proposal but did not want it to be made public just then. The Indian decision to vacate 5000 square miles of Pakistani territory occupied by the Indian Army during the December war was an additional bait to Mr Bhutto to accept this proposal. He was thus offered 30,000 square miles of Indian territory in Jammu and Kashmir state on a platter together with 5000 miles of territory in Punjab and Sind, acquired in the December war, in the hope of a durable peace with Pakistan. It was a settlement on the basis of appeasement of the aggressor and was therefore doomed to failure from its very inception.

The Pakistani army and political rivals of Mr Bhutto saw through the game. Mr Bhutto too perhaps had thought of going back on this understanding about Kashmir once the Indian troops were out of Punjab and Sind. But he wanted to consolidate his position in the meantime. But most Pakistani leaders realised that once the line of control is delineated on maps and on ground, it will virtually become an international boundary.

The situation in Kashmir valley where pro-Pakistan Maulana Farooq has joined hands with Sheikh Abdullah is now more favourable to Pakistan than ever before. Bhutto, a Sindhi, can remain at the helm of affairs in a Punjabi-dominated Pakistan only if he becomes more hawkish than General Tikka Khan and other Punjabis who are more interested in getting rid of Bhutto and getting Kashmir valley somehow than in a durable peace with India.

Even if the delineation of the line of control is completed and signed to get troops out of Punjab and Sind, it is only going to be a prelude to a renewed cry of Jihad and another confrontation with India. That explains Mr Bhutto's declaration at Lahore on October 23, that the line of control is going to be purely temporary till a final boundary is born by "war or peace".

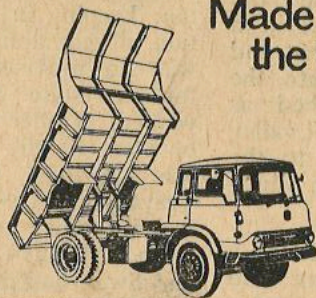
It is thus clear that there is going to be no durable peace with Pakistan, Bhutto or no Bhutto, as long as Pakistanis think that they can have

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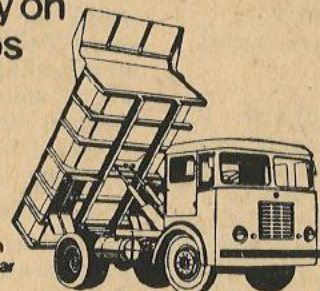
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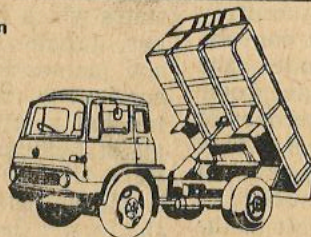
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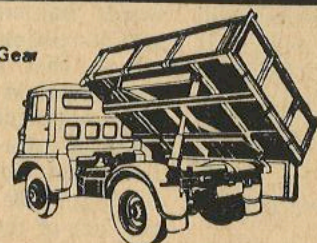
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Kashmir valley by war if not by peace.

If India is prepared to surrender this big chunk of territory which is legally and constitutionally as inalienable a part of India as Kashmir valley simply because it happens to be inhabited by a majority of Muslims, then why should Pakistan give up its claim on Kashmir valley which too is a Muslim majority area and the sympathy of whose people for Pakistan is equally obvious. Therefore so far as Pakistan is concerned, there is not going to be any settlement without Kashmir valley being given to it.

It is this communal and opportunistic approach of the Government of India to the Kashmir problem from its very inception which has complicated the problem and encouraged Pakistan to persist in its aggressive stand. Jammu and Kashmir state as a whole is either a part of India or it is not. If it is to be partitioned on communal lines then there is no ground for retaining Kashmir valley and giving away other Muslim majority areas to Pakistan. If there is to be a partition of the state then obviously Kashmir valley too will go to Pakistan and Jammu and Ladakh only will remain with India. This is the logical corollary of the stand taken by Mrs Gandhi and her Kash-

miri advisers at Simla.

According to people of my way of thinking this stand is wrong, illogical, illegal and anti-national. Jammu and Kashmir state belongs to India geographically, legally and constitutionally. It is not negotiable. Its surrender to Pakistan will not bring durable peace.

But if Mrs Gandhi is going to have her way the Kashmir valley too will have to go the way of Mirpur and Gilgit sooner or later. In that case she must at least get something in return on the same basis. The least she can ask is rationalisation of the Indo-Pak frontier and return to India the whole of Thar Parkar of Sind which was a predominantly Hindu area at the time of partition and the sub-mountain belt including Pasrur, Zafarwal, Narawal and Chicker's Neck along the border of Jammu which too was predominantly a Hindu majority before partition.

Any other course will be a gross betrayal of India's national interest for which history will never forgive Mrs Gandhi. Nor will it bring real peace between India and Pakistan. Any settlement to be lasting must be based on some principles and must be just and fair to both sides. Tails I win and heads you lose, cannot be the basis of a durable peace.

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India has 1 dentist for 60,000 people

by Keki M. Mistry, M.S. (Illinois), F.I.C.D. (USA)*

THE end of 1971 saw the total population of India at 550 million. The dentist to population ratio, stood at 1 to 60,000 for the whole of India, with the best ratio being in Himachal Pradesh 1 to 17,230 and the worst in Orissa 1 to 6,49,957.

The dentist population ratio in the U. S. A. is 1 to 3,000. In England, it is 1 to 3,228 and in Australia, 1 to 10,000. In India, an additional disturbing factor is, that over 80 per cent of our dental surgeons practise in the urban areas, whereas, over 80 per cent of our population live in the rural areas.

In the past, a white regular set of teeth of an Indian was the envy of our Western brothers. Alas! This is no longer true. Recent research has shown that the dental health of our nation is very bad and is getting worse. Today 95 per cent of our population suffer from gum diseases and 60 per cent from dental caries.

Indicator of serious diseases

Dental caries, periodontal (gum) diseases and malocclusion (irregularly placed teeth) are the most common dental diseases. In a 1940 survey in North and South India, amongst school children, it was found that 40 to 60 per cent were free from dental decay. Surveys today show that less than 15 per cent are free from dental caries.

In a research survey, carried out by the author in Maharashtra state, it was shown that over 70.4 per cent of Maharashtrians suffered from malocclusion, or irregularly placed teeth, necessitating orthodontic correction. Over 95 per cent of our adult population suffer from periodontal (gum) diseases and of the total deaths due to cancer, in our country, over 30 per cent are due to cancer of the tissues of the mouth. Besides, dental diseases have a profound effect on the health of the body, as a whole, or systemic diseases may present their first and sometimes only manifestations in the oral cavity.

Advanced periodontal (gum) diseases present the most dangerous focus for the dissemination of infection through the blood-stream causing injury to the heart (bacterial endocarditis) or arthritis. Diseases like tu-

berculosis, lung abscess, silicosis, diabetes, venereal diseases, pernicious anemia, leukemia etc., to name a few, for which the oral tissues have long been considered as sensitive indicators of the general health of the individual. The importance of the mouth has thus been established. With the available facilities and the dental manpower, how is it possible to provide dental health services to our population?

Making India dental conscious

The practical answer to this problem in a low economy country, like ours, lies in the community services through public health dentistry, giving emphasis on the preventive and the educational aspects. As a start towards an answer to these problems, the Maharashtra State Branch of the Indian Dental Association has for 1972 declared as its main aim, the raising of the level of the dental health consciousness of the public at large, making them more aware of the advances and benefits of dental health, as well as to make the dental surgeons more aware of their duties and obligations to the public.

It started with their Spring Convention which was held last March, focusing attention on "Society and the Dental Surgeon" which resulted in bringing the benefits of dental health to over 25,000 people. Their Summer Convention on Rural Dental Health Services served to focus the attention of the Health Services, the Government and the profession, on the inadequacy of dental health services to the rural areas in Maharashtra. Their Monsoon Convention sought to involve the medium of the film as an eventual agency towards the dissemination of dental health knowledge and the Autumn Convention, which was the finale of the Dental Health Service Month.

For the first time in Maharashtra, the Indian Dental Association conducted a Mobile Dental Camp, which toured the rural areas of Dhairi, Bhilarewadi, Dhankwadi, Katraji, Gultakri, etc. It performed dental procedures and undertook dental health education. Again for the first time in Maharashtra, radio talks on Dental Health were arranged as a means of reaching a larger public. Dental Camps for the public specially the low-income group, were conducted at Andheri, Ghatkopar, Sion, Worli



Mobile dental clinics are essential

and in the villages of Pen and Khannapur. Free dental treatment for many was organised as well as free pathological and X-ray investigations.

To encourage children and parents residing in the slum areas, a "Healthy-Mouth Contest" was held at Andheri East and prizes to 4 girls and 3 boys were given, who had good occlusion, healthy teeth and gums. A poster painting contest on "Dental Health" was organised amongst school children.

These are but a few steps in bringing alertness about dental problems to our people.

Next Week

HIMMAT will present keynote speeches at a seminar on Indo-Pakistan Relations held at Asia Plateau Panchgani sponsored by the Leslie Sawhney Programme for Training in Democracy and Friends of Moral Re-Armament (India)

AJIT BHATTACHARJEA:

Indo-Pak relations — an historical perspective

KULDIP NAYAR:

Before and after Simla

PROF. SUGATA DAS GUPTA:

Confederation — A dream or reality and other articles.

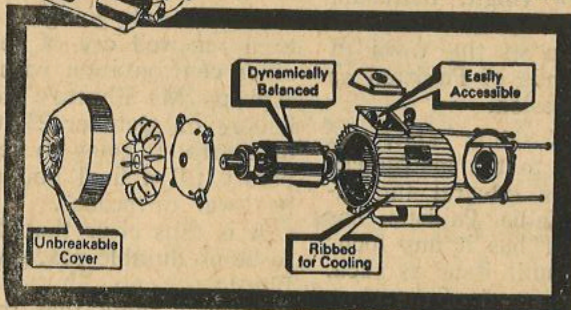
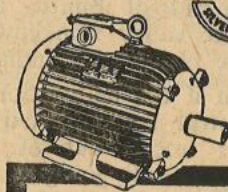
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* The author is Hon. State Secretary, Indian Dental Association (Maharashtra Branch).

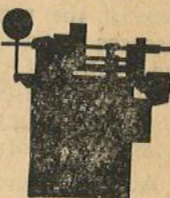
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OIL AND POLITICAL POWER — from page 7

oil in a large tanker from the Persian gulf, around the Cape of Good Hope to Europe, costs about £3.40. For the North Sea deposits it is planned to have the combined sub-sea pipeline system gathering oil from the various fields and transporting it to the nearest big markets. This represents a considerable saving.

To assess the importance of the North Sea oil deposits, said Mr Titcombe, one should look at the UK energy demand forecasts up to the 1980's.

Hydro-electric power will provide the equivalent of 1 million tons of oil. By 1980, nuclear power will provide the equivalent of 20 million tons of oil. These supplies, together with the planned development of natural gas, mean that a required oil balance of 150 million tons will be needed. By that time, it is hoped that 1.5 to 2 million barrels of oil per day will come from UK North Sea oil. There would then remain 50 to 70 million tons of net imports of crude oil into the UK — about half of what the UK is currently importing.

Further, a new range of goods and services will be established in Britain. Scottish shipyards are benefiting from the demand for oil rigs. The Upper Clyde Shipbuilding company, which went through stormy seas itself, is now in part building oil rigs under the name of an American firm, Marathon. But Mr Titcombe warned that several oil companies have felt let down on the highly important fact of delivery dates. They are now placing the orders elsewhere.

The political repercussions of all

of this are considerable. The Scottish National Party has for some time been campaigning for Scotland to rule its own destiny. The SNP is speedily advertising the fact that by the 1980's, North Sea oil might be expected to net the British Exchequer some £825 million a year. Of this Scotland might expect to enjoy only £75 million under existing "London control" (as they put it). The party theorises that in a self-governing Scotland, the money could be converted into more than 90,000 new jobs.

The SNP are making a feature of this theme of "Your oil — with self-government". This is a tempting argument in rebuttal of the well-used one against Scottish separatism: that an independent Scotland would simply suffer a lower standard of living.

So the political debate over what Scotland deserves has been sharpened by these oil discoveries.

Yet as a Scot said here, "No nation today can think only of itself, no part of a nation can think just of itself."

Scotland's role may be not only to provide the skills and the resources of character for these islands and elsewhere, but also to show how an unselfish utilisation of resources can benefit all humanity. This task and challenge could be made even more feasible by Britain's entry into the European Economic Community.

HIMMAT

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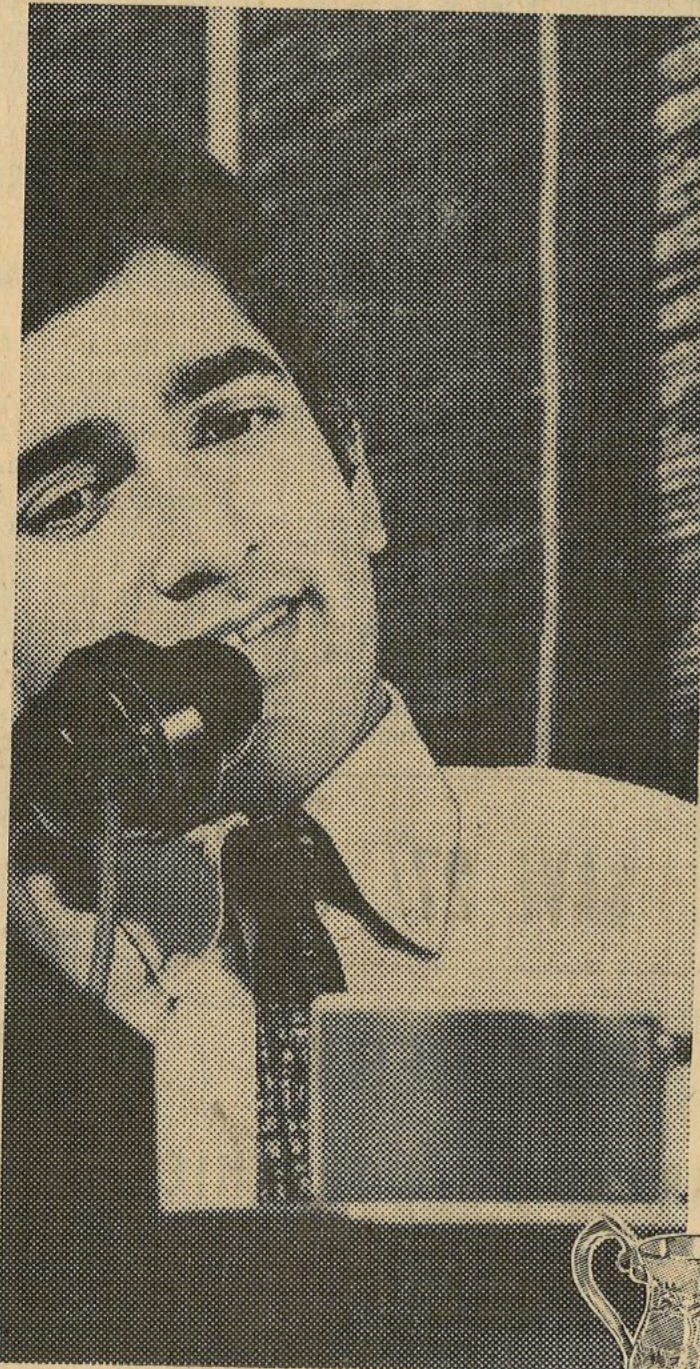
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This was a Life

**DR. SIR MOHAMMAD
IQBAL
1873-1938**

IQBAL is best known as a master of Urdu verse. He was also a writer of Persian verse, a philosopher, representative of Lahore at the Legislative Council and a lecturer.

He was born into a family of Kashmiri Brahmins who had embraced Islam some generations back, Islam was Iqbal's real source of inspiration. His early education was conducted at Sialkot. Later he shifted to Lahore where he served as lecturer in philosophy at Government College, Lahore till 1905. His experience in this field made his advice on education keenly sought later on in his life.

In 1905 Iqbal left for England to study for the bar. He earned his Ph.D from the University of Munich after writing a thesis, "Persian Mysticism".

It was in England that Iqbal discovered that he could write poetry in Persian. He soon became known beyond the borders of India to Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey and Russia.

Iqbal combined his abilities and continued to write in Urdu and Persian. He had a deep love of country and the East. He was also a visionary and dreamed of a better future.

Iqbal wrote a book in English prose called "Reconstruction of thoughts in Islam". It shows a knowledge of Western philosophy combined with a mastery of the thought of Islam. It was due to this work that Iqbal was selected by Oxford University for the Rhodes Lectureship and was invited to deliver a series of lectures at Oxford. But he never fulfilled this engagement due to failing health.

Iqbal was strongly against capitalism as well as imperialism. He even exposed the vulnerable spots of democracy. In one of his poems he says, "Democracy is a system in which heads are counted but not weighed."

The honour of a knighthood was conferred on him taking him completely by surprise. He remained true to his ideal — of expressing his views about men and things, about systems of Government without fear or favour, according to the light within him.

Iqbal died on April 21, 1938. His works are now studied by students of literature in many parts of the world.

S.G.

Letters

ASIANS IN AFRICA

PRESIDENT Giri's recent visit to some of the African states has established an important link between Asia and Africa, at a time when Asians are asked to leave the continent. More important still is the fact that the Tanzania Government has asked India to send Indian teachers for their schools. One is immediately tempted to ask, what kind of men will these be? Will they follow the footsteps of many who came earlier on the grab?

I am an Asian born and brought up in Kenya. I am truly ashamed of the way I have lived here selfishly and with superiority. This is the root, I feel, of what is now happening in Uganda. I am sorry for such an attitude. One yearns for new types of Indians whom the Africans will proudly welcome with open arms. Perhaps these teachers who in due course will come to Africa will teach both Asians and other races to live selflessly and get a satisfaction and joy in serving Africa.

Mahatma Gandhi's life history is being taught in most schools here. It was in South Africa that Gandhiji caught the fire and inspiration to free India. Is it time for India to pay back to Africa their debt by Indians serving African countries with the same affection, love and care as their own country? Africa needs Asians in whose life character is more important than colour, and the welfare of different races is more important than their own bank accounts in foreign countries. Indians who do not exploit Africans to get rich themselves, but exploit the talents of the Africans to enrich Africa spiritually and materially. Asians are meant to be bridge builders and not bridge blowers between races and tribes.

On this new basis different races will become an asset to the African country,

and not an issue to be exploited by disruptive forces to divide us and generate hate and spill blood on the red African soil.

ASHWIN PATEL, Nairobi

ASSAM VIOLENCE

YOUR editorial under the caption "Time to foster change" (HIMMAT, October 13, 1972) is worth reading.

Arson and violence have come to pass in a large scale in connection with the medium of instruction issue in Assam. The State Administration is almost paralysed. It has claimed several young lives. Somewhere communal rioting has raised its ugly head.

The Academic Council of Gauhati and Dibrugarh University have unanimously voted for Assamese as the sole medium of instruction and English as the alternative medium for a period of 10 years only. One cannot understand why English will not be continued after 10 years. In almost every state English remains as an alternative medium of instruction. Without English the people of Assam will fail to compete with that of other states in any sphere and hence they will be cornered in this geographical region.

If English is discontinued the other states viz, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh will obviously demand separate universities for their respective states. Meghalaya has already planned her varsity. This simply means unnecessary duplication, wastage of resources and lack of co-ordination. Above all, the bond of brotherhood will be lost if this separatist trend is allowed to continue. This is dangerous from the point of view of security for which the North Eastern Council was hammered out.

I feel, it is high time the Central Government adopt the necessary steps so that the minority community of Assam is not disregarded.

SUBRATO SEN GUPTA, Tezpur, Assam

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Death or glory for Marcos

PRESIDENT Marcos has taken a gamble. He has seized extraordinary authority under martial law but it is a life and death power play both for the Philippine nation and for himself.

If he does not succeed in his bid to clean up the Philippines, Marcos is reported to have repeatedly told his colleagues that he and they will some day be lined up against a wall and shot.

For the Philippine nation if Marcos fails, the doors of power will be left



PRESIDENT MARCOS:
national saviour or gambler for power

open for the Maoist guerrillas or other leftwing extremists. For this reason perhaps the Philippine public is remarkably apathetic about the sudden demise of democracy.

"Before the proclamation of martial law (last month) he was the most unpopular president," said a provincial secretary, Patricio O. Ramos, who organised an anti-Marcos election campaign last year. "But if he succeeds in what he promises, he will be the greatest President."

The collapse of democracy is pointedly illustrated by the lack of strong public reaction to the jailing without charges and without a time limit of President Marcos's biggest

political opponents and the disappearance of the free press.

One high official commented, "The din has been stilled and there's a feeling of relief."

Even opponents of Marcos who are not jailed have been quietened. Governor Faustino N. Dy, elected last November for his anti-Marcos stand, said in an interview that he had been a good friend of Senator Aquino now in the stockade. Asked what he felt about Aquino's imprisonment the Governor replied, "I believe in the wisdom and fairness of our President to release them — if there is no wrongdoing on their part."

The secrecy and ruthlessness Marcos has used to carry out what may be called a Presidential coup against the constitution is revealed by his handling of the Constitutional Convention. This body has been called to reframe the Philippine Constitution and has been working for more than a year.

On October 20 the Marcos forces took over the convention by widespread bribery. They got an article passed covering the planned transition from the old Presidential-type constitution to a Parliamentary-type government with a Prime Minister. Under this article during the period

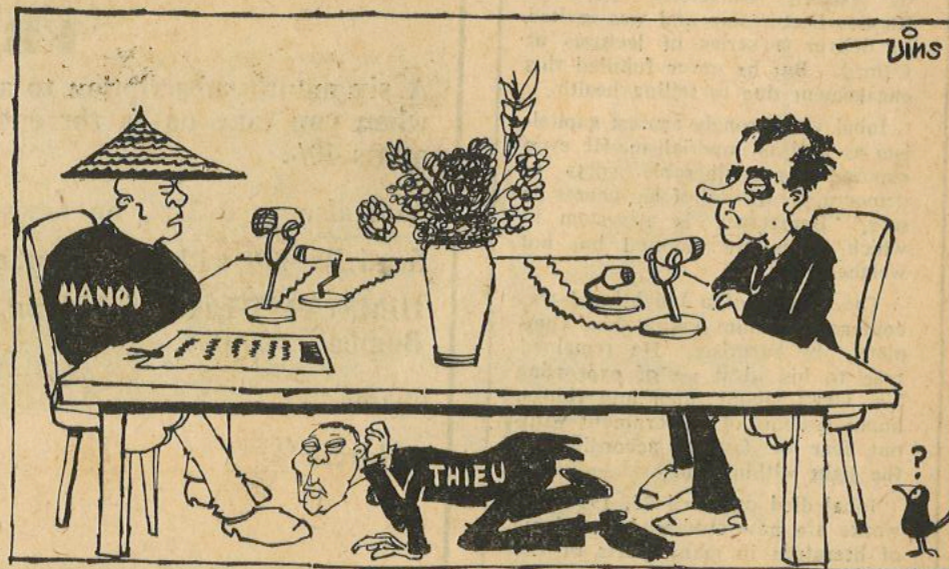
of transition — the length of which will be determined by President Marcos — Marcos will hold the powers entrusted to the President under the old Constitution and those of the Premier under the new. Nothing of this article has been published in the government-controlled press but the few Filipinos who do know about it are alarmed. By it Marcos could keep himself in power without seeking an election as long as he chose.

If President Marcos can produce results on a relatively small number of big problems most Filipinos will forget that Mr Marcos, the only two-time president in Philippine history, had had seven years as head of a normal constitutional government and failed to achieve results.

If under martial law Mr Marcos can maintain order and keep food in good supply at reasonable prices, the consensus is that the Filipino people will give him ample time to try to achieve some progress on the land-reform and other economic betterment programmes that are the basic need of the vast majority.

President Marcos is one of the ablest and most energetic men the Philippines has produced, but his integrity has frequently been questioned. Whether he will be able to clean the Augean stables is not clear although the public at the moment is giving him the benefit of the doubt.

Mr Rajmohan Gandhi is now abroad. His article, posted from London in good time, has been delayed due to the Diwali postal rush and will be published next week.



"I wonder what interest he has in our peace agreement."

COMPETITION No. 303 SOLUTION



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