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# HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

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Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY DECEMBER 23 1966

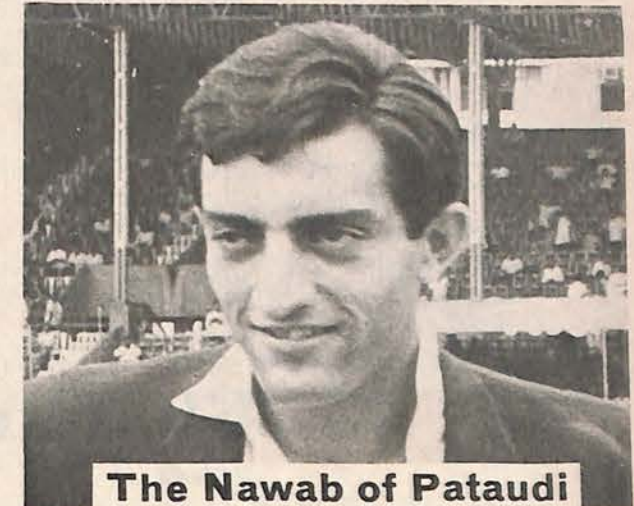
## CALCUTTA—



Howrah Bridge

## — NOT A DOOMED CITY

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The Nawab of Pataudi

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Chandrasekhar—hero of the match

## RAJAJI on Usha Janaki Judgement



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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday December 23 1966

## Uneasy Continent

DESPITE THE OUTCRY over Rhodesia's continued successful rebellion and the debate over the scope of sanctions to be used against her and whether South Africa should be included, Southern Africa is likely to remain the most stable part of the continent.

When China and other Communist countries continue, despite official opposition to apartheid, to indulge in profitable trade with South Africa, are capitalist nations likely to desist—especially as Rhodesia and South Africa produce materials such as copper, uranium, chrome and asbestos which are in world demand? Moreover, as a South African Cabinet Minister said last week, his country has stockpiled three years' supply of strategic goods. He thought that South Africa's reserves would last longer than other countries' ability to do without her strategic products.

Elsewhere in Africa instability and subversion are rife as new foreign agencies seek to replace the influence of the old imperialisms, and ancient tribalisms contend with love for the newly established nations. Among the exceptions are Kenya, which this month celebrated its third anniversary of independence, and Ethiopia. But even over these nations hang the question, "Who will succeed?", posed by the age of their rulers, President Kenyatta and Emperor Haile Selassie, both in their seventies.

Into Somalia—the Horn of Africa—Russia is pouring arms and technicians, causing grave apprehension to Emperor Haile Selassie and other moderate leaders, lest British withdrawal from Aden may be followed by the establishment of Soviet power on either side of the strategic Aden Gulf.

Eastern Nigeria, if the scant news is correct, is in a state of virtual secession from the Nigerian Federation; meanwhile reports that arms from Eastern Europe are flowing into the Region holds out the grim prospect of civil war, should the Ibos of the East try to take revenge for the slaughter inflicted on their fellow-tribesmen during the recent riots in Northern Nigeria.

Chinese influence, despite setbacks, continues in strategic areas of Central Africa: Congo-Brazzaville is a potential base for toppling President Mobutu's regime in the former Belgian Congo across the Congo River; in Rwanda and Burundi, in the heart of Africa, China is arming and training an army of rebel tribesmen and it is naive to assume that China has given up her plan to establish a "Yellow Belt" of control across the centre of the African Continent, or that other foreign powers have renounced their efforts to gain a foothold there.

## The Wrong Issues

FEW OTHER NATIONS have perfected so well the art of being preoccupied with the wrong issues. We have immense problems facing us. Drought has afflicted North Bihar and East UP. A day's ration per week may soon be cut. Rising prices are crushing the budgets and the bellies of our people. We want President Johnson to help us with food, Britain with non-project loans and the Soviet Union with heavy machinery.

*But what are we spending our time on?*

One respected religious leader in Puri is fasting on the issue of cow slaughter in spite of the Centre urging States to speed legislation on the subject. In Amritsar, within the safe precincts of the Golden Temple, Sant Fateh Singh is fasting, and threatens self-immolation on December 27 unless his demands on Chandigarh are satisfied. The Union Government, which once fell over backwards to mollify every sectional interest, has been awakened to the cost of its policy by arson outside Parliament House in November.

The duty of a government is to govern. It is not fair on the part of the people to put a government in power and then abandon it to the not-so-tender mercies of parochialists who at times want to establish themselves as parallel governors of our land.

We neither question nor dispute the rightness or otherwise of the causes dear to the Sankaracharya of Puri and Sant Fateh Singh, but do object to the methods used, as they are fraught with dangerous consequences for the survival of India as a nation. We still have the right to criticize and out-vote the government in power but to take issues to the streets or adopt means that threaten anarchy and chaos, shows a political immaturity unworthy of responsible leadership. Surely their energies and leadership could be used to tackle the *real* issues. For example, the Sant will be a much greater man if, to begin with, he applies himself to heal the tragic division between his group and that of Master Tara Singh and then proceeds to demonstrate with specific steps his professions of Hindu-Sikh unity.

## Hanoi on Test

CHRISTMAS IS SUPPOSED to be the season of peace and goodwill. The United States' request to UN Secretary General U Thant to help bring about a cease fire in Vietnam as a preliminary to negotiations, is in keeping with the spirit of the season. The question is, will it be met by similar goodwill from the other side?

Hitherto, North Vietnam has refused to negotiate except on the condition that all American and other foreign troops leave Vietnam. Neither the US nor the South Vietnam Government are likely to accept such a condition.

It takes two to make peace. One can only wish in all earnestness that Hanoi will respond.



# Briefly speaking...

All the extraordinary men I have ever known were chiefly extraordinary in their own estimation.

WOODROW WILSON 1856-1924

## Enigma

LAST YEAR just before Sant Fateh Singh took off on his world tour I met him at a flat in Altamount Road. Since then he has been an enigma to me. In the earlier part of the interview I asked him, "If you want unity between the Hindus and the Sikhs, why don't you want both Haryana and Punjab to have Chandigarh as their capital?" There was no adequate reply to this question save a statement by him that it was unjust.

## CHALTA HAI...



"They are not interested in educational problems here—remember you are Foreign Minister now."

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NABOB

Before leaving I again asked him the same question more forcefully to which he replied, "They can use Chandigarh as their capital for two or three years until they find another capital." Obviously Sant Fateh Singh has changed his mind and precipitated events.

## Longest Bridge?

Bombay's Marine Drive overpass could well be the longest bridge in the world—longest that is, in time taken to build it.

Sometimes a small posse of workers can be seen around the structure, which was started in October 1964 and originally meant to be finished in seven months. Often it appears deserted—like some steel and concrete version of the ruins of Mohenjodaro.

A call to the Municipal PRO failed to elucidate when the overpass will be completed. At one time I thought a spurt of activity would develop before the general elections and that on election eve some ruling party hero would seek to woo the Marine Drive commuters' votes with a gala opening. At the present rate my prediction may hold good—for the elections of 1972.

## Prize-Winner

PREM PRAKASH, who recently wrote two moving reports in HIMMAT on the Bihar and UP drought situation has just been awarded in London a bronze medal for the second best news film of the year in the Commonwealth during 1966. The prize-winning television news film, out of the 184 entered, was on the late Prime Minister Shastri's cremation.

Mr. Prakash is the first Indian to receive this award instituted by the Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1960. His earlier documentary in 1962, "Nehru—Man of Two Worlds", won a gold medal.

## Proud of India

Last week I felt proud of India. At the wicket in Brabourne Stadium were two of the world's finest batsman—Hunte and Sobers. Chandrasekhar and Venkatraghavan were bowlers worthy of the West Indies willow. The fielding was often—though not always—alert and what is more, Pataudi and his men extended to each other the simple courtesies of the field like going out of the way to pick up the ball for the wicket keeper or bowler. They were united and they gave a valiant fight.

It was a demonstration in miniature of an India that I long to see. It gave me hope, that, given the purpose and the will to win, India could change speedily. The results are not in our hands. How we play the game, is.

## Unassuming

Cricketers are an unsophisticated lot. I ran into young Chandrasekhar who emerged as the star of the Indian side, taking the record of seven wickets in a single Test innings, equalled at Brabourne Stadium. I asked him who taught him bowling. He gave a shy smile and replied, "I was keeping wicket but got fed up and decided to try my hand at bowling." He comes from Bangalore.

## Tailpiece

I knew the day was coming. Now it has.

A Mysore firm has started canning drinking water.

Hope we don't have to import it some day.

R. M. L.

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## Great changes in villages have political overtones

I had the opportunity last week to drive through many miles of lush, green rice land in the districts of Krishna and Guntur in Andhra Pradesh. I enjoyed travelling with the cigar-smoking peasant men and women by bus and boat. They were able-bodied peasants, neatly dressed in simple clothes, shrewd in their own way and endowed with a worldly commonsense that is quite impressive.

For miles I could see that everybody was adequately clothed. I met no starving, pinched faces. (*Andhra is a food-surplus state—Ed.*) Everywhere were signs of prosperity. As the boat criss-crossed through the paddy fields that dotted both sides of the river, I was pleasantly struck by the improvement in the countryside. The bank of the river was an unending row of oil engines that pumped water into the fields.

Undoubtedly I was travelling through some of the richest rice and tobacco land of the country. But since twenty years ago when I had seen the same villages, there were visible signs of progress, such as better-clad and more well-fed people. I do not know if statistics would confirm a casual impression of this nature. But I came away with the feeling that the sense of frustration and despair which we are prone to in cities may not be a feature of rural life.

## SAY THAT AGAIN...

*I am convinced that the economics of the cow is the very breath of our existence as an agricultural country.*

SWAMI CHINMAYANAND

*India does not lack good human material. What she lacks is the right type of leadership.*

FRANK MORAES

*There are enough people going without food in the country. Why should anyone add to their number?*

ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI  
on political fasting

What little I see of villages confirms me in my unverified conviction that subject to rains being good, our villages have prospered as never before. A lot of money has come into the villages and the strength of the Congress Party derives from its base in India's villages. In this sense, the Congress Party in power has been more realistic than the Marxist Left who poured a lifetime of blood and sweat into the working class but who remain numerically inferior and plagued by bitter divisions.

## Rights of Masses

I saw the slow changes that *Panchayathi Raj* (self-government at the village level) is bringing about in the countryside. The *Patel* (village head) and *Patwari* (tax-collector) the pillars of the ancient rural order, have given place to the Panchayath as the central institution in rural life. It is true that to start with, leadership of the Panchayath is only an additional status symbol for influential landlords. But it does generate a consciousness of power and rights among the mass of people. Ultimately, the Panchayath is likely to become an instrument amenable to the rural mass and the basis of much achievement.

I witnessed the pivotal role of Block community development in the structure of rural administration and progress. But even more important is the centrality of the Block to the pattern of Congress Party control in the countryside. All development funds to the villages are channelled in through the Block development office which is the most frankly political of institutions in the sense that in practice no grant is made to anybody without reference to the Congress bosses, especially the MLAs.

The State Government, by denying funds on one pretext or another to the areas dominated by the opposition or individuals belonging to parties other than the Congress, can enforce the allegiance of dissidents. In a predominantly middle peasant area such as in the Northern Circars, the pivotal role of government funds in

## Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

securing at least nominal allegiance to the party in power cannot be overestimated.

It occurred to me that the weakness of the Congress—the increasing casteism, linguism, and regionalism of its outlook—is derived from its strength in the countryside. People living in towns can have no idea of the stranglehold of caste on political groupings in the rural area. It is the main factor in rural politics. No political party which operates in the countryside is immune to its power. Generally, there are two groupings in every political party based on caste—one is the grouping based on the determination to prevent the historic domination of Brahmins and the other is the grouping against domination by the majority caste (such as the Reddys in Andhra). Subject to this general pattern, minority communities gain influence through divisions in the majority community. The minority castes are to be found in influential positions in all the dominant groups.

## Resurgent Hinduism

The predominance of caste and the sense of deprivation it creates in some has its counterpart in the resurgence of the Jan Sangh. The Jan Sangh has found a foothold even in such traditional strongholds of the Communist Party as Suryapet Taluq, Nalgonda district (heart of the armed struggle in Telangana from 1948 to 1950). *The Brahmins who presumably find themselves deprived of any position, especially in the middle and lower echelons of leadership of every party, spearhead this reaction in the name of resurgent Hinduism. They find ready allies in other minority groups and people who are attracted by the appeal to religion and power of the communalists.*

Continued on page 6



Continued from page 5

This resurgence of Hindu communalism could not perhaps have had a chance against the forces of modernization if it did not reinforce a vague and general discontent among traditional elements of our population. I have often heard the complaint even from secular Hindus that the minorities have become favoured groups in the secular dispensation.

Personally I am grateful that the Government of India has on the whole dealt justly with religious minorities in our country. But I do see a danger signal in the growing discontent of Hindu intelligentsia that a Shankaracharya of Puri does not get the consideration from the Government of India that is given to a Sant Fateh Singh. Communicat-

ed to the masses it can become a seething ocean of resentment. Even those who are aware that the road of communal appeal is a divisive road full of dangers to our nationhood, are not entirely free from its prejudices. The unnamed fears and the unexpressed hates to which any of us are prone as prejudiced and emotional human beings contain the seeds of a disastrous conflagration and an end to sanity in our political life.

India is at this stage when narrow prejudice and selfishness masquerading as champions of caste and community may sweep the unthinking into a frenzy of hate and violence. Will those who cherish freedom over personal interest and national unity over prejudice take note and call a truce, in the interests of our future?

Next Week CONRAD HUNTE tells his own story

## viewpoint

### COMPETITION

\* Does the Congress Party deserve to be re-elected?

Closing date: January 6

\*\* The office of State Governor is a waste of public money.

Closing date: January 20

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## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Kenyatta's 3-Year Achievement

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

Three years ago an experienced Western journalist arrived breathless at a Press reception during Kenya's independence celebrations. He exclaimed: "The roof is caving in. The Russians and Chinese will soon control press, radio and television." Admittedly he had seen it happen elsewhere. He soon packed up and left the country in company with others who thought the same.

At the same party a Communist pressman sidled up and whispered confidently: "This country will become an imperialist lackey. Then we shall see a revolution." He set about organizing the latter and was deported.

Both courses were possible. Neither happened.

All the pessimistic forecasts have been confounded. Kenya has not become a Marxist dictatorship or a "banana" republic. Tribal or racial war did not erupt after the removal of British control and the carefully-constructed administration, now Africanized, has not collapsed. Nor is Kenya a base for subversion against other African states.

The danger was there. It would be foolish to deny that elements of it still exist.

But this month's Uhuru (independence) and Jamhuri (republic) celebrations have been a genuine thanksgiving for the majority of Kenyans from all races.

Few independent countries inherited more complex and potentially explosive problems. The ownership of land, the aftermath of Mau Mau, unemployment (especially among school-leavers), trade union rivalries and disputes, the "shifta" menace on the NE border, to name only a few. Plus the unbalance of wealth between the immigrant Asians and Europeans (who total less than 4% of Kenya's nine and a half million) and the indigenous Africans.

Materially there has been solid progress. New roads, housing, hotels and office buildings are creating a building boom. During 1966 Kenya's



President Kenyatta

exports to Britain, as an example, have increased by nearly £2 million to £10,381,000. In the same period 81,000 tourists have visited the country and its many attractions. In the previous year there were 65,000. Industrial manufacturing has increased to 11 per cent of the gross domestic product; a small but significant increase.

Justifiably there were many fears expressed over Kenya's costly land re-settlement scheme. The transfer of 1,421,000 acres from European to African ownership has been the largest programme of land reform in modern times.

In spite of a severe drought last year and a critical shortage of maize (when America came to the rescue) the new African farmers are, generally speaking, doing well. They supplied 25 per cent of the milk to the Kenya Co-operative creameries in 1963-64. Last year they supplied 40 per cent—10,000,000 gallons. There has been a 15 per cent rise in the income of farmers since independence.

Continued on next page

## The week in Asia

**ADELAIDE**—Australia and the US are to build near Alice Springs in Central Australia a space research station capable of tracking Russian and Chinese rockets, announced Defence Minister Fairhall.

**TOKYO**—Japan signed an agreement to grant India a commodity loan of \$45 million to finance her industrial and agricultural programme. \$20 million of the loan will be used to purchase fertiliser.

**DJAKARTA**—At the trial of former Air Force Chief, General Dhani, President Sukarno was implicated in the death of six generals in the abortive coup of October last year. Army authorities, however, promised the President protection against any illegal attempt to overthrow him.

**COLOMBO**—Prime Minister Senanayake announced that Ceylon faces a severe rice shortage as the traditional sources of supply, Burma and Thailand, were unable to meet current requirements. The government cut the rice ration in half but distributed it free to all those with incomes under Rs. 1000, and declared a state of emergency to stop any riots, such as those which brought down the government some years ago.

**PEKING**—China has asked three of the six Soviet pressmen now in the country to leave by Christmas, because of "anti-Chinese reporting".

**SAIGON**—Latest version Russian MiGs took part in air battles over North Vietnam with American planes. The White House Press Secretary, Mr. Bill Moyers, announced that America would be willing to extend the Christmas truce, provided that North Vietnam gave bonafides of its intentions to do the same.

**CAIRO**—Ex-king Saud of Saudi Arabia, who was deposed by his brother King Feisal, has come to Egypt to live as a commoner.

**DARJEELING**—China is introducing communes throughout Tibet, according to refugees who recently reached Bhutan. They said there had been a huge influx of Chinese in the Tromo area at the junction of Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan, who were giving priority to maintaining military communications.

**SINGAPORE**—America is buying Chinese steel for immediate short-term use in Vietnam. The steel, worth £375,000, has been transhipped in Singapore for transport to Saigon.

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Continued from page 7

Economic realism has played a decisive part in the stability and growth of Kenya. At the same time ideology has also made its contribution. President Kenyatta and his Government are developing basic national concepts which, applied in other countries of the continent, could bring similar results.

The catalyst has been the President himself. Without his spectacular leadership and direction the country would be in serious difficulties—perhaps chaos.

At this point, in any conversation anywhere in the world about Kenya, the inevitable question is raised: "Who and what will follow Kenyatta?"

A personal or tribal power struggle when the time comes could destroy all that has been created by the vision, sweat and determination of men and women of all races.

Kenyatta's team gives cause for confidence. There are younger men in his Cabinet who, given the responsibility and a clear-cut mandate, could succeed.

Among them are Charles Njonjo, the Attorney-General; Dr. Mungai, Minister for Defence; Tom Mboya, Minister for Economic Development and Planning; and the former leader of the Opposition, Ronald Ngala, Minister for Co-operatives.

Humanly each one must cherish the ambition to become President and be preparing his claim. But might we see another act of statesmanship coming out of Kenya, where commonsense and maturity prevail?

## Soviet "Njet" to Austria

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Vienna

No visit to the Austrian capital during these past years has aroused such interest as the recently-concluded state visit to Vienna of the Soviet Union's highest official, President Podgorny.

The Austrian Government has felt compelled by economic factors to negotiate since 1964 a possible association with the Common Market. More than half of Austria's trade—both exports and imports—is done with the nations of the EEC, less than 20% with the nations of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) to which Austria belongs.

### Neutral Status

In the State Treaty which ended the foreign occupation of Austria ten years ago, the status of neutrality was guaranteed by the big powers. The Austrian Government was not quite sure what these powers, and especially Russia, would feel about the negotiations with the Common Market, as the Soviet Government always associates the Common Market with the NATO alliance.

If the Austrian leaders had hoped to win over Podgorny to special concessions or at least a more conciliatory approach on this question, they were disappointed. Even on the eve of his departure, in a country-wide television interview, Podgorny repeated the Soviet thesis: "As good friends of Austria we have to say with all openness that every arrangement with the Common Market, whatever form it may take, will lead Austria not only to economic but also political obligations which would mean a conscious or unconscious violation of the State Treaty and an end to the proven neutral course which has brought such advantages to the Austrian people..."

This Soviet "njet" obviously disappointed the Austrian Government men. They seem however still determined to steer their original course. The offers of more trade with the Eastern nations which Podgorny brought with him were received with interest but Austria's unwillingness to become dependent on the Communist bloc for her trade has always been expressed.

More WORLD'S CAPITALS pages 17, 18

## Election Winds

by ANTENNA

### Kamaraj Query

Why should a national figure like Mr. Kamaraj consent to stand for the Madras State Assembly? Kamaraj may have given in his name to boost the morale of the State Congress. His base is Madras and he cannot afford even a decline in the Congress majority in Madras. He has to resign as the Party President in a year's time. After that, what? Parkalam—"we shall see".

### Man to Watch

The man to watch is Kamaraj's right-hand man, R. Venkataraman, at present Industries Minister, Madras. A member of the Madras Legislative Council, he is now contesting for the Lok Sabha. A confidante of Kamaraj, who travelled with him to Moscow, Venkataraman may well be his nominee in the post-election Cabinet at the Centre.

### Jana Congress

Observers' comments on the Jana Congress vary. I think it is not a Party in the full sense of the word, but merely a federation of existing regional parties. The national convention is not to meet until after the elections and the Constitution is yet to be drafted. Where the constituent parties have their strength, as in Orissa and Kerala, they will secure seats. Otherwise it will not have a say in the next elections.

### Left Communists

The Left Communists' confidence about their chances in Kerala is somewhat shaky. The party has appointed a "Control Commission" which wants to take action against about a dozen members. The split is between those who are more pro-Chinese and those who are more pro-Indian. The pro-Indian wing supports India's defence efforts and has donated blood and money. This move for their expulsion is likely to split the Left Communists in Trivandrum, Quilon and Alleppey. One cannot yet estimate the result of such a split, especially if Mr. A. K. Gopalan and Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad get involved.

## C. Rajagopalachari on the Usha-Janaki judgment:

"I AM AMAZED..."



Paul advised the Corinthian Christians not to go to law. But Rajmohan Gandhi went against this ancient advice and lost his suit in the Mysore High Court. Usha, the Sindhi girl, fought it out with her parents and found her freedom and rejoined the MRA camp.

Now that there is no appeal against the judgment of the High Court as regards the other young woman, Janaki, and the matter is closed, one can comment on it without prejudicing the proceedings. I am amazed at the way the High Court disposed of the case. All that I learnt about the law of evidence, from that perfect diamond of a statute, the Indian Evidence Act, or from Taylor's book on the Law of Evidence, tells me that when first-hand proof is available, second-hand evidence is banned. The spirit of law and the rules of evidence followed in enlightened countries strictly keep out second-hand evidence.

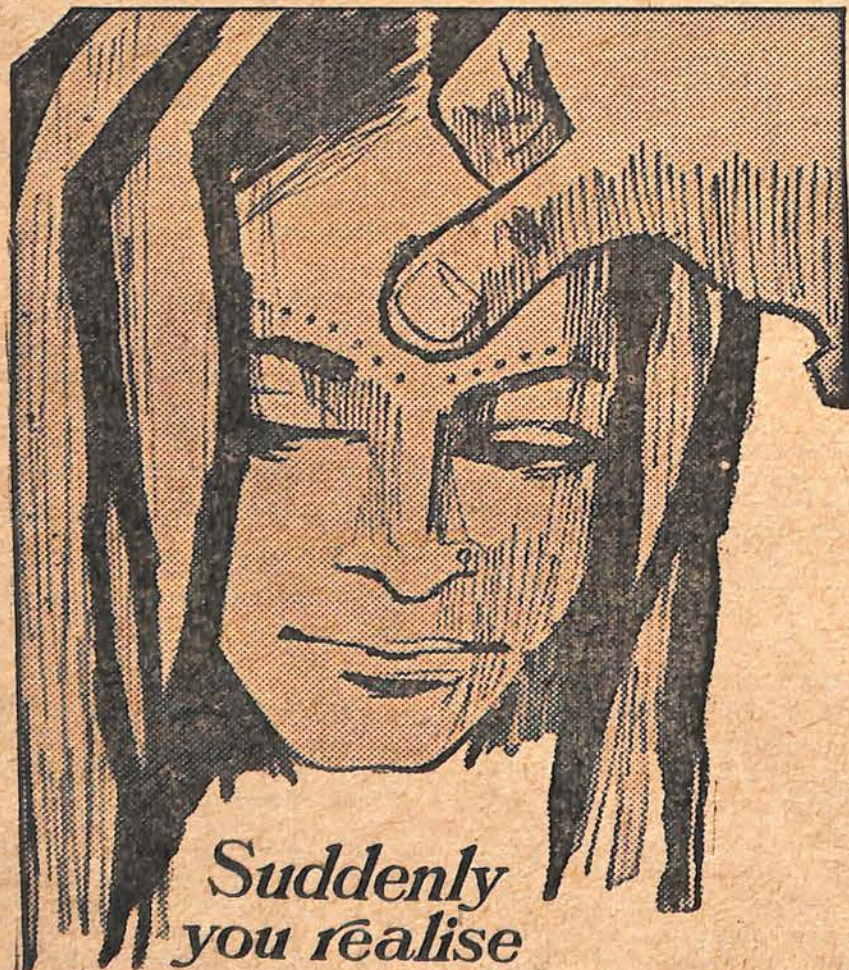
Here was Janaki (22), who has gone through three years in a university medical college, available at the shortest notice to be heard in person by the High Court to give first-hand testimony of the state of her mind, her willingness either to stay with her parents, giving up her MRA engagement, or her desire to do the reverse. She was not only the subject of the Habeas Corpus writ, but also an available witness to help the Court to conclude on the question whether

any compulsion was exercised on her to the prejudice of her freedom, and dispose of the petition in a just manner. The Court up to the end almost carefully avoided summoning the young woman and hearing her evidence.

To avoid any possible injustice by embarrassing her with the presence of MRA leaders or her parents, she could have been called to give evidence in judges' chambers, keeping everyone out except the two advocates representing the two sides. This was not done in spite of repeated requests on behalf of Rajmohan Gandhi. The Court preferred to act on extra-mural affidavits and statements. Not even the consent of parties could justify this departure from principles and from the practice regarding evidence.

Janaki is with her parents. Perhaps it is as well. Let me wind up by saying that it is well that her wish to serve the MRA or any other cause is not to be fulfilled with the help of a court decree, but rests on her own strength and conviction as in Usha's case, balancing it against the solid advantages of a medical degree.

From "Swarajya", December 17, 1966



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## CRICKET AT ITS BEST

One of the greatest of all Test matches played in India has just ended at the Brabourne Stadium. Not only did the fortunes of the game fluctuate greatly, but cricket on all the five days—except in one short patch—was both interesting and thrilling. If cricket of this nature is played all over the world, no amendment to any of the rules will ever be necessary. This match has proved that there is nothing wrong with the Laws of the game but what is necessary is a change in the outlook of those who play it.

The game created tremendous enthusiasm in the country—particularly in Bombay. At the Brabourne Stadium over 50,000 people watched the match every day and at least 10,000 were kept away because they could not get tickets.

Such is the tempo of enthusiasm created by this tour of the West Indies cricketers. This is indeed a compliment to Gary Sobers and his men, who have made for themselves a great reputation for playing brighter cricket.

The credit for the Bombay match being so interesting goes to Gary Sobers and the Nawab of Pataudi. From the word "Go" they played cricket of a type which is meant to win matches—not draw them.

Even when India were playing with their backs to the wall in the second innings, Pataudi's instructions to his men were to keep the score-board moving. No greater illustration of this can be had than the exhilarating batting of Kunderan under the most adverse circumstances. Even in the last innings, the visitors went for their strokes on a turning wicket with Chandrasekhar bowling magnificently.

This has been the spirit of cricket right through the match. At many stages of the game the public was so much engrossed in the thrill of cricket that they did not seem to bother which side won ultimately. At the end of the match our public was happy at having seen such cricket and considered our defeat a glorious one. This is exactly what happened in Australia in 1960-61 when West Indies played the most memorable of all series. Australia then won but the Australian public felt that a "draw" would have been a greater indication of the respective merits of the sides. When such spirit is created among the pub-

lic, cricket receives its greatest tribute.

Sobers captained superbly. He had his team well under his control at all times. At one stage I felt that he was allowing the game to drift because his batsmen would not take initiative in the second innings. Maybe I was mistaken. Sobers knew exactly how the wicket would play in the second innings and was content to allow his batsmen to pile up a bigger total at a moderate rate of scoring. His estimate of the situation proved right ultimately.

But it is to Pataudi that I give greater credit. His was the side weaker on paper and no one ever

### SCORE-BOARD

#### First Test Bombay

INDIA, First innings	— 296
WEST INDIES, First innings	— 421
INDIA, Second innings	— 316
WEST INDIES, Second innings	— 192
	for 4 wickets

gave him a chance of victory. He welded his team into a fighting combination and got the best out of his men. He certainly got the best out of Chandrasekhar. This fine bowler had such a bad Zone Final match only a few days ago and at the same venue, that many felt he should have been left out. Pataudi was not one of them. He not only had great confidence in the youngster but inspired him to put up one of the finest performances on a good wicket in Test history.

At all times Pataudi managed his team well. The only two flaws that I could find in his captaincy were (1) sending Wadekar in the second innings in preference to Durrani, a more seasoned cricketer, if a left-hander was needed at that time to

cope with Holford's leg-spinners, and (2) not putting on Nadkarni at all in the second innings. Time and again over a period of years Nadkarni has bowled well on perfect wickets with no assistance from the pitch whatsoever. Now on a wicket on which one could spin the ball he was completely neglected. He would not have given away many runs in two or three overs.

The highlights of the game were many. India fought back from 14 for 3 to a total of 296. Borde played one of the finest innings which it has been my privilege to see. His strokes, initiative, correct technique and sense of responsibility impressed me very greatly. His innings was an education not only to many youngsters watching the match but even to his team-mates.

### Sobers' bowling best

Durrani executed some lovely strokes on both sides of the wicket and rendered adequate support to Borde.

Sobers was the best of their bowlers in the first innings. Neither Hall nor Griffith had the fire associated with their pace and reputation. The spinners were able to turn the ball but presented no problems for our batsmen. We should have scored at least 75 runs more than we did.

Conrad Hunté batted as well as we know him to bat at all times. His correct technique, patience, tremendous experience and sense of responsibility to his team were his chief assets. So long as he was there at one end, Sobers knew that at the other end his batsmen could keep the score-board moving quickly. In spite of Hunté's century it was Lloyd who interested me more. This fine youngster, making his first appearance in Test cricket, was lucky to get a life early in his innings, but after that initial bit of fortune he batted most magnificently. With his height and great reach he executed strokes all round the wicket and showed a mature head on his young shoulders. We shall hear much more of him in future.

Sobers batted correctly and indicated that even the world's great batsmen must have correct technique as their foundation. What a change

Continued on page 15

HIMMAT, December 23, 1966

# INDIA

Vs

## THE WEST INDIES

"...the greatest of all test matches..."

see page 10

— Vijay Merchant



Dikshit — Times of India

Wadekar catches Bynoe in a spectacular dive

Butcher clean bowled by Chandrasekhar

India's skipper Pataudi



Baby Fernandes — Indian Express



Ragavendra Rao — Indian Express





Dhanubhai — Janmabhoomi

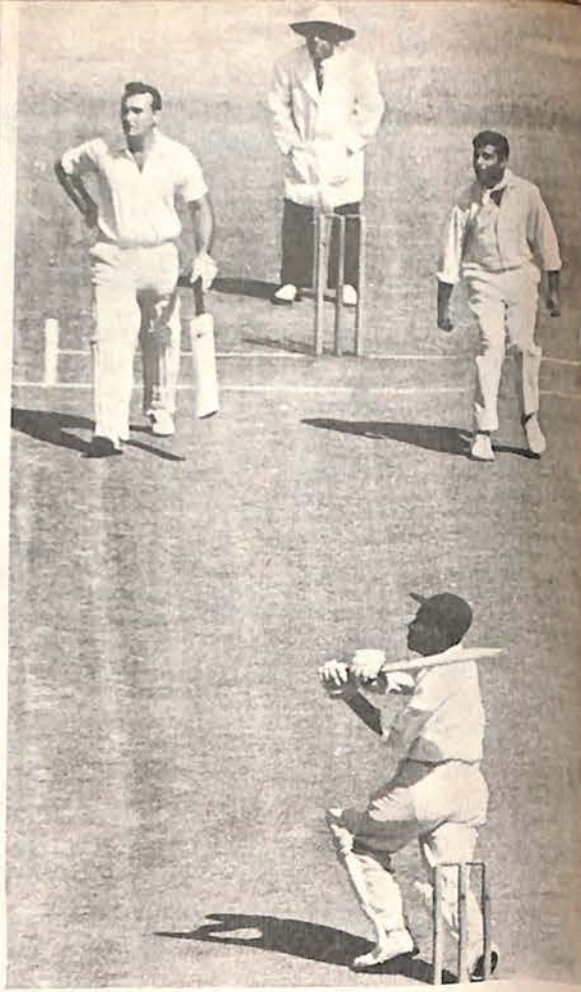
Left-hander Lloyd scored 78 not out in the second innings



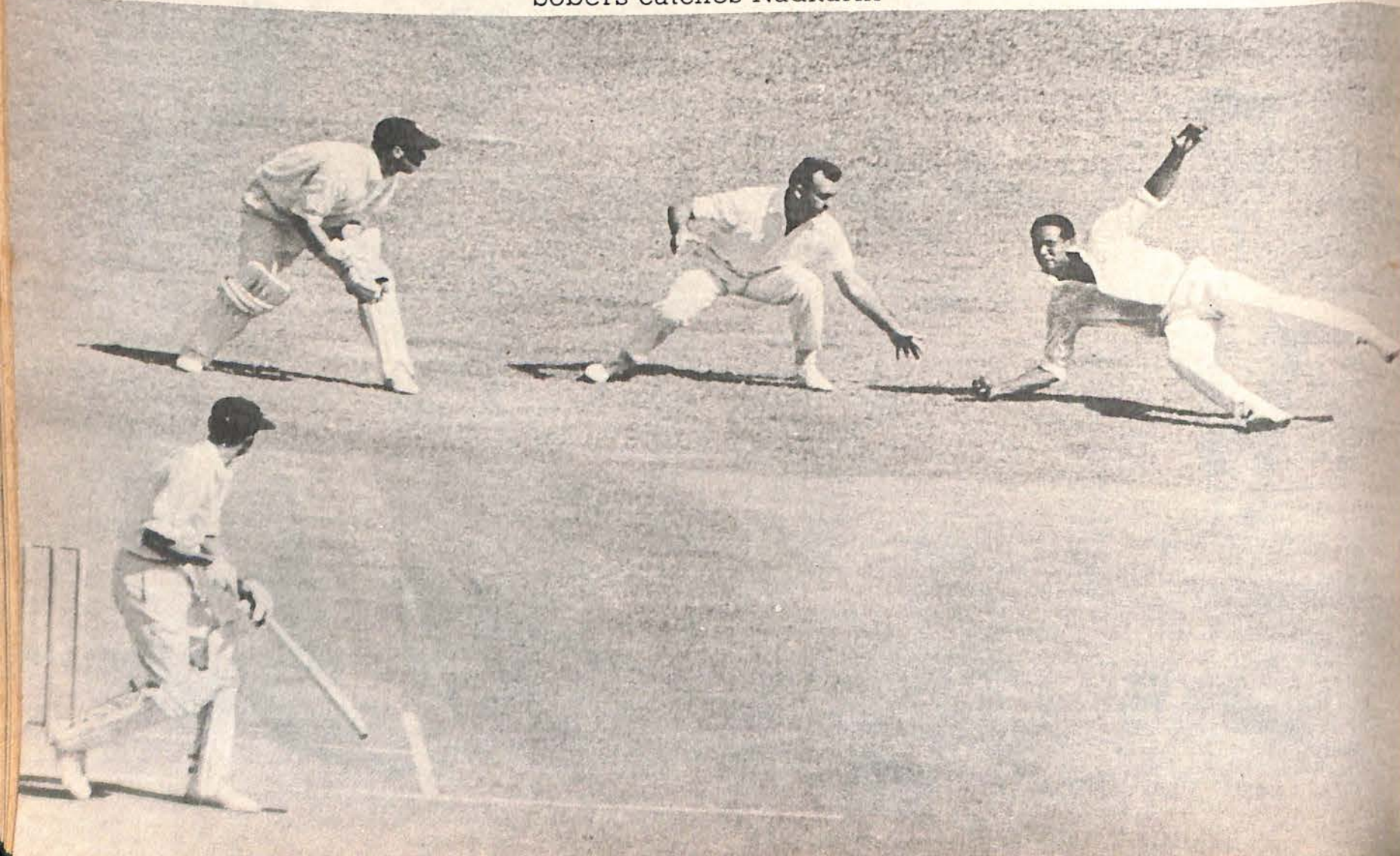
R Rao — Indian Express

Kundaran knocks up 79

Sobers catches Nadkarni



Hunte pulls to leg



COMPETITION PICTURE — Sobers facing Durrani

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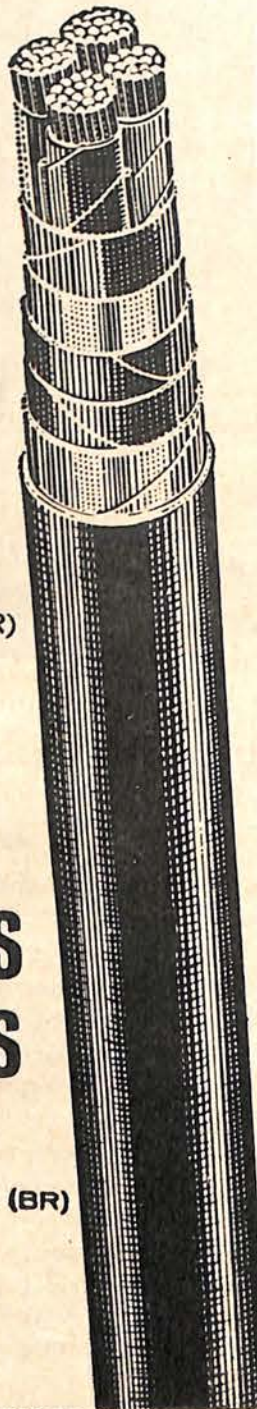
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# VERDICT!

This week **HIMMAT**

**ENDORSES** Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi's remark that men, not beasts, must be saved first, and **ASKS** if her Government will be as firm on the Chandigarh for Punjab agitation as they have been over the ban cow-slaughter movement.

★

**NOTES WITH INTEREST** Chinese Vice Premier Chen Yi's comment on the limiting of China's university education to four years so that students can spend part of their time "with the workers, the farmers and learn the realities of society".

★

**MARVELS** at the enterprise of Communist China in trading both with South Africa and its foe, the United States, and **OBSERVES** that where trade is concerned, profit appears to take priority over prejudice.

★

**GASPS** at the FAO's plan to conduct a census of edible fish, and **IS CURIOUS TO KNOW** how the 15 experts who have undertaken this task propose to count them?

★

**CASTIGATES** the moronic inefficiency which lets food intended for the starving of Bihar and UP rot in the Central Citizens' Food Council godowns in Delhi, while officials shilly-shally over distribution procedures and rules of entry.

★

**CHUCKLES** at Delhi zoologists who have begun an investigation as to what kind of monkey is closest to man, and **BIDS SAD FAREWELL** to the 10 million living organisms—wasps, frogs' eggs and bacteria—condemned to voyage forever through space in an errant US research satellite.

★

**IS SURPRISED** at the Left Communists' politburo urging restraint on its Calcutta student followers whose activities closed down the University, and **INQUIRES** whether this is pre-election diplomacy, or merely an inter-party manoeuvre?

## Merchant on the 1st Test

Continued from page 10

has come over this great cricketer! To start with he had too many strokes and less patience. Now he has all the strokes, and yet patience and a sense of responsibility have turned him into one of the three best batsmen in the world at present.

It was, however, Chandrasekhar who was the hero of this innings. He bowled and bowled and bowled and in his 61.5 overs he never lost his length or direction. He made the ball "talk" on a wicket not very responsive to his type. Never before have I seen a bowler of his type dominating the innings of over 400 runs by very accurate, penetrative and great-hearted bowling. I shall be lucky if I ever see a greater bowling performance than that of Chandrasekhar. The other bowlers merely helped to keep the other end going.

In our second innings we started with a flash but were soon in trouble. By then the wicket had become very responsive to spin and our lack of experience on such wickets was glaringly obvious. Only Pataudi with his greater experience of turning wickets in England showed how spin bowling could be played. Even so, we were in great trouble when our fifth wicket fell at 141. It was then left to dashing Kunderan to play a great innings and bring India back into the game. His daring and dash reaped rich dividends, although technically his game was faulty at times. Venkataraghavan in both innings proved that he can turn into a very

good batsman. His technique showed that in his school and college days he must have batted much higher in the order.

The last innings was also West Indies versus Chandrasekhar. Hunte again batted solidly and showed what correct technique can do even against a great spin bowler on a turning wicket. Lloyd and Sobers confirmed their great batsmanship of the first innings. How interesting the match was cannot be indicated by scores or the ultimate result. It was well in balance until the first hour of play on the final day.

## Better fielding needed

The fielding of both sides left much to be desired. As Pataudi rightly said at the end of the match, "Catches alone win matches." He stated in a radio interview with me, "We dropped vital catches and their batsmen did not repeat the mistakes. When our batsmen were similarly lucky in having catches dropped, we made the mistakes again." That sums up the difference between their lost catches and ours. We shall have to tighten up our fielding department very much indeed if we are to fight it out against our superior opponents at Calcutta.

Indian cricket should be proud of her performances in the First Test against a much stronger side in all the departments of the game. India should be even more proud of her fine bowler, Chandrasekhar.

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

## Red Guards Boil Over in Macao

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Hong Kong

Macao, the Portuguese colony 40 miles south-west of Hong Kong, has had an eruption of Red Guards causing riots, destruction and death.

For 400 years Macao has been a centre of Western trade, diplomacy and religion on the coast of South China. It has had its times of tension with China but the riots of these past few days have been its worst experience ever. It is no secret that the Chinese Communists have for years had a large say in what happens in Macao and that the Macao Government is very sensitive toward Peking. Why then this sudden outburst of hatred and violence?

For last week the Red Guards from Macao's Communist schools invaded Government House waving their red books of Mao Tse-tung's thought, chanted his teachings from them and sang "The East is Red" and other such songs.

The youth and others went on a rampage. They hauled down statues of Portuguese patriots, went into official buildings and destroyed portraits, threw furniture out into the streets, overturned cars, battled the police and chased Europeans, shouting "Kill the Portuguese devils!" The Portuguese police retaliated and there were casualties.

### Causes

The cause of the boil-over was a clash in mid-November between Portuguese police and Chinese leftist building workers over the unauthorised demolition of a building on a nearby island. The incident seems to have been magnified out of all proportion. Some Hong Kong newspapers think that the subsequent disturbances were carefully planned and organised from Communist China because it was obviously so well directed and included co-operation from the bus drivers, taxi drivers and rickshaw men who would all be in Communist Unions.

It also happened that a new Governor for Macao had just arrived from Portugal a week or so previously and it may be that this fact influenced the decision to stage the demonstrations and riots.

### Communist Demands

The Communists have now made demands on the Portuguese for the dismissal of the two top men in the police, the burning of police truncheons, public admission of its mistakes by the Government, a pledge that there will be no more assaults on Chinese residents and an apology to the newspaper reporters who were allegedly arrested and insulted. Students have also demanded a public funeral for the seven people killed in the riots through police action. The head of the Macao Chinese Chamber of Commerce, which is Communist, went across the border into China to "negotiate" with the Chinese authorities.

The Macao Government has accepted most of the demands except the one for public funerals. Hong Kong Communist newspapers make no reference to the acceptance of these demands, saying that they are now out-of-date and urging continued action against the Portuguese.

Other newspapers see the riots as a direct result of the current clash in Peking politics between the Red Guard protagonists and those Party leaders accused of capitalist inclinations.

"What more natural", says an editorial in the *Hong Kong Tiger Standard*, "than that the policy of peaceful toleration towards Macao and Hong Kong, so long pursued by the latter to the mutual benefit of all concerned, should not now, too, become an obvious target of the fanatical "cultural revolutionaries".

## The week in India

**NEW DELHI**—The tripartite economic conference between India, Yugoslavia and the UAR decided that the three countries would establish preferential tariffs for each other's goods and would act together to improve industry, shipping and trade in developing nations.

\*\*\*

**CALCUTTA**—The two-day-old bus strike was called off late on Wednesday night. The tramway workers continued their strike, and Chief Minister P. C. Sen told newsmen that he wishes to abolish trams in Calcutta.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—India's request to the United States for two million tonnes of food grains to meet the immediate needs in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh is likely to be granted soon. US Ambassador Chester Bowles is understood to have told Foreign Minister Chagla this at an interview he requested.

\*\*\*

**AMRITSAR**—Swami Surva Dev, who in 1961 went on a counter-fast in opposition to Master Tara Singh's demand for a Punjabi Suba, announced his decision to undergo a similar counter-fast against Sant Fateh Singh.

\*\*\*

**KOHIMA**—The six-member committee set up by the underground Naga Parliament recommended that talks with the Indian Government be resumed in the middle of next month in Delhi or Kohima.

\*\*\*

**PATNA**—Angry students stoned the car of Bihar Chief Minister K. B. Sahay as he was on his way with two other Ministers to Ram Dayalu College to enquire into police firing there.

\*\*\*

**SRINAGAR**—The National Conference led by former Premier Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, claims to have enrolled 300,000 basic members in the valley in the past two months. According to the secretary of the Conference, the party hopes to enrol at least 800,000 members by the end of this month, says a Nafen report.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—A Soviet credit of Rs. 250 crores was extended to India as the result of the latest economic agreement. This brings the total Soviet aid available to India for the Fourth Plan to Rs. 750 crores.

\*\*\*

**NEW DELHI**—The Food Minister, Mr. C. Subramaniam, said that any one-day cut in the food ration, at present under consideration by the Cabinet, would effect all states equally.



## "Human Engineering" needed in Britain

FROM GORDON WISE

Birmingham

What Mr. Wilson calls a "shake-out" of Britain's labour force is pushing unemployment figures over the half million mark. By "shake-out" the Prime Minister means that industries which are over-manned will be squeezed by deliberate government policy, until they release manpower for industries in which labour is in short supply.

The families of the men who have been laid off are feeling the pinch. The wives have become accustomed to the high wages which are earned even by semi-skilled men working on the assembly lines. A large slice of these pay packets is mortgaged in advance to keeping up the payments on hire-purchase items, colloquially known as the "never-never system". When the payments cannot be kept up, the dealer turns up and reclaims the washing machine or

what-have-you.

The British Motor Corporation (BMC) has laid off 12,000 workers, dropping their pay-roll from £109,000 to £97,000. It is said that they have taken advantage of the Government's "freeze", which aims at reducing home consumption, to reduce a swollen labour force.

BMC's forward planning is said to include a boosting of production from the present 850,000 to 900,000 units a year to 1,250,000 units by

1970—using no more than the present reduced work force.

In a switch of manpower such as that going on in the motor industry, there is a need for what one enlightened industrialist has called "human engineering".

The Chairman of the National Coal Board, Lord Robens, has attempted this. The NCB is closing a number of uneconomical pits and is reducing its management and clerical personnel by 13,000-14,000. Generous "early retirement" arrangements have been made, and when a man is transferred to a pit in another area, there are reasonable cash allowances given towards the cost of moving his home and setting up a new one.

### The week elsewhere

#### US INTEGRATION

WASHINGTON—Schools' integration in America's race-conscious Southern States more than doubled last year, according to Education Office figures. There are now 489,950 Negro students—16.9 per cent of the total—in desegregated schools in 11 Southern States.

#### RUSSIAN DEFENCE COST

MOSCOW—Russia boosted its 1967 defence spending by 1,100 million roubles (about Rs. 8,800 million). Defence would account for 13.2 per cent of the budget, as against 12.8 per cent in 1966.

#### NIGERIAN DIVISION

LAGOS—East Nigeria is in a state of near-secession from the Nigerian Federation, according to reports reaching London. The Governor of East Nigeria, Lt. Col. Ojukwu, has refused to attend constitutional talks in Lagos unless Northern troops are withdrawn from the federal capital. (In recent riots, many East Nigerians living in the Northern Region were killed or forced to flee). Many train services from the East to other regions have been cancelled, and the region has been partly isolated from the rest of the country by security measures. 10,000 men are said to have volunteered for an East Nigerian Legion for which arms are being received from outside Nigeria. Col. Ojukwu has refused to share the oil revenues of the East with the Federal Government.

## What Makes Calcutta Tick?

by Ratna Sen

Calcutta, capital of West Bengal, is India's largest city, with a population of over 5 million. It is a restless, seething city. For weeks, students picketed the university, until finally the authorities were forced to close it. There has been a transport strike. A municipal strike is being threatened. The Left Communist (pro-Peking) Party is strong in Calcutta. West Bengal is on India's strategic northern frontier.

What makes this city tick?

HIMMAT interviews a student, a businessman and a house-wife to find out what they think.



Mr. H. K. Das is a businessman with a well-known lithograph printing works. He has worked in Calcutta all his life.

What do you think of the present situation?

"Everybody is worried."

What is your particular worry?

"My employees. There are so many strikes—general and transport, that I don't know if the men will turn up for work, and I can't make a commitment about the date of delivery, or if I do I can't keep my promise."

What are your other troubles?

"I find that the workers, though not flouting management orders, are lethargic. They loiter and waste time and my business is running with only 50 per cent efficiency."

What do you think is your particular duty in the present situation?

"We businessmen should hold the

price-line as much as we can. But other prices have gone up so much that we have been forced to increase prices."

Do you have hope for the future?

"It requires a country-wide change of heart. The 'I don't care what happens to others' attitude must go."

What do you think of the elections?

"The Congress will somehow manoeuvre and get back to power. And anyway the Opposition coming into power will not make food sprout, even if some policies do change. This situation is everybody's responsibility."

SUKHIA BURMAN is a housewife. She comes from a poor family in Danapur near Patna (Bihar). Her husband is employed by a private firm in Calcutta. They were married in 1949 and have five children ranging from a daughter of 13 to a child of three years.

Her husband earns Rs. 100 and she earns Rs. 30 as a part time worker in two houses.

How do you manage to meet your expenses?

"I pay Rs. 50 for the education of three of my children. Rs. 22 goes to pay the rental, but this house is without electricity and water. There is a community tubewell where I have to line up from 4 a.m. and for which we have to pay Rs. 5 a month."

#### Hungry children

So you have Rs. 53 left. How do you manage the rest on this sum?

"The ration is insufficient and I have so many children who are always hungry. We have to buy 4-5 Kgs. of wheat per week at Re. 1 or more a Kg. For the rest, pulses and vegetables make up our diet. We don't eat fish or meat, but we can't afford milk either."

If it is so expensive why don't you send your children to free municipal schools?

"I have sent them, but there they only sit and the teachers sleep and no work is done."

## ON THE Spot

What do you expect from others?

"Well as long as we can work we shouldn't ask or beg. But the Government could provide us with a place to live in. Things would be easier then. The rationing system too creates difficulties, because if we somehow miss the week's ration then the situation becomes desperate."

Then why do you vote for the Congress Party?

"Because we hope each time that things will improve, but they never do."

SUJOY GUPTA is a student of Presidency College, where students recently "imprisoned" their principal for hours on end. Sujoy is 16 years old and is in second year in the Science Degree course with honours in Mathematics.

#### Student agitation

What affects you most in the present situation?

"The conditions among the students, closed colleges and strikes."

What about the strike in your college?

"I don't think there is any justification for it. The expelled students are mostly drop-outs from the general academic run. They change their subjects frequently and take part in Union activities. One of them has been in the college for six years. But of course the majority of the students have no sympathy with these strikers."

What do you think students should agitate for?

"Our library, our fee-depositing methods, and our common-room need improvement. Seminars could be introduced where they are not already held. But the Students' Union is not at all interested in these things, and have never agitated for them. On the other hand, Vietnam is the big headache for them."

Are these improvements possible?

"Oh yes. The authorities, I think, are willing and they have funds. But sometimes they can't keep pace with necessities."

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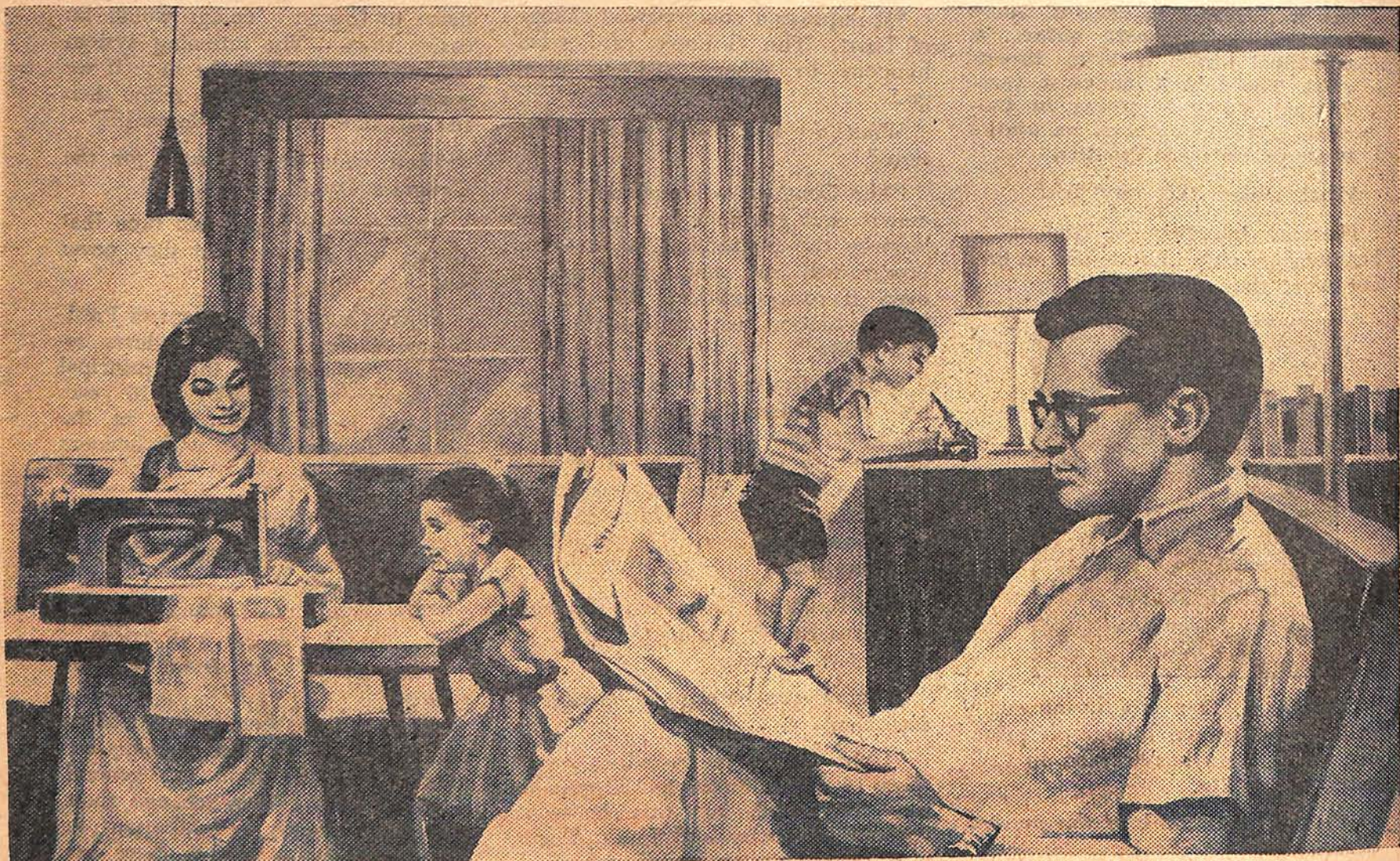
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*This was a Life*

**EDWIN CHADWICK**

1800—1890

Edwin Chadwick was one of the pioneers of British Public Health in the Nineteenth Century. He faced ridicule and persecution for his stand on public sanitation at a time when callousness and indifference during Britain's Industrial Revolution were at their worst.

Educated in law, Chadwick became a journalist and, at the age of 32, what is today known as a social investigator. One of his reports formed the basis of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. This Act was badly administered and made Chadwick very unpopular for a time. However his reports roused great reformers like the Earl of Shaftesbury (the People's Earl) and novelist Charles Dickens into action against prevailing conditions of sanitation and work.

Plagues of cholera during the 1830's and 1840's deprived many families of their bread-winner, but not all saw, as Shaftesbury and Chadwick did, that disease was expensive, health economical and that whatever promoted spiritual, moral and physical health was the sanest economics. An inquiry was instituted to look into how disease was caused by the living conditions of the people.

The inquiry was broadened into an examination of conditions in all England and Wales and in 1842 Chadwick published his famous Report. It became a best-seller overnight but it took the tardy Government till 1848 to act on it. This action resulted in the Public Health Act of that year.

Chadwick's belief in centralization of power in dealing with the health situation bought attacks by self-important local authorities. Opposition grew steadily and in 1854 he was driven from his office as head of the Board of Health which was disbanded at the same time.

Inevitably the "slowly wise" nation accepted Chadwick's ideas as the norm. When he was near to death in 1889 he was knighted, 35 years after being driven from public life. He died in 1890, the foremost health reformer and sanitary expert of the Nineteenth Century.

K.C.B.

## Letters

### Japanese General Replies to Sir Alec

General I. Sugita, former Chief of Staff of Japan's Ground Defence Forces, has replied to the article by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, British Prime Minister, 1963-64, in HIMMAT last month.

Sir Alec urged the creation of a belt of unaligned nations in South East Asia, including Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, from which foreign troops would be withdrawn (China and North Vietnam permitting). He also proposed the formation of a collective security system consisting of the Maphilindo countries (Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines), supported by India, the ANZUS pact powers (USA, Australia and New Zealand) and Britain.

General Sugita writes:

In principle I agree with the former British Prime Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, on the general idea of a plan to counter China's aims.

I entirely support his emphasis on the role of India in Asia and welcome a British initiative to take responsibility in South East Asia along with countries like the US, Australia and New Zealand.

Indeed Sir Alec's scheme is excellent but carrying it out is very difficult. It would take years to put his plan into operation because nations like Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam are not strong enough to stand by themselves against subversion and will not be for many years to come. The collective security of the Maphilindo nations, also, may not be achieved as easily as one might expect.

This is the situation we face now and must deal with in future so as to build a new order in this area.

In view of these facts, I am strongly of the opinion that India, Australia and Japan should co-operate far more closely in aiding these Asian countries. In this way we shall be able to check subversion by Communist China, who will have to accept the need to co-exist with us peacefully.

GENERAL I. SUGITA (Retd.)

### ARE WE IN A POLICE STATE?

Watching some of the recent incidents I wonder if we are in a police state. Our Government has declared a non-alignment policy. Then why should it be so much influenced by the fellow-travellers?

Yesterday the Government was hesitating to release "Dr. Zhivago" and today they are asking "Miss World" not to go to South Vietnam. It would do a lot of good if the Government, instead of brooding on these trifling matters invested its time on the chaotic problems facing India, especially the drought in Bihar.

ARTHUR PAIS

Madras 28

### RHODESIAN SITUATION

I was shocked to read Mr. U. Sudhakar's letter on Rhodesia in your issue of 2nd December. He implies that Africans have no "consciousness and an inspiration in them to form their own government". Let me inform him that long before the UDI there were two political parties fighting in Rhodesia for freedom which were later banned in Rhodesia—the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). They are fighting the illegal Smith regime both from within and from outside Rhodesia.

T. D. THAKKAR

Poona 1

### STALL ON FOOD AID

Hats off to the Editor of this popular "Asia's New Voice" weekly for its bold and forthright assessment in the article, "Why does Johnson stall on food aid?" —(HIMMAT, December 2, 1966). Johnson's attitude to India's request for two million tons of emergency food aid is surprising. The request has the support of the US aid officials in this country and it is known to have been cleared by the US Agriculture Department, the State Department and the Agency for International Development.

It has been suggested in some quarters that the American objective is to extract further concessions from the Union Government for foreign private investment in the fertilizer field and an expression of anger over New Delhi's stand on American bombing of North Vietnam. But it would be premature to conclude at this stage that there is a direct link between the American desire for policy changes in India and President Johnson's tardiness in finalizing action on this country's food request.

What is clear is that President Johnson's attitude is putting an unnecessary and deplorable strain on Indo-American relations. In the past, the US Government has been extremely generous in giving food assistance to this country—indeed, generous to the point of inducing a vast complacency in New Delhi on the agricultural problem.

T. S. PRASAD

Madras





# What Calcutta Can Do

By Rajmohan Gandhi

"I VIGOROUSLY oppose the myth that Calcutta is a doomed city," said a Socialist trade union leader to me. "People are swift to diagnose the difficulties of living in this city but so few have an understanding of what its men and leaders have done in the past or a vision of what it can do in the future," he added.

I am thunderously in agreement with this union leader. It doesn't require great powers of perception or penetration to discover that Calcutta needs a thorough clean-up. Nor is it difficult to pinpoint the weaknesses in the administration of that city and state of Bengal. Some men also are quick to discover and describe the shortcomings in the way the people of Bengal live.

It is only the all-knowing Almighty who can grade the different races in India or the world in order of their virtues or vices. Conceited is the man who takes upon himself the task of giving marks to different categories of humanity. It is safe to say that we spot more easily the faults, real or alleged, in groups of people other than our own.

## Place in History

I am satisfied that the city of Calcutta and the people of Bengal have a place in the history of India and the world of their own. They have a destiny which is supreme and all-important.

People in and out of Calcutta want to know, "Is there something you can do for Calcutta?" They might usefully ponder on what a changed Calcutta could do for India and the world.

With its millions of sensitive, passionate people, so many of whom think and burn for a revolutionary answer, Calcutta, if its leaders and led wanted to, could transform the face of India.

With its large proportion of Leftists, Calcutta has a special opportunity of offering something new and relevant to the Leftists in the world, which is more than half the world already. More than any other part of India, Cal-

cutta can speak to Peking and Moscow.

Anyone who believes that confrontation between the Communist and non-Communist worlds is the future course of mankind is also a believer in the suicidal un-wisdom of man. It is not beyond the wit of modern man to find a synthesis between Leftist and Rightist forces of the world and win the men who drive and govern these forces to that synthesis. As a former Italian Communist once said, "This synthesis needs to be something that leaves neither victor nor vanquished but demands equal change in both."

## Eternal Struggle

The eternal struggle in the world is not between Left and Right but between right and wrong. Selfishness, ambition and greed in those who call themselves Rightists has so often in history been responsible for the hate in the Left. This doesn't make the hate right but it is cheap to criticise Leftists for their hate and to stay blind to the causes of that hate.

Left Communism is a strong force in Calcutta. The other day a student leader who is not a student any longer told a college professor during a campus tussle between the Principal and students, "Don't assume that a professor deserves respect because he is a professor. He merits it only if he belongs to the working class. If he is born in a non-working class family he deserves hate. Such professors must be finished."

Class war in the classroom is easy but it is not going to satisfy the aspirations of the suffering millions of our country. Hate can be unleashed effortlessly and it can thrill and please as it is unleashed but it cannot be controlled and it has a strange habit of striking back with sudden and unexpected sharpness at those who let it loose. Today every sincere Communist is shaken to his roots by the bitter hate between the Left and Right wings. Those who in their folly gloat over this development will see its danger and cost

to the nation—including themselves—before too long.

Yet hate is indivisible. It is impossible to say, "We will hate capitalists and landlords and love one another." It is impossible for Chinese and Russians to say, "We hate Americans but love each other."

Why not Bengal give a great lead in answering the agonizing rift between Left and Right inside the Communist world? A true Bengal heart is one that wishes to pioneer and set the pace, not one that is content to attach itself to a Moscow or Peking line. There is no surer way of reaching Peking or Moscow than through Calcutta.

Similar to the arrogant view that Calcutta is a condemned city is the opinion that ascribes to China the permanent role of the world's wicked boy. "Everything in the rest of the world is reasonably alright. We, the clever and rational men who control these nations can find a means of getting along with one another. China is the odd man—the difficult man-out." This is the view of a number of the world's important men, Communist, non-aligned and anti-Communist.

## Super-modern

Utter and dangerous folly this is. There is hate and blind unreason in China. These are taking their heavy toll in China and outside but to think of China as the sole bad boy can only increase this toll.

The ancient, industrious and resolute people of China have a very great part to play in taking all of humanity into its next forward step. Isolating them with a view to finishing them off is not the answer, nor is appeasing them. A super-modern revolution which challenges all men everywhere, be they Left or Right, to give up their hate, fear, greed and make room in their hearts for all races, classes and nationalities is the answer.

The men and women of Calcutta can embrace this revolution and offer it to a confused and torn mankind.




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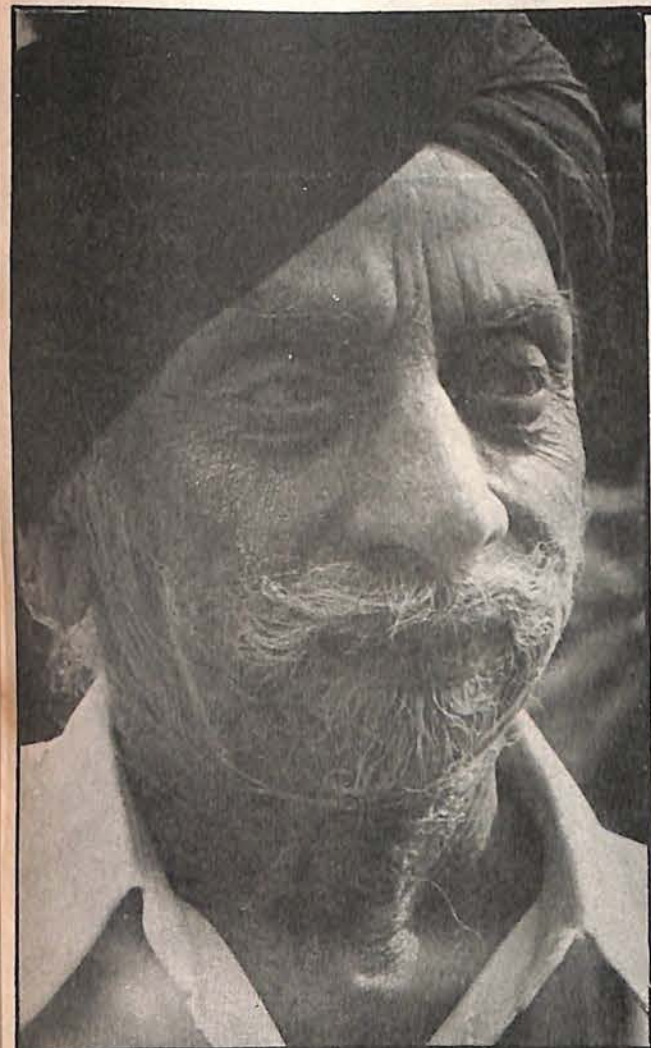
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**SARDAR HUKUM SINGH**  
**AVERTS TRAGEDY...**  
**...BUT WHAT NEXT?**

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Sant Fateh Singh

## CONRAD HUNTE

*Writes his own story*

page 15 & 23

A young West Indian gets a lesson in batsmanship.



**GOOD NEWS FROM JANAKI**