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# HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

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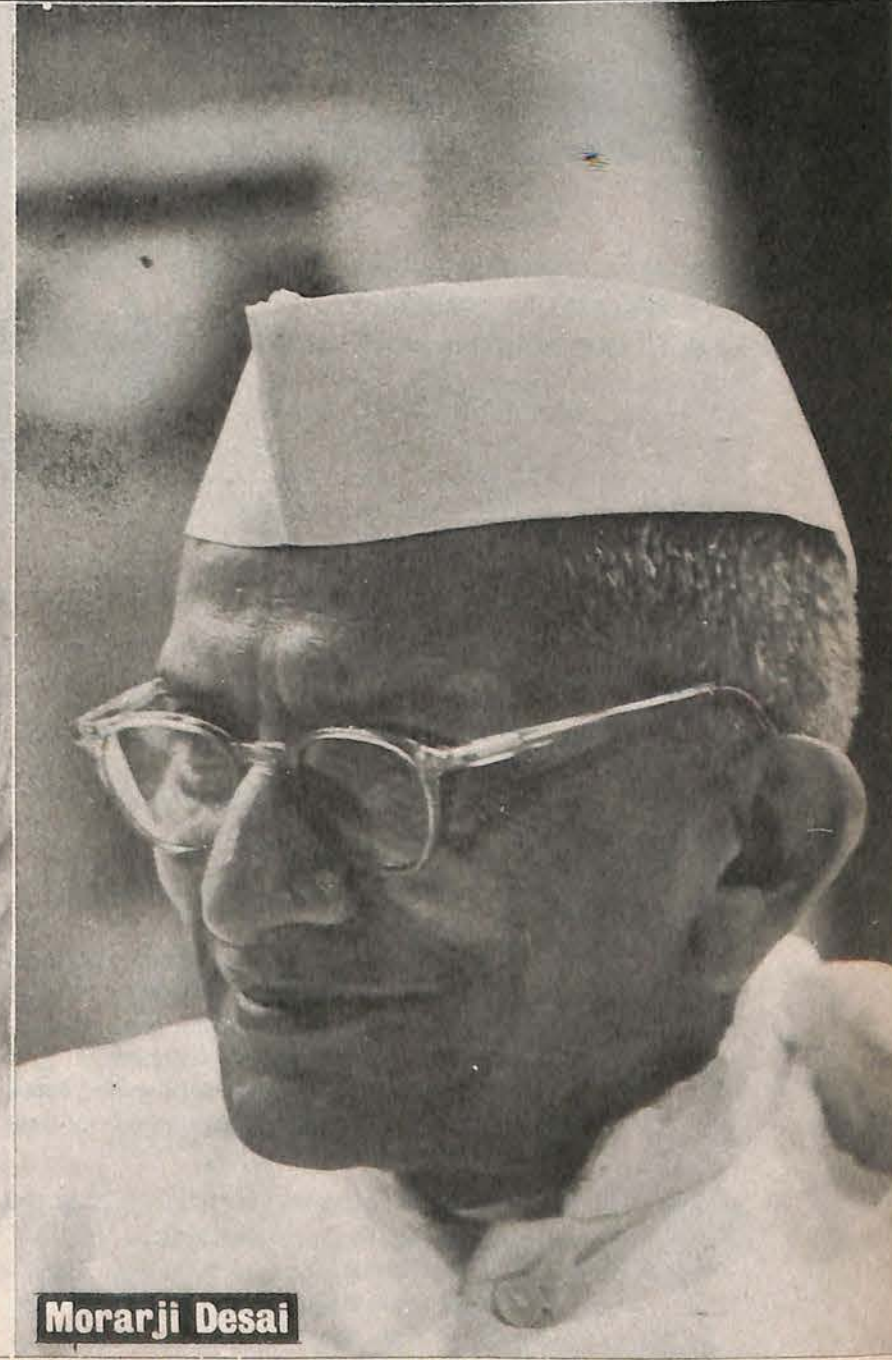
Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY MARCH 10 1967

## PM's CONTEST: Does Morarji stand a chance?



Indira Gandhi



Morarji Desai

Rajmohan Gandhi

## WHAT IS THE JAN SANGH'S FUTURE ?



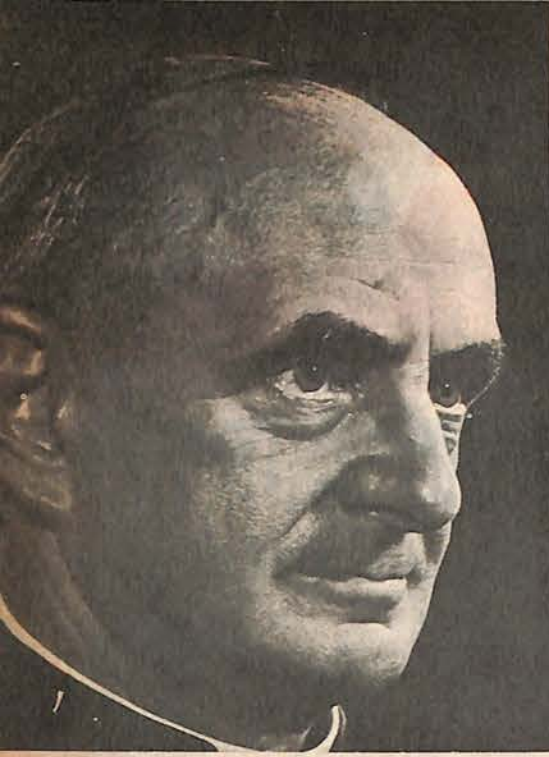


Photo by Karsh

We congratulate you on this undertaking and We express the confident hope that your efforts will bear much fruit."

Pope Paul

## INDIA ARISE abroad

Cast of "India Arise" before St. Peter's after their audience with the Pope.



Photo by Channer

## POPE PAUL VI received "India Arise" in the Throne Room of the Vatican last Saturday

See *L'Osservatore Romano* report on Page

# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday March 10 1967

## Corridors of power

WHEN RAJAJI URGED Chief Minister Annadurai of Madras to keep his Secretariat corridors clear of party men the new Chief Minister replied that he would be unpopular if he did. Rajaji said that he became unpopular in his time as Chief Minister because he did it "with a frown, but you can do it with a smile". Annadurai accepted the advice.

In the neighbouring State of Kerala, Chief Minister Namboodiripad has somewhat reacted to the action of the Madras DMK Chief Minister.

Any grievance, thinks Namboodiripad, should be brought to the attention of Ministers by party men. Whatever the theoretical merits of this viewpoint, the net result will be that the power to give patronage will extend from the Ministers of the United Leftist front down to the last Communist MLA and from MLAs to party men.

The Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and even head clerks of Government Departments will have no freedom to decide issues on the basis of what is right but rather *who* will put pressure on the Minister.

The choice is not between untrammelled freedom for officials and justice for the ordinary man. It is between the administrators' freedom to operate as they see issues, or to keep looking over their shoulder at party men who pressurise them. It will be a sad beginning if Mr. Namboodiripad wants State interests to be subservient to those of the party and its members.

## "No thanks!" says Ho

U THANT'S OFFICIAL MEETING in Rangoon with representatives of North Vietnam caused a flutter of speculation in world capitals last week. But at a London airport press conference while returning to his New York headquarters, the UN Secretary General dashed any hopes of an early peace. He did not think Hanoi would guarantee not to use further pauses in US bombing to build up their forces.

This view must have been formed as a result of his talks with Ho Chi Minh's envoys. U Thant, who has been careful always not to brand Hanoi as the aggressor, admitted that "the prospects of peace are not very bright".

A cartoonist recently portrayed President Johnson clobbering President Ho with progressively larger clubs while Ho replies to each blow, "No thanks." "The search for peace—to be continued," reads the caption. "Same place, same time, same method."

That is a distorted view of relations between Washington and Hanoi certainly—for Ho has from 50,000 to 100,000 regular troops in the South, as well as allies in every Communist country and fellow travellers in America and other non-Communist countries.

Nevertheless Johnson's recent declaration indicated that US policy is to escalate simultaneously the bombarding of North Vietnam's communications and Viet Cong bases while at the same time keeping up the "search for peace".

Hanoi's reply to mounting US military and diplomatic pressure to force them to the conference table will be to hang on in South Vietnam, with their Viet Cong allies, while at the same time increasing their ideological pressure to break Washington's will to win.

Says an observer quoted in *US News and World Report*: "Both sides are just hanging on. Hanoi is counting on heavier American casualties and the 1968 presidential campaign to force a change in Washington's policy and to bring about a compromise settlement."

In other words, Ho and his military Commander, General Giap, hope to win their second Dien Bien Phu, not in the paddy fields of the Mekong Delta, but in the hearts and minds and wills of America's leaders in Washington. If the North Vietnamese leaders overestimate the desire of the American people to compromise in Vietnam they will try and hold out another 18 months and prolong the bloodshed.

Unless the US and her allies understand that the Vietcong and their Communist comrades fight an ideological, as well as political and military war, and launch a moral and ideological counter offensive, the Vietnam war, as *US News and World Report* fears, will be long and bloody.

## Delhi a-buzz

WE ARE HAPPY to learn that at least one leader in Delhi is already clear about where his responsibilities lie and what is expected of him.

This is brought out in the following press statement published last week:

The Health Ministry has constituted a high-powered committee to co-ordinate efforts to prevent mosquitogenic conditions in Delhi.

The committee, headed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Delhi, will insure a co-ordinated approach to environmental sanitation.

We wish the Lieutenant-Governor and his "high-powered committee" well in their endeavours. Their task is an onerous one. If they succeed it will be a stinging rebuke to those who have allowed the present "mosquitogenic conditions" to persist. The whole nation will buzz with admiration and appreciation for their efforts.

We have heard before of officials in Delhi spending their days swatting flies, but then they did not have the benefit of a "high-powered committee" to "co-ordinate their approach".

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# Briefly speaking...

Before I got married I had six theories about bringing up children; now I have six children, and no theories.

EARL OF ROCHESTER, 1647-1680

## Unwanted stunt

Lord Bertrand Russell has been barred from holding his so-called "international war crimes tribunal" from two more countries—Sweden and Switzerland. It will save the old Lord a lot of wear and tear if he fixes it in Hanoi.

## Foreign investments rise

Latest figures published by the Reserve Bank show that US private investments in India are catching up on Britain. But, despite the larger inflow of US funds, the UK's share of foreign private investments remained largest by far. The US share was Rs. 193.2 crores; Britain's Rs.

599.3 crores, and the total foreign private investments Rs. 935.8 crores.

Greater foreign investment in recent years had helped develop new manufacturing industries, said the Reserve Bank *Bulletin*.

## Weatherproof

THE LATE WALT DISNEY'S heirs plan to build in Florida "the world's first glass-domed city." Called "Disneyworld" it will be five times larger than the existing Disneyland in California and will open in about three years. Immune from tornado or torrid sun, visitors will be able to enjoy themselves in this 52-acre pleasure ground.

## A Welsh Columbus?

Now Wales is challenging Columbus's claim to be discoverer of America. Madoc, a Welsh prince, reached Alabama in the 12th century—300 years earlier—says Richard Deacon, a British author. Deacon's evidence includes the story of a Welsh priest who in 1730 said Alabama Indians spared his life when they heard him pray in Welsh.

## Jurists against DIR

The International Commission of Jurists has expressed concern over the continuance of Defence of India Rules, imposed in 1962 after the Chinese attack. The ICJ says that this "continued suspension of basic human rights" is causing concern "in all parts of the free world where India had been looked upon as a bastion of fundamental rights and rule of law in Asia".

Ending of DIR should be one of the first acts of the new Government. Where in India are they now necessary?

## Freedom award

Last month, on George Washington's birthday at Freedom Foundation, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, the George Washington Medal of Honour was awarded to the Moral Re-Armament "Up With People" programme.

Earlier the Vice President, Hubert

## ELECTION CONTEST

The winner of the Rs. 100 prize in HIMMAT's Election Eve Contest will be announced as soon as all results, including the formation of the new Cabinet, have been published.—Ed.

Humphrey, told the 150-strong cast of a Phoenix "Up With People" musical show:

"We've been watching your work closely. You are doing a world of good and I am a hundred percent with you."

## Wrong diagnosis

AN EMINENT HEART SPECIALIST, on tour abroad, was presented with a gold medal for his services to medicine. On his return to India, the Customs confiscated his medal as contravening regulations about gold. It took a letter to the President, a personal friend of the specialist, to get it back.

## Sunshine cooking

Israelis have designed a "solar cooker" which might solve the problems of those who find kerosene hard to get. The cooker consists of 12 identical concave mirrors which reflect the sun's rays onto the bottom of a cooking pot, boiling 2 litres of water in 22 minutes. Total cost, 10 to 12 dollars. The designers believe the cooker could be a valuable asset to poor families in hot countries.

## Something more modern

The Gorkha regimental centre gave Soviet Chief of Staff Zakharov, on a visit to India, a *Kukri*. Did the bulky Marshal have something more modern in weaponry to offer in return?

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## Premiership contest—

# What are Morarji's chances?

For the third time in three years the office of the Prime Minister has to be filled. For the third time the irrepressible Mr. Morarji Desai is all set to fill it.

In the first succession after Nehru's death, Morarji reluctantly withdrew after Kamaraj's deft handling of the "consensus" and Shastri was unanimously elected Prime Minister.

At the second succession in January 1966, Morarji had ranged against him all the Party bosses and 12 out of 14 Chief Ministers. Yet he stood and won 169 votes against the 355 of Mrs. Gandhi—a vote that asserted his strength with the rank and file of the MPs.

In the latest battle of succession, there are three fresh factors:

(1) The new Lok Sabha—the Lower House—has almost fifty per cent new faces. Along with its 280 Congress members will vote Congressmen of the Upper House—the Rajya Sabha—which substantially remains the same.

(2) Party bosses Atulya Ghosh and S. K. Patil, who influenced bulk votes, have received a trouncing in the elections which they may not have recovered from, and their word may not command the attention it formerly did.

(3) As many as a dozen ministers of the Indira Government, each of whom could have influenced three to four members among his friends or his State, have been defeated.

## Almost full support

At the PM's election in January 1966 all Chief Ministers except two stood by Indira. Chief Minister Harendra Desai of Gujarat stood by Morarji. Suchetra Kripalani, Chief Minister of the UP, who was nominated by the State "strongman" C. B. Gupta, left the politicking to Mr. Gupta. Gupta's block voted for Morarji, gaining for Morarji more than half the votes of the largest State of India (total votes 80).

Second largest State, Bihar, with a total of 57 votes, was split between Morarji and Indira. Maharashtra, total 56 votes, went solidly to Indira. MPs of most other States followed

Party bosses and Chief Ministers' directives. Even so, many Congress MPs, to their credit, asserted their independent judgement.

At that time, while Party bosses used their influence for Indira, Morarji vigorously telephoned and won

## In the Wind

by ANTENNA

individuals. He prided himself as "the MPs candidate" and called Indira "the Congress President's candidate".

This week, Congress President Kamaraj continues his search for unanimity on his terms, mainly the withdrawal of Morarji and the un-

animous election of Indira. Morarji is 71 years old. Barring a mid-term switch in premiership, this may be his last chance. He is aware that after he stood for the contest last time, not only was he refused a place in the Cabinet but some of his ablest lieutenants were left in the cold. Forces in Morarji's favour at the election of the party leader on March 12 are:

(1) Indira was chosen in January 1966 with an eye on the elections, and the hope that her popular personality would help the Congress romp home to victory. The Indira "magic" has not worked. Not only has it failed on the national level but even in her home State of UP the Congress has been battered.

(2) She has proved herself a weak administrator and there are fears that with the new political set up and the opposition ruling almost half the States, it needs a firm hand at the Centre. Morarji is confident he can provide a firm administration. He hopes that many MPs will agree with him.

(3) More than half the Congress

Continued on next page

## On your toes

### EXPENSIVE AUSTERITY

Now that some non-Congress parties have come to power in the States, there is an epidemic of pseudo-austerity. It is sheer sham.

Great play was made of the decision by West Bengal's new Chief Minister to give up the "luxuries" of office. One press report said:

"Mr. Mukherjee boarded an Ambassador car for his journey from Raj Bhavan to Writers Building. At the Secretariat, to the surprise of all, he was seen climbing the staircase, leaving aside the automatic lift nearby meant only for Ministers. The air-conditioner was put off and only a ceiling fan greeted Mr. Mukherjee and his colleagues."

One can sympathise with Mr. Mukherjee's wish to appear as "a man of the people". But there is an ocean of difference between eschewing the perquisites of office and abolishing facilities which make for more efficient administration. A Minister working with air-conditioning, saving energy by using lifts and utilising adequate transport that gets him to his dates on time is going to get through a lot more work "on behalf of the people" than a weary old politician trying to prove that he can slum it like the rest. How much extra will this "austerity" cost?

In Kerala, the Communist-dominated Ministry will not occupy the

official ministerial residences. They will stay on in their own houses or occupy quarters normally allotted to non-gazetted officers, who now find proletarian Ministers have jumped their queue for dwellings.

The Kerala Ministers have also sworn to accept salaries (like the DMK Ministers in Madras) of only Rs. 500 per month.

There is a weird inverted snobbery in the desire to prove one is not a snob. What people want is efficient, humanitarian government. If a proper house in which Ministers can graciously receive people will aid them to give this why decry it? Even Mr. Nambudiripad's mentors in Peking (formerly Moscow) put the old regime's facilities to the service of the people's representatives.

And when Mahatma Gandhi advised a limit of Rs. 500 for Government salaries thirty years ago he did not envisage the inflation we have suffered since then.

What is not obvious to all is that these Ministers will have expense accounts. Legitimately they can charge up services and expenses which the ordinary housewife has to pay out of her man's wage.

The people would prefer Ministers to have a salary that enables them to concentrate their concern on the nation and not their own needs. Also a salary that relieves the inevitable pressure to look for bribes.

Freebooter



# VERDICT!

This week **HIMMAT**

**REJOICES**, with all commuters, at Bombay Municipal Corporation calling for a survey for an underground railway in the city.

★

**LABELS** as madhouse Marxism the Kerala Left Politburo's reported directive that Mr. and Mrs. T. V. Thomas, both members of the new State Government, cannot stay in the same house because he, as a Right Communist, may infect his wife (a Left Communist) with revisionism.

★

**AGREES** with Jan Sangh leader Balraj Madhok's statement that the people would have to be honest themselves if they expected an honest administration, but **OBSERVES** that it works both ways.

★

**WELCOMES** new Madras Chief Minister C. N. Annadurai's unity-building gesture in offering the Deputy Speakership to a Congressman, and **CONDEMNNS** the Congress refusal of it.

★

**REGRETS** that Kerala Chief Minister Namboodiripad is unwilling to make a clean sweep of Party lobbyists from his Secretariat verandah, but **NOTES** that he has appointed as his Private Secretary the manager of a dry cleaning firm.

★

**IS REVIVED** at the prospect of much fresh blood entering government following the fall of nearly 100 State and Union Ministers, but **IS DEPRESSED** by press reports of the old gang, rejected by the voters, back in Delhi at the old game of deciding who should run the country.

★

**WELCOMES** Pakistan's proposal for talks on restoring air services and telecommunications with India.

★

**WARNS** all newly-elected MPs that if they in turn fail to halt corruption and high prices, the people will reject both them and democracy.

## Premiership—from page 5

in the Lok Sabha are new and they may not be as amenable to the control of the trounced Party bosses and Chief Ministers as the previous lot of Congress MPs.

(4) The South was solidly behind Indira last time. Today it represents a pathetic picture where the new Lok Sabha is concerned. Madras had 31 MPs in the last Lok Sabha. Today there are only 3. Where Kerala had seven MPs, today it has only one. Where Mysore had 25 now it has only 12.

Ranged against Morarji is Maharashtra with its 52 MPs in both the Houses. It will abide by Chavan's directive and even Chavan once admitted to Morarji that he could not get them to vote for Morarji even if he tried.

D. P. Mishra, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, whose State has 35 MPs in both Houses, is one of the few Congress leaders to emerge with his power strengthened after the elections. Formerly a friend of Morarji, in 1963 he was rescued from the political wilderness by Indira and has since remained loyal to her.

Andhra, with 48 votes in both Houses, will by and large be with Indira.

Atulya Ghosh's hold in Bengal has dropped from a total of 33 MPs to 25. His prestige rudely shaken makes him considerably weaker where other States like Assam and Orissa

are concerned. Orissa Congress has only sent four Lok Sabha members where formerly it had 14.

The possibility of a third candidate, a dark horse, winning the field as a compromise candidate is a remote one. Morarji is not likely to yield to Indira or Chavan or anyone else. Chavan has earlier pledged his full support to Indira.

The Congress boat has been rocked hard enough in the elections and the primary consideration of its party bosses and Chief Ministers is not to rock the boat any more. The urge for self preservation within the Congress Party will in all probability result in Indira's election as Prime Minister.

## Continued stability

It is this same desire that resulted in feelers to President Radhakrishnan to stand for re-election as President. A Party that has fought its election on the plank of giving stability will now be driven by it. They will want a continuation of what stability there was earlier with Dr. Radhakrishnan as President and Mrs. Gandhi as Prime Minister.

There is also a fear that Morarji's coming to power with his rigid attitude will finish off what remains of the Party. The drive for self preservation means that the Congress will vote for the *status quo*. Mr. Morarji Desai may well get 200 votes but it is Indira who has a good chance of remaining Prime Minister.

## Elections bring redefinition of Indian Federalism

As the final election results come in, jubilation or disappointment is beginning to give place to sober appraisal of the emerging political situation.

The opposition has done well in the expeditious formation of non-Congress governments in Kerala, West Bengal and Madras. There will be no difficulty in forming a Swatantra Party-led Government in Orissa. The speed with which opposition parties united behind Ajoy Mukherjee's leadership in West Bengal is a tribute to their political acumen. The grace with which Mr. C. N. Annadurai of the Government in Madras is a good beginning for his State.

When the dust has settled down, the Congress will probably constitute governments in Rajasthan and Punjab as well, for in both of these States it has near enough a majority to make it practical. A few independents, among whom are a number of Congressmen denied tickets, will probably co-operate with the Congress, though they will extract their price for it. The Congress Party will thus govern in Mysore, Andhra Pradesh,

Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, where it has a majority, besides Rajasthan and Punjab.

New Delhi will have a Jan Sangh Government. There appears to be no prospect of the Congress immediately forming a Government in Bihar. But the difficulties of a coalition government are great. The major allies of the Samyukta Socialist Party in a non-Congress coalition in Bihar would have to be the victorious Jana Kranti Dal, the party formed immediately before elections by the Raja of Ramgarh. If the Raja's shifting loyalties in the past are any indication, no government in Bihar formed with his support is likely to function for long.

## Testing ground

It is clear that, for the first time in twentieth century India, the Congress colossus will not be able to dominate any more. India will on the other hand become a testing ground for rival ideologies. Free-enterprisers and nationalists, Hindi-wallahs and anti-Hindi agitators, planners and crusaders against controls, Socialists, Communists, communalists and nationalists will all have their chance.

Right, centre and left political parties all have a chance in government and administration—the left in Kerala, centre-left coalitions in Bengal and Madras, the right in Orissa and Delhi. The Congress Party, as the likely government in nine states and at the Centre, will also have a chance to become fresh and alive, free from the factionalism and corruption that have destroyed its monopoly of political power.

Coalition governments between left and centre, as well as between right and centre will test the ability and astuteness of political leadership as never before. How will Left Communists work with Right Communists and Socialists with Communists in Kerala? Can democratic Gandhians work for long without friction with Left Communists in one State

## Under the Lens



by **R. VAITHESWARAN**

(West Bengal) and Right Swatantraites in another (Orissa)?

India is entering an interesting period of challenge and testing in which all political parties—not only the Congress—are on trial. Every single one of them has an opportunity of meeting people's needs, through Government and administration.

If they embark upon Government with such an aim, broad-based coalitions such as in Bengal and Kerala and overwhelmingly popular governments such as in Madras and New Delhi (Metropolitan Government) have a unique opportunity. For minimum programmes requiring the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses are likely to be better carried out by these fresh and eager governments than by the tired old Congress Party.

The situation in which different political parties, ruling singly or in coalition, compete for the loyalty of the mass, not only by attractive demagoguery but by effective action, is a healthy one for democracy.

The element of instability in it is not unnatural in a diverse country like India which is learning the ways of democratic choice and accommodation. As a matter of fact, the destruction of the Congress monolith may have been a precondition for injecting dynamic elements into our political and economic life.

## Indeterminate future

It is, of course, true that the period we have now entered is in the nature of a transition to an indeterminate future, the course of which will be set by the wisdom, ability to accommodate and integrity of principle of victors and vanquished.

For example, the leadership who took over from the British were reluctant to tamper with the unitary structure of policy and administration.

Continued on page 21

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## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### UK sees "exasperation" in elections

FROM GORDON WISE

London

Among the British public and in the press there has been an intense interest in the Indian elections. However much Britain may seem to be preoccupied with her efforts in getting into the Common Market, her special relationship with a Commonwealth country such as India remains a living fact.

Press comment and editorial analysis covered a wide spectrum. "After twenty years of the smothering rule of a Congress that seemed more an institution than an elected party, India has shaken herself in exasperation," editorialised *The Daily Telegraph*. Their conclusion was "how power will be shared will be the ultimate proof that democracy works".

*The Sunday Telegraph* Political Correspondent reports on "increasing concern" in British Government circles following the Indian general election because of what the paper calls "the implications for the balance of power in the Far East and for the Commonwealth".

*The Sunday Telegraph* feels that there is evidence of a growing influence of Chinese Communism in Indian politics. They also deduce from the results that the break away to the Right could lead to renewed pressure for action against Pakistan.

The paper also gloomily surmises that "inevitably the results must weaken the already declining special relationship between the older generation of Indian politicians and Britain".

*The Observer*, referring to the need for compromise between the Central Government and the States, says, "If compromise fails, India may be in danger of drifting towards a chaos of petty states or of falling under the authoritarian rule of Communists or military dictatorship, probably of an ultra-nationalist kind."

But more optimistically, the writer, Robert Stephens, who has been in India during the elections, goes on to conclude, "India has a good chance of muddling through the next few years of political uncertainty and of proving that the

present elections were part of the birth pangs rather than the death-throes of democracy here."

As far as comment on personalities is concerned, *The Times* states confidently that the next Prime Minister is unlikely to be Mrs. Indira Gandhi. They write of "one obvious dark-horse candidate" being Mr. Chavan. The other hot tip of most papers as well as *The Times* is Mr. Morarji Desai. Some picture him being No. 2 to Mrs. Gandhi while others declare that he would want to be No. 1 or nothing.

A comment common to most papers was that of *The Sunday Times*: "It is obvious that the electorate has voted on the negative basis of getting Congress out rather than for any clear, more acceptable alternative."

### "Bargain" on aid

FROM GORDON WISE

London

An imaginative idea for extending aid to India was expressed here by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Callaghan. He was replying to statements by West German Cabinet Ministers on the British request that Germany does more to meet the costs of British troops stationed in Germany.

The British Chancellor was quite definite that if Germany does not do more, then Britain will reduce her forces "in order that the foreign exchange costs are met."

Then Mr. Callaghan made an offer to Mr. Strauss, West German Economics Minister, as follows: "If Mr. Strauss cares to pay for the foreign exchange of our troops by purchasing goods in Britain to send to India or any other underdeveloped part of

Continued on next page

## The week in Asia

**KUALA LUMPUR** — Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysian Prime Minister, denied rumours that he was to retire later this year after handing over office to his Deputy.

**HONG KONG** — Mao Tse-tung's supporters were reported to have seized power in Canton, the major city in South China. The pro-Kuomintang Chinese newspaper, "Sing Tao Man Pao", said the Army backed the Maoists in the take-over.

**TOKYO** — China denied it had tampered with Soviet military aid to North Vietnam and said it had transported "every bit" of the supplies. It had been alleged that the Chinese had hijacked military hardware sent by the Soviet Union to North Vietnam.

**KARACHI** — Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan's former Foreign Minister, accused President Ayub of running "a dictatorship under the label of democracy" and called on Opposition parties and politicians to rally.

**COLOMBO** — Mrs. S. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party won its fifth by-election to Parliament and retained the Kolonnwa labour-dominated suburban constituency.

**HONG KONG** — According to unconfirmed reports in the newspaper "Star", Chairman Mao Tse-tung gave full powers to Premier Chou En-lai to stop the Cultural Revolution and restore China's economy.

**TOKYO** — The Soviet paper "Izvestia" reported that 32,690 Japanese visited the Soviet Union and 47,080 Russians visited Japan in 1966. The Russians believe travel between the countries will rise markedly when the new Moscow-Tokyo air link opens soon.

**AMMAN** — Jordan resumed diplomatic relations with West Germany — the first Arab state to do so since ten of them broke off relations in 1965 when Germany exchanged ambassadors with Israel.

**KUALA LUMPUR** — Singapore Premier Lee Kuan Yew said Singapore and Malaysia had agreed to make a fresh start on "a more realistic and practical basis". Singapore broke away from Malaysia 19 months ago.



from page 9

the world, I will accept the bargain."

Germany is unlikely to agree to

## Economic compulsions lead Africa

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

"The man who pays the piper calls the tune" is an English truism. But in Africa economic policies are being refashioned on this simple premise.

The old political agitators for freedom are giving way to the advocates of economic independence. In this "second scramble" for Africa, markets and influence are replacing territorial gain and colonial power.

In the south, Malawi, Lesotho, Botswana (and to some extent Zambia) must defer to South Africa in some aspects of economic development. The Republic is the immediate source of aid, employment for surplus labour and raw materials.

The former French colonies, with

this as she would rather provide work for her own factories when it comes to sending goods abroad as foreign aid. But on the face of it is a high-minded gesture on the part of Britain and one which deserves consideration.

the exception of Guinea, continue to have strong economic links with France. The French Community is a pragmatic economic empire which apparently succeeds.

It is no coincidence that there is a growing *entente* between France and South Africa for various reasons, among them being their mutual interest in the price of gold, South Africa's need for military supplies and the supplies of uranium which France covets.

South Africa walked out of the

British Commonwealth. Economically the country seems to be drawing closer to the French Community.

Emperor Haile Selassie is dependent on American military aid to combat the threat of Russian-supported Somalia, and American dollars to support his farsighted projects for the development of Ethiopia.

To some ears this all sounds like "Neo-colonialism". The reaction has already set in.

General Mobutu has been fighting the economic influence on the former Belgian Congo by the Union Miniere. It looks as if he will win the issue of obtaining control of the mineral wealth of his own country.

President Julius Nyerere, who is sometimes as inscrutable as the Chinese themselves, has embarked his poor country on a programme of State Socialism which might bring prosperity—or follow the tragic road of Ghana, Burma or Algeria.

Kenya however seems to be heading for an era of "profit sharing private enterprise". The Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. Mwai Kibaki has recently stated that Gov-

ernment take-over in commerce or industry meant little to the ordinary worker beyond a change of employer.

He proposes that there could be no better way of promoting *African Socialism* than that workers in industry would be able to control a substantial proportion of its share capital. He urged a meeting of COTU, the Kenya trade union or-

## Vast potential of Amazonia

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Sao Paulo

The wide area drained by the Amazon river reaches from the foot of the Andes in the West to the Atlantic coast in the East, where the mouth of the river is over 200 miles wide.

Carrying five times the volume of water of the Mississippi, the Amazon has in size and number of tributaries no equal in the world. At Manaus, 850 miles away from the coast, the river bottom is still below sea level.

ganisation, to encourage its members to participate in the ownership of industry by buying shares.

The *East African Standard* points out: "To political purists this may seem a diluted form of Socialism, but to many who are not hidebound by political dogma it is common sense."

Political independence may have been easier to win than freedom from financially motivated control which will confront many African states in the next decade.

Only now is the Brazilian Government beginning to face its responsibility and support a development programme for this region.

The Armed forces have just announced their plan to increase greatly the number of military establishments throughout the whole area. There are two reasons for this.

First, there is the realisation that no private capital will flow into Amazonia if there is no guarantee of basic stability and security. The border with Venezuela, Colombia and Peru is marked but very difficult to guard and all three neighbour countries have local guerrilla activities.

So far no news of similar unrest has come from the Brazilian side. This may be explained, because there have been no worthwhile targets yet for guerrilla attacks, but the Brazilian Army is expecting trouble and wants to be prepared.

The second reason has a more distant significance but is equally important. Facing the population expansion in the whole world, the Amazonas region is, in the opinion of all experts, the largest area for a possible demographic outlet. The Brazilian generals are convinced that in future years this may provide the seeds of a possible international conflict.

By setting up a large number of small military establishments, they intend to create a flow of Brazilians towards the region, because "the

Continued on page 14

## The week in India

**NEW DELHI**—India and Canada signed an agreement for a \$38.5 million loan financed through the Exports Credits Insurance Corporation of Canada for the construction of a nuclear power station on the Rana Pratap Sagar Dam in Rajasthan.

**JAIPUR**—Police fired tear-gas shells and made lathi-charges to break up a huge rally and procession taken out in defiance of a ban in protest against Governor Sampurnanand's invitation to the Congress to form a Government in Rajasthan.

**NEW DELHI**—West Germany will lend Rs. 45 crores to India as part of the Rs. 675 crores aid by the Aid-India Consortium during 1966-67. The loans are repayable in 25 years and carry interest at three per cent.

**CALCUTTA**—Indian tea lost further ground in the US market last year, with exports falling to 16,200,000 lb. from over 21,000,000 lb. in 1965. Uncompetitive prices of Indian tea were said to be the main cause of the drop.

**NEW DELHI**—Marshal Zakharov, Soviet Chief of General Staff and First Deputy Defence Minister, arrived for a nine-day visit.

**BOMBAY**—Three persons died and 25 were injured in a midnight explosion at the Bombay Gas Company's plant at Lalbaug.

**NEW DELHI**—Overall wastage in Indian industry was placed at a "conservative minimum" of 20-25 per cent by an Indian Statistical Institute survey. It was estimated that annual industrial production could be raised by Rs. 400 crores without additional imported equipment or investment of more capital.

**BOMBAY**—The Chairman of the Action Committee of Electricity Board Strikers, Shri Datta Deshmukh, said that the striking workers had secured the support of the engineers of the Board. The strike had entered its 27th day.

**POONA**—Representatives of about 50,000 Defence workers in and around Poona met and unanimously passed a resolution urging the State Government to intervene immediately in the strike of the Maharashtra State Electricity Board workers.

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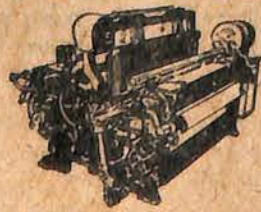
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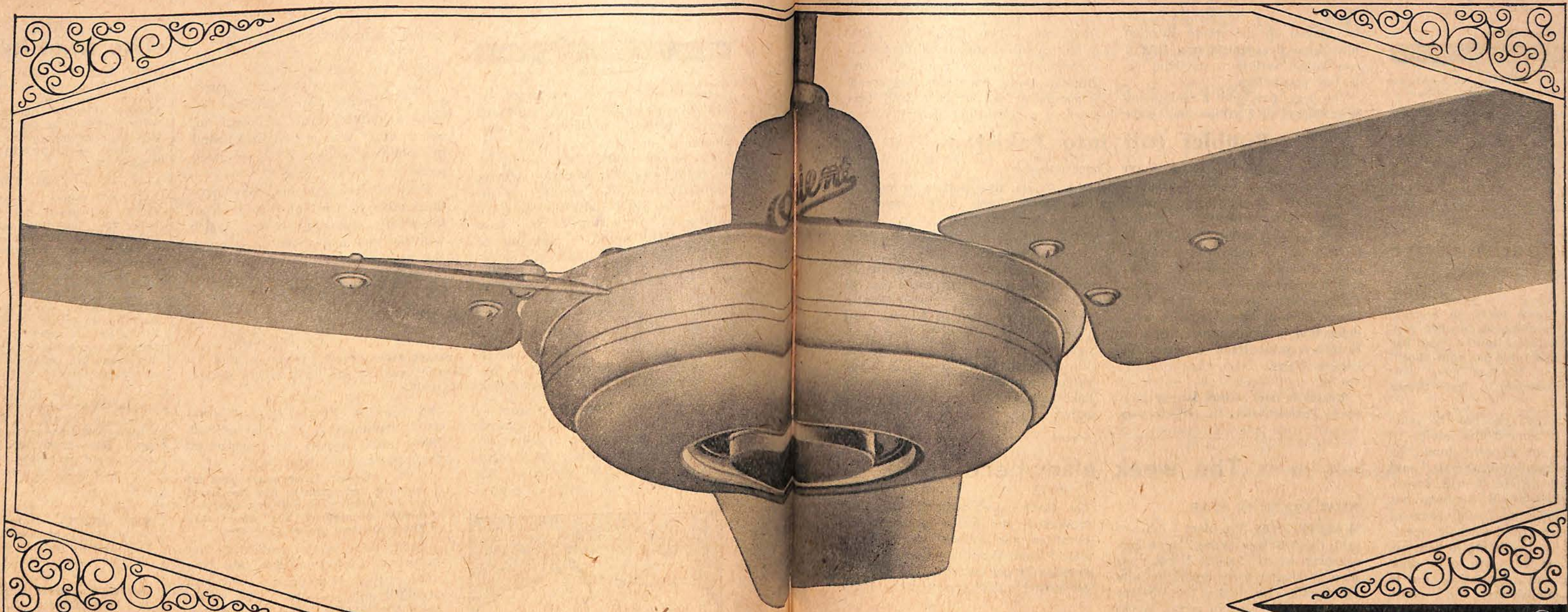
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from page 11

civilians always appear around the military garrisons".

The newly created 5th Army will have its headquarters in Brasilia, thereby protecting the six-year-old capital. But its real responsibility will be to the North in the Amazona basin.

## Ceylon tourism drive

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT  
Colombo

Ceylon seems to be in a great hurry to get going on tourism now that international tourist year has begun. While India has gone ahead, Ceylonese officials are busy convening meetings to get things going.

"Ceylon missed the bus 12 years ago, when it ignored the advice of experts that our airports should be equipped to handle jet aircraft," said the chairman of the tourist board. But with efficient J. R. Jayawardane, Deputy Premier and Minister of State in charge of the whole operation, things are beginning to heat up. Many irksome forms are to be done away with and negotiations are to proceed to abolish visas for a month in the case of 11 countries. Only citizens from five countries at the moment are allowed to come without visas for 6 months, U.K., Canada, Pakistan, Malaya and Singapore. India is a notable absentee due to the Government's efforts to check illicit immigration.

## Amity a necessity

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT  
Lahore

Economic necessity may be impelling Pakistan towards better relations with India.

The winter crop is almost totally lost. No rain has fallen at all. Prices are rising and devaluation seems certain. Opposition politicians are neither united nor vocal. Paradoxically, there is more political stability as the internal food situation deteriorates.

President Ayub has very openly spoken of pacifying relations with India. The Government Press has

not played up the recent shooting down of a Pakistani Cessna aircraft over Indian territory to anything like its full possibilities.

The years pass with a multiplying forgetfulness of Partition among the

## Roubles roll into Pakistan

By A STAFF CORRESPONDENT

Pakistan's economic engagement with Russia, like India's, is fast ripening into marriage. Exports to the Soviet Union have almost doubled in recent years.

This year, "it is hoped that Pakistan-Soviet commodity exchange—over Rs. 80 million in 1965—will be more than doubled," reports *Pakistan News*, bulletin of the High Commission in New Delhi. A trade delegation is soon to visit Russia to further expand trade between the two countries.

Russia is now second largest buyer of Pakistan rice. In 1965 it took

increasing millions who never knew a united sub-continent—students for example. And money is needed. Indo-Pakistan amity, once regarded as an impossibility, is thrusting itself forward as a downright necessity.

95,000 tons—23 per cent of the total export of rice.

Soviet assistance for setting up 15 new radio transmitters, exploiting oil and gas resources, constructing a thermal power plant at Ghorsal and a bridge of the Rupsa in East Pakistan, and for 13 other projects are also reported in *Pakistan News*. 82 million roubles Soviet aid during Pakistan's Third Plan has begun to arrive.

## The week elsewhere

### NEW STEPS IN WAR

WASHINGTON—President Johnson said the US was taking "more far-reaching action" against North Vietnam to counter troop infiltration into the South. He denied the US was escalating the war. In recent weeks the US has mined coastal rivers and bombarded targets in North Vietnam from warships.

### COAL FOR ZAMBIA

SALISBURY—Lorries began moving coal from Rhodesia into Zambia to ease the Zambian coal shortage. Rhodesian Railways carry 1200 tons of coal daily into Zambia but this is well below the 100,000 tons monthly Zambia needs. For weeks copper production has been 75 per cent of the normal due to coal shortage.

### FOOD CHASES POPULATION

ROME—World food output rose substantially after a slump in 1965-6, reported the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation. Wheat production (excluding China) reached a record 260 million tons. Production of rice and other foodstuffs was expected to rise too. In 1965-66, world food production remained stationary while population increased by 70 million.

The FAO report warned that food production per person in developing countries was unlikely to regain its 1964-5 level. World food needs could increase 31 per cent by 1975 and 112 per cent by 1985 reported the FAO.

### COUNTRY DISINTEGRATES

ENUGU—East Nigeria's military governor, Lieut. Col. Ojukwu, said in a broadcast that other regions were planning a blockade of the East and encouraging subversion there. The Northern Government and the Federal Government in Lagos, he said, wanted to dominate the other regions. This policy was "now driving this country to the verge of disintegration", he said.

### MORE SELF-GOVERNMENT

BASSETERRE, St. Kitts—Five West Indian islands became self-governing states in association with Britain. They are St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla (population 120,000), Dominica (65,000), St. Lucia (100,000), Grenade (80,000) and Antigua (62,000). Britain retains control of foreign affairs and defence but the islands can choose complete independence or federation with other Caribbean islands any time they wish.

## "VOTE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL AND NOT FOR THE PARTY"—do you agree?

"Yes" Says Miss Bachi N. Kanga,  
Calcutta 1—First prize

I DO. UNEQUIVOCALLY.

Vote we must. That is unquestionably settled. For voting has gone beyond the pale of a right. It has become a duty. But the execution of this duty should not prove to be the execution of the country. In the electoral balance there stand the man and the party. Is the issue *Who* to vote for? or is it, *Which* to vote for?

As far as the general principle of voting is concerned, the party plays no mean role. But, as far as the detail is concerned, the spotlight is focussed on the candidate. Broadly, you know what you want and you pick the party which claims it will give it to you.

But a government is not based on mere abstractions. Principles must find their vehicle in that unclassifiable, unique creature, man.

The party is the static factor. Its manifesto shows what it stands for and how it is supposed to react in a given situation. How it actually will react depends on its men. From the black-and-white pattern of party-principle, there emerges the grey figures of its executive, the man who is the palpable manifestation of the manifesto.

Interpretation is subjective. Principles on paper have to be transformed into action and the transformation is often so startling as to be unrecognisable. History, made and in the making, has too often proved

### COMPETITION

\* Should the President have more power to intervene in political affairs?

Closing date: March 17

\*\* My plan for tackling rising prices.

Closing date: March 31

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this. If our "penchant" is for socialism, we must ensure that the nominee, more than the party, inclines that way.

Elections do not produce blueprints for an ideal government. The off-spring is a government as it actually is. The final authority will be entrusted to the individual.

Personal qualifications count. Commanding a gang of "surrender-or-we-shoot" *goondas*, "facade oratory", or an obese bank balance, bursting at the seams—these are not qualifications. Having a mind capable of both hindsight and foresight, intelligence to think, not just to "yea" and "nay" according to whichever is then loudest, courage to keep the common good as his highest goal—these are.

"No" writes D. R. Mohan Raj, Hyderabad 1  
—second prize

FRANKLY, I DON'T. There could be two types of voting for the individual but neither of them is beneficial or desirable.

Firstly, voting for a person for his individual views irrespective of his party affiliation. Such a person, even if elected, cannot express his standpoint individually as he will have to subject himself to his party programme.

Secondly, voting for the individual without any party affiliations. This has grave implications and needs to be considered in detail.

What are our elected representatives expected to do? They are expected to govern the country and govern smoothly and effectively. Can several individuals of divergent opinion so govern the nation? Not likely. Imagine a parliament of individuals. It will be an assemblage of persons with widely differing views, each one possibly thinking himself infallible and pursuing his own course of action dogmatically. It will be full of rhetoric and controversy, almost incapable of reaching quick decisions. Finding expeditious solutions to the various pro-

## viewpoint

Seventy per cent of entrants answered "yes"—vote for the individual, not the party.—Ed.

The yet-warm elections have shown that the parties which bit the dust did so because their nominees deserved no better. *Nominees* of organisationally disorganised parties made the grade.

The battle of the ballot is for a leader more than for a party principle. If matters go amuck, these leaders, more than their party, will have to face the brick-bats. The party provides the principle. The man shapes it into policy. Upon the deftness of his hand will depend the sturdiness of the craft which must steer us through the jagged rocks and treacherous whirlpools that threaten us—social, economic, political.

blems confronting the nation is one of the primary functions of a government.

These individuals have rigid and inflexible views and are hence incompatible with a democratic set-up wherein various viewpoints have to be suitably accommodated for the welfare of the nation.

They are also free from the sobering influence of party discipline and are less questionable for their behaviour and actions.

Further, voting for party-less individuals challenges the very existence of the party system, one of the integral features of a democracy.

And India is not merely a democracy. She is a resurgent nation, eager for advance; she requires at this stage a definite goal in sight with definite and firm steps to its attainment. This is what parties provide.

Thus, while voting for individuals is voting for a heterogenous mass, voting for a party is voting for a homogenous entity. Homogeneity of thought and action is what India needs most urgently today.



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## Swiss builder shows how to build better, faster, cheaper

THE BUILDING FIRM of G. Anliker, in Lucerne, in Central Switzerland, has been visited during these last weeks by one delegation after the other. All came to ask Mr. Anliker how it was possible for him to build better apartments in his part of Switzerland at 20 per cent lower cost.

Mr. Anliker, who was also a member of a national committee on housing appointed by the Minister of Economic Affairs, answered freely all questions put to him.

*What is the basic policy of your firm?*

"We, as management of our company, have decided that our first task is to serve the public and not only to make profit. That is why we give priority to the building of moderately priced houses. At the present mo-

ring the last forty years, but we have leased land at half the market price to a building association for the construction of 300 apartments, and another piece of land at one third of the market price for 130 apartments. We are building at the present moment a big block of flats where the price of land represents only 6 per cent of the total cost."

*What are your experiences with your works council?*

"Our experiences have been one hundred per cent positive. Our works council has become an essential part in the development of the company. Some years ago, the works council was only interested in social questions, while now the council feels responsible for all aspects of the life of the company. This started with a

## ON THE Spot

that we have proved that a new spirit, aimed at satisfying the needs of men, leads to better results both in quality and productivity."

*How did this new evolution start?*

"About fifteen years ago I came for the first time to Caux, to a conference of Moral Re-Armament. I had to put right about twenty different things: get honest with my wife, get honest in my business, pay back a lot of back taxes, return some dishonestly acquired sums of money to some of my partners. This first phase cost me and my company about 100,000 francs.

"Before that time, it took me about two months every year to establish our balance sheet and to hide our



Anliker (centre) talks with workers.



Typical low-cost 16-flat building built by Anliker.

ment, we build about one fourth of the houses of Lucerne and surroundings and offer them to the public at prices 10 to 20 per cent cheaper than other firms. We can build better and cheaper than others because we

- 1) plan carefully beforehand to avoid any loss of working time;
- 2) buy building sites at reasonable prices;
- 3) stress always the need of teamwork inside our firm."

*How do you get building sites at reasonable prices?*

"For years now we have bought reserves of building grounds. If we sold them at today's prices, we could make a profit which would be higher than the total sum of our profits du-

new attitude from management."

*What happens with the profit made by the enterprise?*

"We decided fifteen years ago that we would inform all our employees about the state of our enterprise including financial affairs. Every year, we present our balance sheet to workers and employees numbering now about 400. There are no secrets. Half of the profits go to the workers and employees as 'extra benefits' or as extra payments into a foundation for the personnel or as direct profit sharing.

"The capital which is today at the disposal of the works council for social service payments is two million francs higher than the capital of the company! In short, we believe

real profits. Today, the total sum of taxes which we have to pay is higher, but we can afford them better than the taxes we had to pay at that time. One reason is that it takes me today hardly a day's work to establish our balance sheet.

"On the other hand, our accounts, as they correspond to the facts, are usable for our cost-accounting. Besides, the question of taxes does not give me any more sleepless nights. In other words, cheating on taxes was bad business.

"Honesty in our business has helped create a climate of confidence which again has brought with it higher productivity."

*Continued on next page*



# Congress further divides itself

## from Prem Prakash in New Delhi

The electorate has given its verdict. The massive movement of the Freedom struggle, the invincible Congress, has been reduced to just another political party—the Indian National Congress. Political observers in New Delhi are bewildered at the manner in which the Congress leaders are back at their old game of internal party fights.

At a time when the country needs dedicated service, a weak Congress Party is all set for a close battle to choose a leader for the Prime Ministership. The contestants: Mrs. Indira Gandhi vs Mr. Morarji Desai. One wants unanimity, but with herself as the choice. The other does not consider a contest as a weakening influence on the already weakened party.

A party depleted of all talent is now all set for further dividing itself and excluding yet another half of its 280-odd members from serving the nation. The next Prime Minister of India may thus represent only about 150 of the Parliament's 521 members. Most observers are concerned that such a leader, however "strong" he

or she may be, could never inspire the nation's confidence and take the country out of its economic stagnation.

As though the fights at the Centre are not enough to further ruin the Congress image, an unabashed attempt to capture power in Northern states is further damaging the Congress Party.

In Delhi, promotions and transfers of officials of the Municipal Corporation have been resented by the Jan Sangh, now waiting in the wings to take over. Jan Sangh is sure of not receiving the kind of patronage which the Congress party received from the Centre while it ran Delhi's affairs. From Rajasthan come reports of "buying" of a few independents by the Congress to continue its rule.

In UP the Assembly has not been dissolved up to the time of writing. Punjab presents a similar sorry state of affairs. Instead of letting the opposition groups iron out their differences and form governments in their own right of having received the

electorate's mandate, Congress leaders continue to talk of allowing the opposition to form governments where Congress is in minority!

From all the above wranglings, it is slowly becoming clear that the nation is heading for a mid-term election at the Centre, and in the States where no single party is in a position to provide stable government.

### Swiss builder—from page 17

To make sure that the employees of the Anliker enterprise were feeling the same way, HIMMAT also spoke with Mr. Ciglia, the president of the works council, who says:

"We have become one of the most dynamic enterprises of the country with some of the best social conditions.

"What we appreciate above all is the security of employment, the retirement benefits and the fact that we can discuss all the problems openly with each other. But good working conditions are not enough. Our works council has decided that we should let our experiences be known in the whole of the building industry."

P. S.

# INDIA ARISE

## abroad

### Homage of Indian youth

Rome, March 5

Under this headline, today's *L'Osservatore Romano*, official voice of the Vatican, carried the following front page story:

Today, Saturday morning, the Holy Father granted an audience in the Throne Room to a group of youth from India who are making a journey in Europe with cultural and reconstructive aims.

Passing through Rome on their way to London they expressed their strongly felt desire to present their devoted respects to Pope Paul VI to recall in this practical way the historic visit that the Holy Father paid to Bombay in December 1964 on the occasion of the 38th International Eucharistic Congress.

We publish here the warmhearted greetings of His Holiness:

"Dear friends from Asia,

We welcome you to the Vatican and we are happy to renew a friendship which had its beginning only a few years ago in Bombay.

"You are on your way to England to perform India Arise and share with your friends your hopes and desires for your respective countries. Development of a nation is the sacred responsibility of all citizens and we are happy to see that you, the precious youth of so vast a nation, wish to impress this obligation on the young people of your country. A sense of responsibility motivated by highest religious principles is most necessary if a nation is to advance and provide for its citizens. It is heartening to learn that you have spread this message up and down India so much in need of generous and selfless leaders who are willing to make sacrifices so that the common good of all is secure.

"We were impressed by the religious sense that we found in Asia and we express the hope that it will be the motivating force of your activities. Religion fosters respect for the human person, it strengthens the determination of dedicated men and women to undertake sometimes drastic programmes for the good of all citizens and it gives solid foundation to the hopes of a young

nation for its future. We are all children of God and we must all work together in harmony for the mutual benefit of all. With this conviction comes respect, admiration and affection. We urge you to give yourselves to your country and to your people. Their gratitude will be written in their hearts.

"We congratulate you on this undertaking and we express the confident hope that your efforts will bear much fruit. We invoke upon you and your countries God's abundant blessings."

At the end of the audience all who were present were eager to show His Holiness their deep gratitude.

# BOOKS

## Succession in India

by Michael Brecher, published by Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 30.

The chair is vacant and the music on again. As Congress bosses assemble in New Delhi for the Congress Parliamentary Party's meeting on March 12 when it will elect its leader and the nation's Prime Minister, political observers await a re-enactment of the drama of political alignments which preceded the successions to Nehru and Shastri.

Michael Brecher's study of the party currents and cross-currents which arranged Lal Bahadur Shastri's succession of Nehru (June 1964) and Indira Gandhi's election to the office after Shastri's death in January 1966, will be read avidly by all observers of post-Nehru India. The book is, roughly, in three sections:

- (1) Shastri's succession of Nehru. Following Nehru's Bhubaneswar stroke, the Syndicate came to birth and got Shastri into the ailing Prime Minister's cabinet. The consolidated backing by the Syndicate to Shastri as Nehru's heir and Kamaraj's successful denouement over Morarji.
- (2) Shastri's search for political primacy; the erosion of the Syndicate's corporate strength.
- (3) The "ganging-up" of Chief Ministerial support for Indira Gandhi on Shastri's death; a disunited and deflated Syndicate's qualified support to the move, and Morarji's defeat in the straight contest.

In the first succession, Brecher suggests, the task before the party chiefs was the advancement of the Shastri idea. Nehru acquiesced in the plan from the word go, for Shastri as Minister without Portfolio had become a pre-eminent candidate for the office.

Nehru's death did not, therefore, stun or dislocate the power mechanism: the party had a successor.

In the second succession, the task was more complex. There was no one to be advanced. The Party had to look for and elect the highest common factor of popularity and talent from among its cadres. The leader would also have to be, it was realised, someone who would steer the Party successfully through the general elections twelve months ahead. So in 1966 the work was one of elimination of all but the most likely candidate. There was no Prince of Wales this time.

Brecher sees the Shastri elevation as having been determined by two "circles of decision": the Syndicate with Kamaraj at its centre and the Congress Parliamentary Party, the former persuading the latter.

In January 1966, Brecher saw four "circles of decision" operating: Kamaraj himself, with his "clear and firm choice" of Mrs. Gandhi; the Syndicate; the Chief Ministers; and the Congress Parliamentary Party.

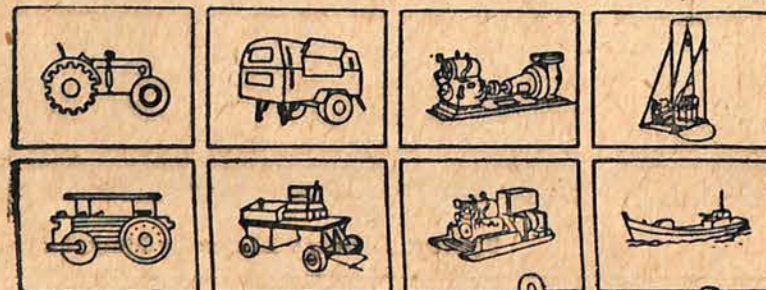
Syndicate members Patil and Sanjiva Reddy were not for Mrs. Gandhi and favoured status quo which then meant Nanda continuing as caretaker Prime Minister. Ghosh and Nijalingappa were in favour of Mrs. Gandhi (provided Kamaraj himself was not running). Kamaraj plumped for Mrs. Gandhi thinking her leadership would be an asset to the Party when it would face general elections a year later. This rationale is what, Brecher seems to suggest, motivated the 14 poll-wary Chief Ministers to want Indira. The argument went home in the Party. In Brecher's words:

"...the succession to Shastri may be likened to a safe with a complex combination: the head of the Congress organisation at the Centre plus twelve of the fourteen Chief Ministers plus (reluctant) support of the Syndicate plus an overwhelming majority in the Parliamentary Party plus a compulsion to keep Morarji out plus concern about the 1967 general elections. Only Mrs. Gandhi fitted that combination in 1966, and Kamaraj knew its composition."

Brecher's analysis of Congress' power dynamics is masterly. It shows an amazing sense of the moment; a feel for trends. The day by day break-up of party politicking is meticulously done and invests the entire narration with a sense of drama. The author has achieved an optimum combination of evaluation and narration, keeping his work from becoming either too picaresque or too academic.

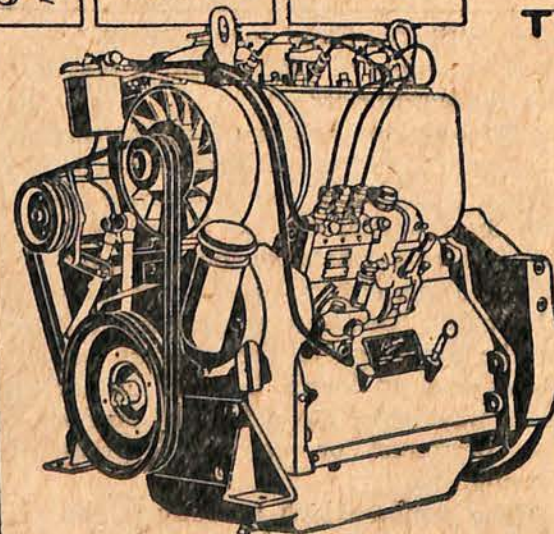
The book can be read for guidelines in serious political speculation. The phenomenon of succession will be seen operating a third time. Will the analogy of the combination lock work this time as well?

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# Here's your bicycle, son...

I am glad I could get you one. You were so insistent.

When I was your age, you know, there was not a single cycle in my village. Occasionally I would hop on to Raman's cart while going to school. It was such a pleasure!

Those days journey always meant travelling by foot or bullock-cart, and never farther than 20 or 30 miles. I had not seen a railway train until I was 18; even then only because my uncle married out of the village. Thank him for that!

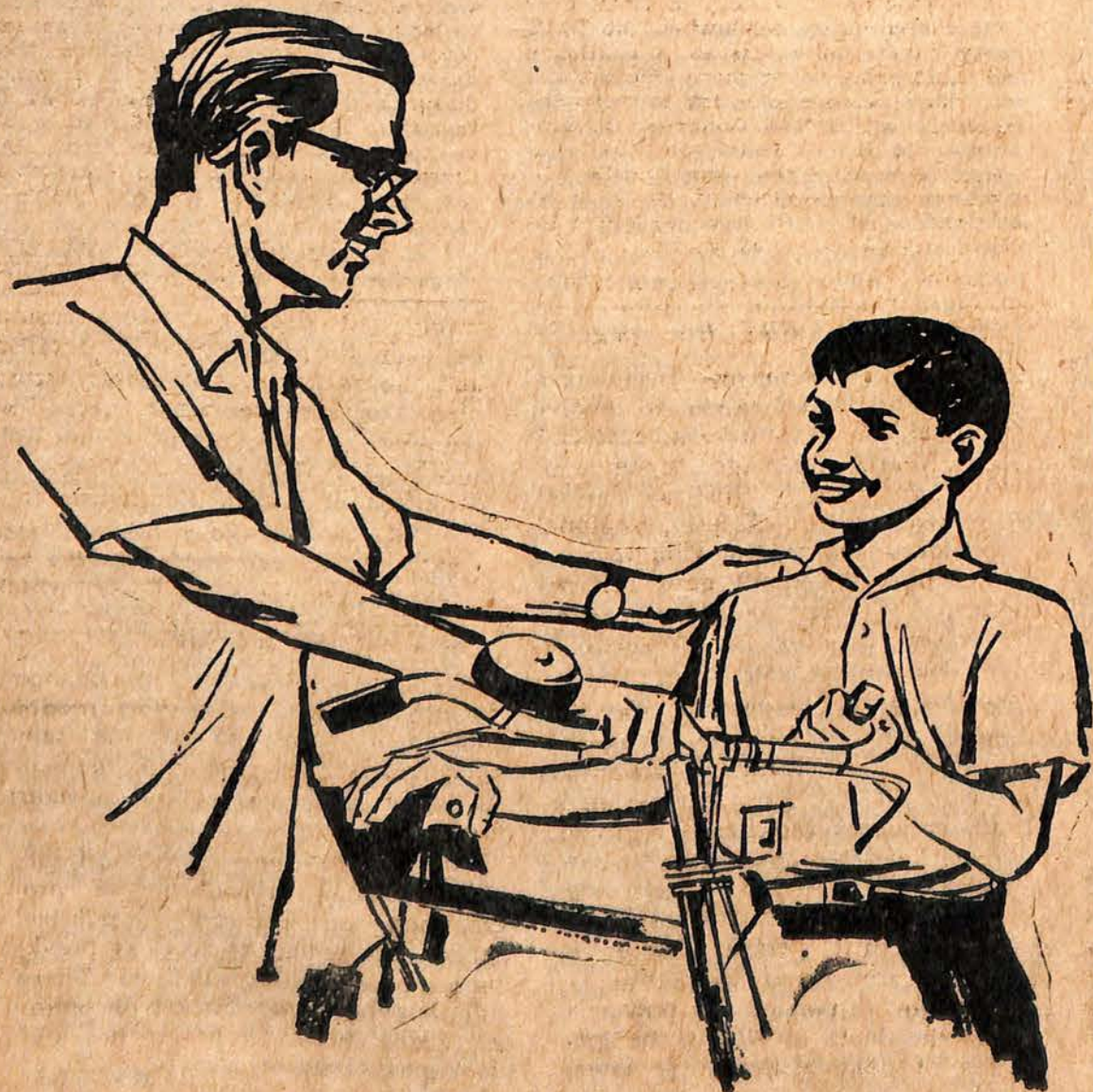
Now Raman's son comes from Bombay by air-conditioned train... think of a cooler for 111 class passengers! By the way, I hear our railway engines are made here now; and some are sold to other countries too?

And what is this air travel for letters? Delhi can be reached in a day, they say. When you were born my letter conveying the good news reached my sister after three days. And you know she lives less than 200 miles away!

Things have changed.

## Plan means Progress

	1951	1965
Tonnage of Shipping ('000 GRT)	391	1,460
Number of Motor Vehicles on Roads ('000)	306	822
Passengers Carried by Internal Scheduled Air Services ('000)	440	1,158
Number of Post Offices ('000)	36.1	96.9



DA66/571

This was a Life

## ARCHIMEDES OF SYRACUSE

c. 287—212 BC

The greatest mathematician of his age, Archimedes was also the most absent-minded.

Archimedes came from a well-placed family. His father was an astronomer. Some said he was related to King Hiero of Syracuse. He had studied at Alexandria where he invented what is now known as the Archimedean screw.

His "Eureka!" episode is better known. King Hiero, suspicious of a local goldsmith, asked Archimedes to test the purity of gold used in making his crown. No means of assaying existed. But as he lowered himself into the water at the public baths one day he became preoccupied with the changing level of water. Suddenly it struck him—how to test the content of pure gold. Crying "Eureka! Eureka!" (I have found it!), unmindful even of his clothes, he raced down the street, stark naked, to his house. Here he made more experiments and proved that a body immersed in a fluid loses weight equal to the weight of the fluid it displaces. The first basic law of hydrostatics was enunciated.

During continual Mediterranean wars, Syracuse was besieged by the Romans. The King put Archimedes to work translating his theories into machines of war. He had already proved his ingenuity with levers and pulleys. "Give me a lever and a place on which to rest it," he boasted to the King, "and I will move the world."

With General Marcellus' powerful fleet standing off shore, Archimedes erected machines which shot great beams out over the walls, sinking any ships onto which they plunged. He built large cranes which, with iron grapples, could suddenly hoist by the bows any ship which approach.

The Romans were fear-struck by these weird defences. And when after three years Syracuse was finally defeated, by treachery not force, Marcellus landed with a towering admiration for this amazing engineer. He wanted to meet him and learn his secrets.

Archimedes had the art of clearly enunciating principles which, when stated, caused others to wonder why they had not thought of them before.

C.B.M.

# Letters

## AIMS OF ALL PARTIES

The synopsis of election policies of the major political parties (HIMMAT Feb. 10) was timely and most illuminating.

What strikes me is that if some of the aims and goals of the different parties are picked and forged as a guide, the Government that will be in power will have one of the best policies in the world to work.

DR. I. S. MENON

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Britain

## DMK'S VICTORY

The statement of the Chief Minister of Madras, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, on the eve of resignation after the DMK victory that "a virus has spread all over Tamilnad" and that God may have the people, is shocking.

ARTHUR PAIS

Madras 28

While the recent victory of DMK over Congress is widely celebrated, the DMK Party has to take this as a challenge and must prove to be more efficient and with more perseverance try to solve the problems which the Congress Government could not. If DMK too fails in its task, I am sure the Communists will take over the government in the next elections. DMK will have to prove its mettle in the next five years.

Madras 17

K. M. NARAYANAN

## UNDER THE LENS—from page 7

tion they had inherited. Indian Federalism had no chance to evolve into the balance of diversities of culture, interests and stages of development that India is. Just as nationalism won against Britain, regional aspirations—which the Congress as a liberation movement gave full recognition to—were bound to assert themselves pushing us towards a more real Federation.

Both Nehru's leadership and the Congress Party's monopoly of power throughout the country prevented the evolution of a more natural state of affairs where legitimate regional, parochial and sectional interests received due recognition. There was an unrecognised conflict between the bureaucratic vested interest in centralised power and democratic aspiration for dispersion of power.

After the death of Nehru, the gravitation of political power to lower

## BAN CONTRIBUTION

It is wrong of Mr. Pathak to say that the opposition parties are not in favour of a ban for companies contribution to political parties. In fact the boot is on the other leg. Companies donation to a particular party vitiates democracy inasmuch as it makes difficult the growth of other opposition parties which is most essential for democracy to flourish. The beneficiary party cannot ignore the expectations of the contributory companies and, yielding to such expectations, will create imbalance in the industrial field. The sooner the companies donation to political parties is banned the better for the country.

C. L. NARISIMHAN

Madras 51

## DECLARING ASSETS

Your views on the political situation in the country are most enlightened. The general attitude to the formation of a popular Ministry in Kerala is "let's wait and see". The SSP candidate has called on all those who are to assume office as Ministers to declare their assets. This, according to him, would dissuade them from making money on the sly. How far this proposal would be accepted remains to be seen. But there is no doubt that this is a step in the right direction, however naive it may appear.

RABINDRANATH BASMALL

Trivandrum

levels had already created tensions between the demands of Federalism and the reality of the unitary structure. The coexistence of State Governments of many political hues only accentuates this process of the redefinition of Indian Federalism.

This process goes side by side with the transformation in the nature of the Congress Party, which could not enjoy for ever the status of a national movement.

It could not always be financed by big business, just as the freedom movement was, and at the same time continue to give importance to its leftist policymakers and socialist programme.

Administrative responsibility will similarly crystallise the programmes and attitudes of political parties, coalescing as well as breaking asunder existing alliances. There will thus be a redefinition of political zones both on pragmatic and ideological grounds.





# The Jan Sangh's future

by Rajmohan Gandhi

THE COMMUNIST VICTORY in Kerala is more a Congress defeat. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, the architect of the Congress collapse, did not preach Communism to the Kerala voters. He recited the shortcomings of the Congress and described its divided and timid condition. He promised not a Communist government but a people's coalition which would even include representatives of the Muslim League, a traditional and religious opponent of Communist doctrine.

E.M.S. leads Indian Communism's Left faction. But in the Kerala elections he flawlessly played a role of chief reconciler, a flexible man who wanted to represent all sections.

His skilful exploitation of jealousy and bitterness inside the Congress ranks and of caste and communal passions stands out as one of the great political achievements in India's post-freedom years.

## Massive aid

His coup would not have come about had it not been for the massive aid he got from Congress. With one step of political folly after another, Congress in Kerala has descended to isolation and ignominy. Displaying an unceasing ability to make enemies out of friends, the Congress Party in Kerala has given Communism in India a base which Peking's anti-Indian stand should have made impossible.

Communism will not answer the deep desires of Kerala's people any more than Congress rule in the past has been able to. The gifted and profound people of that beautiful corner of India require and want a leadership living and working with revolutionary motives of unselfish care and service.

More significant than the Congress rout in Kerala is the rise of the Jan Sangh. All across north and central India the Sangh has

secured substantial gains.

What is the nature of the forces behind the Jan Sangh? Where do these forces want to take India? What is the kind of society that the Jan Sangh is battling for?

Some for years have been attacking the Jan Sangh as reactionary, sectarian, mediaeval and Fascist. These charges have not shaken the conviction or resolve of the Sangh leadership. Nor have they slowed down the Party's steady forward march in the recent years.

## Pro-India

Spokesmen of the Sangh have emphasised that their Party is pro-India, not anti-Muslim. They have attempted to focus attention on their non-Hindu candidates in different parts of the country. And there is increasing talk about groups inside the Party who wish to modernise it and widen its horizons.

The way the Sangh progresses will significantly influence India's future course. Will the Sangh be able to develop into a Party free from jealousy and bitterness among its leaders? Will its members show a pattern of teamwork and hard work that the Congress has been unable to demonstrate? Will the Sangh attempt to transform India into a great brotherhood where all communities, castes and language groups care for and respect one another? Will its Party organisation exhibit a true democracy where every member's view is sought, heard and respected?

These are fundamental questions. The Jan Sangh advance has seeds of promise as well as danger. The Party's appeal to the cow sentiment was not, in my opinion, one of its strong points.

The Sangh is on solid ground when it emphasises the need for an ethical and moral revolution in the country. It is right, too, in my belief, when it says that

religion cannot be divorced from national life. But ethics, morality and a religious life have their primary importance in how men and women treat one another.

It is the general comment that the Sangh workers have a greater dedication than workers in other parties. They believe in discipline and service. They are proud of the country's past and believe in the bigness of its future role.

India can do with a lot more Indians who love her, and I respond to the Sangh's plea for patriotism. It is impossible for me to love the world if I do not love my own country. But will it not be the right challenge for the Sangh to develop a love of country which steadily extends and covers the whole earth?

It is possible, in fact it is the world's norm today, to love your country and despise other countries. Raising a citizenry that accepts responsibility for the needs of human beings in every corner of the globe will give Indians pride as nothing else will. Will the Sangh leaders and members grapple with this need and opportunity?

## Pioneering part

Will they provide the new element India needs? "I was and am right, wise and knowledgeable," is the attitude that leads to division, bitterness and hate. It is a philosophy that kills care and the prospect of a society where each is for all and all for each.

Will the Sangh leaders and workers show that example of honesty and robust humility in the absence of which we have today become a nation where we blame and curse one another?

If they do, theirs will be a pioneering part in creating a present-day India of whom all Indians can be proud and to which a needy world would turn.

## FIND THE BALL Special Competition



### WIN CONRAD HUNTE'S BAT

Specially autographed by Sobers, Hunte and the 24 other members of the West Indies test Team.

ALL PROCEEDS WILL GO TO THE MRA TRAINING CENTRE, PANCHGANI

### HOW TO PLAY

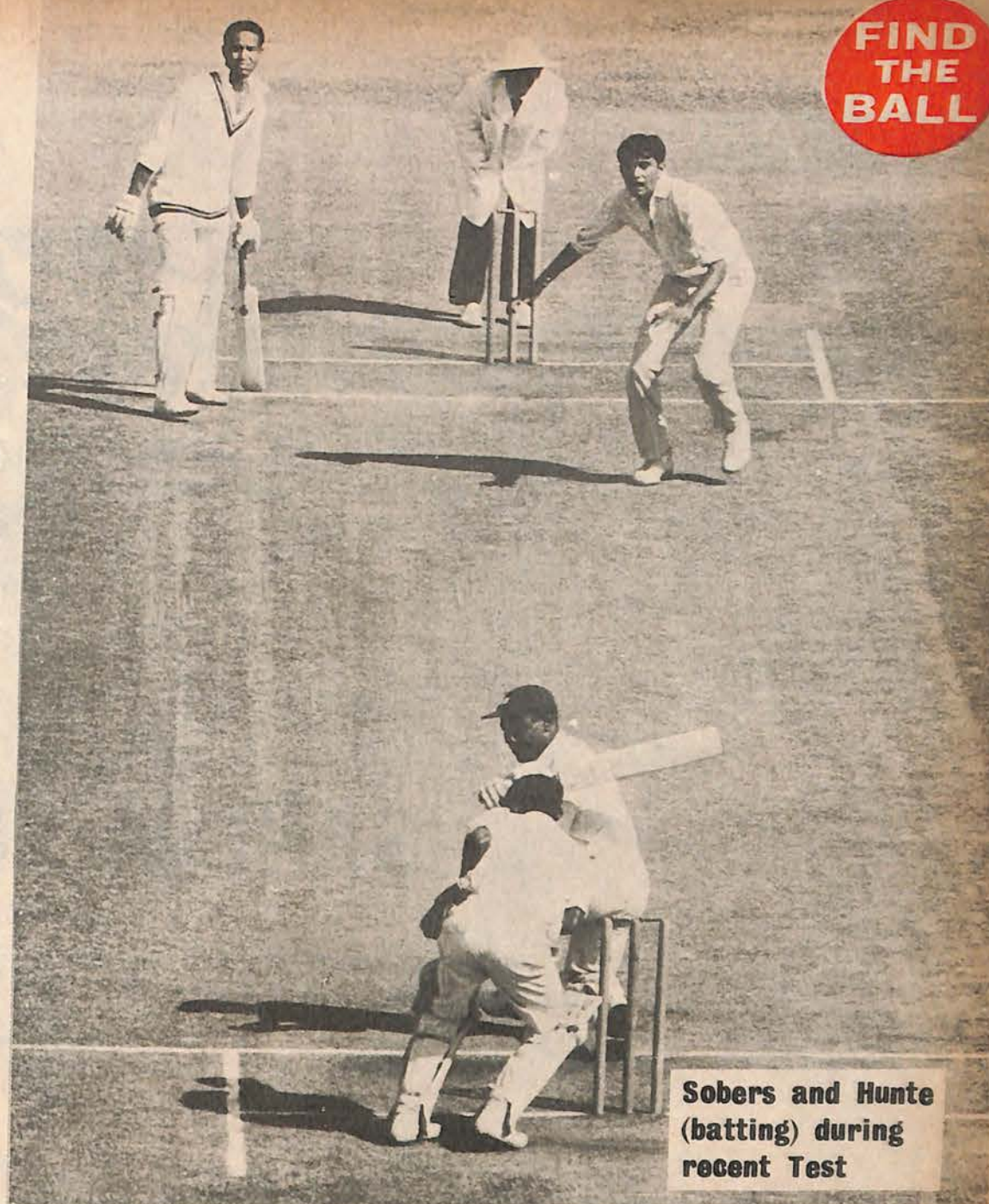
The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to mark a cross where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o Himmat, 294, Bazar Gate Street, Bombay 1, by noon Saturday, April 15

There is no limit to the number of entries you can make, but only one cross may be marked on any one picture. The staff of HIMMAT and their relatives are not eligible for the competition. The Editor's decision is final and no correspondence will be entered into about the results.

Note: Every entry must be accompanied by an entry fee of Re.1\*

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
I agree by the rules of the competition as outlined above

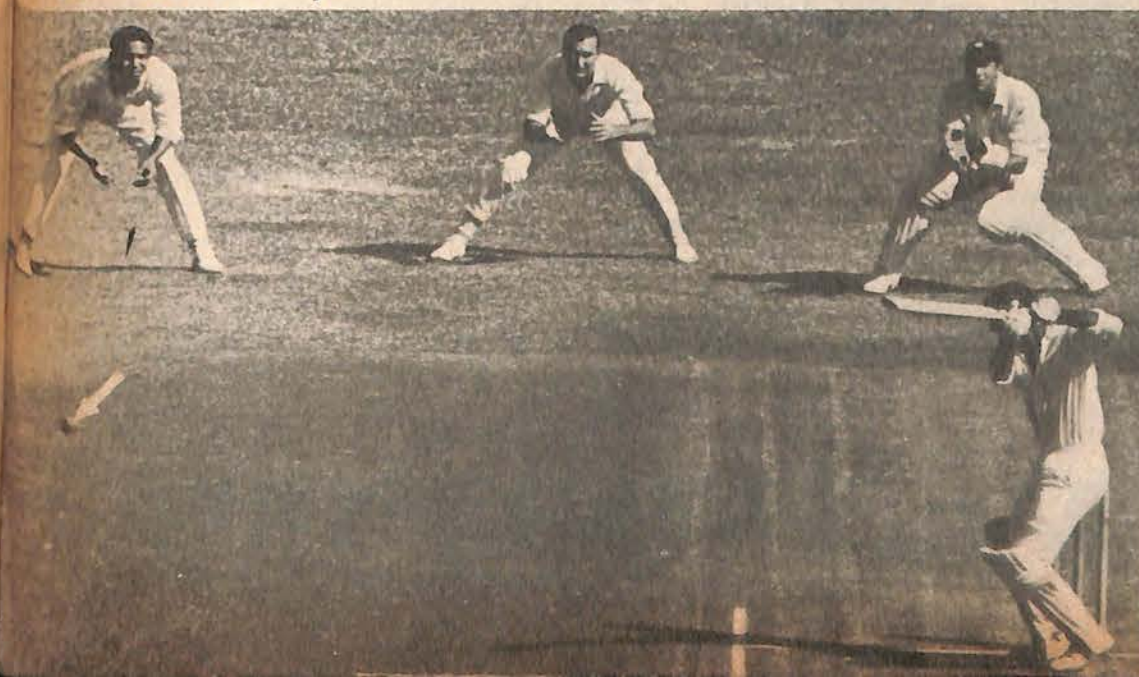
\*Please send by Money Order or by crossed cheque/Indian postal order in favour of HIMMAT WEEKLY



FIND THE BALL

Sobers and Hunte (batting) during recent Test

The winner of competition No. 10 is G.K. Moorthy, Indian Overseas Bank Ltd. Bombay-1



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# MYSORE SANDAL SOAP



MYSORE GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY BANGALORE-12.

## What will their aims be?

by RAJMOHAN GANDHI



Mrs. Gandhi being congratulated by Mr. Morarji Desai on her unanimous election as Prime Minister.

## WHY CHAVAN IS ANGRY by ANTENNA