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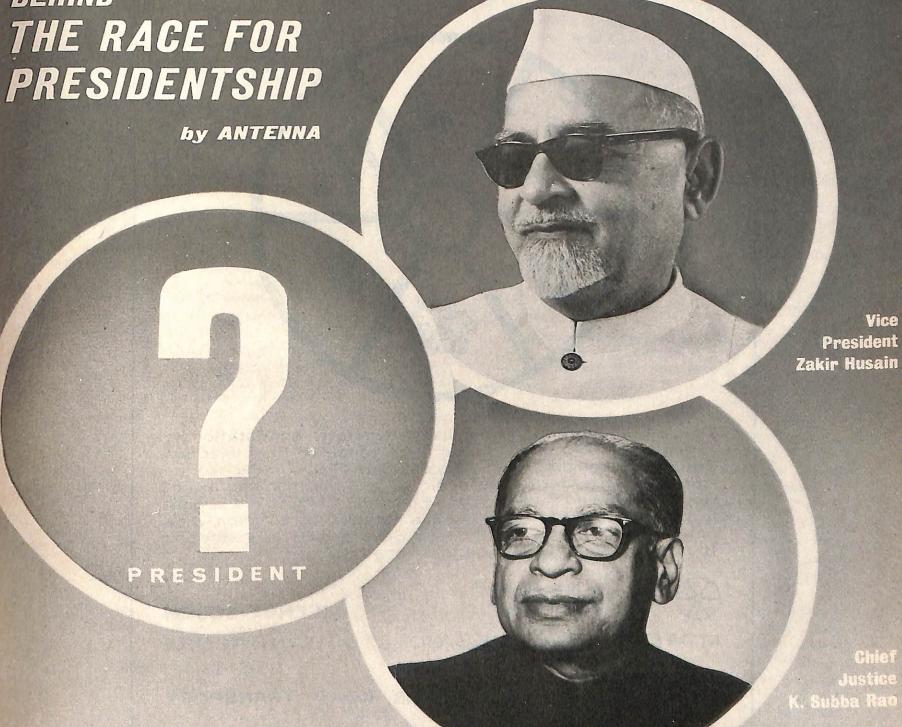
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# Asia's new voice BEHIND

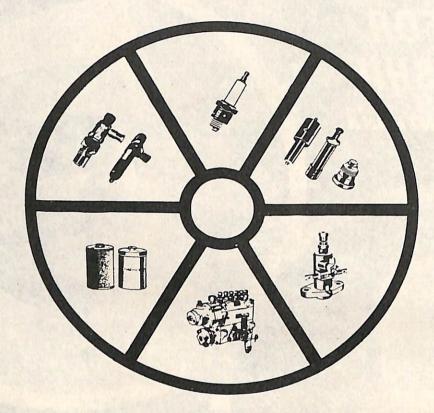


Rajmohan Gandhi

INDIA'S POPULATION SOLUTION

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HIMMAT
Asia's new voice WEEKLY

BOMBAY FRIDAY APRIL 14 1967

#### Mysterious omission

The Craze for consensus and unanimity has gripped the Congress Party. Last week some of the Prime Minister's "close associates" told Congress MPs that she was in favour of unanimous election of office-bearers and wanted to avoid a contest within the Congress Parliamentary Party. An agreed list was presented and on request many candidates handed in their letters of withdrawal to the Chief Congress Whip, Mr Ram Subhag Singh. Soon there were loud protests against the pressure from the Prime Minister, as a result of which the "agreed list" was withdrawn. Mrs Gandhi is said not to have known what her close associates were doing.

On the day of voting, all the names withdrawn originally were put back on the ballot paper—all except one. The missing name was that of Mr Lalit Sen, former Parliamentary Secretary to Prime Minister Shastri. He was contesting the key office of Secretary to the Congress Parliamentary Executive.

No satisfactory explanation is available for this omission. The *Times of India* throws light on the issue: "There is no doubt that Mr Sen would have been elected by a big majority of votes. He is among those who are not popular with what has come to be known as 'the Kitchen Cabinet'."

In Mr Nehru's or Mr Shastri's time there was a ruling party. Now there is this "ruling group" within the ruling party in Parliament. If unchecked, it will result in the crystallisation of those out of favour with the establishment and it may lead one day to a clean split within the Congress Party.

Mr Lalit Sen is young, bright and able. The future is before him. The same cannot be said of the Congress Party. Through an accumulation of a number of such immoral acts as the mysterious omission of Mr Sen's name from the list, the Party has come to a sorry pass. It will not be revived by pious platitudes but by action. Let the Prime Minister investigate and bring the guilty to book.

#### Sense from Sen

THERE IS a refreshing common sense about the new Minister of Education, Dr Triguna Sen—for example his refusal of an honorary degree on grounds that it should be given on merit, and not merely because he was a Minister, and his statement that learning "three languages at a time" was too much for a child. Fresh from the Vice-Chancellorship of Banaras Hindu University, he has not acquired the

politician's art of using words to conceal, rather than convey, their meaning.

Dr Sen feels that in the last 15 years our education has concentrated on expansion of quantity to the neglect of quality. The time has come, he thinks, to reverse the priorities and concentrate on certain programmes, high among which he places development of "commitment and character".

Dr Sen said recently, "I would like the present wide and widening gap between the intelligentsia and the masses to be bridged and every young person coming out of our schools and colleges to develop a proper pride in our past, a faith and confidence in our future, and commitment to build up the nation at any cost or sacrifice. I would like them to be men and women of character and with a sense of social responsibility so that they will stand up and fight for social justice and equality."

Here is a vision for what education can be.

#### Arabian nights-or nightmare

Bullets, Bombs and Barricades signalled the arrival of the three-man UN Mission in Aden. The nationalists, backed by Egypt, were impressing their claim to represent the Adenis, rather than the British-backed South Arabian Federal Government.

The Mission, boycotted by the nationalists, cut short its stay, complaining of lack of co-operation by the British.

The British have promised to leave South Arabia by 1968. The present struggle is over who will succeed them, not whether they should go.

Seventeen desert sheikdoms make up the Federation, plus the port of Aden. Aden's nationalists oppose a constitution forced on them by Britain, in which they fear domination by the Sheikhs.

South Arabia's two million people are caught:

- 1 Between the nationalists' Front for the Liberation of South Yemen (FLOSY) and the British.
- 2 Between FLOSY and the sheikdoms.
- 3 Between Egypt and Saudi Arabia, for whom South Arabia is yet another arena of their conflict.
- 4 Between Communist and non-Communist great powers, now engaged in an intensified struggle for influence in the region.

The British blundered in backing a federation of sheikdoms which drove the Aden nationalists into the arms of Egyptians. FLOSY will aim to prevent the Federation taking over from the British.

To unravel the tangle, the UN Mission may propose a new Constitution under which both the Aden nationalists and the sheikdoms are adequately represented. If so, the British, and other parties, will have to swallow their points of view and reduce their ambitions.

The danger exists that South Arabia may become another Vietnam. The Arabian nights could be transformed into a global nightmare.

3

# Briefly speaking...

#### It works better

This week brought a spate of reports and statistics. One was an economic research foundation survey of 32 Union Government companies. It revealed that public sector undertakings yield a return on capital of 3 per cent, while private companies yield 19 per cent.

To a layman, without expert knowledge of either Socialist or free enterprise theories, the private sector appears to be 16 per cent more effi-

Progress was reported by the Bureau of Mines-that mineral production rose 4.8 per cent last year; by the Oil and Natural Gas Commission-that 250 oil or gas-bearing wells were drilled in the last decade; and by the Shipping Development Com-



"I'm in! Becoming Chief Minister is not so difficult after all. I just crossed over to the Opposition with 20 of my friends."

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mittee-that India now has 235 merchant ships, 59 more than in 1947.

GLOOMIER statistics came from Calcutta, where jute exports were reported 20 per cent down last year; Amritsar, where wheat prices were highest in living memory.

#### Timely advice

THE MAN WHO GIVES the world the right time spoke on economic development at a recent Moral Re-Armament conference in Caux, Switzerland. He was Mr Gerard Bauer, President of the Swiss Watchmakers' Federation. Doctrinaire solutions to economic problems should be avoided, said Bauer. Many countries that took Communism or Socialism as their model were now rethinking their economic system. Even Communist China was adopting policies in harmony with recommendations of the World Bank. Bauer cited Pakistan, Mexico and Thailand as states that had developed rapidly through a pragmatic approach, making best use of both public and private sectors.

#### Whom the cap fits

VICE-PRESIDENT Dr Husain's statement that "Everybody now is after power", drew a sharp reaction from Rao Birendra Singh who quit the Congress Party recently to become Chief Minister of Haryana. "He should not have moralised," declared the angry Chief Minister, saying he resented Dr Husain's remark because he felt it was directed against himself and Mr Charan Singh, who in similar fashion became CM of Uttar Pradesh.

People will draw their own conclusions about the wisdom of the Vice-President's statement-and of the Chief Minister's.

#### Enough food in 5 years

FOOD MINISTER JAGJIVAN RAM'S "crash programme" to make India able to feed herself by 1971 found a supporting echo in Australian expert Sir John Crawford's report for the World Bank. He said it was within India's capacity to produce 120 million tons of foodgrains in five years' time.

If all economists were laid end to end, they would not reach a conclu-

George Bernard Shaw, 1856-1950

#### **Election Contest** RESULTS

FOUR READERS each scored 80 out of a maximum 100 points and share the Rs 100 prize for the most accurate prediction of results in the elections.

C. Rangan, New Delhi 5, predicted correctly 281 seats won by Congress in the Lok Sabha but dropped points on Cabinet posts and Congress performance in five key States. The three other winners predicted 280 seats and picked up points on the other questions. They are H. D. Matreja, Bombay 4, A. Jagannatha Reddy, Nizamabad District (AP) and G. Vidya Sagar, Hyderabad 18.

Money orders are on their way to each prize winner-Editor.

#### One tenth the need

THE BIHAR RELIEF COMMITTEE reports that it is now feeding about 500 people at each of its 500-600 free kitchens. The aim of these kitchens is to give one meal a day to children, old and infirm, and expectant or nursing mothers. The Committee feeds on average about 2½ lakhs a day, and plans to double this number. But even this, they point out, "would be less than 10 per cent of the severely affected population in these categories".

#### EXTENDED!



Entry forms with special "Find the Ball" picture available by sending Re 1 Money Order or Postal Order with a self-addressed 15 p stamped envelope to HIMMAT, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1. Entries close May 15 and results will be published in HIMMAT, May 19, 1967.

# The race for Presidentship

by ANTENNA

WHEN THE ILL-STARRED Moghul Emperor Humayun slipped on a marble staircase and hurtled to his end, a historian wrote: "He stumbled through life and out of it." The Congress Party has stumbled at the first major trial of strength between the Government and the Oppositionelection of the new President.

The President of India is elected indirectly by an Electoral College which consists of all the State Legislatures and Members of Parliament. When totalled up, the Congress Party, though it has lost Government in nine states, still commands a thin majority thanks to its substantial majority in Maharashtra, Andhra and Madhya Pradesh.

Mrs Gandhi told the Opposition in Parliament that if they could have a consensus and present their choice, the Congress would consider the names offered for the office of President and Vice-President. Mrs Gandhi did not expect the Opposition to find a common consensus. She failed to perceive that with power within reasonable reach, the Opposition in the new l'arliament is far more well-knit than it ever was. To her surprise, and that of her Party, they produced unanimous recommendations both for the Presidentship and the Vice-Presidentship.

#### DMK's shrewd move

At the meeting of leaders of Opposition parties, the first name to be suggested was that of Vice-President Dr Zakir Husain as President. When two of the Opposition parties rejected it, the DMK suggested the name of the Chief Justice of India, Mr K. Subba Rao, for Presidentship.

The Swatantra was happy with it. Others sensed the shrewdness of the move. Their choice for Vice-President was Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, present Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University. But he later cabled to say that he was unwilling to stand unless he also had Congress backing.

On Wednesday, April 5, after hearing the unanimous choice of the Opposition parties, the Congress Parliamentary Board discussed the issue for 90 minutes without arriv-

HIMMAT, April 14, 1967

ing at a decision. They finally left it to the Prime Minister and Congress President Kamaraj to work out. The decision was expected within 24 hours but was postponed, as the Prime Minister had to prepare for the Chief Ministers' Conference two days later.

The Congress Parliamentary Board was split on whether to put up President Radhakrishnan for another term or Dr Zakir Husain. Mr Kamarai, Mr Morarji Desai and Mr S. K. Patil believed no chances could be taken and that was why Dr Radhakrishnan seemed safest. Mr Kamaraj was particularly insecure about the northern votes for Dr Husain, mainly from the States of Bihar, UP and MP. He was not confident that its orthodox Hindus would vote for Dr Husain in spite of the Party mandate. Defections resulting in a defeat of the Congress candidate would be a crushing blow.

Mrs Gandhi, however, did not calculate in these terms. She rightly felt that Dr Husain, who has served as Vice-President for five years with considerable grace and dignity, deserved to be elevated to the highest office of the land. She was also concerned with international opinion if a Muslim was not selected for an office he merits.

Mr Chavan, who carries one of the largest blocks of votes with a thumping majority in Maharashtra State and about 50 MP's in Parliament, seemed more eager to get his choice as Vice-President than be concerned about the Presidentship. His choice was Mr P. B. Gajendragadkar, former Chief Justice of India and now Vice -Chancellor of Bombay University.

By Monday morning the issue seemed clear, President Radhakrishnan decided not to seek re-election and the Congress Parliamentary Board announced their nomination of Dr Husain for President and Mysore Governor V. V. Giri for Vice President. Mr Subba Rao resigned as Chief Justice to accept the Opposition's nomination. And so the contest began.

# On your toes

#### CALL OFF THE HUNT

LEAVE the poor lady alone. For the nation's sake, she should be free to give her best to steering the ship of state clear of the rocks.

The hounding of Mrs Gandhi on the matter of what she did with certain gifts does not become the Opposition. Dr Ram Manohar Lohia, the SSP leader, denies he is engaging in "character assassination". He is merely "drawing some inferences" from what he says are contradictions in some explanations made by Mrs Gandhi over a diamond necklace given her in 1955 by King Saud of Arabia.

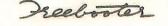
He alleges that the Prime Minister on one occasion said that the gift was passed on to the Treasury and on another that it was handed over to the Reserve Bank; that therefore she had misled the House and consequently something irregular must have taken place. He does not suggest she kept it.

In the recent past, Dr Lohia has proved a valuable people's advocate by tenaciously pursuing the facts behind maladministration and foolish policies. He has earned a certain reputation in the House as a watchdog of national interests. But a witch hunt is different.

Dr Lohia will find neither public sympathy nor public benefit in this vendetta. Mrs Gandhi should not have to put aside vital affairs of state to answer allegations about some 12year-old incident made under privilege of the House.

There are disturbing indications that power, or even the prospects of it, is having the same effect on some opposition forces as it has had all these years on some Congressmen. Those who for so long have trod the path of opposition should realise that building up the right policies is just as necessary as tearing down the wrong ones. Diagnosis may be needed to bring reality. But without a cure, diagnosis brings a gloomy, hopeless reality which takes us no nearer the goal of our dreams.

There are many whose private affairs may deserve exposure. Not all are Congressmen. Dr Lohia should note that no one seriously puts the Prime Minister on that list however much her political affairs may be felt to warrant reform.



# VERDICT!

This week HIMMAT

MARVELS at the amazing generosity of UP Chief Minister Charan Singh in accommodating 28 colleagues in his new State Ministry.

BLINKS its eyes at Finnish harbour worker Toimo Silvo who reportedly stayed awake 32 days, an unofficial world record.

DEMANDS that the State Governments concerned answer the All-India Food Grain Dealers' charge that gram procured by the Rajasthan and Punjab Governments at Rs 58 per quintal is being sold in Gujarat and Maharashtra for Rs 123.

WELCOMES the appointment of Swatantra Secretary M. R. Masani as Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee and COMMENDS the

Congress on accepting an Opposition leader for this key post.

REQUESTS Union Minister of State for Education Bhagwat Jha Azad to clarify his statement that the Government is planning a national youth service "compulsory or voluntary".

WELCOMES Information Minister K. K. Shah's announcement that more newsprint will be allocated to small and medium newspapers.

SUGGESTS to the Mysore University, organising a conference of Asian universities to consider how best to contribute to world peace, that the best way is by getting on with producing responsible leaders of to-

HAILS SSP leader Limaye's proposal that a simultaneous translation system be introduced into Lok Sabha, and FEELS it will add much to the point of Parliament if Members can be understood.

# Labour trouble in West Bengal

FROM DAVID SASSOON IN CALCUTTA

THE RELATIONSHIP OF FRANCE TO EUROPE, so correctly made by Mazzini, may well suit the West Bengal-India context. "When West Bengal catches cold, India sneezes." West Bengal has indeed caught an industrial cold. The rest of India will have to look sharp. Industrial workers in this State are seething with unrest and present policies of the new Mukherjee Cabinet are hardly acting as a cure for this malaise.

There is no doubt that industry is suffering from the former policies of the Congress Government. It sowed the wind and most unfortunately the present Government is reaping the whirlwind. Wide-scale retrenchment is in the offing. And labour, knowing this, has started strikes, ghera dalos and the like.

Certain statements made by responsible members of the new Ministry have caused many people to sit up. Mr Jyoti Basu (CPI-Marxist), the Transport and Deputy Chief Minister, was reported to have said that in cases of disputes, the people will be allowed to decide what is right and what is wrong. The mobs could decide on each and every issue.

Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee warned management that in cases of disputes or retrenchment it was not to take unilateral action. No such warning was given to labour in general.

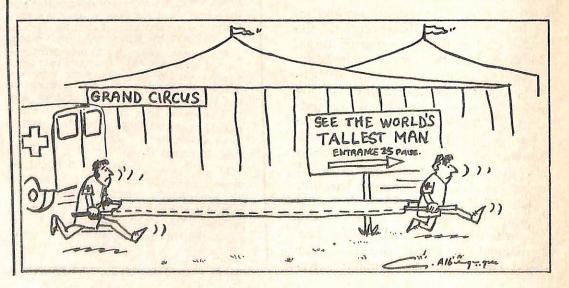
This apparently sounded the signal for workers to run the industrial roost. Hence the many strikes and ghera dalos. It has been pointed out to the Government that if it did not alter its policies, capital would be weaned away from West Bengal and absorbed into other States.

It is true that in several companies retrenchment has been the cause of widespread discontent. But that is not the only factor. Labour is aware that the police has its hands tied and so is now taking the law into its own

In a certain factory it has been reported that a labour leader was invited to a cup of tea by the manager while they discussed a problem. It so happened that immediately after drinking the tea, the labour leader collapsed. It appeared to the other labourers that he had been poisoned, and all hell broke loose. In reality he had collapsed for another reason altogether.

But there was nobody to talk sense to the workers. They caught hold of 11 of the management and subjected them to unprintable obscenities. The police were on hand but were warned that if they entered, the whole factory would be reduced to shambles. Later the imprisoned men were rescued after the Labour Minister came to the scene.

This incident had nothing to do with retrenchment, but everything to do with the Government's policy. What the new Ministry intends to do is anybody's guess but the writing spells C-H-A-O-S on the wall.



### Poor showing of

#### Mrs Gandhi's Government

THE PRIME MINISTER said some months ago that her strength lay in the people of India rather than in the support extended to her by the Congress Party. She was taken at her word.

There are many who today look upon Mrs Indira Gandhi as a national personality, distinct from the Congress Party. The defeat suffered by members of the so-called syndicate which controlled the Party machine seemed to vindicate her claim to independence from the Party. There was, therefore, a tendency for the country to dissociate the debacle of the Congress from the personality of the Prime Minister though it should have been more natural to hold her responsible for it. The defeat of her Party at the polls has been used by the Prime Minister to assert her own strength.

The Prime Minister seems to have underestimated the responsibility of her Government's policies for the election reverses. At any rate, she does not seem to have learnt the lessons of the election. In none of her actions since becoming Prime Minister-from the composition of her Cabinet to the manner in which she dealt with the election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha-has she shown any of the qualities of non-partisan statesmanship

#### SAY THAT AGAIN...

I am not going to yield to shouts.

MORARJI DESAI, FINANCE MINISTER

Can you explain why after 20 years of independence we have our steel mills our factories and refineries, our cars and aeroplanes, and we also have our famine?

SARVODAYA WORKER, BIHAR

I do not think a child can learn three languages at a time. DR TRIGUNA SEN, EDUCATION MINISTER

Everybody now is after power. VICE-PRESIDENT DR ZAKIR HUSAIN which she claimed as her special virtue some months ago.

Even the Prime Minister's ardent supporters were astonished at the size and composition of her Government. Mr Frank Moraes, Editor of the Indian Express and a staunch adherent, commented\*, "The lighthearted cynicism of the exercise in Cabinet-making will offend the average taxpayer, called upon to foot the bill for 51 largely redundant bodies in the Council of Ministers. The Congress has accustomed the people to regard Governorships, the Planning Commission and even important diplomatic appointments as dustbins for Congress discards. It now seems as if the Council of Ministers is regarded as another suitable receptacle for friends and advisers."

#### New party boss

The politicking and the moves and counter-moves in the nomination and election of Mr Sanjeeva Reddy as Speaker of the Lok Sabha confirm the emergence of Mrs Gandhi as a new party boss, in place of her defeated rivals in the Party.

Whatever the initial differences among opposition parties over the candidate for Deputy Speakership of the Lok Sabha, the Prime Minister's image suffered when she went back on her word. There was no justification for violating the agreement over the Deputy Speakership, even if the opposition parties were divided; still less, when they had personally told her that they were united on their candidate.

Thus instead of giving national leadership, increasing wherever possible opportunities of co-operation with the opposition, Mrs Gandhi has chosen to become a stronger leader of her weakened Party. Her actions have been those of a faction leader, secure for the moment in the support given to her by the Chief Ministers of Andhra and Madhya Pradesh and the Home Minister, Mr Chavan.

Mrs Gandhi and the Congress \* "The curse of gigantism"-Indian Express, March 20 1967.



Party continue to dismiss the Opposition as an agglomeration of political groups, opportunistically united. Before the elections, the underestimation of the Opposition because of its diversity did not take into account the strong reason for unity against the Congress generated by the latter's exclusiveness and arrogant claim to monopolistic political power. The very same attitude continues to be a cement for Opposition unity, in the less favourable post-election situation.

The political self-sufficiency of Congressmen may have been an untested illusion in the past. It is a sure road to self-destruction in the

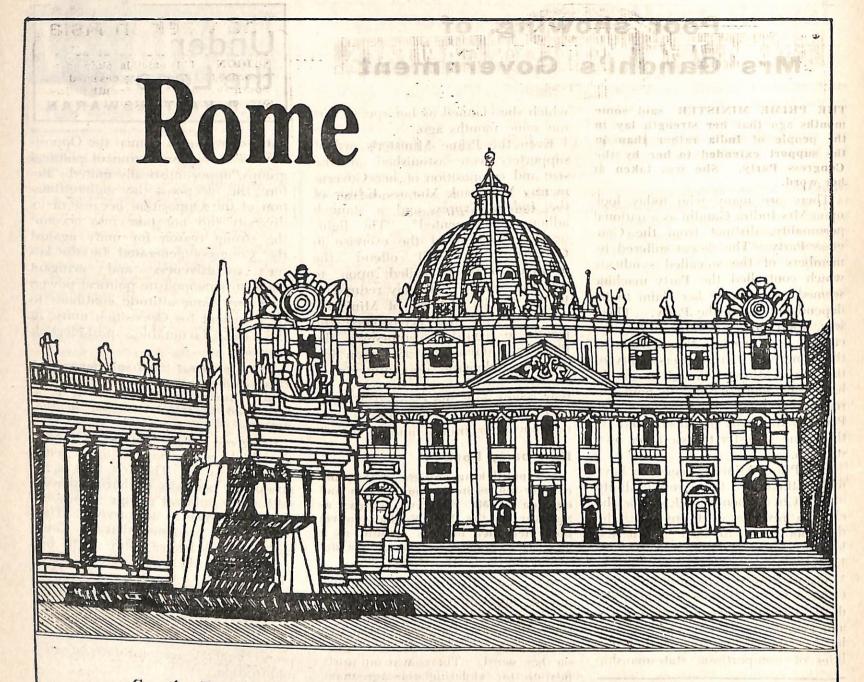
Congress leadership and Mrs Gandhi have to come to terms with the new reality. The first step is to accept the necessity of sharing power with other political groups or parties if the Congress is to survive. The second is to recognise that the Congress can no longer continue to be a movement sheltering diverse ideological trends. A more precise definition of the Congress ideology will establish areas of co-operation with those in the Opposition, and the groups with which it can share power and the responsibility of administration.

#### Dissolution of Congress

The Congress Party will not be doing a favour to anyone in offering to share power and responsibility. On the other hand, opposition groups may consider it a liability to be associated with the Congress in Government. They may calculate that a fresh election, forced at mid-term, may accelerate the process of dissolution of the Congress Party, which has already begun.

Mrs Gandhi has not shown any evidence in the past months that she and her supporters will provide the sert of dynamism or national leadership that can check this trend.

On the other hand, handling of the continued on page 17



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#### Malawi lifts boycott of South Africa

FROM VERE JAMES

NAIROBI The eyes of Africa are now on tiny Malawi, former Nyasaland of the Central African Federation, and its President Kamuzu Banda.

The collapse and break-up of the Federation forced Malawi to look elsewhere for economic help. The obvious source of aid and trade was South Africa. In spite of the clamour to boycott trade with the Republic-sometimes from states whose own trade with South Africa was increasing-Malawi has been quietly building links with the South.

Now the two countries have concluded a trade agreement which allows most of Malawi's main products to enter South Africa duty free. South African goods will be admitted to Malawi also under preferential rates.

South Africa is making similar trade arrangements with Lesotho, Botswana and, no doubt, will do the same for Swaziland when it becomes independent.

A commonsense, no-nonsense warning to other African states against any action that will alienate the peoples of southern Africa, has come from no less than Mr Robert Gardiner, Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa.

Mr Gardiner, a Ghanaian, who himself has recently carried out a two-week study tour of these countries, stated that the challenge in southern Africa was how to reconcile facts of geography and economics with contemporary social and political conditions.

Other African countries, he stated, should try to analyse the motives of leaders like President Banda before criticising his actions.

The Nairobi correspondent of Pravda has accused the Malawi Government of ignoring the interests of other African states by agreeing to trade with South Africa.

The South African Government, he writes, was hoping to use Malawi as a Trojan Horse to encourage discord within the Organisation for African Unity.

Increasingly, South Africa is hoping that trade will develop a new era of relations with the rest of Africa. There will be more agreements of this kind and more delegations vis-



MR GARDINER

iting the Republic.

If the advice of Mr Robert Gardiner is followed, the kaleidoscopic relations in the continent may shake down into an unexpected pattern.

#### Brazil cuts coffee

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

SAO PAULO By South American standards Brazil is an industrial nation. Its motor car industry produces already over 800 units per day. But only ten per cent of industrial products go for export. The fact is that 53 per cent of her exports are made up of one product only: coffee.

There were times when Brazil was the main producer of coffee. Now it only controls 35 per cent of the world market. While more nations are trying to produce more coffee, the consumption has not grown and as a result there has been increasing instability in the world market.

In 1962 an international coffee agreement was reached in New York, trying to establish a balance between supply and demand and fixing quotas for the producer countries.

For Brazil that meant that coffee over and above the export quota had to be stored or destroyed. The Government bought all the production

continued on next page

#### The week in Asia

SAIGON - US officials claimed a record 5,557 Viet Cong deserted to South Vietnam last month. The previous month's highest total was

PEKING - Mao Tse-tung's supporters launched a massive new campaign of denunciation against President Liu Shao-chi and other opponents of "Mao's thought". Moscow said propaganda chief Tao Chu and former army chief Lo Jui-chang had probably killed themselves.

KUALA LUMPUR-Malaysia and Russia agreed to establish diplomatic relations. Malaysia will import Soviet machinery and export more tin and rubber to Russia.

KARACHI - Russia will help Pakistan build a Rs 130 million electrical complex under a new agreement. Russia will lend Rs 60 million for the project.

SAIGON — Head of State General Thieu promulgated a new constitution to restore civilian rule in South Vietnam within six months.

TOKYO — Japanese steel mills contracted to buy Rs 2.1 crores manganese ore from India.

ADEN - The three-man United Nations Aden mission suddenly left the colony, complaining of British non-co-operation in its task of assessing local opinion and arranging for a peaceful transition to independence. The visit was scheduled to last several weeks.

GANGTOK - In Sikkim's General Elections the opposition National Congress emerged as the largest single party in the State Council with 8 members. The National Congress hoped to form a coalition executive in the Council.

TOKYO - Asia's agricultural failure was not due to weather or natural factors only, but to "failure of policy", ECAFE planning chief H. Kitamura told the annual meeting of ECAFE (UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East). Formation of an Asian payments union was expected to be a major topic at the session.

TOKYO - Japan signed a contract to sell India 220,000 tonnes of fertiliser. The entire expenditure will be covered by credit given by Japan to India.



each year, thereby using up a good part of the money earned through exports in order to pay the coffeeproducers for coffee that was not needed!

But at the start of 1966 a new policy was adopted. Instead of paying the producers for coffee that was not needed the Government offered to compensate those who destroyed some of their coffee plantations and turned to other crops. Special emphasis was put on the destruction of bad quality coffee trees and of plantations which operated in climatically unsuitable regions. This programme enabled, inside a few months, the destruction of 500 million coffee trees. The result was an increase in national food production. This is specially significant since Brazil, which is said to have enough land to feed 800 million people, is still spending 16 per cent of her import bill on food.

In future the money earned by coffee exports will not have to go towards over-production at home.

#### Local election struggle in Japan

FROM FUJIKO HARA

TOKYO Local elections in Japan are to take place on April 15, including gubernatorial offices in Tokyo, Osaka and in 16 other prefectures. With 4900 elective seats to be contested, it is no less important than the General Election of last January. The focus of interest, naturally, is whether the new Tokyo Gevernor will be a progressive, "conservative" or a Sokkagakkai Buddhist.

Conservatives can ill afford to lose this election, since the colour of the Tokyo Governor will not only affect the administration of the world's largest city, but other local elections as well, not to mention its repercussions on the Central Government and international prestige. Moreover, during the next four years of the Governor's office, big events, such as the renewal of the Japan-US Security Treaty, will be coming up and the Japan Socialist Party sees a prize chance of gaining control and a short cut to overthrowing the State Covernment.

Of seven candidates who are running for the office, three are outstanding. They are Dr Matsushita, President of Rikkyo University, who happens to be a Christian supported jointly by the Liberal Democratic Party and the Democratic Socialist Party; Dr Minobe, a Marxist professor at the Tokyo Education University, backed by the ISP and the Japan Communist Party, and Mr Abe, president of a shipping company, who is the candidate for the Clean Government Party. The battle is likely to be fought between the two professors. However, how "dark horse" Abe fares may change the political

To administer the welfare of a mammoth city of 11 million people is a big job in itself. But as all seven candidates offer more or less the same promises of building "a clean and better Tokyo", "constructing more houses", "improving the educational systems" and "curbing rising prices", it is a hard job to grade continued on next page

The essential factor seems to be that of the candidate's character and his political and ideological beliefs. It is reported that when some private accounts of a candidate were questioned, the party concerned was indignant that "such private matters should be exposed".

It will be a grave matter indeed if the Communists take over the governorship, yet it is questionable how far the LDP can get by merely appealing "not to let the Communists run the sacred capital". An effort to maintain the statue quo always appeals less than an all-out bid for change. The LDP would find more sympathisers if the society they intend to create presented a greater challenge than those offered by the JSP or the JCP. Joint sponsorship, however, with DSP shows a welcome freshness.

As for the JSP, its failure to break

through the present stalemate of remaining a one-third minority party lies in the fact that they too are a "conservative lot", determined to cling on to the old ideas of class war instead of changing with the demands of the day. A fresh start is needed for both.

The often debated question of who is more corrupt does not justify either party nor substitute for a policy. Further investigations into the "black mist scandal" have also brought into light a JSP Member of Parliament (quickly expelled from the ISP) who had been receiving double bribery. It was just as well that these matters were exposed since it proves a thorough re-examination is needed if anyone is to become a worthy representative. This election gives a good opportunity for a fresh change.

#### "Buy, don't lend," says Ceylon Minister

what to do if they would pay a little more for our commodities," declared Mr Philip Gunawardena, Minister of Industries and Fisheries, speaking at a reception for Asian Press delegates recently.

He spoke what many other Asians feel today. Foreign aid comes in dollars, pounds and roubles but also has to be paid back. The question is, how can a country pay back when it does not get enough exchange to import its barest needs? Foreign aid also is in the habit of being misused

by corrupt men. Sometimes new loans are used to repay old ones.

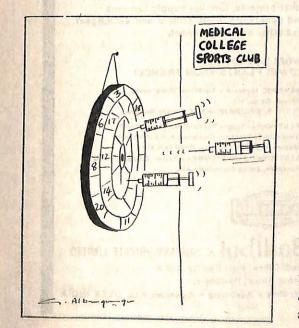
Buying more goods from underdeveloped countries would help much more than a bulk sum of money lent for a certain period. The results of devaluation in India are very poor due to this unfair trade balance.

The Minister also had a few sharp bites at the West: "Experts from the World Bank come and tell us that unless we fulfil certain conditions, they cannot give us aid .... We must stop begging from rich countries. Countries in the Asian region should get together and compel the rich countries to pay more

Mr Gunawardena stressed the dilemma of developing nations. "We work hard and produce more but our purchasing power is not sufficient to buy the needs of our population. Give us five cents more for our tea, rubber and minerals," he asked the richer nations.

# FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

COLOMBO "World bank experts come and tell us what to do. We know



for our products. It is time that the poor, developing countries traded on normal terms rather than begged."

#### The week in India

NEW DELHI - The Opposition in Parliament unanimously chose Supreme Court Chief Justice K. Subbha Rao as their candidate for the Presidency. Mr Rao said he wanted time to think before accepting the offer.

NEW DELHI-Arrangements have been completed for setting up a giant oil refinery at Haldia in collaboration with Rumania and French interests. The public sector plant will cost \$35 million.

CHANDIGARH - Punjab's United Front Government was defeated when four Front members voted with the Opposition. Chief Minister Gurnam Singh said his Government would remain in office as the members had not left the Front.

JABALPUR-The Vigilance Commission seized several lakhs of rupees in cash and goods from homes of PWD officials and engineers suspected of corruption.

BHUBANESHWAR - 15,000 out of 48,000 villages in Orissa State have been seriously affected by drought, stated Relief Commissioner V. S. Mathews.

CALCUTTA — Jute exports fell 20 per cent last year, at a loss to India of Rs 600 million, reported the "Economic Times".

HYDERABAD - Mir Barkat Ali Khan, 34, was installed as eighth Nizam of Hyderabad.

DEHRA DUN - Union Food Minister Jagjivan Ram said the Government had a crash programme to make India self-sufficient in food by 1971.

MADRAS—Wheat ships were held up when 2500 dock workers struck over a 3-paise bonus dispute with dock employers.

NEW DELHI - Union Communications Minister Ram Subagh Singh asked Posts and Telegraph officials to collect all money due within six months. About Rs 6 crores is owed by subscribers to the department.

HYDERABAD — Left Communists attacked a village which voted for Congress in the election. Two people were killed and Rs 25,000 looted, according to UNI.

DURGAPUR -- Dacoits entered the heavily-guarded steel plant and stole valuable materials. The plant loses Rs 50 lakhs a year through theft.

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#### DUTCH CRISIS OVER

THE HAGUE — Holland's 7-week political crisis ended when Mr Piet de Jong, 52-year-old former Defence Minister, formed a new Government. He leads a 4-party Centre-Right coalition, sending Labour into opposition. The crisis followed the resignation of the previous government after the General Elections on February 15.

#### EAST'S DRASTIC DECREE

ENUGU — Lt Col Emeka Ojukwu, East Nigeria's military Governor, decreed that all revenue collected in the area should be paid to the Regional, and not the Federal Government. 60 per cent of Nigeria's oil production is in the East. With this revenue the Region can be financially self-supporting. The decree also gave the East control of communications, ports and power, hitherto a Federal responsibility. The Region is now virtually independent,

politically and economically, from the rest of Nigeria, though it has not declared secession. Though Lt Col Gowon, head of the Federal Government, called the East's action "illegal and unconstitutional", use of force against the Region seems unlikely at present.

#### RUSSIA WANTS PARITY

NEW YORK — Russia wants US superiority in nuclear missiles reduced to parity, reported PTI. This was Russia's price for an agreement to halt the costly misile race with the US. At present the US is believed to have 1446 ICBMs to Russia's 470—a 3 to 1 superiority.

#### 10 MILLION TONS FOR INDIA

PARIS — The ten-nation Aid-India Consortium promised to ship 10 million tons of foodgrains to India this year. The US is expected to provide 6.6 million tons and Canada 600,000 tons. Japan and European

countries will provide money to pay for the remaining 2.8 million tons. The Consortium, at its conference here, decided on a total aid target for India of \$1280 million (Rs 960 crores) for 1967-68 — \$900 million for untied aid and \$380 million for food, half of which would be provided by the US.

#### AFRICAN SUMMIT

CAIRO — A five-nation "little African Summit" conference opened amidst some perplexity among observers as to its purpose. Guinea President Sekou Toure, who proposed the conference, was unable to attend. Heads of state participating were Egypt's Nasser, Tanzania's Nyerere, Algeria's Boumedienne and Mauritania's Mokhtar Ould Daddah.

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# Will Bharve's sister win?

"I HAVE ALWAYS WANTED to stand for election one day," said Mrs Tarabai Sapre as she talked enthusiastically about her keen interest in politics from an early age.

Mrs Sapre has suddenly sprung into the public eye. With the untimely death last month of her brother, the late Mr S. G. Barve, she has agreed to contest the by-election in the North East Bombay Parliamentary Constituency as the Congress candidate. Mr Krishna Menon, who was defeated by her brother in the

the seat as an Independent candidate.

I went to Mrs Sapre's Bombay flat
to find out more about her life and
interests. Homely and happily married, she is the proud mother of three
children and has recently become a

General Election, will again contest

grandmother.

Born in Poona, she was at school there till the Second Standard when she moved with her family to Sangli. She returned to Poona to go to Fergusson College where she studied politics and economics. While still at College she was married. With the arrival of their first daughter, she left College and returned when her daughter was a year old to finish her studies and obtain a BA degree.

She has been a member of the All India Women's Council since 1940 and has worked in its different social activities. Her eldest daughter is now married, one son is at college in Nagpur, and she has a lively 7-year-old son.

Have you had previous experience in political life?

"I worked for my brother in the last two elections. In the last election I canvassed in Chembur, Vikhroli and Sion. I am well known in my brother's constituency, but this is the first time I am myself a candidate."

Why did you decide to stand for this by-election?

"It was because of the voters of this constituency that I decided to accept the Congress ticket. After the death of my brother, a lot of people from the constituency came to me and with tears in their eyes they asked me to stand. People had the greatest respect for my brother and they wanted me because I was his sister and had worked with him. 'You have a great chance,' they said. They also asked my youngest sister, Mrs Kirpeker, to stand. She, too, had worked for my brother in the area. So it was not I, but the voters who asked the authorities whether I or my sister could stand.

"Then at 7 a m one morning the Party authorities telephoned and said, 'You decide between your sister and yourself who should stand and give us your decision by 10 a m.' As I am a Bombay voter and she is from Nagpur, we agreed that it should be me."

Is there any person you have particularly learned from in life?

"Yes, my father. When I was only in the Second Standard, during his meal times he used to ask us to read aloud from the newspapers. Then if we didn't understand words, he used to make us look them up in the dictionary. So from an early age it was in our blood to take an interest in current affairs."

Have you other interests?

"I like reading, especially autobiographies of great men and politicians. I like the works of Swami Vivekananda and appreciate the Dynaneshwari very much. I used to attend classes for Hindi and Marathi Bahjans every Thursday."

What should be the future role of women in India?

"My brother often used to discuss this question with me. We felt that it was no good women like ourselves taking education, graduating and then just sitting at home doing embroidery. Now there is so little opportunity to do social and other work outside the home. We always said we wanted to start some small factory where the middle-class women could earn something, where they could make use of their three or four hours of leisure. Due to the terrible rise in prices these women need the extra money. The idea is based on what is already done in

# ON THE Spot



Japan where ladies take work to their homes. There they do piece work, they organise themselves into groups of houses and work together. My brother had in his mind to frame a constitution of this sort and work for the ladies. No men would interfere, he said. We will start some work just for the ladies. I want to continue this plan."

What are your feelings as you approach this tough election campaign?

"I think I will be successful. People will vote for me because of the respect they had for my brother. I expect the ladies to vote for me. If I succeed I will be the only lady from Bombay in Parliament."

One may admire Mrs Sapre's courage in deciding to continue the work her brother began in this constituency. As she talked about the difference between being a candidate and just a canvasser, one sensed in her very natural apprehensions about the campaign ahead.

She may not be a political veteran like her opponent, but she does have a genuine sincerity and concern for people. This, plus her association with her late brother, should give her a good chance in the tough contest ahead.

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# Human nature stumps **EMS** ministry

FROM G. S. KARTHA IN KERALA

EMS NAMBOODIRIPAD

THE UNITED FRONT Ministry headed by Marxist-Communist leader E. M. S. Namboodiripad may have to face rough weather amidst financial and food problems. The Congress Party's discredited politicians who have lost the elections are eagerly watching to see the Ministry humbled and discredited at any cost, although in his recent food mission to New Delhi, Mr Namboodiripad was successful beyond all expectations.

When the Ministry took charge, there was at the disposal of the Government only just two days' stock of rice. In the succeeding weeks, even the staggered rations could not be distributed properly in many parts of the State. Bakrid and Easter passed off without rice in several places. Even in the capital, rice rationing failed for a couple of

As the usual food agitators had become the ruling party in the State, there were no demonstrations anywhere to embarass the Government. So, very few people know about the seriousness of the situation.

Congress leaders, reluctant to organise any demonstration as they were already licking their battle -scars, sat watching Mr Namboodiripad's struggle, although in the Assembly their Party gave general support to the Government in the course of a food debate.

One of the prominent Right-Communist leaders, Mr R. Sugathan, a veteran trade union leader, seized the opportunity to throw some small stones at his Leftist comrades in power, in a signed article published in a leading Trivandrum daily. Like any other citizen, he was happy that the "Left Communist revolutionaries who have been going about accusing the Dangeists (Right Communists) and the lackeys of the Congress of throwing the country into danger", had at least now realised that there was scarcity of rice in the country. He also recalled how they, before coming to power, had condemned the ration as "chicken feed".

Following Mr Namboodiripad's air-dash to New Delhi after the Chief Minister of Andhra had let him down, New Delhi has agreed to save Kerala from near-starvation conditions by sending 70,000 tons of rice from the surplus states. But how far this assurance would stand remains to be seen. There is a widespread belief that Congress bosses would pressurise the Union Government as also the surplus State of Andhra to "teach Keralites and their United Front Government a bitter lesson". The Congress Party's rout in Kerala is semething that the Congress highups are reluctant to forgive.

#### Sparing no effort

It is generally expected that the Namboodiripad Ministry would spare no effort to fight for Kerala's legitimate claims. The fact remains that Kerala has a special case, which has never been put strongly before the Union Government by any of the former Governments. In food allocations and plan allotments, Kerala is being neglected even to this day. This is because the Congress Ministers as well as the officials who spearheaded Presidential Rule did not have the guts to stand up and speak firmly to their bosses in New Delhi about what is right for Kerala.

With a rice-eating population that increases 2.5 per cent every year, and with nearly 65 per cent of the land utilised for dollar-earning cash crops, Kerala has limited scope for expanding paddy cultivation. Consequently

she is deficit in food to the extent of fifty per cent of her requirements.

Per acre production could be increased, using high-vielding varieties, but that alone may not take the State to self-sufficiency. Experts are of the view that the State should specialise on cash crops for which the soil and climate are best suited, while the Centre should take over the responsibility of meeting the food deficit "as a matter of duty, and not as a matter of charity". New Delhi's reaction to this is unknown. But that does not rule out the need to accelerate food production internally, and tighten up paddy procurement.

A former Civil Supplies Department boss once remarked that he had never seen a cultivator who honestly admitted that his crop was satisfactory, even while he had a bumper crop. Naturally there is a certain amount of reluctance on the part of the producers to part with the surplus without securing the maximum profit-whether it be in deficit Kerala or surplus Andhra.

#### Neighbours' needs

Each district and state puts its own interest first, instead of sharing with its unfortunate neighbours whatever they produce. It is being increasingly realised now that unless the selfishness and greed disappear, there can be no satisfactory solution of the food problem, however much the state or country may produce, and whatever the orders and legislations that emanate from New Delhi. If everyone learnt to care more for others and share with them, the problem would have been simpler.

While complaining about the lack of incentives and high cost of production, some agriculturists told this correspondent that the main problem confronting them was the general tendency of the agricultural workers to demand more wages and work below schedule. It was their earnest hope that the Namboodiripad Ministry could improve the situation and help increase the output in agriculture and industry if it would, through the component parties, inspire the workers to give "an honest day's work for an honest dav's wage".

But this might make the Ministry unpopular with the workers, and as such may be an unwelcome suggestion.

15

# INDIA ARISE abroad

'Arun Mundkur Writes from Hollani

A FEW DAYS AGO in Switzerland I was talking with a young Swede. Leaning aggressively across the table he said, "Our religion has taught us to fight, made us strong, told us to be enthusiastic. Your religions were and are nihilistic. That's why you have no drive. I don't mean we are all Christians. Christianity is merely the basis of our society. Get rid of all the rules, then we can live like civilised men!" This young man also skiis, talks with facility on every topic, and crusades for "freedom" and especially against "sex taboos". How typical is he of modern Europe?

The other day, in a student club, I introduced myself to a tall young man. Inevitably we got on to the subject of food and population, cows and pills. He inquired, "Why are you here?" India Arise and Moral Re-Armament drew a violent reaction. "You are fanatics! You are dangerous idealists! What right has anybody to ask someone else to change? That is conceited!"

Everywhere we encounter this sort of caution. All causes are suspect. You are permitted to be fanatical in your own service but anything larger is "dangerous".

The bludgeoning truth is that we in *India Arise* would not want India to imitate Europe. Nor do the numerous Indians we meet here. The terrifying thing is the combination of skills and a cold, cold heartlessness. This is not the only strand in the bundle of attitudes that is Europe's thinking, but it is a strong strand.

We have many in India who propose panaceas glibly. But here this mentality is allied to a methodical thoroughness which could make a hell of life on earth. There is also a complacent superiority that needs to be punctured.

For instance, a big industrialist told us that 1. Intelligent self-interest moderated by Christian ethics has been the matrix in which Europe industrialised. 2. While nations like

India, faced by a horde of difficulties, might benefit by the activity of a selfless and sacrificing group, Europe could do without. 3. The European way of life needs no radical change; the main problem is the greed of the employees, by which the altruistic plans of the employer are rendered futile.

However, *India Arise* does get behind these defences. Often the audience is 10 degrees hotter by the end—strongly with us or against, which is as good a sign today as it has been down through history!

I was at one session when 30 students discussed the Common Market and US foreign policy, marriage and sex, corruption and conscience and God. Many of these young people are cleaning up things—stealing and filth and cruelty. They are pondering what is right and what is wrong in their countries.

Some Europeans must arise who are fearless in their frankness, tearing the swathes off hypocrisy and plentifully supplying the antiseptic cure; men and women who dare to tackle the ruthless men who control Europe today.

# BOOKS

# Case for an Indian Ombudsman

CORRUPTION: CONTROL OF MALADMINISTRATION by John B. Monteiro.

Manaktalas, Bombay, 1966, 303 pp

THE CENTRAL ARGUMENT of this somewhat tame study is that corruption results from a particular process of administration and is always preceded by maladministration. To check corruption, you have to first improve administration.

The sudden increase of the economic activities of the Indian Government after Independence, arming it with countless regulations, controls and a pernicious system of licences and permits, created new opportunities for those out for easy money within Government and outside. There exists in India today an "atmosphere of corruption".

On the import licence racket, the Santhanam Committee noted: "The fact that licences worth Rs 2.38 crores were obtained by fraud...is clear indication of the extent of the problem."

There is no acceptable estimate of the tax evaded in the country. An unofficial estimate by the Central Board of Re-

venue puts it at around Rs 230 crores annually and it is common knowledge that much of it is abetted by tax officials. On the basis of the not very deep digging done by the author it would appear that corruption is greatest in the following departments: Police, PWD, Customs, Excise & Tax, Railways, Civil Supply, and Judiciary.

The author's analysis of the control of corruption is deeper and his vigorous advocacy of the Ombudsman sound. He believes that this institution can effectively tackle both maladministration and corruption.

The Ombudsman, an institution originating in Scandinavia, is somewhat like a people's attorney responsible to Parliament whose duty is to ensure that civil servants carry out their administrative duties according to law and to institute proceedings if they fail to do so. He is appointed by Parliament and can be dismissed only by Parliament. He has the right to see files of all ministries and to investigate any question of maladministration, including undue administrative delays.

He has no executive powers, but his real sanction is the publicity given to his criticisms of the administration in Parliament and in the daily press. For example, in Sweden, press representatives call on him every day at 11 am to inspect the previous day's complaints and decisions. A free press is very important to his success.

The case for an Ombudsman for India has been advocated in the past by C. D. Deshmukh, P. B. Gajendragadkar, M. C. Setalvad and others, who can speak with authority. An Indian Ombudsman, Lok Ayukta, would have to be modified to suit conditions here. The sheer size of the country would require not only an Ombudsman at the centre, but also a series of Ombudsmen in the various states. Secondly, in an infant democracy like India, it would be important to see that the Ombudsman doesn't become too powerful in the context of people's elected government and the Cabinet. Thirdly, in a country fond of procedure, regulations and red tape, the institution will have to protect itself from these very evils which it sets out to improve. Its very essence is that a citizen must have direct access to the Ombudsman for immediate redressal of

The fundamental idea behind the institution is sound enough. The idea is that government processes can be improved through continuing criticism by an official who focusses on problems of administrative action, but who is not involved in making substantive decisions, nor limited to one field of administration. The most inviting feature by far to a country like India is that the Ombudsman can provide a check not just against unfairness but also against inefficiency.

G D

# This was a Life

#### KRISHNA DEVA RAYA Reigned 1509-1529

THE INDIAN IDEAL of a ruler isn't a king who merely rules. It expects him, among other things, to participate actively in the learning and the arts of his time. In this tradition belongs Krishna Deva Raya, the greatest king of the glittering Vijaynagar Empire, which covered the whole of South India during the Delhi Sultanate.

He fashioned Vijaynagar into a cultural capital of his times. Modern Telugu and Kannada owe him much for their development. Sanskrit too had an important place at his court, but Telugu was his favourite. He wrote "Amuktamaylda", thought by some to be "one of the greatest poems in the language (Telugu)".

He established a tradition in the Telugu-speaking world that the ruler must encourage the literary development of the language. The result is a rich language with a rich literature.

Despite the glitter of intellect and culture, the historic mission of the Vijaynagar Empire was essentially a military one: to preserve the land below the River Krishna from the onslaught and dubious rule of the Muslim invader. Krishna Deva Raya fulfilled his mission so well that the South was free from the sword of Islam for over fifty years after his death.

When he ascended the Diamond throne in 1509, Vijaynagar ("City of Victory") was a solid creation of 200 years of his ancestors' toil and blood. He was clever; and quickly made it extremely rich. He was ambitious; and rapidly consolidated his pre-eminent position in the South and conquered the East Coast up to Cuttack. He was far-seeing; and maintained good relations with the Portuguese, who supplied him horses for his army. He was cautious: and didn't let wily Portuguese involve him in their wars in Mala-

Krishna Deva Raya made Vijaynagar famous throughout the East. Today it is no more. It is historic irony. For the South is what it is today, with glorious temples standing high and Hindu culture living in its purest form, partly because of the Raya.

i D

# Letters

#### POWER-HUNGRY MEN

THE ELECTED members of the Legislative Assemblies and the Parliament who cross the floor whether they belong to the Congress Party or the Opposition parties often deserve contempt rather than respect and admiration.

One can appreciate the very few honest and conscientious men who resign from a party due to ideological conflict and differences. But one often finds it difficult to appreciate elected members crossing the floor to attain positions of power. Are these unscrupulous, power-hungry men stalwarts of democracy? Would it not be proper if they resigned from the Legislative Assembly or Parliament as well and recontested the election?

I dread to see India's democracy slipping into the pattern one has seen in post-war France and pre-Ayub Pakistan.

> DR I. S. MENON, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK

#### HIMMAT FOR REAL NEWS

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A. B. KHOT, Satara

#### BEST FOR THE JOB

IT IS AN insult to the high office of President to see the way the different parties are manoeuvring for their favourites to get elected. The whole question seems to revolve around who is likely to poll the most votes, not who would be the best man for this important post. I can't see that the opposition parties are behaving any better than Congress.

When the late Dr Rajendra Prasad retired there wasn't much difficulty. The Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan, moved up to take his place. Why shouldn't Dr Zakir Husain do the same? It seems that half of Congress seem afraid he won't get the votes and the other half seem afraid that if they don't nominate him then they will be accused of letting down the secular state.

Can't Congress have the courage to nominate him only because he would be the best man for the job?

KAMLA DESHPANDE, Poona 1

election to the Deputy Speakership of the Lok Sabha and the much debated question of Svetlana Stalin reveal a cavalier moral posture that does no credit to the Prime Minister and her Government.

There is no doubt that the Prime Minister went back on her word to the Opposition on the election of Deputy Speaker. It seems equally clear that though legally in the clear about Svetlana Stalin's desire to settle in this country, the Government has not been fully honest on the subject either with Parliament or the public.

If Government had been reluctant to jeopardise the vital interests of India (on the crucial matter of relations with the Soviet Union) to satisfy the personal wishes of Madam Svetlana, they could have said so. People may have disagreed on humanitarian grounds but the integrity of Government or its spokesman would not have been questioned.

From the blundering in Rajasthan to the quibbling over Svetlana, it has

been a disappointing performance for the month-old Government of Mrs Indira Gandhi. But the Budget Session will offer a fresh chance to the Government to do the right thing for the people of this country. Energetic and inspired leadership in service to the masses can yet prevent the disintegration of the Congress.

#### VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

\* Who should be India's next President—Dr. Radhakrishnan, Dr. Zakir Husain or Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan? Closing date: April 28

\*\* Are woman drivers safer than men?

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Send entries of not more than 500 words to Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate St., Bombay-1.



# Population Solution

by Rajmohan Gandhi

Paris

OF ALL THE facile solutions proposed for a country like ours, the one of forcible birth control through contraceptives and sterilisation is one of the most naive and dangerous.

A population larger than it should be is the consequence of greed and lust on the part of millions of people. The "over population" is the symptom, and greed is the disease. How progressive and intelligent men can imagine that tinkering with the symptom will promote the peace and the well-being of nations is difficult to understand.

There is the theory that mankind's happiness depends on the strenuous effort of those already living to prevent others from coming into this world. This notion springs from the conquest of man's conscience by his brain.

#### Death to conscience

The glib remedy is dangerous because it aids in the world-wide spread of the death-to-conscience epidemic. To urge that nothing is wrong with men and women being as lustful as they please and to maintain that the only flaw is in not understanding or using contraceptives, is no different from saying that conscience is a myth. It is the animalisation of mankind.

Lust dulls the brain. I do not say that some among those who yield to their lusts do not have clever minds. I do say that their minds would be sharper if they did not surrender to their greed.

India's problem is not that we are a nation where everyone is vigorously and fearlessly obeying his or her conscience. Our problem is our callousness and indifference. We just don't care for one another. What we need is a powerful current that can bring to active life our drugged consciences.

It is insanity to believe that men encouraged and pressured to be as lustful as they can will still want to sweat and toil for the nation's defence, economic progress

or unity. Every exhortation for hard work, solidarity and sacrifice is with precision and effectiveness neutralised by the State-organised and State-financed propaganda for lust-made-easy and lust-made-cheap.

Is abortion murder? Some still think so. Does anyone have the right, even the father or mother, to decide that a child conceived should be destroyed? Not everyone who wants to do away with an unborn child is eager to do so because of a concern for the economic standard of living. Most people seek abortion to prevent others knowing what they have done.

#### A tidal wave of purity

If you popularise abortion and make it normal and respectable, will it take too long to make the murder of very old and "unproductive" people a comprehensible and worthwhile act, quite beneficial to society?

A young Swede told me the other day that there was no such thing as good or bad, that the really harmful thing was to repress your feelings. He talked not only about sex but also about the desire to kill. These are his words. "If I have the longing to murder someone and I try to repress my desire I become a neurotic."

Repression is no cure. Nor is giving free play to your passion.

Purity is possible. Purity is normal. Purity makes a man or a woman interesting, attractive, bright, healthy and of use to others. Self-control is not enough to have purity although I see no reason why those who do not believe in God but still want discipline in their lives should be discouraged from trying it.

God has the complete answer for impurity and can make a man clean and keep him so. And I believe that if God can deal with the lusts in some of us he can do so in and for the millions of people. A tidal wave of purity. It can happen.

I do not agree with all that the

Mahatma said or urged. I am firmly with him in his concern with the danger of a campaign for contraceptives and sterilisation. And I am with him in his belief that husband and wife could live together and love each other without necessarily going into bed with each other when they pleased.

Large numbers of men and women throughout the world, including India, are discovering the fascination and satisfaction of purity. What we can and must now do is to make this experience available to millions.

### A massive movement of and for purity would have three effects:

- 1 It would naturally control the growth of population.
- 2 It would increase affection of people for one another inside and outside the family.
- 3 It would enable men and women to work harder and produce more.

The sex cult is not new. It is the world's most ancient religion. Those fanatically devoted to it spread their creed with subtlety and with ruthlessness.

#### Man's sensational advance

I think they can be answered. And they may be won over. Will India lead the world in a revolution of purity? This would mean a total change in the way we live. But I can wager that our women and our men in village or city will comprehend the concept of purity far more quickly than they grasp the loop or sterilisation. And they will be more satisfied with it.

We are responsible to the present generation in India and the world. We are also responsible to their children and grandchildren. Let us be sure that we do not uphold for the future an animalised or mechanised man.

If electric lights, transistor radios and TV sets can reach millions cannot purity also proliferate? Like the electric light, purity too could go into every home. This could be man's next great sensational advance.

# FIND THE BALL Competition No: 15



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 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1, by noon Monday April 24

There is no limit to the number of entries you can make, but only one cross may be marked on any one picture. The Editor's decision is final and no correspondence will be entered into about results.

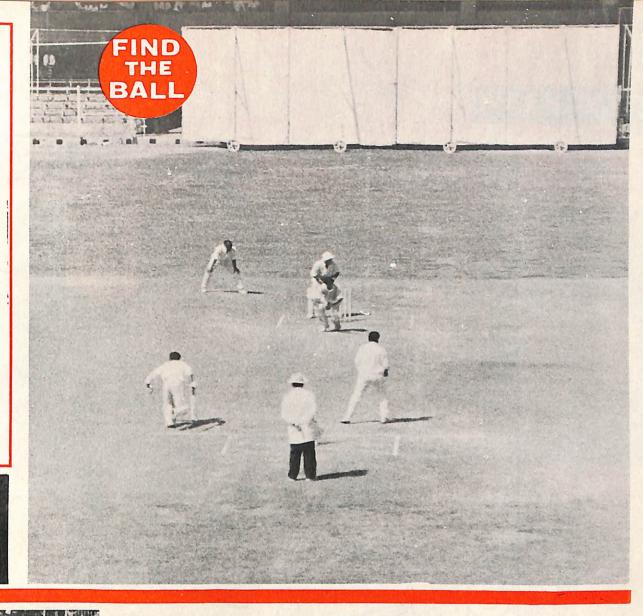
The winner of Competition No.15, with the picture

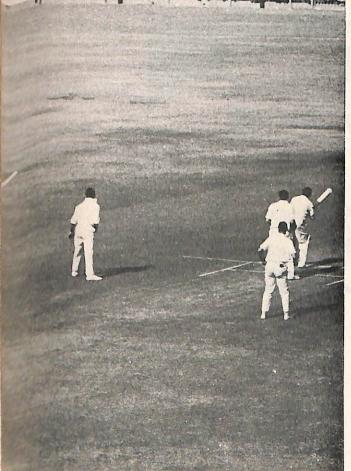
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### CLOSING DATE EXTENDED! CONRAD HUNTE'S BAT

Entries close May 15 and results will be published in HIMMAT, May 19, 1967. Entry forms available by sending Re. 1 with stamped and addressed envelope to:

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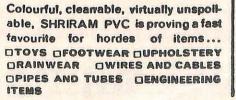


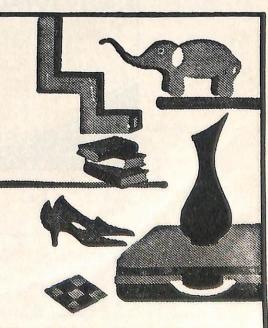


The winner of Competition No 13 is H. M. Janoos, 1149 Saify Street, Poona-1.









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