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JOHNSON ON TRIAL

p. 7, 13



VIETNAM AND THE NEGRO

**Rajmohan
Gandhi**

tea is splendid

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GOOD TEA**

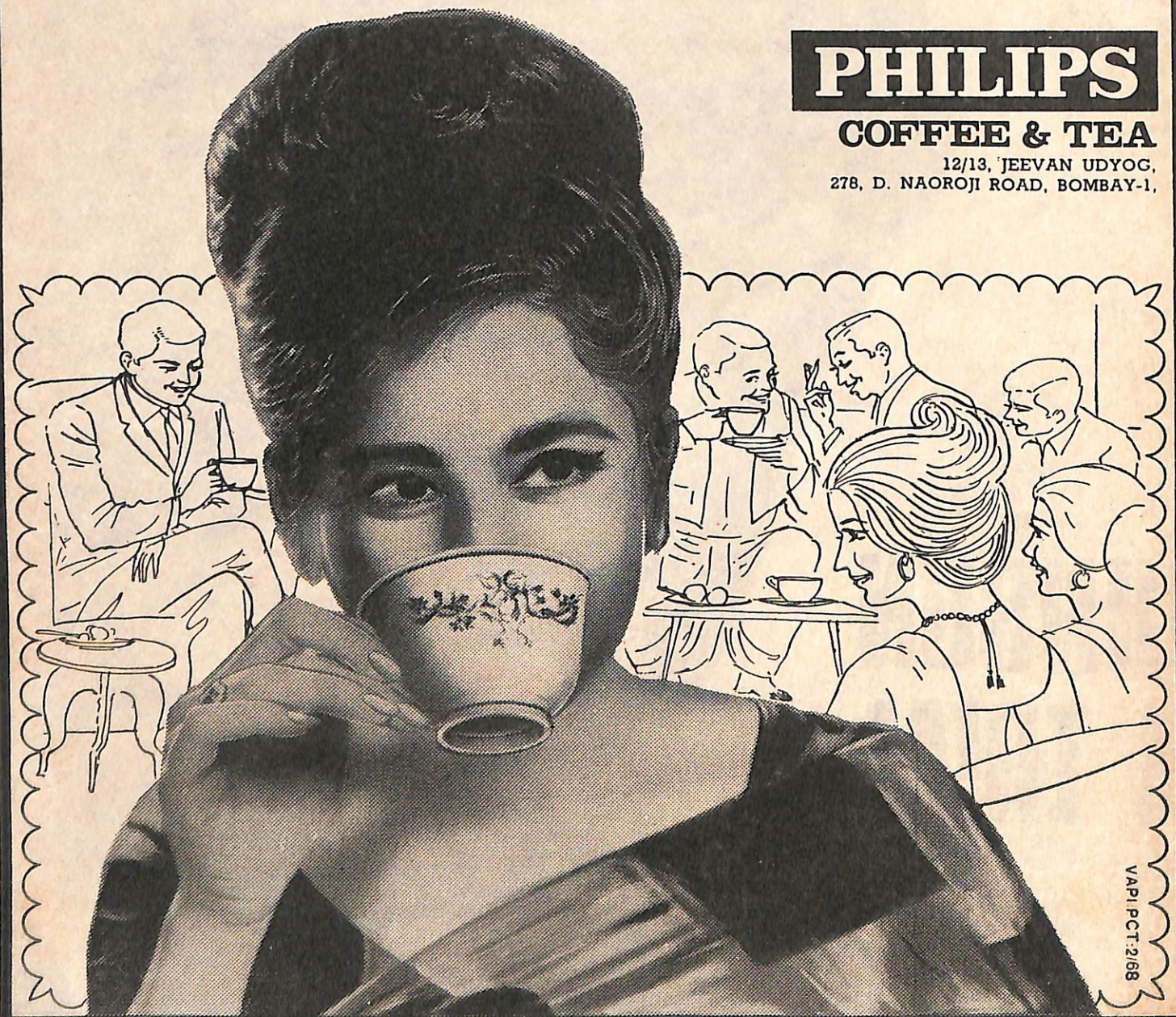
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Editorials

Mischief behind the screen

INSANITY is in the saddle. Anti-Hindi feeling in Tamil Nad leads to the cancelling of Hindi films being exhibited in cinemas throughout the State. As a retaliatory measure the Shiv Sena launches a boycott on the exhibition in Bombay of Hindi films produced in Madras studios.

These linguistic-motivated economic sanctions carried to their logical conclusion will mean banning the sale in Bombay of cars manufactured in Madras or tea and coffee grown in the Nilgiris. What surer way is there to deepen the gulf between the North and South?

The introduction into the quarrel of the Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association and other movie

associations in Bombay, whose members gave a reception to the Shiv Sena head, Bal Thackrey, reveals the financial pressures involved. This may well account for the speed with which an agreement entered into between Mr A. V. Meiyappan of AVM Studios, Madras, whose picture "Do Kaliyan" is involved, and Mr Bal Thackrey was suddenly broken by Mr Thackrey's threat on March 7 that his Sena would prevent the screening of AVM's film in Bombay.

The very fact that Bombay film interests have backed a political movement like Shiv Sena to take action against competitors from Madras portrays both in a bad light.

The bell tolls for Rhodesia

THE RHODESIAN HANGINGS reflect little credit on anybody. Mr Smith carried through the executions in defiance of world opinion and a pardon from the Queen, allegiance to whom he still avers. The British Prime Minister used the occasion to refurbish his non-racial image—tarnished by the Kenya Asians' treatment. Mr Wilson's futile dragging-in of the Royal reprieve for the condemned men provoked a cartoonist's sour comment: "He's already devalued the pound—now he's devalued the Sovereign."

The hanged men had murdered not officials of a repressive regime but ordinary citizens—a white farmer and an African tribal chief. But the process of law has

been sullied by their being made pawns in the political struggle between Salisbury and Whitehall.

Mr Smith's press censorship ensured that his own people did not read of the international outcry against the executions. It is a scared Government that does not want its people to know the truth. And the truth is that Rhodesia will become another Vietnam unless there is a reversal of present attitudes on all sides.

It is not a question of *if*, but *when*. As the men trained in Hanoi, Cuba and Algeria return to the camps in Tanzania and Zambia, and the Chinese push on with the Zambia-Tanzania railway, arms and Maoist revolutionary techniques will be carried into Africa's heart.

Via Arabica

MOROCCO WITH TUNISIA talk sense in the Arab world. On the 7th anniversary of his accession to the throne, King Hassan said recently, "If all the Arab countries, including those of North Africa, had really shared fully all their assets, all their possibilities, all their energies, they would have paved the *Via Arabica* with gold from Rabat right through to Kuwait." The problem for them, he added, is "to evaluate what they have, silence their aggressive radios, talk less and act more".

Last month President Nasser of Egypt made a statement indicating his departure from a barren policy. Nasser said, "The whole world should know that we are

not a nation which always says, 'No, no, no'." Soon after came the proposal from Dr Gunnar Jarring for Arab and Israeli delegates to come to Cyprus to confer with him. It is sad to learn from a semi-official Egyptian paper that Egypt has turned down the proposal. One can only hope that Nasser will have the strength to break with the extremists around him and chart a hopeful road for West Asia.

Engrossed in immediate problems few Arabs have grasped the potential of what they can do for the rest of the world. Nasser will be a bigger man if he can join the ranks of Hassan and Bourguiba.

Rita and Ravi at home

THE PRIME MINISTER, Mrs Indira Gandhi, was on hand to serve breakfast when Rita and Ravi moved into their new home. With two bedrooms and two sitting rooms each, the enclosures of their apartment have space enough to move freely. There is a small terrace garden each.

The apartment, built at a cost of Rs one lakh, was for Delhi's favourite chimpanzees, Rita and Ravi. Even though a dozen human beings die in Delhi every winter through exposure to cold, no one should grudge the chimps their abode.

It is reported that the Prime Minister drove in just in time to greet Rita at the new ape house. She got down from her car and called out to Rita. The chimp gave a toothy grin. Though it might not have been an ideal way to greet the Prime Minister, a reporter indicates it expressed "the warmth of the welcome".

One cannot legitimately object to the Prime Minister relaxing in the simian world, but political observers in Delhi maintain that had she spent even a few hours flying to nearby Mauritius for its independence celebrations last Tuesday she would have been better rewarded.

Briefly Speaking...

A fabrication

THE failure of the Prime Minister to correct her factually erroneous reply in Parliament regarding Moral Re-Armament and the Nagaland Baptist Church Council is worthy of comment.

Mr Jyotimoy Basu (CPI-M) asked in Parliament on February 21, 1968, whether the CIA had sponsored a member of Moral Re-Armament to be sent to Kohima for the meeting of the Nagaland Baptist Church Council in December last. In reply to the question Mrs Indira Gandhi said a member attended the meeting. This story appeared in the *Indian Express* of February 22, 1968, under the headline, "No move for fresh round with Nagas".

Mr Rajmohan Gandhi issued a statement which appeared in the *Indian Express* the next day. He said, "It is a fabrication to suggest

that anyone connected with Moral Re-Armament was sponsored by the CIA to attend the meeting of the Nagaland Baptist Church Council in Kohima in December last. The answer given by Mrs Gandhi to the question by Mr Jyotimoy Basu (CPI-M) in Parliament is factually incorrect. Contrary to what she said, no member of Moral Re-Armament attended the meeting in Kohima of the Baptist Church Council in December last.

"I trust the Prime Minister will trace the source of this misinformation and deal with it appropriately." *Birbal* is tempted to ask whether the Government is similarly misinformed about other developments in Assam and the North-East? If so, it is not surprising that the affairs in the North-East are in the mess they are in.

Candid economist

IN HIS 2084-page inquiry into Asian poverty, published this week, Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal admits he does not know all the answers and has had to revise many earlier ideas. His conclusion about India—his main subject of study—is that "the future lies in the laps of the gods". Refreshing humility from an economist!

"Hardware or humans"

ANOTHER candid economist is Mr George Woods, retiring World Bank President. In a recent speech he criticised aid-giving countries for a short-sighted approach which diverted aid "towards hardware rather than human beings". The overriding justification for giving aid, he said, was "the moral imperative to do what can be done to alleviate poverty, illness and despair wherever they may be found." He described such aid as "nothing less than an investment in the survival of civilisation".

Mr Woods, who hands over on April 1 to former US Defence Secretary Robert McNamara, was speaking in Washington.

Holiday from days

BIRBAL has been keeping a fascinated tag on the profusion of special "Days", "Weeks" and "Years" celebrated recently. Lest readers missed these public events which preoccupy many of our leaders, here is a list:

A great empire and little minds go ill together.

EDMUND BURKE, 1729-1797

Betrayal Day (Kerala), Anti-Kutch Award Day (Bombay), Road Safety Week (Maharashtra), Protest Week (Gujarat), Human Rights Year (New Delhi), Vietnam Day (Calcutta), World Health Day and Anti-Leprosy Day (India and Maharashtra).

Couldn't we have a break from "Days"—a special day, week, or year when we give good causes a holiday?

Tourist rupee

CEYLON is to introduce a special rate of exchange for tourists. The "tourist rupee" will probably be 30 per cent above the prevailing rate. The Ceylonese hope this measure will increase earnings from their growing tourist traffic. Our own Ministries of Finance and Tourism should take note of this proposal.

Political strings

A PROSPECTIVE heart donor attached the condition that his heart should not be transplanted into the body of any politician, says Dr P. K. Sen, first Indian to attempt a heart transplant. Surveying the national scene, one is sometimes led to believe that politicians are indestructible (despite adverse polls) and go on for ever—with or without hearts!

Birbal

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FROM THE CAPITAL

Hopes for Third UNCTAD recede

BY ANTENNA

NEW DELHI After two weeks of feverish effort to breathe life into the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, this marathon meeting of 118 nations looks like a dead duck. The stalemate continues despite private talks between the heads of some leading delegations and top members of the Conference Secretariat.

True, things are not as bleak as they appeared a week ago, when even the informal contact groups of the developing and the developed had ceased to convene because they found they were not speaking the same language.

At the end of last week, a tiny silver edge could be seen to the storm clouds over Vigyan Bhavan as the committees and groups were meeting again and working desperately to produce some agreed formulas when the plenary meetings reopened on March 12. This was indeed a hopeful sign, although the deadline for the committees to report back to the Conference Bureau on the fruits of their deliberations had been twice put back.

But, looking at what has so far been achieved by these bodies in the way of a consensus, it seems quite clear to me, after six weeks of moving in and out of Vigyan Bhavan and talking with many delegates, that little is to be expected in tangible gains to the developing nations. The most that might come out of all this enormous labour is paper formulas which have very little chance of being implemented.

Poor preparation

The root of the trouble, in the opinion of delegates representing both the developing and the developed nations, is that insufficient preparatory work was done for the conference. If this had been done, agreed resolutions could have been placed before the Conference for its consideration instead of trying to work out agreements in the heat of the conference itself.

The net result is that most of the representatives of the developing countries are thoroughly dispirited at the thought of having to go home and report that they have returned empty-handed.

Some representatives of both camps also told me that if the Conference had been provided with more dynamic leadership, it might have achieved

some success. And for this lapse they are inclined to blame the host country, whose delegation, they think, was not of sufficiently high calibre to provide the required guidance when the Conference showed signs of being stalemated.

In private, many delegates spoke highly of the Commerce Secretary, Mr K. B. Lall, but there was scarcely a word of praise for the other members of the large delegation, and a study of its composition is very revealing.

Most of the top delegates are political nominees whose acquaintance with international trade is of the slenderest. This is all too evident from the academic schoolboyish essays

they have delivered at the plenary meeting and in the committees and groups. It was obvious that these estimable gentlemen were reading speeches penned by other hands, and having spoken their pieces they generally lapsed into silence and took no further part in the proceedings.

They had undertaken a task which should have been delegated to foreign trade experts, and it was sad to see such men being pushed into the shadows to make way for platform orators with only a very rudimentary knowledge of what they were talking about. From the way they conducted themselves, it was pretty obvious they imagined they were at a Congress Party session and not at a serious world meeting of the utmost importance to the future of 100-odd developing nations.

Strangest of all was the behaviour

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

on your toes

GOATS OF OLYMPUS

So, UNTOUCHABILITY has now sprinted onto the cinder track. And, curiously, its spur has been the removal of apartheid from South Africa's Olympic team. At least 38 Afro-Asian nations plus Russia threaten to withdraw from the Mexico Games if South Africa attends.

Instead of rejoicing at the unprecedented concessions extracted from the Pretoria Government, namely the selection of athletes on a basis of merit and not of colour, these self-appointed watchdogs ignore many factors:

1 Have they thoroughly examined the attitude of the black and coloured South African athletes themselves? This body of sportsmen, incarcerated for so long, suddenly find themselves within snatching distance of taking part fully and fairly in the world's greatest sports event. Has anyone the right to veto this opportunity? Surely the right of protest lies only with the non-white South African sportsmen.

2 How many of those who reject the inclusion of this non-racial team at Mexico can hold up a clean record on political oppression, communal discrimination, slavery, imprisonment without trial? Can Russia? Can Egypt? Can Nigeria or Cuba? What

about the Congo? Those who execute political prisoners in public squares are unreliable judges.

Perhaps these nations will carry their boycott to the obvious ultimate. They might start with a refusal to handle any South African gold — even get rid of any tainted metal they now hold.

Meanwhile, in Mexico City the authorities are getting jumpy about their expensive preparations. The newspaper *El Universal* calls for the International Olympic Committee's "unjust" decision to be changed. "Why should Mexico be the goat in a game of political football?" it asks. But they will only be a "goat" if they panic over what other nations think.

As the Marquis of Exeter, the UK's member on the IOC for 35 years, told *The Sunday Times* with nonchalance:

"There have been some wild statements made that the withdrawal of certain countries in Africa and Asia would make a farce of the competition. While all of us would regret their absence, the Mexico organising committee can take heart from the fact that at the highly successful Tokyo Olympics, these countries sent only 900 competitors from a total of 5568, and they won six per cent of the medals."

The goats will not be those at Mexico City next November.

Freebooter

CHALTA HAI...



"Did you hear that our Hindi teacher is going to teach us English in Tamil"

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VALENTINE

VERDICT!

This week HIMMAT...

COMMENDS the stand of the Madras Government in opposing compulsory sterilisation or legalised abortion to check population.

FIRES a 21-gun salute for Mauritius on achieving independence on March 12.

WISHES long life to Official Language Commission members who have to translate into Hindi 145,000 pages of Central and State acts and rules plus 200,000 pages of Supreme and High Court judgements, and **CONGRATULATES** them on so far covering 2531 pages.

CHUCKLES at a British opinion poll showing that Britons regard Hitler as the biggest villain of the century, with Stalin and President de Gaulle tied second, and Prime Minister Harold Wilson fourth.

IS UNIMPRESSED by either the efficiency of Government or the patriotism of some businessmen in Maharashtra where 72 dealers owe over Rs 8 crores in tax arrears, some cases going back over 10 years.

SUGGESTS that a new broom in military accountancy, where the Public Accounts Committee has reported mismanagement or misappropriation of crores of rupees, might make possible economies in defence expenditure, which is highest ever this year at Rs 1015 crores.

NOTES the statement of Kashmir leader Sheikh Abdullah that, "Kashmir can become an integral part of India if it wins the hearts of the 50 lakh people of Jammu and Kashmir."

CONGRATULATES Madame Tussauds, the famous London exhibition of life-size waxworks, on including Mrs Indira Gandhi among a group of Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

FORESEES the shape of things to come in India in the ninefold increase in the need for interpreters at the UNCTAD Conference, making it a bigger operation than the UN General Assembly.

ANTENNA—FROM PAGE 5

of the so-called Socialist bloc, and most so of its leader, the Soviet Union. At the very start, it seems clear that they did not take the conference very seriously and that their aim was to make political capital by setting the more volatile of the developing group to speak and act in such a way as to cause discomfiture to the developed nations.

This led to the parading of the rather absurd theory that the developed nations were obligated to give the developing nations all they demanded to expiate the crimes they had committed against them in the colonial past. As the "Socialists" had never practised such abominations, they were absolved from making any pledges to help beyond what they had already done.

To the deep disappointment of most of the developing countries, which were banking on their Socialist allies to put the rich nations of the West to shame by a display of unbridled generosity, all that the resolutions of this group contained was a bagful of cliches which promised nothing concrete, which, on the contrary, tended to absolve them of any responsibility for aiding the developing—except so far as this furthered their political ambitions.

It is time the developing nations realised the plain fact that the East

Europeans are more interested in trading with the Western nations, particularly the members of the European Common Market, on a strictly business basis than helping to put the developing nations on their feet. The Eastern bloc considered Western Europe more complementary to it economically than the developing countries, and "like the developed countries" they want to buy their raw materials in the cheapest market and sell their industrial products in markets where they can do their shopping for the sophisticated capital and consumer goods they need for their home markets.

Delhi Charter unlikely

Developing countries must develop wider trade contracts among themselves. This is what the developed and the Socialists have been telling them, directly and indirectly.

This is a sad end indeed for Mr Dinesh Singh's hope of a triumphant finale for the Conference in the shape of a Delhi Charter, an advance on the Algiers Charter prepared specially for this Conference by the group of 77 developing nations which actually number 87. But now the probabilities of what irreverent scribes call the Dinesh Singh Charter seeing the light of day are very remote. So, it would appear, are the chances of a third UNCTAD—certainly not for a long time to come.

Best World Press

This week HIMMAT begins publication of brief extracts from significant editorials in the major world's newspapers.

Kenya Asians

THE TIMES, London

In 1962 the Labour Party voted against the Commonwealth Immigration Act and promised to repeal it on being returned to power. There is no doubt that today's Bill is a complete breach of the traditional attitudes of the Labour Party towards questions of race and colour... The Government feels under an urgent necessity to break its word...

This is a Bill with new penalties, but no new safeguards; it is a response to prejudice and not to an impartial judgment of social needs. It is probably the most shameful measure that Labour members have ever been asked by their whips to support.

DAILY EXPRESS, London

The Immigrants Bill is belated recogni-

tion of the fact that Britain's capacity to absorb has reached the limit.

To acknowledge this fact is not to indulge in racial discrimination, but to practise a quality which has been sadly lacking these last few days—common sense.

THE NEW STATESMAN, London

Only weak and frightened governments behave in this fashion.

President's Commission on Civil Disorder

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Boston

The report is succinct in stating its basic conclusion. It is simply this: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."

Of course, if that movement should continue, the Republic would lose its whole *raison d'être* in the unfolding story of human progress... The threat of two societies, "separate and unequal", should be seen for what it is: as great a danger as has threatened the United States from within since the 1860s.

Johnson on trial

BY R. M. LALA

PERHAPS no man enjoys greater power than Lyndon B. Johnson. No man today recognises the limitations of it more than he does. Events of the last six weeks in Vietnam must have shaken him. *The New York Times* reports that he looks slimmer than in many months and "more than ever a tired and weary man".

With his nation committed to defend Vietnam, in addition to 525,000 troops, it is reported that he has now been asked by his military commanders to add another 206,000 men. Last week a military research expert said that in order to turn the tide, the United States needs to put three million men into Vietnam.

Johnson is in a dilemma. Recently he said, "I don't know how to do anything better than we are doing it—if I did I would do it—I would take the better way."

Lyndon B. Johnson, the big-time operator of US politics, the man who decided to ride to the White House and did, has come to the end of his human resources and wisdom. Something fresh needs to come into his life both for his own sake and for the world he feels responsible for.

At home he faces a vociferous minority that demonstrates against him wherever he goes. He faces the threat of these anti-Vietnam demonstrators so frequently that the White House Press Corps is asked to pack up at short notice to cover his visits. Pressmen are often told their destination while flying in mid-air. Johnson believes that most of his critics actually want him to be tougher, to "do

SO THEY SAY

The mule is a very, very useful animal, particularly in border areas.

Y. B. CHAVAN
Home Minister

I might be going back (from UNCTAD) not only as a disappointed delegate, but as a more confused economist.

U THET TUN
Burmese delegate

I do not see any objection to a chimpanzee's heart in a human.

WILLIAM CLELAND
British heart surgeon

something" even drastic and end the blood-letting in Asia.

With summer approaches the threat of Negro riots as last year, and by the end of summer LBJ will have to start his election campaign.

Life was easier on that day in 1950 when the young Senator Johnson was suddenly summoned to the White House with the Senate Republican leader Senator Knowland. As Johnson's Cadillac glided from Capitol Hill to the White House, he turned to the ranking Senator and asked if he knew the reason for the sudden summons from the President. Knowland replied he was not certain.

Superb legislator

"I know why we are being called down here," he told Knowland. "He is in trouble and he wants us to bail him out. Did you ever think what you would do as President?" Knowland said no, he never had.

"Well, I have," Johnson replied. LBJ has been near or at the centre of power since 1931—a year before Roosevelt assumed office. His home base was in Texas but his parish gradually extended to the whole of the United States. In the Senate as a leader of the Democratic Party he established himself as a superb legislator and is the first powerful legislator since Madison to become President of the United States.

At the height of his power as Senator, Kennedy suggested to Johnson that he be his running mate as Vice-President. To Kennedy's great surprise, Johnson accepted. An old-time American writer says of the Vice-Presidency: "The Presidency is the highest office in the gift of the people. The Vice-Presidency is the next highest and the lowest. It isn't a crime exactly. You can't be sent to jail for it, but it is a kind of disgrace." (Finlay Peter Dunn)

As Vice-President LBJ was given only one major duty—as Chairman of the Space Council—by Kennedy. Restless, he wanted to reach out. As the field at home was very limited, he decided to go abroad. In 34 months of office he made 11 major foreign tours. He claims to have hit it off with Nehru in Delhi. He proclaimed America's firm commitment to defend Berlin in the 1961 crisis and he toured Vietnam and South-East Asia.

In a confidential report to Presi-

dent Kennedy, he said that in Vietnam and Thailand, the basic decision must be made: Whether to help these countries "to the best of our ability" or "to throw in the towel in the area and pull back our defences to San Francisco and a 'Fortress America' concept". He added, "More important, we would say to the world in this case that we don't live up to treaties and don't stand by our friends. This is not my concept."

To his credit Johnson has held consistently to this line.

On the debit side Johnson has shown an uncanny capacity to use people for his political advance coupled with an incapacity to read the characters of those he promotes. It was he who as Senator picked up an obscure, bright, 26-year-old lad called Bobby Baker and appointed him Secretary of the Senate Majority when the Democrats regained control. Soon Bobby rose in power and became the "fix-it" man for Johnson. He became a power. Eight years later there was a Senate investigation into Baker's business deals. Johnson just managed to stand clear but his public image was never the same again.

Two characters

Johnson's biographers make out that there are two Lyndon Johnsons, the good and the bad, and both characters are sharply-etched. Johnson was a protégé of Senator Russell in the Senate. In 1965, while Johnson was President, Russell was ill a long time. Almost every day the President would ring to inquire after Russell's health. When the Senator recovered, he felt fit enough to make a public statement that Ho Chi Minh would win any honest election held in Vietnam. Johnson's withering sarcasm almost finished the friendship. The man dared to contradict him.

One of his biographers sums up, "He can be as gentle and solicitous as a nurse, but also as ruthless and deceptive as a river boat gambler."

When a Senator, Johnson was not always obedient to his President. He dared to stand against the wishes of President Truman once and declared: "The lash of a Party line may be painful, but as for myself, I know the lash is not as painful as the sting of a conscience which is ignored..."

As President, he succeeded Ken-

Congress closes ranks

FROM S. K. MUKHOPADHYAY IN CALCUTTA

THE MID-TERM POLL in West Bengal is not expected now to be held before the coming winter season. The Chief Election Commissioner, Mr S. P. Sen Varma, has been in Calcutta holding talks with representatives of different political parties to chalk out a tentative date.

The leaders of the United Front who recently met the Governor insisted that the poll be held before June. They contend that the Congress, taking advantage of the delay in setting an early date, will confuse the masses further. No matter what arguments are advanced by the respective parties, the Chief Election Commissioner, it is believed, will not

set an early date as there are a number of formalities and complications.

Preparation of the electoral rolls will take more than three months at least while claims and objections will take a similar period. The question of the coming monsoon, the *pujas* and the harvesting of the new crop in November will pose other problems for holding an early election and as matters stand now, it cannot be held before the end of November at the earliest.

While some parties are eager to get a firm and early date, the public, it seems, is least interested. If a poll were conducted now for and against President's Rule, the con-

sensus would favour its retention.

Meanwhile, the Congress Party which had earlier advocated a poll next February, held a big meeting on the Maidan on Sunday, March 3, when it appealed to the people to vote for the democratic forces and not the Communists. Some Congress leaders at the meeting hinted that the Congress might welcome the formation of a group of parties embracing democratic faith which could align themselves with the Congress to fight the Communists. If not, they suggested that democratic-minded parties, like the Forward Bloc, the PSP and the SSP, could hold their independent fort against the Communists.

Congressmen less rigid

This new move of the Congress, asking like-minded parties to form some sort of alliance with it, is recognised in political circles as a significant gesture. Further, it is understood that at a closed-door meeting of the Pradesh Congress, Mr Atulya Ghosh and Mr P. C. Sen expressed a desire to step down from the party hierarchy, should that do good to the organisation. All told, there seems to be a less rigid attitude among Congressmen.

The United Front, in the meantime, has not yet finally decided on their future course of action and election strategy. The Lok Sevak Sangha, one of the constituents in the UF, recently decided to withdraw from the Front, alleging that by backing persons like Ashu Ghosh and other defectors, the UF had deviated from its original stand.

Similarly, the reported inclusion of the National Party of Bengal, formed by Mr Jehangir Kabir, a former Bangla Congress leader, in the Front has also upset some constituents, like the Bharatiya Kranti Dal, under the leadership of Mr Ajoy Mukherjee. The allocation of seats is yet to be decided also. That, too, may not be an easy affair.

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Is Japan rethinking ban on war?

FROM FUJIKO HARA

TOKYO National security and nuclear armament is the topic of debate both within and outside the Diet (Parliament) these days. The controversy has been sharpened by international events and reached explosion-point when a Cabinet Minister made a slip of the tongue over the impotence of Japan's Self Defence Force.

The basic question involved is what defence policy Japan should follow in the nuclear age. Yet on this vital issue the basic attitudes of the government party and the opposition parties are so wide apart that a national consensus is hardly possible. Moreover, Japan's unique position of having been the first victim of the atomic bomb and of having endorsed the Peace Constitution (renouncing war) further complicates the problem.

Ever since his return from Washington last November, Prime Minister Sato has taken every opportunity to stress the need to cure the "nuclear allergy" and shoulder the burden of national defence. But events such as the seizure of the Pueblo and the visits to Japanese ports of nuclear vessels of the US Navy are continually provoking the pacifists. The leftists are suspicious lest Mr Sato and his Government are pursuing an "increasingly rightist policy".

There are three main issues in this debate:

1 Okinawa. As the return of this Pacific island appears nearer since the recent Sato-Johnson talks, the formula for its return has become

increasingly important. Mr Sato believes that the conditions and the timetable depend on the extent of Japan's defence capacity and on the security of the Far East. He refrains from promising a "non-nuclear Okinawa".

The opposition, bent on scrapping the Japan-US Security Treaty and favouring an unarmed neutrality, demand an immediate and total abolition of the American bases on the island.

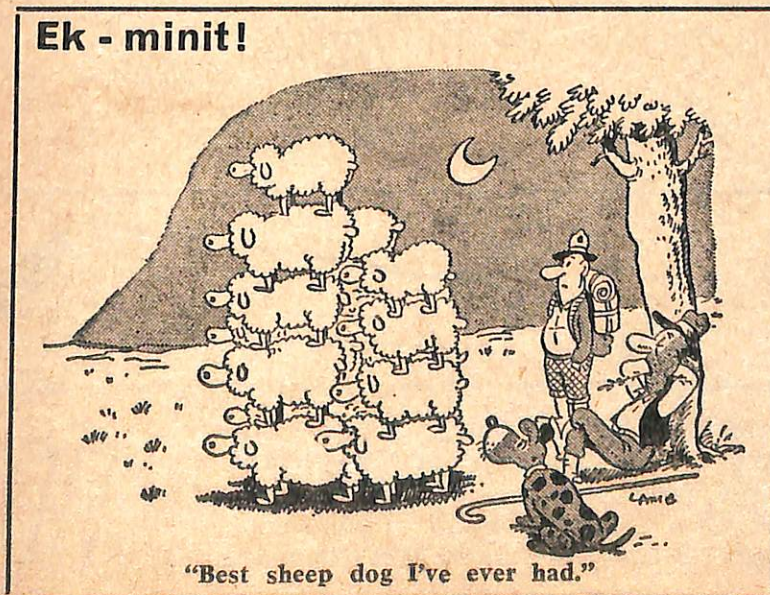
The statement by the Japanese Ambassador in Washington that the choice of whether or not Japan should have nuclear arms should be left for the coming generation to decide, caused apprehension since it was understood to reflect the "unspoken" policy of the Government.

2 Non-nuclearisation. Prime Minister Sato's explanation of Japan's



Prime Minister Sato

nuclear policy is threefold: Japan will not possess, manufacture, nor allow nuclear weapons to be brought into the country. This, in fact, amounts to a non-nuclearisation proclamation, but when the opposition parties pressed him to draw up a Diet resolution on Japan's non-nuclearisation, Mr Sato refused on



"Best sheep dog I've ever had."

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

The week in ASIA

JAKARTA — Indonesia and Malaysia concluded a treaty of friendship under which they agreed to seek peaceful settlement to any dispute between them.

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union protested against alleged Anglo-American plans to create a "joint defence system" in the Persian Gulf after British withdrawal from the area.

CAIRO — Under a new agreement Egypt will supply India with 40,000 tonnes of rice. Trade between the two countries is expected to pick up following this agreement.

SINGAPORE — Singapore and Malaysia agreed to hold talks at the end of May with Britain, Australia and New Zealand to work out defence arrangements after Britain's military withdrawal.

PHNOM PENH — Cambodian Head-of-State Prince Sihanouk announced the execution of six Communist prisoners in reprisal for the killing of village chiefs by Communist guerrillas.

HONG KONG — The captain and chief engineer of the British freighter Sea Coral were released by the Chinese authorities in Tsintao. They were taken ashore and detained for "unspecified reasons" on February 20.

JAKARTA — The Indonesian Army ended its two-and-a-half-year-old policy of censoring foreign correspondents' dispatches.

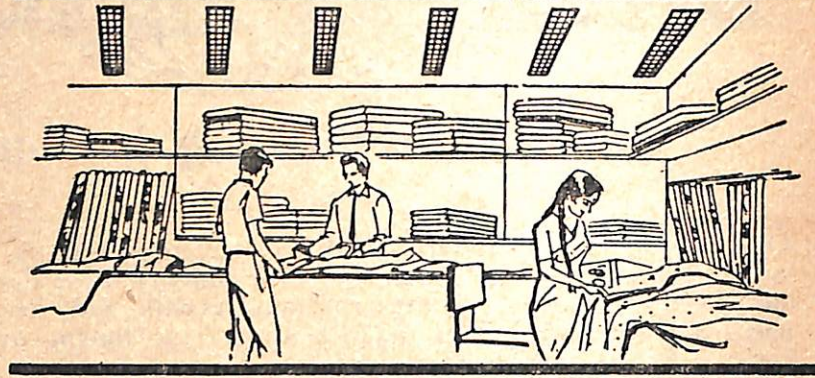
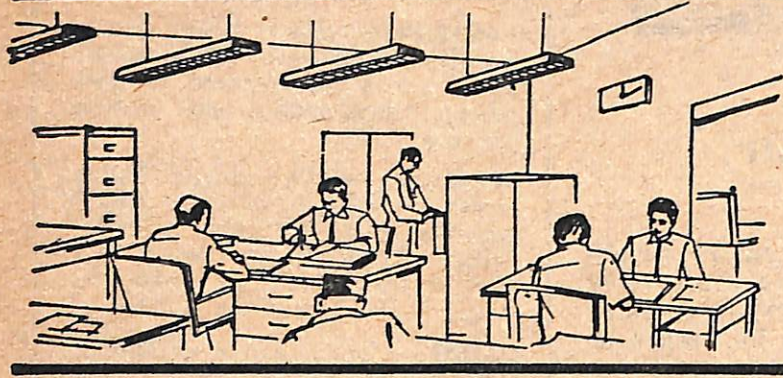
MOSCOW — Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin will pay an official visit to Iran from April 2 to 8, it was announced here. This will be the first time a Soviet head of Government has visited Iran.

SAIGON — American fighter-bombers caught a company of North Vietnamese in the open near the US base of Khe Sanh and killed many. Meanwhile the 16,000 Communist troops surrounding the base continued to bombard it with rockets, artillery and mortars.

CAIRO — Egypt's 160,000 university students remained barred from their classrooms. The Government closed Cairo University following violent demonstrations demanding heavier sentences on military leaders blamed for the defeat last June.

COLOMBO — Police claimed pro-Peking Communists were trying to turn Tamil areas of north Ceylon into a "Naxalbari". Since August there have been over 20 clashes in which 12 people have been killed.

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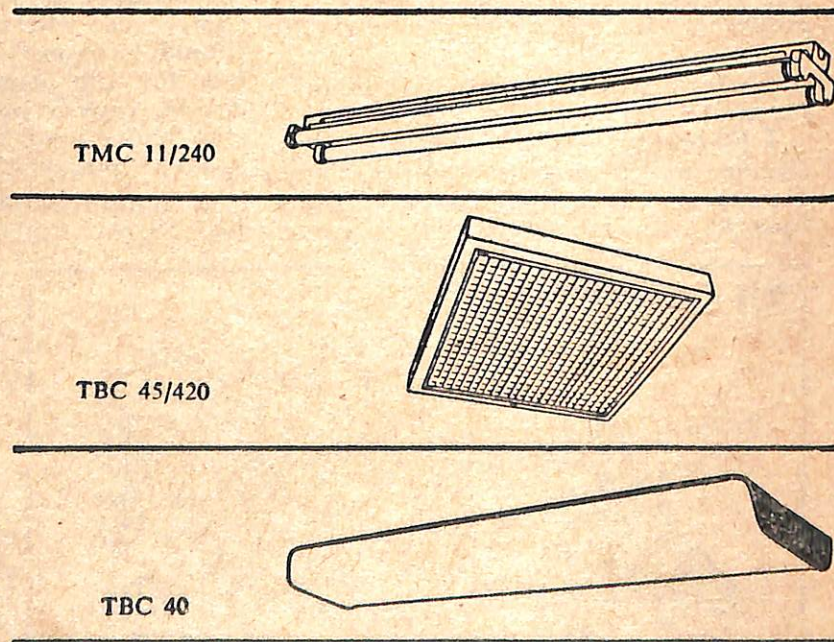
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

the grounds that it was unnecessary. Since then leading scientists and intellectuals, including Japan's Nobel Prize winner Dr Yukawa, have jointly submitted their own non-nuclearisation proclamation.

3 The Constitution. When the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, Mr Tadao Kuraishi, told a press conference Japan should have "an atomic bomb and an army of 300,000 men" he was forced to resign on grounds that he was renouncing the Constitution. Although the war-renouncing Article 9 of the Peace Constitution is generally accepted as allowing the right of self defence, the stationing of troops outside the country is

prohibited under the Constitution.

What "abiding by the Peaceful Constitution" amounts to is dependence on America for Japan's defence. Naturally, this can be amended. This, says the Prime Minister, must be left to the people to choose of their own free will. At present the Government has no intention of revising the Constitution.

The crux of the matter is that the Government does not say what it believes. It is clear to everybody that the Government is determined to keep the matter cool, until the opposition are less "touchy" or more willing to debate the matter.

Voices are heard, however, that the Government should appeal to the people honestly instead of wigworming away from the issue.

Can Makarios end Cyprus crisis?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

NICOSIA Cyprus' Presidential elections — as was expected — have confirmed President Makarios in his position of leadership over this Island of 600,000 inhabitants. The opposition to the Archbishop did not succeed in raising much enthusiasm with its accusation of mismanagement by the President of the sacred cause of "Enosis" — union of the Island of Cyprus with Greece.

The election, the first since 1959, found the electorate only too eager to see an end to the conflict which has beset Cyprus since 1963. The man who offers most chance of bringing the problem to a lasting solution is the Archbishop, who is the only man who can keep the Greek Cypriots united. As head of the Orthodox Church, the Archbishop commands the respect and affection of people in the 700 villages and five towns that make up Cyprus.



Archbishop Makarios

To keep in step with the political activities of the Greeks, the Turkish Cypriots also proceeded to the re-election of their leader, Dr Kutchuk. The Turkish community, and its leadership, did not want to be accused of not following a Constitution which is considered dead or alive according to the necessities of political actions! When Dr Zekia, a former Chief Justice of Cyprus, and a very respected man, announced he would stand in opposition to Dr Kutchuk, he was convinced, after a week of discussions, that he should withdraw "for the sake of national unity".

Ankara (Capital of Turkey) had demanded it, obviously.

So now both Greek and Turkish communities on the Island are waiting to see what will happen. Everybody, in both parts of the country, is tired of the situation which is dragging on endlessly. The Turks especially have been enduring all sorts of restrictions imposed by the Government, and they will be the first to respond to a genuine and concrete policy of reconciliation coming from the Greek side.

Broken bridges

Steps need to be taken by Archbishop Makarios and his Government to rebuild the broken friendship with the Turkish community. Bridges of trust and sincerity will have to be re-established by concrete acts. This is the opportunity President Makarios now holds in his hand. He can prove to be a statesman who deals courageously with problems, and with those people whose influence is not beneficial to the young Republic.

If he can dare to clear the decks of all those who play no constructive role, now, the President would find in the Turks of the Island sincere allies in a policy of building up a great country.

If he does not do that, in spite of the presence of the UN, the conflict may well drag on for another generation. Many think, with prudent optimism, that the first alternative will prevail.

The week in INDIA

NEW DELHI — The Home Ministry issued a notification under the Passport (Entry into India) Act providing that British passport holders ordinarily resident in Kenya could come to India only after securing a prior endorsement from the Indian High Commission there.

PATNA — Six persons died and 12 were hospitalised as a result of drinking Ganga water polluted by oil. The Barauni oil refinery was closed temporarily following reports that effluent from the refinery had caused the pollution.

CHANDIGARH — The Punjab Vidhan Sabha was adjourned for two months by the Speaker on the ground that the House was "rowdy, agitated and angry". The ruling caused a serious deadlock as next year's budget estimates and this year's supplementary demands are yet to be presented.

NEW DELHI — France has offered India a credit of Rs 22.5 crores for the current financial year. India will get about Rs. 30 crores from France in the next financial year, it is understood.

KOHIMA — A split in Naga rebel ranks came to the surface when Kaitosema, former "Defence Minister" and head of a splinter group in the Naga "federal army", denounced the Phizo group for seeking assistance from Communist China.

NEW DELHI — Delhi police registered a case of kidnapping against the Chinese Embassy for forcibly detaining inside the Embassy for four hours a police constable who had entered their compound. They were also accused of extorting a "confession" from him.

BOMBAY — Nearly 59,000 tolas of contraband gold, valued at Rs 1.03 crores, were seized by the Central Excise, Bombay, in Zai village. This is the largest single seizure of gold ever made in the country.

SHILLONG — Nine people were killed and 41 injured in a clash between two communities at Karimganj, sub-divisional headquarters town in eastern Assam.

DELHI — 200,000 Delhi school students will be promoted without exams because the teachers' strike has adversely affected their studies.

BOMBAY — The Shiv Sena resumed its agitation against the screening of Madras-made Hindi films in Bombay in protest against non-screening of Hindi films in Madras.

UK withdrawals add to pressures

FROM GORDON WISE

LONDON Without wanting to appear facetious, a Commonwealth visitor to modern Britain could be justified in pondering the old saying: "Those who continue to shrink from taking responsibility continue to shrink."

Britain's rulers have decided to settle for a European rather than a global role, a policy summarised by "withdrawal". In fairness to the European concept it should be said that Britain playing a more active part in the European framework need not mean contraction.

Far from it. If Britain "goes into Europe" — if she does — with the overriding motive of getting Europe to look outward, to gear her wealth and technology to lifting the levels of the developing lands across the seas, then there could be a very fruitful future for these islands. But, alas, in all honesty this is not yet the motive. Being part of Europe in the hope of prospering more does not stir the blood of young Britain as the best of the imperial tradition once did.

It almost seems as if some of the decisions about "contracting out" are taken without due regard to the consequences. For example, when the withdrawal from Singapore was announced, New Zealand inevitably began to reappraise not only her defence connections with Britain but the order for a naval vessel placed in a British shipyard.

It is possible to conjecture that if Britain's Commonwealth policy were a going concern and she were able to extend increasingly generous aid to Kenya, for example, ways could have been worked out to increase the number of jobs available and decrease the pressure of "Africanisation" on the Asians. In other words, the more Britain withdraws the more pressures come upon her.

So in ditching the Commonwealth

for a European role, to put it crudely, Britain finds herself less able to handle the post-imperial problems which cannot be dismissed by an Act of Parliament. When a crisis comes such as the Indian influx, Britain cannot in all honesty call for a Commonwealth solution and expect the other members to rally round.

New Zealand greets Indian XI

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

WELLINGTON Raised from the sea by an earthquake in 1856 is The Basin Reserve. It is now Wellington's cricket ground, and lies some two miles from the harbour. It was the site of the third Test between India and New Zealand.

The Nawab of Pataudi's team is the first Indian cricket team to visit New Zealand in the 36 years since India first played official Test matches. They are proving most welcome.



Skipper Pataudi

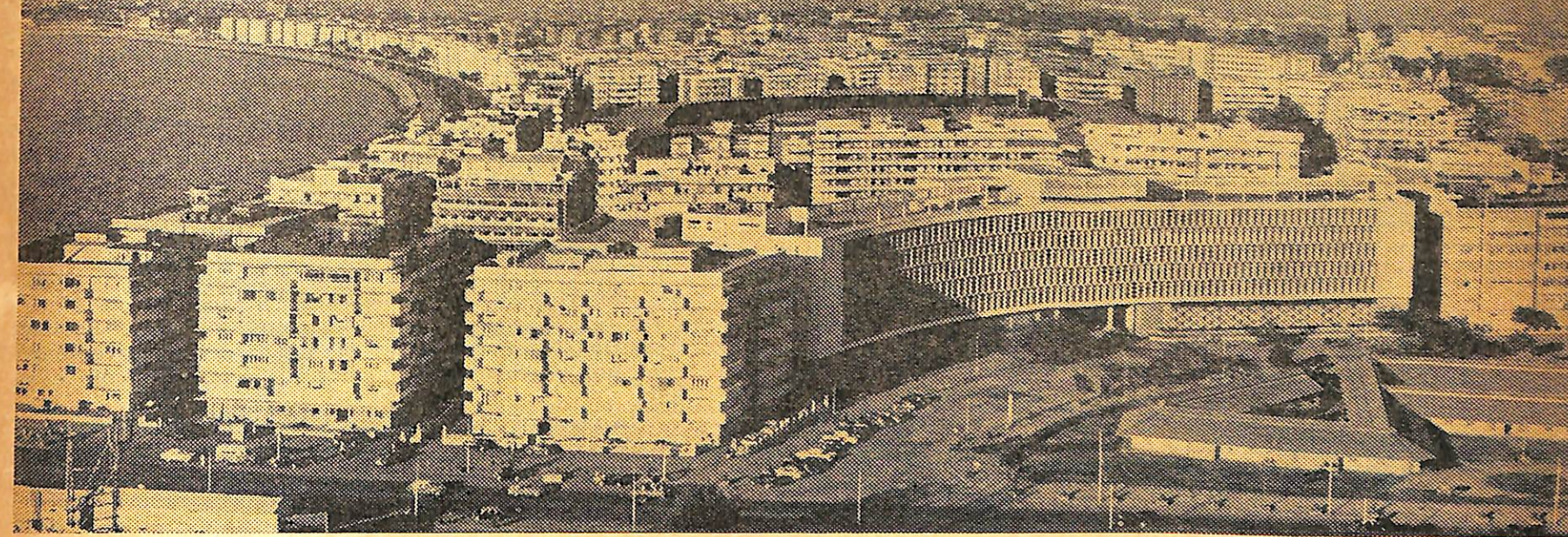
In the first two Tests, India won in Dunedin and New Zealand won in Christchurch, thanks to a marathon innings of 239 by Graham Dowling, captaining New Zealand for the first time, which brought up an unassailable 502 in the first innings. Dowling's score was the highest by any New Zealander in a Test. In the third Test at Wellington India won by a convincing eight wickets.

At the time of writing the final Test at Auckland is still on. The result is as wide open as the hearts of the crowd to this Indian side.

While some people would use sport to rend the world apart, this Indian team coupled with New Zealand's growing skill in the game of cricket is drawing very large crowds. When Ajit Wadekar was dismissed at Wellington by the last ball before lunch, there was a standing ovation, as much for Wadekar's 143, his first Test century, as for wicket-keeper Roy Harford's catch which dismissed him, his fifth in the innings and a New Zealand record.

The popularity of Pataudi's men will do much to assure a warm welcome to Indian leaders who may decide to visit New Zealand in the months ahead.

BOMBAY GOES TO THE POLLS



The city looking north from Nariman Point

What every voter should know

BOMBAY, a sleeping village during the times of the East India Company, is today the 8th largest city in the world. If a follower of Vinoba undertakes a *padyatra* along every street in the *urbs prima* of India, he must walk the same distance as Bombay to Nagpur.

The population of Bombay — permanent and floating — reaches almost 60 lakhs. The number of persons in areas like Girgaon, Kalbadevi, Dhobi Talao, Colaba, Bori Bunder, Bhendi Bazar, Byculla, Nagpada, Kamathipura, Foras Road, Grant Road, Parel, Dadar, Mahim, Matunga, Sion (Wards A to F) easily exceeds the entire combined population of Delhi and Agra. The Municipal Schools alone have on their records more than 4,74,000 students. And despite their notoriety, the hospitals of the Municipality treat in a single year (1966) more than 6,85,000 patients.

Bombay yields 32 per cent of the nation's income tax and 46 per cent of the customs revenue. The factories of Greater Bombay produce cloth, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, engineering goods, synthetic fabrics, petroleum products, oils, lubricants, cars and buses. Ships are built at Mazagon Docks.

This is the reason why 25,93,625 voters who will elect representatives to the Bombay Municipal Corporation on March 26 will make a decision that is significant not only for themselves but for the entire nation.

In 1961, 131 Corporators were voted into power. They meet at least once a week. The Municipal Commissioner is the Chief Executive who exercises control over the 21 Ward Officers. He is removable only by a 5/8th majority of the House. In this way the entire administration is, ultimately, answerable to the people.

Could 1968 be the year in which Bombayites teach a lesson to both bureaucrats and irresponsible politicians,

whose record of the past seven years (thanks to the extra lease of two years given to the Corporators by the Emergency) is an incredible story of contempt for the wellbeing of the people? Civic welfare has been the very first casualty in the unceasing clash of party interests.

One proof of the misery of citizens is the increase in annual per capita tax paid to the Municipal Corporation in the past five years:

Year	Annual tax paid per person
1962-63	Rs 40.94
1963-64	Rs 46.40
1964-65	Rs 48.75
1965-66	Rs 64.65
1966-67	Rs 78.03

There is no justification for this increased burden. The total income of the Corporation has increased from Rs 22,12,54,251 in the year 1962-63 to Rs 37,20,64,090 in the year 1966-67. The Corporation can at least

A HIMMAT SURVEY

by Shrikant V. Bhat

mitigate the suffering of honest citizens if it collects tax arrears which today exceed Rs 6,69,49,165! Nothing but corruption and lethargy can explain the fact that, in the case of wheel tax in the suburbs, 77 per cent is yet to be recovered. In the city proper only 44 per cent of the tax is recovered!

The citizen-taxpayer has been bled to feed the bureaucrats who are growing in number and strength.

The week elsewhere

CODE FOR MPs

DAR-ES-SALAAM—Tanzanian MPs, councillors and senior civil servants must observe the new code of leadership introduced by President



President Nyerere

Nyerere's Government. The code states that no leader or his wife may own houses to rent, draw more than one salary, own shares or draw director's fees, or employ workmen in connection with any trade or profession. 184 MPs, some 3000 councillors and 10,000 civil servants have had to sign an agreement to obey the code.

MORE WHEAT FOR CHINA

SYDNEY—Australia is to sell China one million tons of wheat this year, announced Wheat Board Chairman Allan Callaghan. He valued the contract at around £25 million sterling.

The price is a little under current rates in world markets. This is the second big Australian wheat deal in nine months. Current contracts with China total nearly three million tons.

China also has a three-year contract with Canada for up to 7.5 million tons of wheat, and a recent contract with France for half-a-million.

NASSER'S ADMISSION

CAIRO—President Nasser's admission, in an interview with an American magazine, that he was wrong in alleging Anglo-US air support for the Israelis during the June war, has paved the way for the restoration of diplomatic relations between the US and UAR. Britain has already resumed relations. Egyptian and US missions have continued to operate under protection of foreign embassies.

FRENCH ARMS SALES

PARIS—France is now selling arms to over 20 countries, including India, Pakistan, Israel and South Africa. Her latest sales are in West Asia and South America. She is selling 200 armoured cars to Saudi Arabia and 60 light tanks to Argentina.



Bombay harbour, home base of India's fleet

Out of the budget estimate (1968-69) of Rs 38 crores, about Rs 13 crores — one third — will be spent to feed, clothe and house the increasing army of Municipal Officers and staff. In the year 1963-64, there were only 219 officers. Within only five years, their number has swollen to 308. These figures pertain to those drawing a monthly salary between Rs 500 and Rs 900. Those drawing more than Rs 900 salary were a small fraternity of 52 in the year 1963-64. They more than doubled themselves to 110 in 1966-67!

Mr R. G. Godbole, Municipal Chief Auditor, in his Report for 1964-65 writes that the "continuous flow of proposals from the Departments for increase in staff and remuneration has become a routine".

If Professor Parkinson came to Bombay he would find ample proof for his theory in the Bombay Municipal Corporation. They may even accord him a civic reception or declare a holiday in his honour.

HUTMENT DWELLERS

Sometime back the Municipal Commissioner estimated that "the total number of hutments within the Corporation area is more than 50,000. These unauthorised structures are on Government land, Municipal land, or private land... It is found that works like laying sewers, water mains, construction of roads, footpaths, storm water drains, hospitals, markets, maternity homes, and dispensaries have been jeopardised for the past few years because... the possession of these sites could not be taken as they had been utilised for residential purposes by squatters and hutment dwellers... Not one square inch of space which is not required for our bona fide construction is being cleared by the Municipality..."

In simple English, the Commissioner has accepted the sovereignty of the hutment dwellers.

This rare piece of honesty shows the impotence of the Municipal authorities and the Corporators to take any action against those who have made a mockery of law and order and made the life of the citizen a nightmare. As a rule, however, the Commissioner and the Corporators indulge in academic observations like, "The problems of the hutments and the hawkers are essentially socio-economic problems."

Such cliches cannot whitewash the naked corruption that exists among those Municipal employees and Corporators who for financial consideration or for votes perpetuate the slums. Near Kalanagar, at Bandra, the residents in huts on both sides of the highway have taken water and electricity connections without paying one paisa! What a sad contrast to the prompt action of the BEST in cutting off the electric supply if the payment of bills by an honest citizen is late by a week or two!

SCANDALS GALORE

There is no space here to reproduce the various scandals discovered by the Chief Auditor in a sample survey of the records of the Stores and other Departments. In his Report (1964-65), remarkable for sobriety and a transparent anxiety for public good, the Auditor observes:

"Large quantities of asbestos cement sheets were purchased at higher than controlled rates at an additional cost of Rs 2,79,382 on the plea of urgency, but they are lying unutilised.

"Large stocks of brass and galvanised iron fittings were specially purchased at a cost of Rs 89,863 in 1958-59, but many of them were not utilised.

"Foreign materials were purchased at higher rates in preference to Indian ones even though they were used in the past without any adverse written comments.

"Large stocks of steel of Rs 1,61,540 were lying unused in the open yard for five to eleven years, liable to early deterioration.

"Recovery of penalties from the suppliers for delay in supplying the goods was not effected.

"Stock control procedure was highly defective, resulting in several cases of understocking, overstocking, non-verification of stocks for a number of years, etc.

"In view of the above irregularities, the certificate of stock as on March 31, 1965, valued at Rs 64,98,038 given by the Controller of Stores cannot be relied upon by audit."

So the taxpayers can keep whistling for almost 65 lakhs of rupees, but no one, including the Auditor, knows where the money is or the goods are. Those

BELIEVE IT OR NOT

On July 21, 1967 the offices of the Municipal Corporation remained closed. The reason given was the death the day before of a gentleman who had been a Municipal Commissioner in 1937!

On February 14, 1968 the Municipality again shut its doors for the day. The reason was the death the day before of a citizen who had been Mayor of Bombay in 1916!

Is the stoppage of work the only way the Corporation known to pay tribute to departed persons? What about the thousands whose work is pending in the offices of the Municipality?

Surely a minute's silence is enough to express one's feelings of sympathy. This holiday nonsense should be stopped immediately.

who know are those working in the Stores Departments — and, of course, the contractors who supply the goods, mostly on paper. Three cheers for the Corporators who have never asked for the dismissal of any employee, however inefficient or however corrupt.

The Chief Auditor continues:

"... instead of complying with the Audit requirements, in many cases the Departments replied that relevant papers or registers were either destroyed or are not traceable and requested the Audit to file (close) these cases. Final accounts for 1962-63 were submitted for audit during November 1963, i.e. eight months after the close of the Financial Year; those of 1964-65 were submitted in January-February 1966, i.e. 10 months after the close of that year. This indicates deterioration."

"Deterioration" is hardly the right word for Municipal satraps who recognise no authority higher than their

own. The only economy exercised by the Corporators is in the office of the poor Chief Auditor himself.

This naive gentleman complains that the staff given to him are less than the minimum required to carry out the test audit. Surely he ought to know that thieves are not interested in increasing the strength of the (honest) police!

SOLID ACHIEVEMENT: STATUE REMOVAL

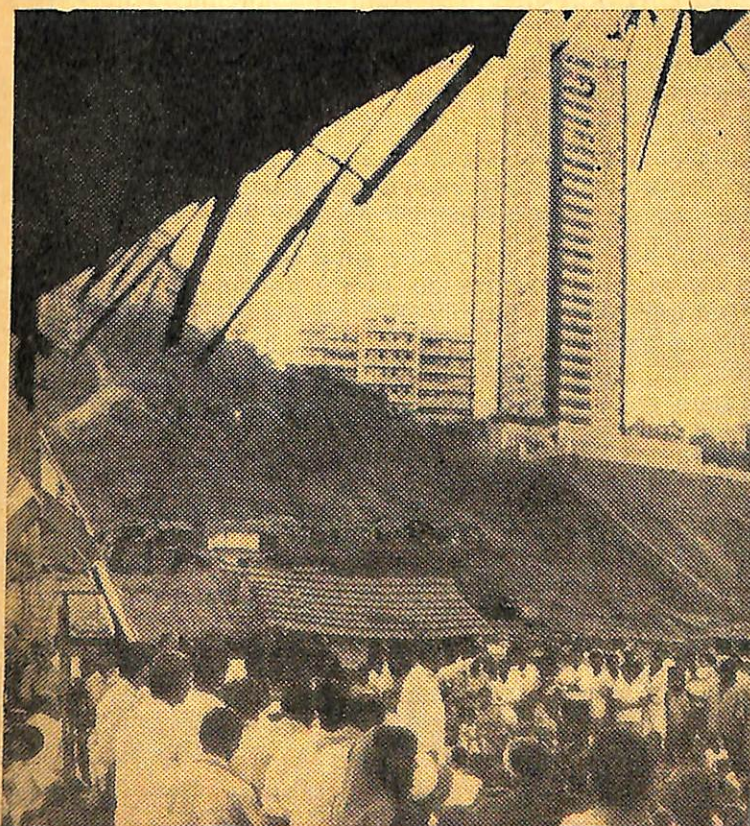
Looking at the sad history of the continuous deterioration in all walks of civic life, nothing makes the citizens more indignant than the callousness of the city fathers and their obsession with trivialities in life and society. How many of them can lay claim to an honest effort to improve the day-to-day administration of the Municipality? In the House, they discuss Vietnam, Hungary, President's Rule in Kerala, dismissal of the UF Government in West Bengal.

The only solid achievement of the Corporation is in changing the names of roads and markets, and the swift though costly removal of grand and beautiful statues — relics of the British Raj.

The Corporators owe an explanation to the public as to why and how they regard the death of every leader as a justification for stopping official business. A minute's sincere silence is an accepted way of showing respect for a departed leader, not stopping work. For one trivial reason or another, the Standing Committee — the most important Committee of the Corporation — adjourned for the 8th time in a row without transacting business on November 29, 1967. Bet-264 times. And yet, *The Indian Express* of December 8, 1967 comments:

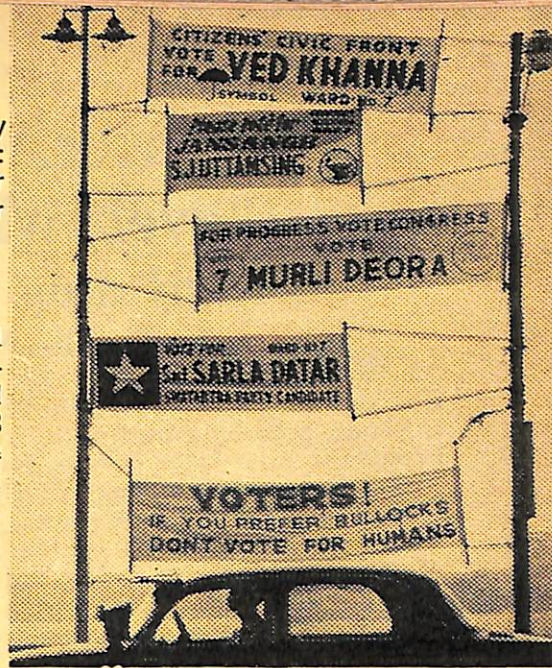
"Barring a dozen items, most of which were of a routine nature, the Corporation has not been able to transact any serious business during the last eight sittings, each of which costs the civic exchequer not less than Rs 3000. The number of pending business items is said to be more than 500, including over 100 items of an urgent nature."

Candidate H. N. Trivedi addresses voters in a typical slum beside a 28-storey apartment, India's tallest building.



Banners festoon the city including this one (right): "Voters! If you prefer bullocks don't vote for humans."

Between May 1964 and August 1966, 114 adjournment motions were moved and out of these, only 48 were on civic issues. The city fathers have played truant so persistently that no less a person than an ex-Mayor of Bombay, Dr Divgi, was moved to comment that Rs 10 lakhs spent on the Corporators are a mere waste.



WHAT CAN THE CITIZENS DO?

The citizens also need to take some blame for such a sorry state of affairs. Till now, their only action has been an arm-chair criticism of the Municipality. But how many have actually met their Corporators? How many have put forth concrete suggestions for improvement in the administration? Millions of citizens have deluded themselves with the belief that their duty ends after they cast their vote. In fact, citizenship really begins after the vote is cast — and it never ends.

Once in a while, at least, the citizens must visit the Corporation whilst it is in session; once in a while they must meet the Corporators and discuss with them the common problems, with suggested alternatives. Do we do it? How many have seen a meeting of the Corporation? How many ever write to the Press?

This time at least, 26 lakhs of voters can save themselves from a conspiracy of bureaucrats and short-sighted politicians. They must elect candidates irrespective of party affiliations. They should seek the following qualities in the candidates:

- 1 Honesty.
- 2 Specialisation in some subject like engineering, town planning, architecture, law, administration, education, medical science etc.
- 3 Dedication to public welfare.
- 4 Capacity to express himself or herself with clarity and force.
- 5 Ability to work in a team.
- 6 Courage to admit one's errors.

The secret is to have the best minds and hands willing to work, and an electorate that is in continuous and close contact with the elected. In other words, both the voters and the successful candidates (as well as the defeated candidates) must feel and act with the knowledge that casting votes is just the beginning of civic duties.

SOURCES:

1. Annual Administration Report of the Municipal Commissioner for 1966-67, Bombay.
2. Administrative Report of the Municipal Chief Auditor, Bombay Municipal Corporation, 1964-65.

"Water, water everywhere nor any drop to drink"

by G. V. K. Moorthy

AT A FUNCTION arranged by the Bombay Municipal Corporation on May 8 last, Bombay's Mayor, Dr Leon D'Souza, pressed a button to inaugurate the Ulhas River Project — and water flowed, symbolically, through small tubes across a relief map of Ulhas.

However, within 10 days of its inauguration, the Ulhas project itself was on the rocks — its water supply of 20 million gallons a day had to be totally suspended following a sharp fall in the river's water level.

The project was conceived out of an unprecedented crisis that gripped Bombay two years ago.

In May 1966, people began to look upward intently and, as the days rolled by, the taps went dry, the lakes supplying water to the city turned into mere puddles and worried officials went into emergency conferences. There was panic in the air as the city braced itself to face mass evacuation. The worst crisis of a century threatened everything, including the giant industries that keep the hub of the nation's economic life moving.

This shook the city to a grim realisation — not enough was being done to match supply with a demand of 350 million gallons a day. The city's four main lakes supplied only 213 million gallons of water.

Following the failure of the monsoon, July 15 was set for the beginning of a phased mass evacuation. However, exactly on that date the rains began to pour and for the next days it was "water, water everywhere".

This crisis, however, had shaken the civic authorities and the State Government out of their lethargy.

LEAKAGE STEALS 20 PER CENT

Now the "cold" facts show that the city only gets 185 million gallons a day — and assuming that the population does not exceed 70 lakhs the city will need by 1981 560 million gallons per day. This it is likely to get in full measure, provided all the schemes now mooted are carried out according to schedule.

The following causes lie behind the chronic shortage:

- 1 Heavy influx of population encouraged by rapid industrialisation.
- 2 Vertical expansion of the city.
- 3 Leakage and illicit tapping — by which 20 per cent of available water is lost.
- 4 Evaporation: 25 million gallons a day are lost in Tansa Lake alone.
- 5 Use of water by industries: the Maharashtra Economic Development Council survey indicates that 140 factories, including 56 textile mills, use up to 22.2 million gallons a day. Their needs by 1980 will be 121 million gallons a day — about 62 per cent of the current supply of the entire city!

What then is the solution? I put this question to a number of people.

Mr George Fernandes, MP, the city's most vocal Labour leader, has threatened to take over the main water supply stations with volunteer brigades. He advocates: "Water supply hours for the city should be uniform with every citizen sharing the hardship caused by non-availability of adequate water. The 6000-odd wells should be reopened and cleaned; and all factories which need water in large quantity should be asked to sink tube wells."

Citizens with no regular supply tap water illegally



Mr D. R. Bhise, Hydraulic Engineer of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, was evasive. He replied, "No comment, this is not within my jurisdiction", to a number of questions I had put. Only two of my dozen questions elicited answers. He said there were 1600 wells in the city and 5550 in the suburbs. "These are shallow — very small in diameter and contaminated with sewerage pouring through the cavities of the rocks."

Mr Bhise rejected the idea of tubewells since the strata of earth in Bombay were not suitable. "Several parties have sunk fortunes in such ventures."

Mr N. V. Modak, retired Chief Engineer of the Corporation, feels desalinisation of sea water and its use on a limited scale could be tried out. "With nuclear energy it is possible. In Kuwait they are doing it."

Typical are these views of hard-hit citizens:

Mr R. R. L. N. Murthy, (29) of Ghatkopar: "The shortage is felt rather acutely here for the supply starts around 4.30 am and ends at about 7.30 am and again for an hour in the evening. If any member oversleeps, his supply is gone and he suffers the whole day."

Mr H. G. Apte, (54) of Dadar: "The supply starts late in the day — between 1 and 3 pm and for half an hour in the evening."

Mr D. V. S. Rao, (29) of Andheri: "I have no complaint in that I reside in a ground floor flat where I get a 24-hour supply. But the other floors get supply only between 1 am and 5 am."

Mr M. S. Poojari, (26), who resides in a fourth floor flat in the chronically deficit area of Dhobi Talao: "For the past two years not a drop of water has come to the fourth floor. My people have to carry buckets of water all the way up from a ground floor tap."

The sensible way out for the time being seems to be to pursue all the schemes on a war footing. There is the "Dahisar Water Supply Project" which will give six million gallons a day to the western and extended suburbs. A Government move to abandon it on grounds of cost was stalled, thanks to the alertness of some corporators. There is the "Bhatsai River Project" which will give in all 250 million gallons per day but the Government has reserved only 150 million gallons for supply to people. The project is also the subject of a fierce controversy — whether it should be executed by Municipal or Government engineers and how much should Bombay get of it. There are also the Upper Vaitarna and Upper Kalu schemes. All these will give, by 1981, 576 million gallons a day. Will the Corporation and the Government end their wrangles and get on with the job? What matters to the people is WATER and in adequate measure and not who gets the credit.

A President observed

LYNDON B. JOHNSON: THE EXERCISE OF POWER, by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., pp. 597, 50s.

THE STORY is, of course, unfinished. The fact that its subject will monopolise the headlines more than ever this Presidential election year only increases its fascination.

The authors, who write the Washington column "Inside Report", have had the opportunity to study their subject at close range over a number of years. Evans began covering the Senate in 1953, the year Johnson became Majority Leader, and Novak in 1957. For this book they conducted more than 200 separate interviews in 1965 and 1966.

What manner of man is the Lyndon Johnson they reveal? Not only does his huge bulk make the millionaire Texas President larger than life. "Ninety per cent of what he does is right and ninety per cent of the way he does it is wrong," remarks a close aide. The Johnson



President Johnson

Presidency are well known. His skill and tact in the critical transition period receive praise.

Before long, however, the Operator was operating again, solving (momentarily) the "Bobby Problem" by edging out Robert F. Kennedy from the Vice-Presidential lists.

Johnson's passion for consensus along with his politician's instinct to consolidate the vast new Presidential power, are seen as the twin motives behind his drive for a landslide victory over Barry Goldwater in the 1964 elections. Capturing 44 out of 50 States and 61 per cent of the vote, Johnson got his landslide. His power complete, confirmed as "President of all the people", the way seemed open for Lyndon Johnson to go down as the builder of the "Great Society".

It was not to be like that, however. The rest of the drama, still to be played out, is of the gradual erosion of the unprecedented power and broad consensus achieved in 1964. Paradoxically not home affairs and the Great Society, but foreign policy has come to preoccupy Johnson.

Above all, Vietnam has caused the erosion. Vocal sections of American opinion, representing the increasingly powerful "Peace Camp" have turned against Johnson. This is personified by Senator Eugene McCarthy, once seriously considered by Johnson for the Vice-Presidency, now deliberately splitting the Democratic Party by standing against the President as a Peace Candidate.

Reporters Evans and Novak have highlighted Johnson's obsession with criticism and with his "image problem". Their hard-hitting book, never holding back the awkward or the unpleasant, may go some way in solving it. For what finally emerges is not the "Politician Unmasked", but a human figure, far from perfect, with vast power and vast problems, who has his moments of sincerity as well as of bullying and who wishes, at bottom, to do right".

P.W.

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King of contemporary cricket

IN THE present Test series being played by the MCC in the West Indies, England, who smarted under the 3-1 defeat by the Islanders in the 1966 home series, are making a great bid to salvage their reputation. But they have found Gary Sobers, the West Indies Captain, a tough obstacle. Almost single-handedly he fought England in 1966 and in the first two matches in the present series it has been Sobers again who has stood between England and victory. (All three Tests so far played have been drawn.—Ed.)

When Gary Sobers is in action, cricket fans flock to the ground to have a glimpse of this great all-rounder. Whether he wields the willow, bowls the ball or patrols close to the wicket like a panther, he is a wizard.

This left-hander's repertoire of strokes is the dream of budding batsmen. It is curious that he had no coaching in his early days. But Sobers is a natural player to whom coaching would have made little difference.

A dedicated student of the game, Sobers climbed to fame with startling consistency. He has already taken a couple of world records. He eclipsed Len Hutton's record highest Test score of 364 by flogging the Pakistani bowling for 365 not out. This threw him to the top of the world's best bats. He is the only player to have amassed 5000 runs and bagged 100 wickets in Tests.

How he does it

But statistics can hardly convey the real worth of his accomplishments. Sobers is the greatest all-rounder, perhaps, of all times. He drives, pulls and hooks the bowlers to their despair. Then he lays back to cut, the ball speeding away to the fence like lightning. He lunges forward lackadaisically to send the ball soaring over the boundary for a six. He shuffles on to his back foot to tuck it away with a flick of his wrists, leaving the short-legs flabbergasted by the speed and precision of his stroke.

Sobers is a three-in-one bowler. He hurls down the "red cherry", swinging it disconcertingly. When the sheen is off the ball, he switches over to his leg-spinners. The cocktail of leg-spinners, top-spinners and the "chinaman" that he serves up to the batsmen is not exactly pleasing to their palate.

Sobers is also a matchless fieldsmen. In the close-to-the-wicket re-

gion he plucks catches out of the air like a magician pulling rabbits out of his hat.

The mantle of captaincy fell on Sobers when the late Sir Frank Worrell left big cricket. Many then wondered if he could carry on his



Gary Sobers

batting in such pugnacious vein, with the added onus of leadership. Many doubted if he could lead the West Indies as successfully as Worrell did. Sobers silenced the doubters by leading his side to a 2-1 victory over the Aussies on home soil. He inspired his men with his wonderful versatility.

Sobers' career touched the pinnacle of glory in the Test series against

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets people

England in 1966. With ruthless consistency he thrashed the England bowling for 722 runs (average: 103.4) including three centuries. He also secured the scalps of 20 batsmen. By this all-round performance, he towered above his colleagues and opponents to snatch a 3-1 victory for the West Indies. On the field, he proved to be an astute tactician as captain. The series was described by one sports writer as "England versus Sobers".

Sobers' deeds with bat and ball in the 1967 Indo-Windies Test series are too fresh in our minds to forget. While his 53 not out in the Bombay Test was an essay in aggression, his 95 and unbeaten 74 in the Madras Test were examples of disciplined batsmanship. The Bombay innings was a sheer delight to the ordinary spectator, while the other two enthralled the connoisseur of the game. Sober in a crisis, Gary saved his side from certain defeat at Madras.

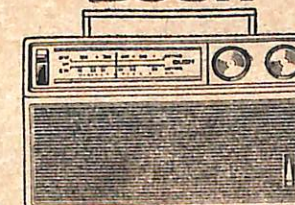
His statistics to date are: 63 Tests, 108 innings, 15 not outs, 365 (n.o.) highest, 5764 runs (average 61.97), 18 centuries or over, 22 half-centuries and 82 catches; 151 wickets for 5067 runs (average 33.55).

But Sobers, the player, is worth much more than these figures indicate, because he infuses into his game the spirit of adventure.

V.K.

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Man needn't go to "pot"

BY PAUL CAMPBELL

ON THE US-Mexican border recently, Customs officials seized one ton of marijuana resin. The haul was valued at two million dollars if peddled on the streets of America.

Recently a group of British people, including two psychiatrists, paid £5000 for a full page in *The Times* to agitate for a relaxation of the law on marijuana.

Last month a WHO official described marijuana as a dangerous drug.

What is it all about?

Is "pot", as this drug is commonly called, another of those issues like Pop Music, Pop Art, and the mini-skirt, seized on by the combatants in the warfare between the young and the old? Is this frowning on pot another of those hypocrisies being foisted on a younger generation by their elders, who themselves indulge in their own escape drugs, alcohol and tobacco?

Some claim marijuana is no more harmful on body and brain than alcohol. In Britain we are doing our best to beat back the use of alcohol by car drivers with the breathyliser. Already there are fewer traffic deaths.

To say pot is no more harmful than tobacco is enough to condemn it. Cigarette smoking can cause cancer of the lungs and diseases of the heart and arteries.

We do not yet know the effect of marijuana on the lungs, circulation, liver and brain of man. We do know that some of the inert constituents of marijuana resin can change character when heated, and become biologically inactive. At the Arthur D. Little Research Institute in Edinburgh the effects of marijuana are being investigated on a colony of baboons. Dr R. E. Lister, the scientist in charge, says they are testing the effects of marijuana on the brain, the nervous system, the heart, reproduction and patterns of behaviour. The results of the experiments will be watched with interest.

We do know that marijuana, like alcohol, changes the user's sense of speed, time and distance — but he does not know it. Some pop drummers use it, for under its influence they think they are drumming slowly — and so make an effort to increase the tempo. But it is an illusion. When driving a car a user of marijuana will think he is going more slowly than he actually is. Furthermore, he cannot judge ac-

curately how far he is from another car. His illusions can end in disaster.

Some of those who ask, "Why not Pot?" are adherents of a philosophy made current by some of Britain's pop stars. This philosophy states,



Paul S. Campbell, BA, MD, holds degrees from the University of British Columbia and the University of Alberta, Canada. He was for four years on the staff of the Henry Ford Hospital in Detroit and for 19 years physician to Frank N. D. Buchman. He has travelled widely on all five continents.

"I am an island. What I do with my body and brain is my business."

The flaw in this argument is that no one is an island. No matter how hard he tries, no one can live to himself.

I have in my mind the pain and anguish of a father and mother who

ASSAM

Disturbances at Karimganj

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN SHILLONG

FOR A SECOND TIME in six weeks, the Union Home Minister, Mr Y. B. Chavan, had to air-dash to the State to make an on-the-spot study of violent eruptions. Both cases had a communal colouring; the riot involving non-Assamese traders in Gauhati on January 26, followed by a Hindu-Muslim clash at Karimganj on March 2.

The Karimganj incident, which was sparked off by some altercation over a stray cow, resulted in nine deaths and about 41 injured, according to latest reports. The situation was reported to have been brought under control. Assam Legislators have rushed to the spot, peace committees have sprung up. But the Government needs to review the situation and take positive steps to end these frequent communal outbursts.

consulted me about their son hooked on drugs. The boy's philosophy was that the way he lived was his own business. It did not enable his parents to escape the pain caused by watching one whom they loved destroy himself.

Also the pot smoker is usually exposed to callous men, ruthless and greedy, who exploit the smoker's desire and curiosity by offering him harder drugs. This is big business. It is estimated that in New York city alone the drugset steal ten million dollars a day in order to pay the illicit syndicates who supply them with their capsules, cigarettes and shots.

The world is going to be changed. It is changing. There is work for everyone to do, houses to be built and cities, education to be shared, sanction to be provided, children to be fed, hates to be liquidated, homes and humanity to be united.

The good glad news of this century is not that hearts can be transplanted, or the moon can be lived upon, but that man can be modernised. Modern man can find the will, the way and the fire to enter the hell of human hearts and the hell of the human condition — and bring a cure.

The final judgement on pot is that those who smoke it don't fight for change. Those who fight for change don't smoke pot.

Karimganj, 147 miles from the State capital, in the Cachar district, is situated in the southern part of the State, bordered by Pakistan on the west and the Mizo Hills district on the south. The district, which is 2688 square miles in area, has about 500,000 Muslims and 800,000 Hindus, out of the total population of 1,378,476.

It is disquieting to know that already repercussions have occurred, and some houses of the minority community have been set on fire in East Pakistan. In Karimganj alone, besides the stabbing and killings, shops and houses were set on fire. Two days later, the police fired seven rounds on a rioting mob at Girishganj. Over a hundred people of both communities were arrested in the district and curfew and section 144 is still enforced.

A Kenya Asian views the problem

BY BIPIN GATHANI

SINCE the Kenya Government passed its immigration bill 100,000 Asians residing in the country went into a panic. This led to an exodus of Kenya Asians to Britain. The parties now involved in this problem are the Governments of Kenya, Britain, India and the Kenya Asians.

The Kenya Government is justified in passing a bill that pursues the policy of Kenyanisation. It has done what any other government of a developing country would do for the welfare of its own citizens.

Kenya achieved independence in December 1963 and is one of the few fortunate countries of Africa so far immune from *coups d'etat*. It has a stable government under President Kenyatta and is economically progressing at a faster rate than any other country in Africa.

But even after four years of independence, Africans in Kenya are not enjoying the full economic fruits of independence. A major portion of the economy is controlled by the minority groups consisting of Asians and Europeans. Europeans have, however, increased investments to such an extent that the new ventures started by them have absorbed many unemployed Africans and thus created goodwill towards them.

The bulk of the Asians in Kenya are in the commercial sector. They have worked in this field since the beginning of the century and have maintained a steady income, and a

higher standard of living than their brothers in India and Pakistan. At the time of Kenya's independence the majority of civil servants and white collar workers in the Government and large commercial companies were Asians. Thus an African had to compete with the Asian for employment in his own country. This created racial prejudice against the Asians and the Government of Kenya had to act.

The Government, however, was cautious and did not take any harsh step to throw the Asians out. In fact it is gratifying to note that the Kenya Government willingly offered citizenship to the Asians who had stayed for years in Kenya. The Indian Government also advised the Asians to take up the citizenship but the majority refused and opted to remain British citizens. The Asians felt that should things become unstable in Kenya they could, as British citizens, always turn to Britain.

After a period of two years the Kenya Government closed its doors of citizenship and steadily moved towards its programme of Kenyanisation. It first advised employers to implement this policy. However, in the absence of legislation, this policy remained a wish.

The time came for the Government to move sternly and after a lapse of time it brought in an immigration bill whereby foreign nationals had to obtain a work permit. The Govern-

ment would consider granting a permit to a non-citizen only if the job done by a non-citizen was one that could not be done by a citizen.

ment would consider granting a permit to a non-citizen only if the job done by a non-citizen was one that could not be done by a citizen.

The main victims of this system of work permits were the clerks and civil servants — Asians holding British citizenship. Since it was very easy to find Africans who could replace these Asians the Government refused to grant them the permits. This unemployment created a panic and the Asians started an exodus to Britain.

Those Asians who had, however, taken Kenya citizenship were not affected by this immigration bill. Thus Kenya avoided being called a racial country. In fact, Kenya has put no distinction of colour in the immigration bill.

The mass exodus of Asians in Kenya holding British citizenship frightened the Labour Government to such an extent that it rushed to pass its Commonwealth Immigration Bill whereby some of its own citizens would not be allowed to enter Britain. It was shutting its doors to its own subjects just because they were not white.

It is a pity that British justice and values, revered for centuries by men from many lands, are being sacrificed by its refusal to admit these Asians.

FILMS

"Topkapi"

REGAL, BOMBAY

IF YOU are looking for light amusement mixed with suspense "Topkapi" has it, with the none too original theme of a grand-style robbery—this time of a Sultan's bejewelled sword, kept in the Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul.



In Paris, Elizabeth Lipp (Melina Mercouri) and her confederate Walter (Maximilian Schell) plot to steal it. They choose amateurs as accomplices—Cederic Page (Robert Morley) an eccentric inventor and Fischer (Jess Hahn) whose job it is to lower Giulio (Giles Segal) into the museum from a window in the roof.

In order to get guns and smoke-grenades into Turkey, they hide them in a Lincoln and hire Arthur, (Peter Ustinov) to deliver the car to the Hilton Hotel, Istanbul.

Peter Ustinov, as the befuddled spy, makes the show worth seeing. The rest are just bearable.

SCREENER

SPORT

Pilfering star players: an unhealthy trend

THE UNHEALTHY TREND of major competitions intended for club teams bristling with combined sides comprising star players needs to be checked. As it is, voluntary clubs and gymkhanas are being squeezed out through firms, public services and government departments picking up the best players season after season. If the national games federations also encourage this pilfering of players, even the little incentive individual clubs have of spotting, nursing and building up promising talent will be lost.

The Defence Services, perhaps, are the only major force in our sport to raise their own stars from promising recruits. The other big names in Indian sport usually attract the finished sportsmen from other clubs to boost their own stock. True, they offer employment at attractive salaries to sportsmen and so can claim to be encouraging sport. But on scrutiny it will be found that employment is only a facade. This trend is spreading even into educational institutions through the convenient channel of employed students, some of whom attend neither office nor class.

Bombay move a fillip to Club hockey

A SMALL STEP in the right direction is being taken by the Bombay Hockey Association to give club sport its due. The BHA has announced a new, compact competition for club champions. To start with it will invite the winners and runners-up in what it considers the senior hockey tournaments in the country and give them the opportunity to become the virtual Club Champion of Indian Hockey. Naturally, such a tournament can be conducted only at the end of the hockey season, and the BHA intends to make a beginning when the major tournaments of 1967-68 are completed next month.

This can be the forerunner of an official National Club Championship of India under the sponsorship of the Indian Hockey Association. This would encourage clubs to keep their teams intact through the season. If the powerful Services and Railways also are prevented from qualifying for this Club Championship, except as individual or regional units, this fashion of glory search by temporary combinations could be effectively checked.

From hockey, this idea of club championship could spread to all our games thereby giving club sport a big fillip. Voluntary clubs will then be able to make their presence felt more often; and with these nurseries of national sport re-activated a big step towards better standards and wider range of sport consciousness would be achieved.

Sport discipline needs defining

AN AFTERMATH of the unsavoury incidents of the recent National Hockey Championship on the Nilgiri Hills is the Bengal Hockey Association's defiance of punitive action taken against two of its players. Following reports by the umpires over the misconduct of these players on the field, the Jury of Appeal had passed suspension orders. The Bengal Association, after heated debate, has challenged the powers of the Jury. Bengal feels that adequate opportunities to defend themselves had not been provided to the players. It also contends that the Jury could at best have recommended punishment and only the Indian Hockey Federation could take positive action.

There is substance in Bengal's argument. Morally the Jury might have been justified in its action; but legally it seems to have erred by transgressing its powers. The Bengal poser is bound to cause friction in the Federation's general administration of hockey and particularly in the enforcement of discipline both among players and member associations.

Regional tours

WITH THE OLYMPICS and the Asian Games in a shadow, the best opportunity for Indian sport to thrive in the international arena is through tours and visits with our neighbours. That all international visits are not money-spinners has been amply proved by the recent charity cricket matches even for such worthy causes as the C. K. Nayudu Memorial Fund and the late Frank Worrell Fund. But purely from sport's point of view there can be considerable mutual benefit by exchange of visits, as for instance the recent participation of Ceylon's Ace Athletic Club in the Tata Sports Club Meet in Bombay.

The Ceylon athletes more than held their own against the galaxy of national and international stars in the Tata ranks; and they brought to light the poor calibre of our women athletes.

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UNDERDEVELOPED PEOPLE

THE WORLD talks of developed and underdeveloped nations. But what is the criterion for development? Is it economic enhancement? Political plans? Military might? The degree of indulgence one can afford?

A powerful nation like the United States is today baffled by "a few men in rags" in Vietnam. A second front is opening up internally with race riots. A recent article in *The Times of India* headlined "Civil War in the US", said, "The US is passing from mere nuisance demonstrations over civil rights in the Vietnam war to something more violent and dangerous. Colonel Robert Rigg expects the United States to be plunged into a chaotic guerrilla warfare which plagued China between the 1920s and late 1940s."

"Tanks and bulldozers would be of little avail in flattening twenty-storey apartments or office buildings which are sniper-ridden by night and vacant by day. Plainly the finest jungle for insurrection is not created by nature, it has been built by man."

Is affluence necessary to bring influence in the world? Britain's moral decline leading to her economic mess and pull-out from foreign responsibilities has reduced her to a mediocre nation. The other question with "development" is the heartache, illegitimacy, divorce and drugs that follow. Do we want this kind of development for "underdeveloped" nations?

Fundamentally, the conception of developed and underdeveloped nations is false. Is the basic issue, therefore, developed and underdeveloped people? Both exist in every nation. Is then the development of the nation dependent on the people's character?

Animals go after food, sleep and sex when they feel like it. Isn't the permissiveness in our society akin to this? The difference between underdeveloped and developed man is the choice between convenience and conscience. A man who earns Rs 7 a day, spends most of it on drink and has his children go hungry seems hardly more developed than a man who earns Rs 3 a day, doesn't drink and makes both ends meet.

Perhaps the truly developed man is one who listens to God. Could it be that God is a highly qualified economist, an expert planner with simple and workable plans to meet the needs of the whole human race? He could reveal these plans to anyone who listens to the voice which speaks in every heart.

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This was a Life

FRANCIS BACON

1561-1626

STATESMAN, philosopher and author of the famous "Essays", Bacon believed himself "fitted for nothing so well as the study of Truth". Though preoccupied with this search he served England as Lord Chancellor and in other high offices believing "a man's own country has some claims upon him".

Through the study of truth, service to the state and reform of religion Bacon sought to serve mankind. To him study of truth was the most important.

Born in London, Bacon studied at Cambridge and looked to the bar for an income after his father's death in 1579. He became an MP in 1584 and in an address to Queen Elizabeth advocated tolerance in the treatment of religious minorities. Later he tried to mediate between Queen and Parliament and pleaded for a tolerant policy towards the Irish rebels.

When James I became King, Bacon's star rose to its zenith. He planned for the Union of England and Scotland and urged reconciliation between King and Parliament. After holding a series of high posts he became Lord Chancellor.

Bacon's life illustrates his statement: "A wise man makes more opportunities than he finds." Amidst his busy legal and political career he analysed and systematised the then prevailing concepts of science in his work "The Advancement of Learning" — the first important treatise on philosophy in English. In his "Novum Organum" he expressed his conviction that mind, freed from prejudices, can establish sovereignty over nature.

Bacon was accused by the King's enemies of accepting bribes and imprisoned in the Tower of London. He was soon freed but did not hold high office again.

In retirement, he wrote the "Essays" — shrewd observations on human nature and society born out of a lifetime's experience of men and affairs. Including many of the best known epigrams in the English language, they are the principle justification of scholars who argue that Bacon was the secret author of Shakespeare's plays.

Bacon died as a result of a cold caught by going outdoors to test the antiseptic properties of snow.

T. P. A.

TOO MUCH FAITH?

I EMPHATICALLY agree with Rajmohan Gandhi (Understanding the Russians, HIMMAT, February 23) that while Russian power has already come up to Aden, the Chinese are trying very hard to come up to Singapore and Mandalay. This is the overall Communist strategy to encircle and strangle India.

The tragedy is that we in India are doing our best to promote this encirclement and in fact confuse it with our liberation.

Indeed, the present conditions in Bengal are a direct result of Maoist-type subversion — *gheraos* are only one of their expressions. Again our rulers and these conditions. How else can you expect the press are trying their best to promote plain that the persons who hit Governor Dharma Vira and ex-Premier Ghosh should go unpunished and even unidentified? There were at least 500 people present in the Assembly Chamber at that time.

I am afraid Mr Gandhi has too much faith in the Americans.

The point I am trying to make is that there is basic spiritual identity in the American and Russian concepts of freedom. By denying soul and God, both deny the essence of real freedom. As such, while in America freedom has degenerated to license, and in Russia to coercion, the concepts are mutually complementary and one leads to another.

Unless Mr Rajmohan Gandhi feels ready to challenge the present science-supported concept that man is not merely an evolute of atoms, I am afraid his efforts are predoomed. It needs a mighty intellectual effort which the Americans alone can do. But they don't see the need. They seem to have an amazing knack of interpreting every defeat in terms of a big victory.

PRAKASH C. JAIN, Delhi 6

ROMAN SCRIPT WANTED

DURING the British regime here Roman Hindustani was common in the Armed Forces. A South Indian could feel at home in the northern region of the undivided country.

Turkey, Indonesia and many African countries have made a great deal of progress by switching to roman script. Goans have been using roman script for Konkani during the last four centuries quite successfully.

VALOIS, Wardha

NOT A "POOR SHOW"

I DON'T understand what Mr T. Prasad (HIMMAT, February 16) means when he calls the Indian team's performance a "poor show". Nobody can deny the fact that India had had a poor start; but it put up a pretty good performance in the tests (except, of course, in the second test). Actually, in the last two tests, India lost while chasing victory.

As far as the selection of the team is concerned, Hanumant Singh was dropped on medical grounds (I think this came out in every leading newspaper). Venkataraghavan was not taken because Prasanna was in tremendous form and India could not afford the luxury of hav-

Letters

ing two off-spinners in the same side, especially when there were three other spinners. But, I agree with Mr Prasad in that Kunderan would have been a better second 'keeper than Inderjitsinhji.

As regards Borde's performance, the reader seems to have forgotten that Borde's knocks against the West Indies just one season ago were described as "object lessons" and that he was selected to play for the "Rest of World XI". It is true that Borde has had a "lame trot" (Pataudi's words), but we should expect and await his come-back. Nadkarni's economical bowling in New Zealand must have partially changed Mr Prasad's view.

T. S. PHANEENDRA NATH,
Pondicherry 6

KUTCH AWARD

THE Kutch award has been accorded various receptions. Many of us are discomfited. But then honesty demands that we have to abide by the verdict of the International Tribunal. Some political parties ballyhoo that the Tribunal was biased and hence its verdict should not have been accepted.

But we agreed to arbitration whatever the ruling might be. We referred the issue to the Tribunal voluntarily. We did not doubt the wisdom of the judges at the inception of the Tribunal. So there is no point in lampooning the Award now.

ARTHUR PAIS, Madras 4

IMPETUS TO PRESTIGE

THE prompt acceptance of the verdict of the International Tribunal on the dispute between India and Pakistan over the common frontier in the Rann of Kutch has given an impetus to our failing prestige.

It is so refreshing that the Government of India took such a right course. One wonders why we cannot make an approach and solve our other points of dispute with Pakistan, including Kashmir, in a similar way?

I. S. MENON,
Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, UK

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

* Should South Africa be excluded from the Olympic Games?

Closing date: March 29

** Should company contributions to political parties be banned?

Closing date: April 12

Prizes: Rs 25, Rs 15

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

Vietnam and the Negro

by Rajmohan Gandhi



IT IS an odd world. America's frustration in Vietnam is complete. Many Americans agree that their country now faces its greatest test after Pearl Harbour.

Yet is there any conspicuous and bold attempt at diagnosis or cure in America? I have searched for it in American journals and newspapers and not found it.

There is dissent, of course. There is spirited opposition, too. Senator Eugene McCarthy has been waging it for some months now. Fighting for Democrats to prefer him to Johnson as presidential candidate, he feels that the United States is "mired in stalemate".

Reality unfaced

But opposition does not necessarily imply courageous analysis. Neither hawks nor doves, in my opinion, have faced the reality of Vietnam or learnt lessons from it valid for other situations.

The Republicans are also selecting their candidate, and at last, or so it seems, the battle is to be Nixon versus Rockefeller.

However, the various statements and non-statements by Nixon and Rockefeller on Vietnam contain no radical examination of the dilemma. From what one can gather, Nixon's views on the subject are almost exactly the same as Johnson's. He would be a bit more hawkish, it seems. Rockefeller has not made a firm statement on Vietnam for months. The suggestion that he has withheld an opinion until he assesses more clearly what the voters think may or may not be fair.

What American hawks and doves do not realise is that the remedies they propose are equally naive, and equally removed from the heart of the matter.

The hawks want an escalation that would destroy Hanoi and Haiphong. Extremists among them would, I imagine, favour the extermination of China's nuclear military strength. Apart from the risk of bringing Russia and China much more substantially into the war, this escalation will by no means guarantee the end of the Viet Cong insurrection.

The doves want a pull-out that is as graceful, dignified and honourable as possible. The withdrawal will, of course, guarantee the Communisation of Vietnam and assist the Communist movement, materially and in terms of morale, in the rest of Asia.

The other issue tormenting America is race. The usual long, hot summer has, according to some, already begun.

Racial hawks and doves

There are grim tales of blacks and whites preparing themselves for guerrilla war. Apparently men are storing up different kinds of arms, creating suitable varieties and training in their use.

Will there be bitter fighting and killing in American cities before it is ended in Vietnam's paddy fields?

If Vietnam has its hawks and doves, race has produced a similar division. There are those who think the biggest danger is the appeasement of the Negro in what they feel are his excessive demands unaccompanied by responsibility.

The racial doves seem to feel that the schoolroom and the dollar will solve the problem. They would like to see a massive outpouring of American money to provide better housing and education to the Negro.

As over Vietnam, the racial disputants are equally wide of the mark, and equally guilty of oversimplification. The cause of tension between black and white in America is not that the American Negro loves crime and violence. Nor is the shortage of beautiful houses and schools the real reason for the Negro's unwillingness to identify himself with the white American's cause.

Could it be that the factor that can explain America's racial crisis can unravel Vietnam? Is it possible that the fundamental fact in the American city and the Vietnamese jungle is the failure of the white American to win the trust and comradeship of Negro and Asian?

Many Negroes seem to distrust and hate the white American as much as a number of the Viet-

namese, whether they call themselves Viet Cong or not. This lack of faith is evident more among the richer and well-settled Negroes than the poor and ghetto-dwelling. As in Vietnam, dollars have not captured hearts, though they may have lined pockets.

Only an unselfish, dedicated and fear-free life with a revolutionary aim can win the trust and teamwork of the Negro.

The Negro judges the white American not by what he says, nor by what he gives, but by what he lives for. Exactly the same test is applied by the Vietnamese.

The Negro wants neither patronage nor pity. He wants participation in a daring, global aim for which he sees the white man living and sacrificing.

The great and disastrous tragedy of our age has been the unpreparedness of vocal America to face up to this simple if difficult truth. Hawks and doves are equally guilty. Both regard human self-seeking as inevitable and unchangeable, if not altogether desirable.

Greatest asset

They are wrong. Men can change and adopt unselfish aims. And they need to. In the words of that great American William Penn: "Men must choose to be governed by God or they condemn themselves to be ruled by tyrants."

There is another side to this. If America is able to stir her Negroes to a willing comradeship, they will be her most effective assets in Vietnam. The American Negro, freed from hate and the desire for revenge against the white man, and believing in the common destiny of all Americans, black and white, can say things to the Vietnamese which will take the bottom out of Communist propaganda.

Is it too late to expect that Johnson, McCarthy, Nixon and Rockefeller, or some or any of them, will believe and spell out this truth? I pray that it is not. The responsibility, however, is not just of those four, or of others in their echelon. It is every American's. It is also, really, every Indian's.

FIND THE BALL Competition No 63



2nd Prize: **2HIRA** LUXURY TOOTHBRUSHES WITH FILLING CONTAINERS

HOW TO PLAY

The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is mark a cross (not circle, arrow, etc) where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and coupon and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1 before noon on Monday, March 25

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

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

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

Name _____ BLOCK LETTERS

Address _____

I agree to the rules of the competition as outlined above.

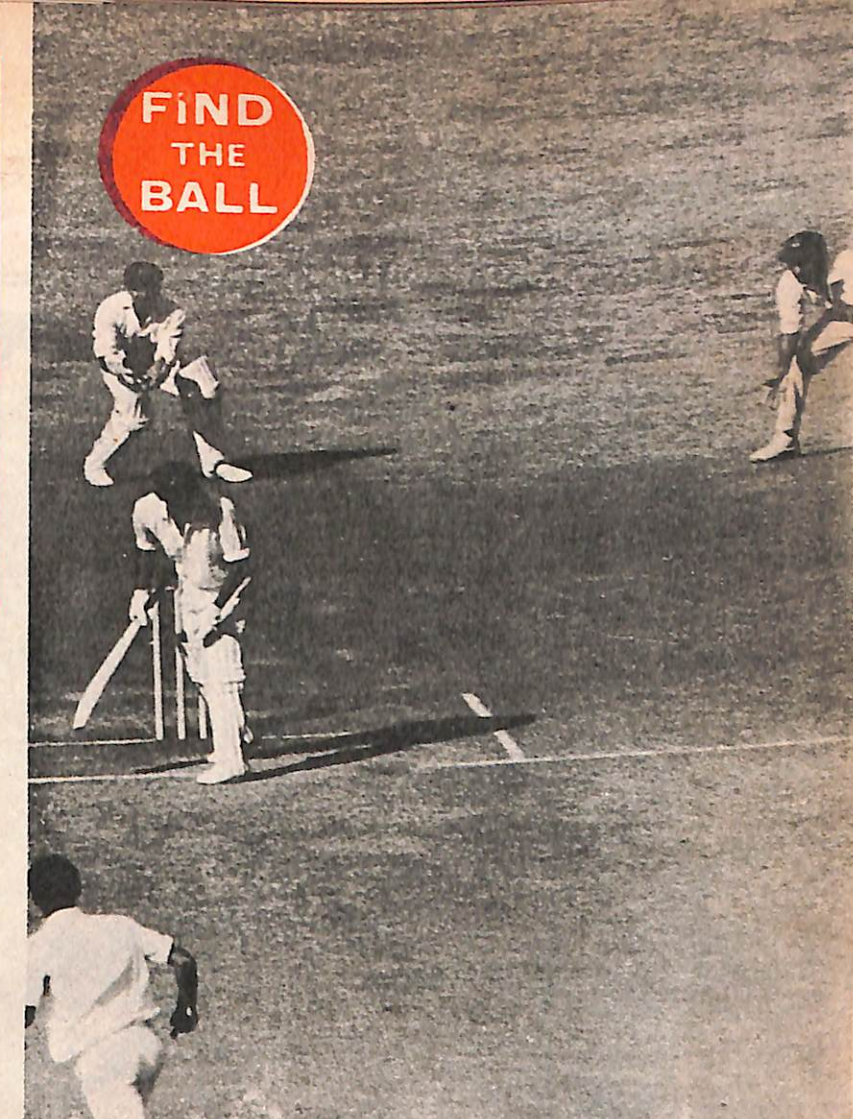


WINNER OF COMPETITION 61

Jackpot Prize of Rs 225, goes to Miss Shobha Govind, C/o B. M. C. Bank Ltd, 78 Mohammedi Road, Bombay 3, who marked the ball exactly.

2nd Prize (Swish Shaving Foam in Aerosol Can) goes to C. Patel, E. 8. Cusrowbaug, Causeway, Bombay-1. (2mm from ball).

Next Weeks Jackpot: Rs. 50



PLEASE CUT HERE

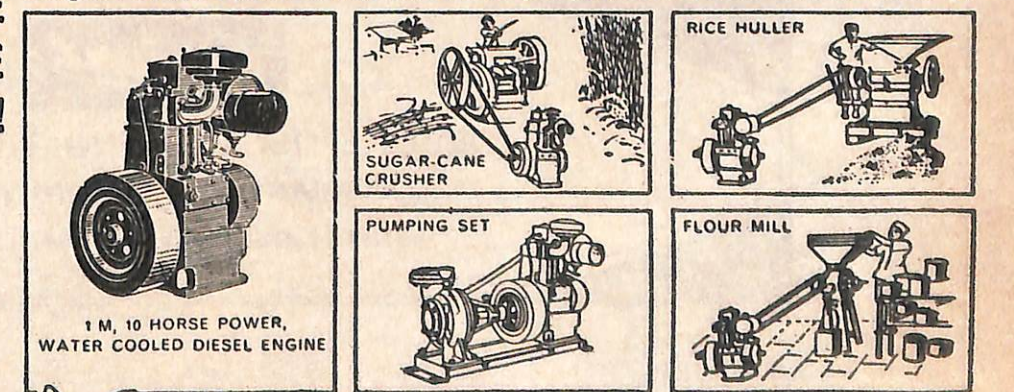


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