

HIMMAT

WEEKLY 35p

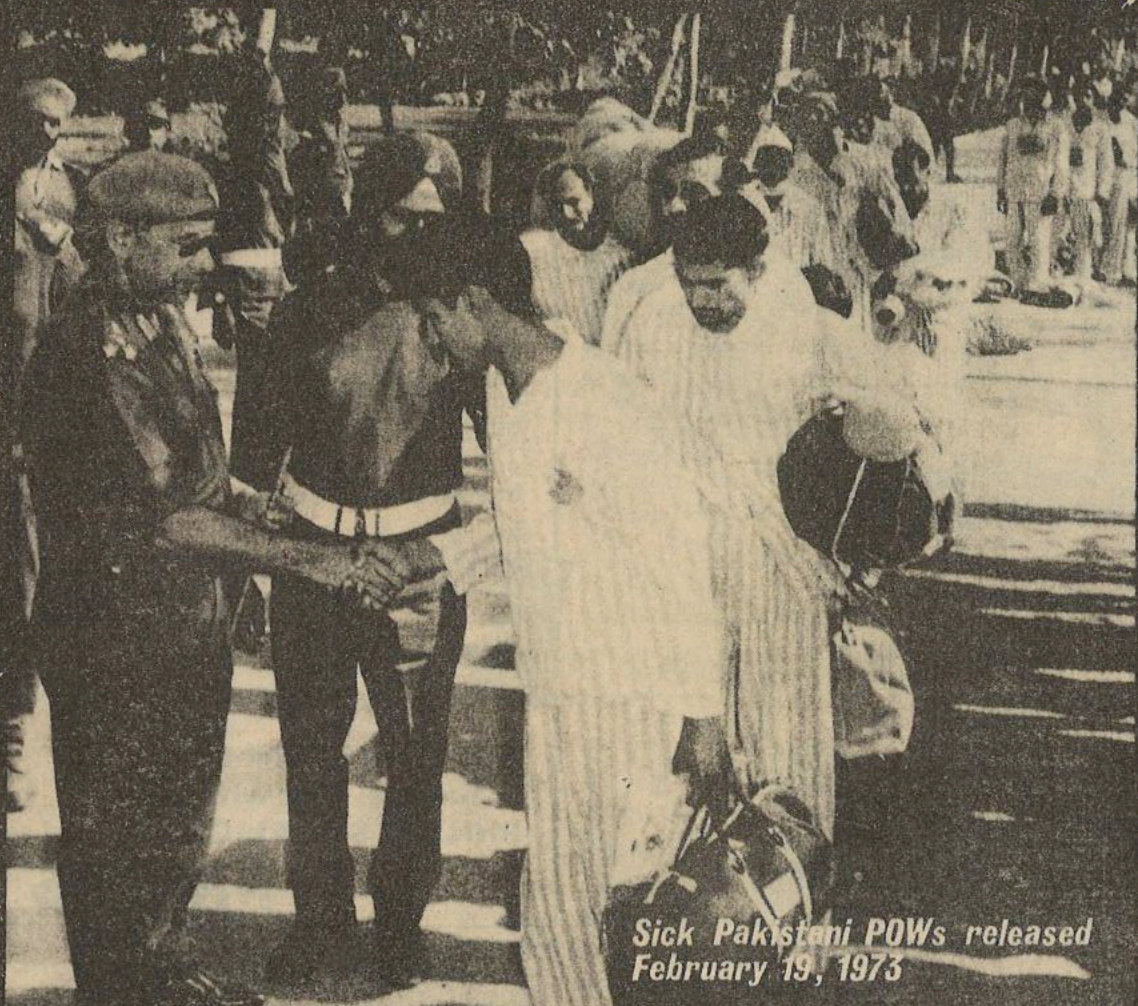
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ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY MARCH 9 1973

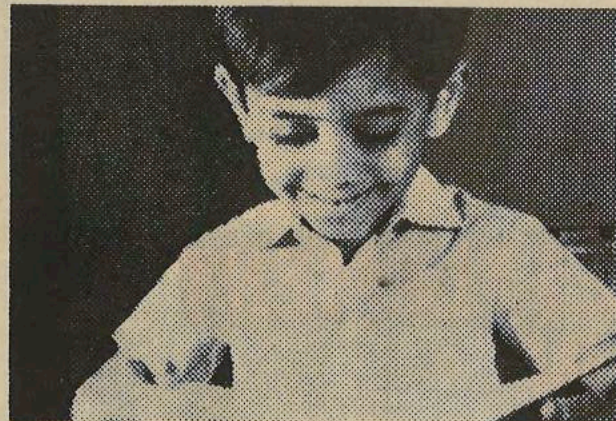
POWs

**TIME FOR SETTLEMENT
NOW**



*Sick Pakistani POWs released
February 19, 1973*

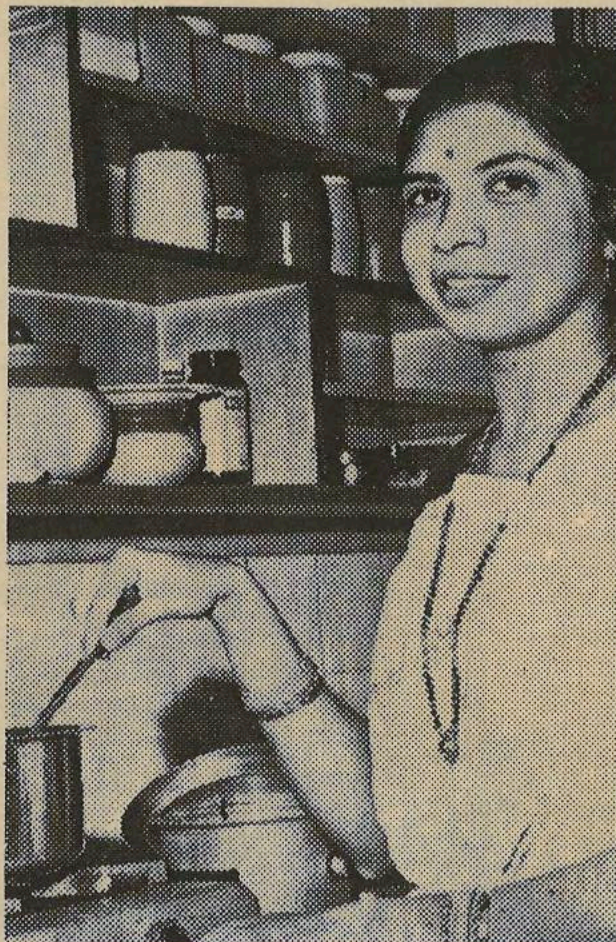
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EDITORIALS

Who benefits from Khartoum?

WHAT is most significant about the horrifying Khartoum incident is its timing. Mrs Golda Meir, President Sadat's Adviser, Dr Muhammed Ismail, and King Hussein had encouraging talks with President Nixon. A possible Middle East settlement appeared as a glimmer on the horizon. The shooting of the US diplomats in Khartoum seems designed to put the clock back.

The questions that come to mind are: 1) Who would benefit from sabotaging peace efforts in the Middle East and 2) Why is it that the Americans were murdered by the guerrillas?

It is clear that the ceasefire in Vietnam would not have been achieved without the fullest co-operation of America, Russia and China. Similarly for any possible settlement in the Middle East the US and Russia would have to co-operate. It is conceivable that China does not want the US and the USSR to draw closer. Therefore it would be in her interest to keep the pot boiling in the Middle East.

Since the Vietnam ceasefire America is obviously anxious to settle the Middle East question. By killing the American diplomats the Black September group has

tried to sabotage these efforts.

The root of the Middle East crises is that the Palestinians have lost their lands to Israel. The Arab nations could have used their fabulous oil wealth to create industries, give work and homes to the refugees. Instead Arab money has been used to equip the Palestinians with arms which is actually defeating their own cause.

It is time the world saw the futility of the language of vengeance. Norman Cousins, leading American journalist, says "vengeance is as infantile as it is volatile. It has a severely limited vocabulary; it impedes thought." On the Middle East he writes, "If the Israeli Government believes the Arabs understand only the language of force, and if the Arabs believe the Israelis understand only the language of force then the language of a just and lasting peace, even if spoken, will never be heard."

If one nation in the Middle East could work out an alternative to "the language of vengeance" the whole world would notice and perhaps the elusive Middle East peace could yet become a reality.

The Indian subcontinent takes a back seat

EARLY last year India stood high in the respect of nations. She had looked after ten million refugees — housed and fed them in a remarkable feat of organisation and generosity. She had a successful war behind her. One hoped that peace and commonsense would follow.

At the Simla talks last July it appeared that this vision may come true. But, alas, these hopes were dashed. It is easy for India and Bangladesh to blame President Bhutto and for President Bhutto to return the compliment. With the Bangladesh elections being over is it not time to wrest the initiative? (see page 5).

The world around us is moving fast. Major events are taking place that will decide the future of East Asia. India has an interest in it. Shillong is geographically nearer Hanoi than New Delhi. And yet India is excluded from the Vietnam talks in Paris. Why is that?

What does South-East Asia think of the Indian subcontinent? An answer to that question comes from the South-East Asia correspondent of "The Statesman", Calcutta, Mr V. M. Nair writing from Singapore, he says:

Ministers on holiday

PRESIDENT AMIN has taken a turn at being magnanimous — or so it appears. One must not believe all one hears but it is said that the General has sent out an irrefutable order that all his Cabinet go on holiday for 30 days so that "they can become fresh again"! This can't be termed "A-mean" order.

However, as his Cabinet colleagues prepare for the compulsory holiday Dada Amin has been far from idle. Within 10 days he has already dismissed two of his Cabinet Ministers, the Education Minister and the Minister for Works and Housing. The Secretary for Religious Affairs has also been sacked because he spent too much time on his own business!

It is fairly certain that the remaining Ministers will not enjoy much peace of mind during their enforced

holiday. If the country can run better in their absence why bother at all with their presence, they must be thinking. All that remains to make his people happy is to give his army a holiday too.

We, in India of course, do not wait for compulsory holidays. Ministers take them whenever they can wangle a foreign tour. Mayors of Bombay and Calcutta give their own cities a holiday from their presence by rushing off to their sister-cities in the US, as soon as they are elected.

But what the President may be teaching the world and India is how much better Government runs without Ministers — whether they be on temporary or permanent holiday!

Briefly Speaking.....

A classic is something that everybody wants to have read and nobody wants to read.

MARK TWAIN, 1835-1910

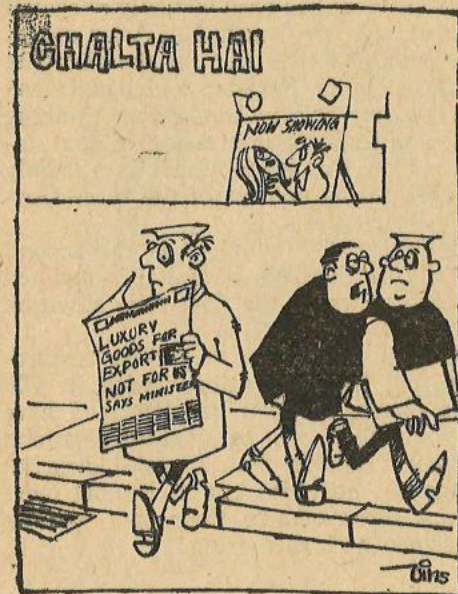
Re-Stalinization of Russia

A recent report of prison life inside Russia should disillusion those who would like to believe that the concentration camps of the Stalinist era have disappeared. The *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* states that in December 1971 Soviet Party boss Leonid Brezhnev gave the KGB secret police virtually unlimited powers to clamp down on all opposition and reformers.

Now there are one million people in forced labour camps and a further 200,000 in prisons, psychiatric clinics and other corrective institutions, says a report from the International Human Rights Committee. (Refer to "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch" and "Cancer Ward" for further reading on "life inside".)

Home was never like this

In other parts of the world prisoners



"Now the Ministers will want to become Ambassadors."



are in the news — perhaps more than they would wish to be.

The 143 American POWs, back from Vietnam in the first exchange after the ceasefire, were greeted with red-carpets, brass bands and hordes of press and TV cameramen who followed them right into their homes, filming every detail. After seven years of isolation in North Vietnamese prisons, they could have at least been given the privacy of their own homes.

Cop Courtesy

MAYOR John Lindsay of New York, when he first came to office, hired fleets of tow-trucks to remove thousands of parked cars which daily crammed New York's streets in defiance of "No Parking" signs. Storage of the cars, resulting court cases and payment of damage to vehicles cost the city over a million dollars — and solved nothing.

Bombay police have evolved a much more humane system. Offenders get a courteous letter from none other than the Assistant Inspector of Police, Mr P. V. Pingle. "Dear Motorist," reads the letter, "I look forward to the pleasure of meeting you within the next two days at the above address".

Presumably a friendly chat on the subject does the trick. Perhaps Mr Chavan would not have to propose such a stiff budget if he got his tax collectors to have a heart to heart talk with tax-payers as they submit their returns.

Killer drink

ADULTERATED country liquor has killed 79 people in Suryapet, Andhra, last week. Just two weeks earlier in the same area, 39 died and 516 were treated in hospitals after consuming a brew containing illicit liquor. Unscrupulous traders are blamed. The Andhra government must take firm action if the tragedy is not to continue. And the residents might ask themselves if it is worth "dying for a drink".

Hand it to housewives

MRS Margaret Whitlam, wife of the new Australian Prime Minister, is not content just to be the gracious hostess at the PM's Lodge. Even while her husband was launching

into some startling action in his first days of office, Mrs Whitlam took the headlines by suggesting legalising marijuana.

Now Mrs Whitlam has come up with the idea of housewives being paid a salary — a proportion of their husband's wage to be provided by the government. It would discourage women from the necessity of working, says Mrs Whitlam, and would allow them to spend more time with their children.

A good idea. But Birbal wonders if Australian housewives, who already wangle a good proportion of their husband's paypackets, might not end up with less if the government started fixing their wage.

Errata

DIDN'T someone once say: "There is nothing as powerful as a magazine who's ahead of the times"?

HIMMAT regrettably overstepped the mark last issue, dating the cover March 27 instead of March 2. We apologise for this.

Birbal

UPON MY WORD!

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

UPON MY WORD PUZZLE NO. 19

You should find 30 words this week.

(Answer next week)

ANSWER TO PUZZLE No. 18

Agene, agent, agree, anger, argent, danger, degree, derange, drag, eager, egret, enrage, gander, garden, garnet, gate, gear, geat, gender, gene, generate, gnat, grade, grand, grant, grate, great, greed, green, greet, grenade, negate, rage, range, regent, tang, DEGENERATE.

POWs—Time for settlement

by R. M. LALA

THE recent incident at India House where three Pakistanis with toy guns protested against the holding of POWs in India was in itself very poorly executed but is perhaps a pointer to future demonstrations and incidents being planned in London and other parts of the world. There is little doubt that Mr Bhutto seems keen to drum up world support on this sensitive issue.

The International Commission of Jurists, which two years ago flayed Pakistan for genocide in its Eastern wing, now says: "Pakistan's failure to recognise Bangladesh cannot justify the continued detention of the Pakistani POWs. The only prisoners of war whose repatriation may lawfully be delayed are those against whom there is prima facie evidence of their having committed war crimes or crimes against humanity during the period of the hostilities."

Some organs of world opinion (see World Press P. 10) are also growingly questioning the ethics of keeping POWs endlessly until political and legal issues are sorted out. A HIMMAT reader, John Aitchison from Bearsden, Glasgow writes to this paper, "Your PM says the question of POWs concerns three countries. Would you agree? Mrs Gandhi says Bangladesh is independent and this is recognised by many other countries to be the case. Why should independence have to be recognised by Pakistan? On the basis of what is right should these 90,000 POWs be

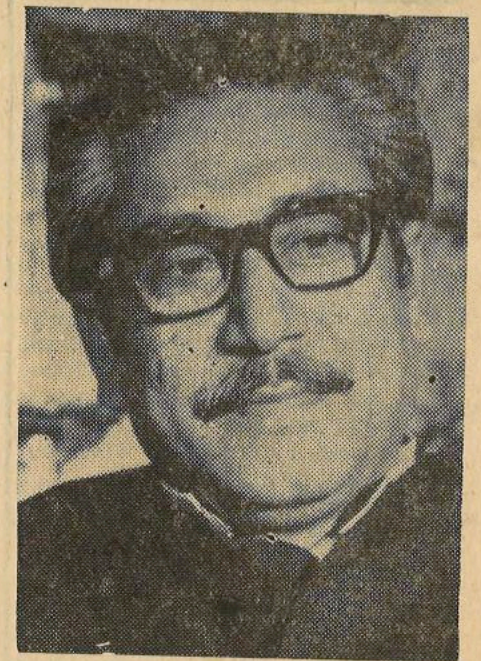
detained any longer? I don't know all the ins and outs but seek your guidance since you are on the spot."

President Bhutto is keen to meet Sheikh Mujib but Sheikh Mujib asks in what capacity if not as Prime Minister of Bangladesh? President Bhutto assured Mrs Gandhi of recognition of Bangladesh by the middle of August 1972 but that has not been forthcoming and for the last six months the stalemate on the sub-continent has not been broken.

Last month UN Secretary-General Waldheim paid a visit to the capitals of the three countries on the sub-continent. In India the reception to him was calm and correct. Mrs Gandhi made it plain that although she did not want to belittle the UN there were certain issues which should be dealt with bilaterally between nations and Indo-Pakistan relations was one of them. When Mr Waldheim flew to Rawalpindi he received a deputation of the wives of the POWs and a million signatures demanding release. When he next flew to Dacca it was the turn of the Bengalis to demand with placards and demonstrations the return of 300,000 Bengalis held in Pakistan under shocking circumstances. On leaving the sub-continent Mr Waldheim said, "Although for the time being the atmosphere is not completely ripe for a solution there is a good chance of solving problems in the immediate future."

Soon after Waldheim left the sub-continent there was the discovery of arms in Pakistan at the Iraqi Embassy and Mr Bhutto's preoccupation with his local troubles seems to have put the clock back. He is absorbed in a major struggle with his political opponents at home, is keen to get his Constitution passed by April 21 come wind or weather. His own former Law Minister who resigned, Mr. Kasuri, says that the Constitution Bhutto seeks to impose is neither "Islamic, socialistic, parliamentary nor democratic". The former Governor of Baluchistan, Mr Bizenjo, says that Mr Bhutto has decided "on a policy of confrontation, both abroad and at home".

Whilst one can understand the world opinion that is exercised over the POWs one does begin to wonder whether Mr Bhutto is genuinely keen on their release. When the Indian delegation met the Pakistani delegation



SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN: a time for greatness

at Simla they were prepared to be asked by President Bhutto about the release of the POWs. They thought that would be the central demand of Mr Bhutto. They were surprised to find that Mr Bhutto hardly mentioned the POWs — although at public meetings earlier in Pakistan he had raised a hue and cry about it. What Mr Bhutto insisted on in Simla was a return of territories. On his return home he told his people that India would have to return the POWs in any case but what was more important was territory which he had regained for Pakistan by the Simla accord.

It is conceivable that he is afraid of the POWs' return. As most of them are Punjabis it may stir up trouble in the one stable state in Pakistan. The POWs feel let down by ex-President Yahya Khan and his coterie. The pressure may grow for Yahya Khan's trial and if that happens, well informed sources say that Yahya Khan will spill a lot of beans that will embarrass Mr Bhutto. So for the present Mr Bhutto thinks that it is better to allow the POWs to embarrass India than to return and embarrass him. If this reading of the situation is correct India and Bangladesh should go out of their way to show that at their end there is no holdback.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

SO THEY SAY

In supporting a President who is a lame duck, some of us will become dead ducks.

JOHN H. HEINZ,
US Congressman

Pakistan has two governments: the visible which is bad; and the invisible which is terrible.

MR MALIK JILANI,
Opposition leader, Pakistan

I am not a Marxist. Men like Marx and Gandhiji are too big to be imprisoned in any isms.

MRS INDIRA GANDHI,

VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT . . .

IS TOUCHED on learning that retired people in Bombay have formed a non-political body called the Indian Association of Retired Persons and **HOPES** they succeed in their chief aim which is to learn to spend their time more meaningfully.

GASPS with Madras motorists who are suffering from a shortage of air as petrol stations are restricting the use of air pumps due to power shortage and **CONCLUDES** that it's a case of air, air everywhere but none for my tyres!

FEELS for the patients in UK who suffered from the non-medical hospital employees strike in 200 hospitals and **ASSERTS** that however justified their higher wage claims they could choose other ways to press their demands.

NOTES WITH REGRET that the highest number of civilian refugees in South Vietnam since April 1972 have been in the first three weeks after the ceasefire — 200,000 — and **PRAYS** that the fighting really does cease for the sake of these people who have suffered so long.

SEES NO POINT in the proposed Bill to rename India as "Bharat" just because some foreigners mix up Indians and Red Indians and **SUGGESTS** parliamentarians stop wasting their time and public money by trying for such needless legislation.

IS CONVINCED that former Irish Premier Jack Lynch, in spite of his ouster in the recent elections, has a great role to play in his country and **QUOTES** James Freeman Clarke who said, "A politician thinks of the next election; a statesman, of the next generation."

IS PERPLEXED that in spite of talk of curbing unemployment the numbers of educated unemployed in India has doubled in three years — from 1.5 million in December 1969 to 3 million in the beginning of 1973 and **POINTS OUT** that the roots of a violent revolution will go deeper if such statistics do not alter in the near future.

POWs — from page 5

By delaying the release of the POWs we are playing into the hands of Mr Bhutto. Some months ago Mr Bhutto toured parts of his country to convince his people about the recognition of Bangladesh. He went so far as to say that if Pakistan did not recognise Bangladesh it would be "the odd man out". But his political opponents, the right wing parties of the Punjab, engineered student demonstrations. Mr Bhutto got cold feet. Punjab is the bastion of his country, and if he loses Punjab he loses Pakistan. He therefore switched over his theme-song from recognition of Bangladesh to the release of the POWs. It was a safer and more popular cause even if it meant a reversal of the Simla Agreement.

Call Bhutto's bluff

Bangladesh's official stand is that Pakistan must recognise Bangladesh although in recent speeches Sheikh Mujib wonders whether Bangladesh now will recognise Pakistan which is on the verge of cracking up! Recognition does not make one jot of difference to Bangladesh. Bangladesh is a sovereign country whether Rawalpindi recognises it or not. When Galileo was forced to recant his theory that the earth moved round the sun he thought it wiser to recant and softly mutter, "It goes round all the same". Bangladesh will survive just the same.

A shrewd observer of Pakistan events is Mr Satish Kumar from the

J. Nehru School of International Studies, New Delhi. Writing recently in "The Hindustan Times" he says that under the present circumstances normalisation of the situation on the subcontinent is not the first priority of Mr Bhutto:

"Whether he is living upto the Simla spirit or not is immaterial, if not irrelevant. What is material is what should be our response? Should we, by continuing the stalemate, allow ourselves to play into his hands and perpetuate tension in the region? Alternatively, can we call his bluff by taking the drastic step of suddenly releasing the bulk of prisoners, of course with the consent of Bangladesh, and thus defreeze the situation? Whichever way we move, what is important is that we should be guiding the course of events according to our objectives, rather than be trapped in a situation which would eventually suit Pakistan's objectives."

For too long has India adapted a safe and passive posture. Now with the elections in Bangladesh over Delhi should, together with Dacca, take the initiative that puts the ball — and 90,000 prisoners in Mr Bhutto's court — against the release of the 300,000 Bengalis now in Pakistan which understandably concerns and agitates Bangladesh.

In Britain on March 2nd, Mr Robert Carr, on behalf of the British Prime Minister, declared in the Commons that Britain could use its good rela-

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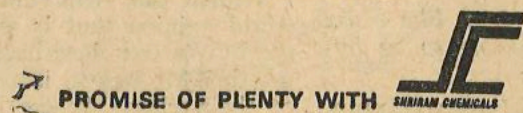
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41 YEARS-5C 7/73 B

Anti-corruption bill angers opposition

From K. S. Ramanujam in Madras

Tamilnadu has introduced a bill to prevent corruption in public life which has been vociferously attacked and vigorously defended. K. S. Ramanujam covers the public debate on this interesting bill.

A NEW legislative measure, perhaps the first of its kind contemplated by any state Government, has been introduced in the Tamilnadu Assembly recently by the ruling DMK Government's Law and Industries Minister Mr S. Madhavan. It is "Tamilnadu Public Men (Criminal Mis-conduct) Bill 1973".

It seeks to provide for an agency to conduct investigations and inquiry into any allegation of corruption against public men in the state.



MINISTER MADHAVAN

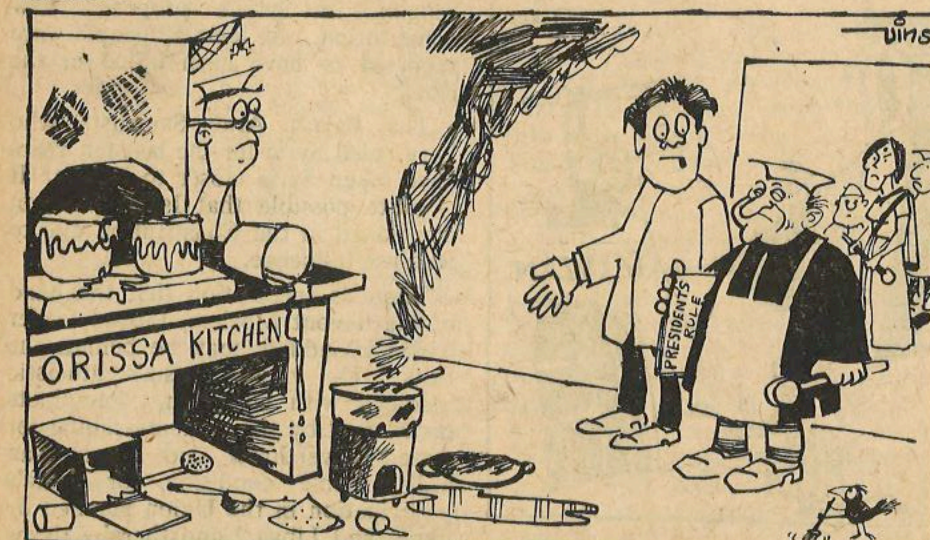
The reasons for the bill and its statement of objects point to the inadequacy of the existing laws to deal with public men committing criminal mis-conduct involving corruption. Hence it proposes that a private person be able to prefer charges of corruption against any persons who are or have been 1) the Chief Minister; 2) State Minister; 3) MLA or MLC; 4) Mayors or Deputy Mayors; 5) Chairmen of the standing committees of the two municipal corporations in the state; 6) Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of Municipal Coun-

cils; 7) Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Panchayats. 8) Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of Panchayat Union Councils; 9) Members of Municipal Corporations, Panchayats, Panchayat Union Councils and Township Committees!

As was to be expected, loud protests have already been publicly voiced by most of the leading opposition leaders including Mr M. G. Ramachandran and Mr Kamaraj.

Mr Ramachandran said the proposed enactment was repugnant to the Central Act 60 of 1952 providing for the setting up of a commission of inquiry and as such was "an open confrontation with the supremacy and authority of Parliament"...Describing it as a "black bill", he said it was yet another "political gimmick" of Chief Minister Karunanidhi intended to divert the people from the demand that he (Mr Karunanidhi) and his colleagues should go through the grill of an inquiry commission in view of the charges of corruption against them. He appealed to the people, irrespective of their political affiliations to put up a stiff fight against the legislation.

The Congress (O) leader, Mr Kamaraj, was even more vehement in his criticism. He described it as treacherous and was meant to silence all those who complain against those in power; for, he argued, this bill provided for the jailing of those whose complaints could not be proved...



"Presidentji, see what happens when there are too many cooks."

and this, according to him was comparable to the Rowlett Act which, he said, was largely responsible for the killings in Punjab before independence.

As against these, Mr K. Santhanam, who was Chairman of the Central Corruption Enquiry Commission of 1962-64, has welcomed it as "far-reaching and far-sighted".

He says, "Whatever its other limitations, the DMK Ministry in Tamilnadu does not lack courage or initiative. Its detailed printed replies to the charges against the Ministry, sub-

TAMIL NADU

mitted by Mr M. G. Ramachandran and others to the President, was a bold precedent which deserves to be followed.

"It has to be improved in some respects. But I am surprised to find that Mr M. G. Ramachandran and some others have condemned it off-hand as if it were a Machiavellian move to shield corruption. I wonder if they have carefully read the Bill or understood it. They will do well to compare it with the text of the Lokpal Lokayukt Bill passed by the Lok Sabha in 1969 but which for reasons yet to be explained was not pushed through the Rajya Sabha and was allowed to lapse."

The main proposal of both bills, according to Mr Santhanam, is similar. Listing three major defects in the Tamilnadu bill he says that the period of appointment of the commissioner and additional commissioners should be six years and not three as it would be too short a period.

The second and a great defect, according to him, is in relation to the conditions under which investigations are to be made. Mr Santhanam wants it to be clearly prescribed that if a prima facie case is established then the Chief Minister or Minister or other public man against whom the investigation is being made should quit office and await judgment so that, if cleared, he may get back to his original office.

The third is on the provision that every person making a false complaint shall be punished with imprisonment. Mr Santhanam feels that is too wide and altogether objectionable.

China invites Taiwan for talks

RADIO PEKING's broadcast last week offering Taiwan's leaders "formal or secret" talks is a significant development. General Fu Tso-Yi, Vice Chairman of the People's Consultative Conference (Chou En-lai is the Chairman), was quoted by the broadcast as saying:

"We are all Chinese. Why couldn't we talk for the sake of the sacred cause of unifying the motherland?" He invited Taiwan's leaders to "send some people to the mainland, openly or secretly". He assured them that the Government will keep the matter secret, "keep its own words and guarantee your safety".

Force not to be used

This broadcast confirms reports that Chinese leaders had assured President Nixon and Japanese Premier Tanaka in Peking that they would not use force to liberate Taiwan.

It also indicates that Peking is making preparations for the time when US military and naval protection will be withdrawn from Taiwan. US Presidential advisor Henry Kissinger has already dropped hints that this will happen after the death of Chiang Kai-shek. America would keep her commitments to "the Republic of China, led by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek" — a phrase US officials have not used before.

As the US changes her attitude towards Taiwan, Nationalist Chinese leaders will feel insecure. In their

insecurity, they may enter into some defence agreement with the Soviet Union. This Peking greatly fears. Therefore, the Communist Chinese are keen to find a working arrangement with Taiwan. A "Cuba" on their doorstep would knock holes in China's defences against the Soviet Union.

In recent years, non-official Russian delegations have visited Taiwan and had talks. The Communist Chinese know that Brezhnev's "collective security pact" idea is aimed at containing China.

The first contact that the Russians had with Chiang Kai-shek was in 1923 when Dr Sun Yat-sen deputed him to lead a delegation to Russia. The three months' visit so impacted Chiang that on his return, he sent his son, Chiang Ching-kuo to Russia for ten years. The son not only returned with an education but also with a Russian wife.

Today, Chiang Kai-shek is reported to be seriously ill. His heir-apparent is his son, Chiang Ching-kuo.

Stalin always believed that Chiang Kai-shek would remain in power in China. He gave much aid to Chiang, which Mao resented. Mao's victories in China would often receive only a four-line mention in Russian newspapers. By 1949, many nations, including Britain, saw the writing on the wall and withdrew their diplomats but Stalin continued to keep his ambassador, N. V. Roshchin, by Chiang Kai-shek's side. He was only withdrawn on October 2, 1949 the day

after Mao proclaimed the People's Republic of China. The Communists in China have never forgotten this.

As far back as 1969, Harrison E. Salisbury said in his book, "The coming war between Russia and China", that "speculation has been stimulated whether Moscow and Taipei might not contemplate, each for its own reasons, a renewal of contacts and establishment of diplomatic relations... Possibly the politics of rapprochement are beyond either side, but the prospect is enough to cause angry trills in Peking... Even if Peking does not respond publicly, the idea of a flirtation between Chinese Nationalists and Moscow Communists might cause discomfort".

Judging by the way the Chinese Communists are trying to begin talks with Taiwan's leaders, Salisbury's predictions have advanced beyond the "discomfort" stage to the point where they have begun to feel an accommodation with Taiwan must be found soon. With the Americans and the Communist Chinese establishing "liaison offices" it may not be long before such offices are also opened between Moscow and Taipei. The cold war between Russia and China has meant both sides have begun to align themselves with strange bedfellows!

Students demand Assad's overthrow

In Syria, students clashed with police in the capital, Damascus, last week and demanded the overthrow of General Assad's regime. Reporting this, Beirut's "L'Orient-Le Jour" said that the student demonstration came in the wake of rioting by Moslems in Hama and Homs protesting against the omission of Islam as the state religion in Syria's proposed new constitution. At least 50 people were reported to have been killed in the riots.

The Ba'ath Arab Socialists who have ruled Syria for the last ten years have taken Syria closer to Russia. It is quite possible that Islam was not mentioned in the Constitution due to Russian influence.

There is speculation that the hand of the devout Moslem, Libyan leader Colonel Gaddafi, may be behind the riots. He views Russia's atheistic ideology with suspicion. Pamphlets distributed by the students calling for Assad's overthrow said it was "an indispensable condition for Syria's participation in the Union planned by Egypt and Libya," and thereby threw further suspicion on Gaddafi.

Cyprus volcano spouts again

From Kenneth Mackenzie in Nicosia

IN the past few weeks Cyprus has looked like a long-dormant volcano that is spouting lava again. So far there has been no death-dealing eruption, but the island's 630,000 inhabitants — of whom four-fifths are Greek and approximately one-fifth Turkish — fear that any day now there may be a sudden, seismic convulsion.



MAKARIOS: olive branch?

This is the situation in figurative terms. In brass tacks, what matters is the almost fanatical resolve of 74-year-old General George Grivas, leader of the Eoka movement which fought the British in the 1950s, to carry through Enosis (union of Cyprus with Greece). Despite President Makarios's recent unopposed re-election and the acclaim which this has brought him, Grivas will remain the pivotal figure in the island.

Grivas arrived in Cyprus in September 1971, clandestinely — just as he did in the autumn of 1954 and in June 1964. From his secret headquarters, now in the Limassol area, he has sedulously built up an underground organisation which is almost a carbon copy of the Eoka resistance movement of the 1950s: there are the same closely-knit armed cells, the same network of couriers, the same propaganda techniques. And the new Eoka has begun to show its hand.

Since the beginning of this year, masked gangs of armed guerrillas have raided police stations and arms depots, making off with vast hauls of machine-guns, ammunition, radio transmitters, and other equipment. Simultaneously, Nicosia and the other main towns have been rocked by a wave of minor bomb explosions — some of which have been aimed at senior police officers or well-known supporters of the Makarios Government. (Miraculously, nobody so far

has been killed; Grivas's aim, at the moment, is to harass and intimidate rather than to cause loss of life.)

The event which clearly triggered off this terrorist campaign — after 16 months of quiescence on Grivas's part — was the February election campaign. Or, perhaps one should say more accurately the "non-event." The Greek Cypriots should have gone to the polls on February 18 to elect their president for the next five years. In the event, Makarios was the only candidate. Grivas and his supporters decided to boycott the whole affair, arguing that the election would be "rigged."

On the morning of February 8 — nomination day — the molten lava, politically speaking, seemed to be pouring out thick and fast. Makarios's supporters had planned a mass victory rally in the centre of Nicosia, and thousands of his supporters were converging on the capital. The previous day — in the early hours of the morning — Grivas's gangs had carried out their most audacious operation to date: the raiding of 19 police stations all over the island. The stage seemed to be set for a bloody and dramatic showdown. But (as has happened so often in Cyprus) violence did not erupt on the dotted line. Grivas stayed his hand, and the rally passed off without incident.

Notable triumph

The occasion has already been widely represented as a notable triumph for the Archbishop, but it would be foolish to read too much into this single coup de theatre. Makarios undoubtedly has the support of the great majority of the people; to start with, the devoutly-religious peasantry will always vote for him simply because he is head of the church. Also, a large proportion of the middle-class business community back him — albeit much less enthusiastically — because they dislike the authoritarian regime in Athens and have prospered during Cyprus's 12½ years as an independent state. And, most significant of all, the Communist-controlled Akel Party — which has the allegiance of at least 35 per cent of the Greek Cypriot electorate — will go on sup-

porting Makarios up to the hilt; they want to prevent Enosis at all costs, because that would bring Cyprus within the fold of the Western alliance.

But, in the present situation, numbers may not greatly matter. Grivas commands a band of dedicated supporters — many of them idealists in their own curious way — who believe fanatically that the island's destiny lies in union with Greece. Some are imbued with a hatred of Makarios that is almost pathological; and they are well-armed and well-trained. In short, though they are clearly a minority, they are not to be underestimated.

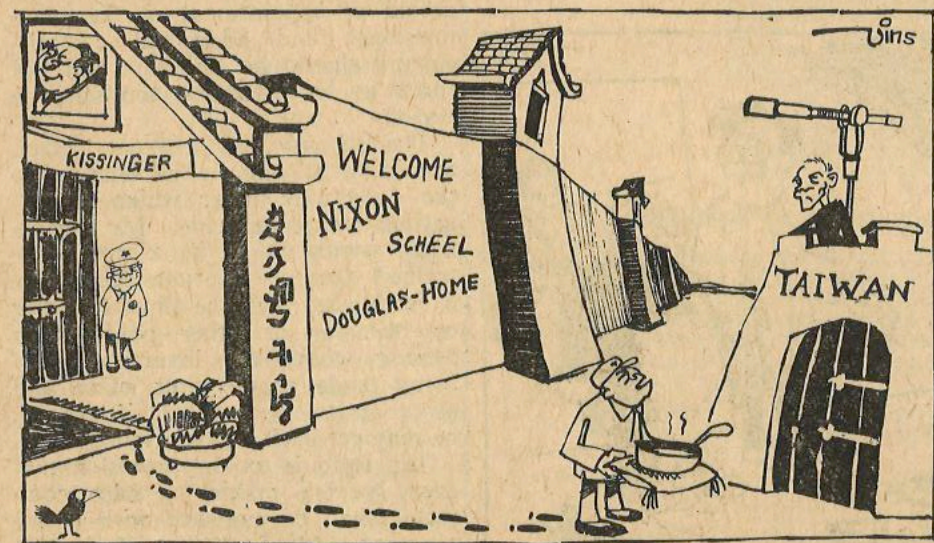
Much will depend on Makarios's tactics in the coming weeks. In his speech to the mass rally, and in an earlier address on radio and television, he gave Grivas clear warning that terrorism would not be tolerated. Many of his supporters are urging him, now that he has been re-elected, to crack down hard on the Eoka men.

But can he? According to intelligence sources, Grivas's organisation has infiltrated both the police and the national guard (i.e. the army) to an astonishing degree. As a counterforce, Makarios has steadily built up his unofficial "presidential guard", a body of a few hundred plain-clothes, strong-arm men, who follow and harass Grivas's supporters at every opportunity. But it was significant that the Archbishop's address to the Nicosia rally contained, in addition to the expected words of warning, olive-branch gestures — which Grivas is almost certain to reject.

Matters may come to a head again this spring, but in different circumstances. At constitutional negotiations between the Greeks and the Turks it is just conceivable that some kind of compromise deal may be worked out (though, it should be added, many old Cyprus hands are sceptical, because the intractable question of the degree of "Turkish local autonomy" is still unresolved).

The snag is that the Turks will almost certainly insist that, in any new agreement, both Makarios and the Greek Government renounce Enosis for ever. With Grivas breathing down his neck, it is hard to see how Makarios can assent to this; if he should, Grivas might interpret it as a casus belli — and strike. This is the scenario — necessarily simplified — which alarms many diplomats.

All in all, therefore, Cyprus looks as potentially volcanic as ever. The "Ideas of February" may have passed. But what about April, May or June?



"Chairman Mao has requested me to ask if you would kindly also taste and enjoy this friendship delicacy."

Political pawns

Last week's tragic scene of violence at the London office of the Indian High Commission focused attention once again, as it was meant to, on the plight of the 90,000 Pakistani prisoners-of-war still held by India more than a year after the end of the Bangladesh war.

Why does Mrs Gandhi persist in flagrant breach of the 1949 Geneva Convention which stipulates that prisoners should be released without delay after the cessation of active hostilities? Her principal aim in treating the prisoners as pawns appears to be the thoroughly objectionable one of using them as a lever to force President Bhutto to recognise Bangladesh. Diplomatic bullying of this order is a poor substitute for statesmanship.

Delhi's belated decision reported today, to look afresh at its policy towards the prisoners on humanitarian grounds is long overdue.

DAILY TELEGRAPH, London

Little success in Asia

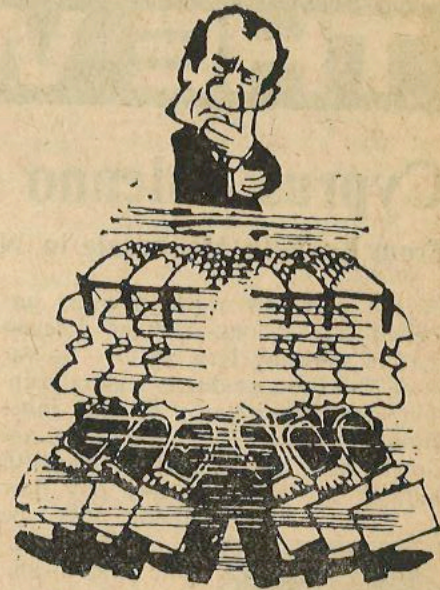
It is remarkable that the enormous tidal wave of China's diplomatic success,

which has so dramatically improved its relations with the Americas, Europe, Africa, the Middle East and Australasia, has not swept beyond the shores of Japan, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Burma within Asia itself. It is to be expected of course that those countries of South-East Asia and South Korea, which were encouraged by the confrontation to think of themselves as potential dominoes and to adopt rigidly defensive positions towards China and Chinese-supported subversion, could not alter the posture of decades as smoothly as the pragmatic men running the foreign policies of Peking and Washington. They are unconvinced that what is good for America is necessarily good for them, and still entertain suspicions about the long-term motives behind China's new policies.

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW, Hong Kong

Japan and Vietnam

Through Kissinger's recent visit to Hanoi it was agreed between the US and North Vietnam that a joint economic committee will be set up to deal with assistance to rebuild postwar Vietnam... The US is also expected to discuss with Japan and other countries how to implement aid programmes for that area. In this connection, we would like to stress these two points. First, assistance for Indo-



"Now, how do I switch him off?"
Courtesy Daily Mail, London

China's rehabilitation must not be so designed to seek economic gains alone. Second, Japan should play a major role in preventing such aid from being linked to certain countries' own economic or political interests.

SANKEI SHIMBUN, Tokyo

Germany poised between East and West

by Adolf Scheu, Member of Parliament, Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)

A GLANCE at the map of the world shows two things. Firstly, that the size of the two states which call themselves German form together little more than a large dot. Secondly, that the present frontier between the two German states, the German Democratic Republic (DDR) in the East and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in the West, represents a seam between the Eastern (Communist) and the Western worlds.

This frontier is secured today on the Eastern side by a wall with barbed wire and minefields. This is an outcome of international politics between 1945 and 1973, just as the fact that in the middle of the East German state is the former capital of the German Empire, Berlin, which is itself also split into two parts an Eastern and a Western.

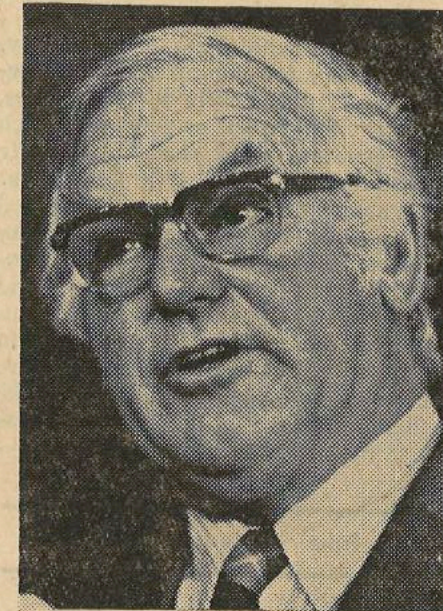
This geographical, political and military situation in Germany is guaranteed by the former Allies of the Second World War, the USA, Great Britain, France and the USSR.

A reunification of the two German states in the foreseeable future is unthinkable, not only on account of their different social and political systems, but also and more especially on account of their military integration into power blocs, led and shaped on one side by Russia and on the other by America.

The Federal Republic of Germany has decided for the West European Community and for membership of NATO, and the socialist liberal government too, which has been headed for three and a half years by Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, stands irrevocably by the treaties with its Western neighbours and friends.

The Federal Republic's military, political and geographical position also makes necessary an active policy of relaxation of tension, of compromise of interests, of mutual security and of peace towards Eastern Europe. Attempts of earlier governments of the Federal Republic bogged down at the start and therefore brought no real relaxation.

The aim of the Federal Government of Brandt and Scheel was first to conclude with the governments in Moscow and Warsaw treaty agreements which have as their main content mutual renunciation of force. It was clear from the beginning that



ADOLF SCHEU:
"If politicians change..."

such treaties must be based on de facto recognition of the frontiers determined by the outcome of the war in 1945. To state this deliberately was not easy for any German and for two years a fierce controversy raged among the whole population and in the German Parliament.

In May 1972 the ratification of the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw took place. These treaties were a decisive step towards liquidating the German guilt of the past, and Chancellor Brandt's gesture of kneeling in front of the concentration camp memorial in Poland was definitely no preconceived or sentimental act, but expressed the attitude of all those Germans who take seriously their guilt with regard to the peoples of Eastern Europe.

In conjunction with the treaties, the four Allies (USSR, USA, Britain and France) have concluded a Berlin Treaty, which gives the inhabitants of West Berlin new freedom and security. In the space of a few weeks after the treaties came into force as many as one million West Berliners were able to visit their relatives and friends in East Berlin and in the German Democratic Republic.

As a result of this relaxation of tension, the frontiers between the two German states and between the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 13

The week in INDIA

PATIALA — As a result of the good rainfall all over the state, the Punjab Electricity Board has decided to withdraw the power-cut imposed on industries and the agricultural sector.

CHANDIGARH — The Working Committee of the Akali Dal has demanded the repatriation of all Pakistani prisoners of war not charged with war crimes, saying that their continued detention was contrary to the Geneva Convention and had brought a bad name to India.

NEW DELHI — Admiral S. N. Kohli, till recently Flag-Officer Commander-in-Chief of the Western Fleet, took over as the Chief of the Naval Staff from Admiral S. M. Nanda.

— At the end of the 10-day visit of Zambian first Vice-President Aboud Jumba, it was announced that India would assist Zambia in strengthening and developing its small-scale and other industries.

AIJAL — The entire Union Territory of Mizoram has been declared a "disturbed area" for a period of six months following reports of armed activities and a night curfew has been re-imposed on the capital, Aijal.

AGARTALA — Goods worth Rs 1,923,423 were seized by customs authorities in the last year through their drive against unauthorised border trade along the Bangladesh-Tripura border.

AHMEDABAD — The Gujarat Farmers' Federation took out a mammoth morcha to the Raj Bhavan to present a memorandum to the Governor, Mr Shriman Narayan, protesting against the proposed land ceiling bill and the move to take over the wholesale trade in food grains.

RANCHI — The state of Bihar faces famine and according to official reports out of 67,000 villages, about 17,000 are hit by drought and about 1.60 crore of the state's 5.63 crore population has been affected.

BHUBANESWAR — The Orissa Chief Minister, Mrs Nandini Satpathy, resigned along with her council of ministers after eight-and-a-half months in power.

VISAKHAPATNAM — Due to the separatist agitation and the continuing power cut in Andhra Pradesh, the port at Visakhapatnam has incurred a loss of over one crore rupees.

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Inflation will widen disparities between rich and poor

Supplementary budget—more taxes—to come later

Prof. C. N. Vakil

IN his budget proposals, the Finance Minister has claimed that he has kept in mind certain objectives in framing his proposals, such as the firm commitment to socialism, rapid economic growth, and a self-reliant economy. In any consideration of the budget proposals we must therefore apply these criteria to form our judgment.

In order to implement these ideas the Finance Minister has outlined certain immediate tasks for Government: (1) Control of inflationary pressures; (2) Rigorous efforts to increase the rate of savings; (3) Higher exports and restraint on imports; (4) Rapid increase in the opportunities for employment; (5) Programmes designed to provide basic amenities to all citizens.

We shall briefly consider the main proposals in connection with these tasks in the reverse order. So far as the provision of basic amenities to all citizens is concerned, we find that there is a provision of Rs 125 crores (1 crore is Rs 10 million) for welfare measures such as employment programmes, expansion of primary education, improvement in rural home sites and rural water supply. A similar provision was made during the current year 1972-73, but we are not aware of any distinct improvement in the situation referred to above.

In fact the tendency is that such expenditure is often delayed and remains on paper. Even if all of it is spent, the effect on these very large problems is likely to be infinitesimal. The same remark applies to some extent to the provision of Rs 100 crores for creating jobs for educated unemployed. The suggestion is that half a million educated persons will be absorbed in various fields. The way in which this will be done is not clear.

Employment

The spending of money to create jobs may mean temporary employment of some people, but from the

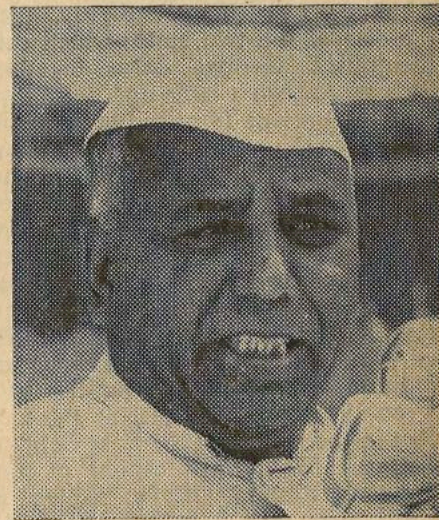
point of view of long term employment of a useful nature, what is necessary is not merely to create jobs, but to create work or schemes which will generate work, and thus create demand for workers. It is hoped that this elementary distinction is grasped by the authorities, because the temptation to use this amount to patronise some unemployed persons and claim credit for it may be great. Besides these, there does not seem to be any special effort to create more employment. Is it possible to make a dent on this vast and growing problem by such halting measures?

Loans from 25 nations

So far as increase in exports is concerned, though we have made some progress, it is not adequate and the possibilities of rapid expansion are limited. Due to our high cost economy our goods are not competitive in the foreign markets. Besides there are a number of hurdles in the way of exports, which are channelled through state agencies, working by bureaucratic methods. Some industries which are in a position to export have restraints placed on them, because of the concept of monopoly and concentration of economic power.

We must remember that we are yet dependent on foreign aid, and it will take some time before we can do without it. The Explanatory Memorandum to the Budget gives a list of 25 countries, small and big, from which we receive loans, besides those from international organisations. In fact the charges for the services on the large external public debt we have are so high that they swallow up a good deal of the foreign exchange we earn by our limited exports. It will therefore be some time before we can claim self-reliance in the real sense of the word.

So far as savings and investments are concerned, the rate of savings in proportion to our requirements is small, mainly because the majority of the people are poor and hardly make both ends meet. Besides, it is diffi-



FINANCE MINISTER CHAVAN more inflation and disparities

cult for people to save in a period of continuously rising prices. The same remarks hold true for investment. The Finance Minister Y. B. Chavan has wisely refrained from putting additional burdens on corporations and on personal income with the obvious intention to stimulate investment. But the scope for investment is limited because of restrictions on private enterprise, a large number of controls and procedures and the threat of nationalisation, besides the existing heavy taxation on companies.

Key is production

So far as public investment is concerned, the proposed Plan outlay of Rs 4356 crores for 1973-74 is impressive and may be the forerunner of the large Fifth Plan which will begin in the following year. But in a year of severe scarcity of all types and rising prices, whether Government will be able to have the necessary physical resources to put into operation such a heavy Plan outlay may be doubted. If they do, more employment will be created. But if they spend more money and fail to realise production they will accelerate the inflationary pressures in the country. There is little in the expe-

rience of Government work that can inspire confidence in its capacity to realise such quick and tangible results in a short time. If this means additional money supply with the public and not enough goods in proportion, we may be in for an additional spurt in prices.

Dependence on rains

So far as efforts to control inflation are concerned, the Government hopes to see that demand is regulated and that basic wage goods are increased and at the same time the public distribution system is strengthened. The control of demand is indicated by the imposition of heavy taxation on luxury goods, but this will only have a marginal effect as the demand for essential articles which is important is unlimited.

Besides, the existence of a parallel economy or black market creates a demand which is not taken into account in the budget proposals. So far as the production of basic wage goods is concerned, though some steps have been taken for helping agricultural production and increasing irrigation facilities, dependence on the monsoon is still the prime factor which will determine production in this sphere. In view of the recent experience regarding the widespread failure of rains, we have to wait till the monsoon season proves satisfactory. This is therefore a highly uncertain factor. So far as the public distribution system is concerned, probably the Finance Minister has in view the take over of wholesale trade in foodgrains — rice and wheat — by the state, with a view to regulating the distribution of these grains to the public in an equitable manner. The objective is good but it is not possible to say with confidence whether the proposed measures will succeed.

Deficit Rs 300 crores

There is a clever move to mislead the public by saying that the deficit has been reduced to Rs 85 crores, the smallest in recent years, but it has been admitted in a brief mention in the budget speech that a supplemen-

tary budget will have to be submitted to implement the recommendations of the Pay Commission which may involve the Government into more than Rs 200 crores. The deficit will then be about Rs 300 crores and not Rs 85 crores.

This deficit financing will be incurred to help the unending demands of the privileged classes who constitute Government servants. The large numbers of people who suffer from rising prices outside the pale of Government service must watch this with dismay.

Taxes raise prices

Besides, the food subsidy for the public distribution system may be large, as Government is not likely to be able to reduce the operational cost of the Food Corporation nor to raise the issue price of wheat and rice. This will add to the deficit. In other

GERMANY — from page 11

Federal Republic and states of the Eastern bloc will become more open.

The question is: What will we West Germans bring to the peoples of the Eastern social order? Shall we escape from the decadence of the economic miracle, from thoughtlessness and lack of standards and create a spiritual and moral force to present to the East, or will the ideological force of the East prove stronger?

Last year I met with a number of parliamentarians from various countries of West Europe at the MRA World Conference Centre in Caux, Switzerland, among them Members of Parliament from Bonn including representatives both of the Government party, the SPD, and also of the Opposition, the CDU.

In a world beset by difficult unsolved problems, by tensions, by starvation in the majority of countries and by superfluity in our Western countries, by war and death, we seek for new ways in politics—of living in accordance with the standards which Dr Frank Buchman, the founder of Moral Re-Armament, has presented to mankind, absolute

honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love.

words, the deficit financing so cleverly concealed in the budget may in the end be larger than Rs 300 crores as is usually the case. As it is not likely to be matched by increased production but will only mean additional demand, it will tend to give an upward push to prices.

Some of the other proposals like heavy duties on imports and excise will also have a tendency to raise prices. In view of this instead of containing prices, the budget will be pushing up prices further in the upward direction.

Instead of bringing about social justice and relative equality, inflation will widen the disparities between rich and poor and will work in the opposite direction. Along with this, the other powerful forces in operation in the country, viz. the parallel economy of black markets to control which there is no move or sign, will lead to a situation in which the economy will be poised as it were on a volcano.

If we Germans, on the seam between East and West, were to experience a new start through politicians who change, we could bring to the peoples of the East something more than any treaty agreements — more than economic power, more than averting violence, more than avoiding wars. What this world needs is real peace and a genuine exchange between rich and poor.

Politicians who do not only — and mainly — seek their own success, but who are ready to serve their people, to do what is right, and who take the problems of other nations as seriously as their own, could bring the world nearer to the aim that Frank Buchman set us when he said: "There is enough in the world for everyone's need, but not enough for everyone's greed."

If we politicians change, change daily, there is a chance that this world will escape from starvation, poverty, war and the danger of suffocating in its own civilisation.

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Viewpoint

Politicians should retire at 60

No, experience is everything

Rs 25 to S. Prasad, Delhi 7

At 73 Konrad Adenauer became the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. Charles de Gaulle came to power at 70, Mao Tse-tung and Tito are almost 80 now and in no mood to quit. We can quote many more examples like the President of India and Mrs Golda Meir who are in their seventies. Except Olaf Palme of Sweden and Trudeau of Canada (and Mr Heath) most of the world's heads of governments are well past 60.

If we remember that youth is not a period of life, but a state of mind, then this problem of retiring our statesmen at 60 will not arise at all. Rajaji was the most eloquent proof of a very active intellect even at 94! Many able administrators, judges, such as Mr C. D. Deshmukh, Mr M. C. Chagla, Dr Gajendragadkar have proved their freshness of mind in spite of their age.

Politics is a lifelong profession. There is no retirement from this as from other professions. Experience is everything here. A seasoned politician is an asset to every country. He has a sense of timing. The youth may have apparently more dynamism, but will certainly lack the objectivity, the perspective, the maturity, the judgment and tact necessary in the politics of the present day.

Further, politicians are not paid professionals. Honest politicians may have a separate profession to earn their daily bread, but as time passes on, they become completely enveloped in their political activities. As such, there is no question of retirement except by those who have failed miserably and become back-numbers.

Yes, retire

Rs 15 to K. Ravindran, Trichur 680004

THOUGH a minimum age has been fixed for standing in an election to a legislative body, unlike for other jobs there is no retirement age in politics. This is an irony of facts, for those who raise and lower the retirement age of Government officials, themselves go unaffected by any such rules. What's more, even those who have retired from Government service turn to politics very often.

As there is a minimum age in standing for an election, so there should be a maximum age for retirement. Certainly this is something which no politician would desire. They want to enjoy their power, throughout their lives. Moreover they are afraid that once they retire from active politics, their voice would not have any impact. In fact this is wrong. We have the fine example of the late Mr C.

Politicians retire only when the people reject them, irrespective of their age but not because they reach the age of superannuation as from Government service. The suggestion to retire politicians at the age of 60 is fraught with disastrous consequences, because novices will play with the lives of people and lead the country to chaos and confusion. Gandhiji, Abraham Lincoln and other world politicians were at the peak of their careers only when they were past 60.

Out of the total number of entries 70 per cent were for politicians retiring at 60 years and 30 per cent were against.

Rajagopalachari. Though he was the leader of a political party till his death, he was nowhere to be seen near "political actions" at the later stages of his life. He was living a retired life but always keeping abreast of the times. Yet his voice prevailed over matters of importance.

One need not always be a Minister or an MP to serve the people. By clinging to power the older ones are virtually blocking the chances for younger elements to come up. With all respect to their rich experience one must say that getting old has its disadvantages. Moreover, a spell of calm and quiet life would do them more good than they think. After such a hectic life they would surely enjoy it. So at 60, or say 65 politicians should retire. It would be in the interests of all, young and old alike.



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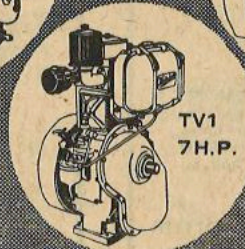
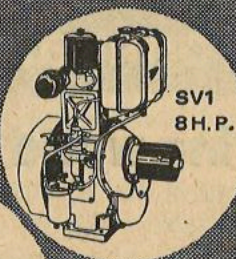
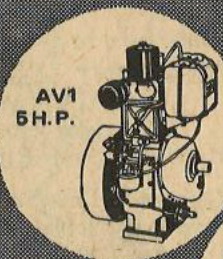
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'I tried to kill Yalman'

by Turkish lawyer Huseyin Uzmez

Dr Ahmet Emin Yalman, for 20 years editor of "Vatan" (Fatherland), Turkey's second largest daily paper, was a man of outspoken liberal views.

He met Moral Re-Armament in 1946, wrote many articles about it and attended five conferences at the world centre for MRA in Caux, Switzerland. He fought fearlessly for the freedom of the press in his own country and in other parts of the world.

A young idealistic student was used 20 years ago by a group of extremists in a plot to kill him.

On hearing news of Yalman's death in December last year, this student, now a lawyer in Ankara, told his own story for the first time. HIMMAT (January 12, 1973) published the story of Yalman's heroic fight for press freedom. This week we carry the story of his would be assassin, Mr Huseyin Uzmez.

I FIRST met him exactly 20 years ago when I was an 18-year-old school student. I sincerely believed that Ahmet Emin Yalman should be assassinated. He had arrived in Malatya with Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and, shortly before midnight, I managed to get close to him and fired six shots.

He was taken to hospital in a coma. He regained consciousness two days later and asked to see me whereupon I was taken to his bedside. He was in bandages and had difficulty in speaking. I introduced myself to him as "your enemy" though there he no longer seemed like one. He said how he pitied my mother, working very hard in a factory to provide me with a good education and future. "Thank God that I have survived," he told me, "but I regret the years of your youth which will go to waste." Despite myself, his words impressed me and there were tears in my eyes. But I could not believe him; I refused to believe him. I was still fired with excitement though inexperienced and not yet hardened by life.

Still not sorry

Then came my arrest, investigations, courts, and then the sentence 20 years in prison. I was handcuffed and taken from town to town, prison to prison.

Still I was not sorry. I would not believe, even to myself, that I had done anything wrong.

Years passed, conditions changed and coups d'etat were followed by Government changes.

After the May 27 revolution, the press was enjoying a freedom till then unknown.

The journalists became the "wise men" of the country, their advice being sought on every matter. Yalman was at their head.

There were rumours in the prisons of an amnesty and even the perpetrators of these lies convinced themselves of their truth. Everyone was excited, cheerful and daydreaming. Not me; deep down I was scared. I was sure that Yalman and those under his influence would oppose the amnesty. Though my prison mates kept quiet, I was sure they felt the same.

Suddenly one morning, the door of my dormitory was flung open and a few of my friends dashed in waving a newspaper and shouting "look what your man has written!"

The newspaper was "Vatan" — Mr Yalman's paper — and the banner headline read "Huseyin Uzmez deserves forgiveness".

In his leading article, Ahmet Emin Yalman praised me and insisted on my release. It was a peculiar feeling. Eight years in prison had taught me a great deal about life and I was no longer inflexible. I was grateful to Mr Yalman not just for my own happiness but for my thousands of fellow prisoners. I could not bring myself, however, to express these sentiments by word or letter for fear of embarrassing myself before the enemy.

Shortly afterwards I received a letter from him asking to visit me. After much hesitation I replied and this was the start of an active correspondence between us. He also sent me collections of his articles and as soon as I read them I realised how wrong I had been about him.

Visited in prison

One day he came to see me. I was then in Izmir prison and we met in the governor's office. We shook hands and I said to him: "Years ago I was of the sincere belief that you should be got rid of, which is why I fired at you. Since I was genuinely



Dr A. E. YALMAN:
"Huseyin Uzmez deserves forgiveness"

sincere at the time, I do not regret what I did but, having come to know you, I realise that it was a mistake."

He greeted me like an old friend, his eyes sparkling, and said that he wanted my release more than I wanted it myself. He was sorry, he said, about my mother, who was still working in the factory, but glad that I had not allowed myself to get too depressed. He congratulated me on my efforts to complete my education in prison and asked me how I had progressed with my English. Would I, he wondered, be able to understand the English books which he intended to send me. I replied: "If you like, we can converse in English." The rest of our conversation was in English and we talked for about two hours. Then he asked me if he could give me a present.

"If it is a book or a box of chocolates," I replied, "then I shall be grateful, but please, if it is something else, excuse me and do not be offended if I refuse. Please try to understand."

He was fighting back tears as he left.

As a result of the general amnesty in 1960, my sentence was reduced by half. Ten years and three days from the start of my sentence I was a free man again.

Outside it was not as I had imagined and I had many burdens to bear. I had no job, no money, my mother was paralysed and about to die and, in the meantime, I was attending lectures at the Law Faculty.

Mr Yalman was trying to help me without offending me. One evening a limousine pulled up in front of the shack in which I was then living and I was told, "Deputy Prime Minister

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Kemal Satir wishes to see you". He received me with great kindness and said that he was trying to find me a job with the local council.

I had written a book during my years in prison and Mr Yalman was insisting on its publication. Since it contained my old views, I felt it should be revised and I was not happy with it; nor, did I think, would Mr Yalman be either though I was too

proud to tell him. He insisted on reading it, however, and a few days later I received a letter from him. "I am very disappointed," he wrote. "You could be a liberal and progressionist leader. Your book is full of hatred and fanaticism."

It seemed that our ties were about to break but in fact the contrary happened and, with the help of the late Professor Fikret Arik, he secured

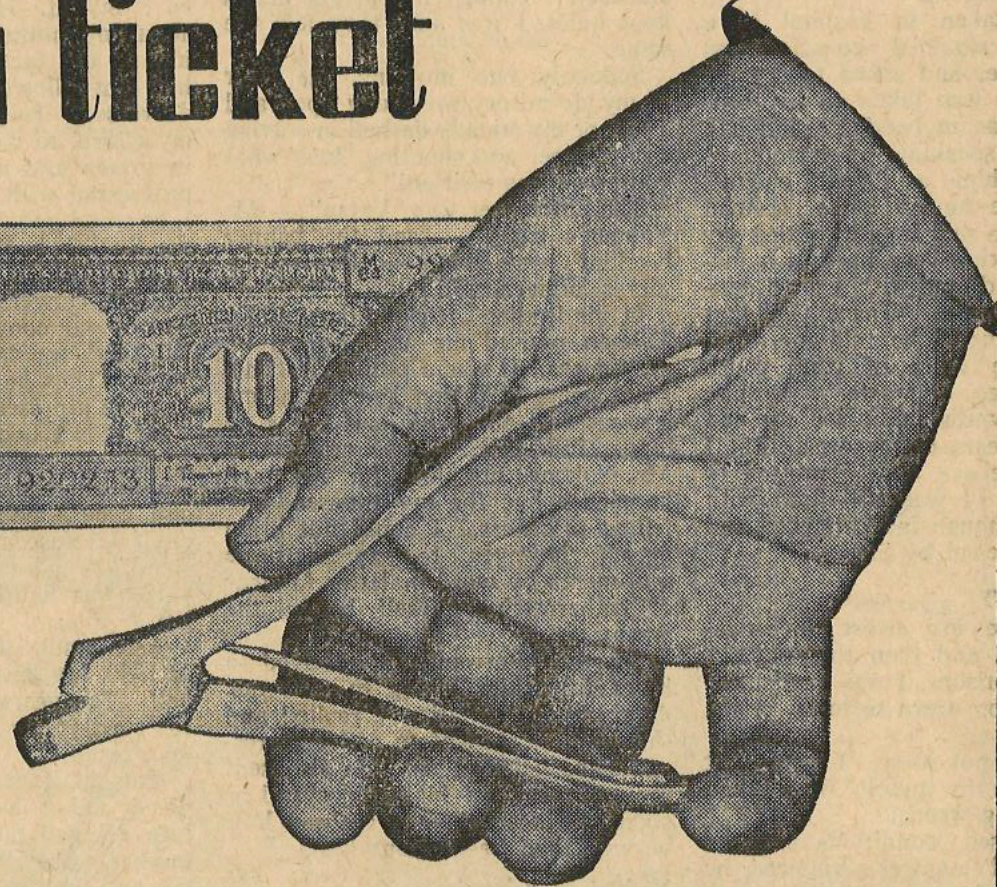
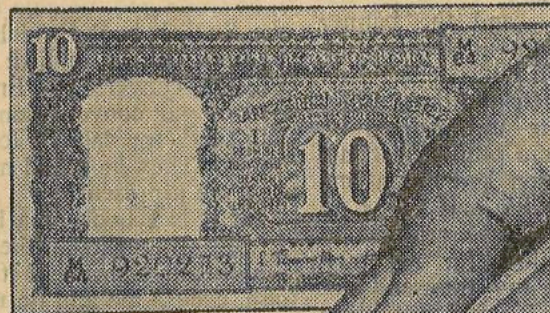
me a scholarship.

During one of our last encounters, he was sadly complaining about his son who had gone, disappointed, to America. "In Turkey," he said, "they do not appreciate people."

What a sad coincidence that the very day I opened my own lawyer's office in Ankara, the radio announced his death.

This article was published on 31 December, 1972 in the Turkish liberal daily "Milliyet" (Nation).

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CENTRAL RAILWAY

A.N.

tions with India and Pakistan to help to settle the prisoner of war dispute. Mrs Gandhi may be flexible in her stand and may be willing to accept Britain's mediation in this instance. What is important is not the political and legal quibbles but the suffering of peoples in all three countries of the subcontinent.

Is it not possible to work out an arrangement whereby for every prisoner of war released by India, with the sanction of Bangladesh, three Bengalis are released by Pakistan? The question of recognition of assets and liabilities can hang fire. The people are more important. There are roughly three times as many Bengalis as POWs and granting that Bangladesh retains say 100 or 200 POWs for trial, could the transfer not be allowed in stages of say ten thousand POWs crossing the border for every thirty thousand Bengalis being released?

Sheikh Mujib's earlier idea of exchanging the 160,000 Biharis who refuse to be integrated in Bangladesh for the Bengalis in Pakistan is unlikely to work because Pakistan does not want the Biharis.

Great courage needed

Bangladesh leaders have been restrained in their handling of the Biharis and the POWs. Soon after landing on January 10, 1972 Sheikh Mujib said to his people, "Let no more blood be shed in Sonar Bangla." He stayed the hand of public revenge. He has to weigh how far to execute state justice. "The trial of history's worst war criminals is imperative," he

said on March 3, 1973. "It is a sacred obligation to mankind."

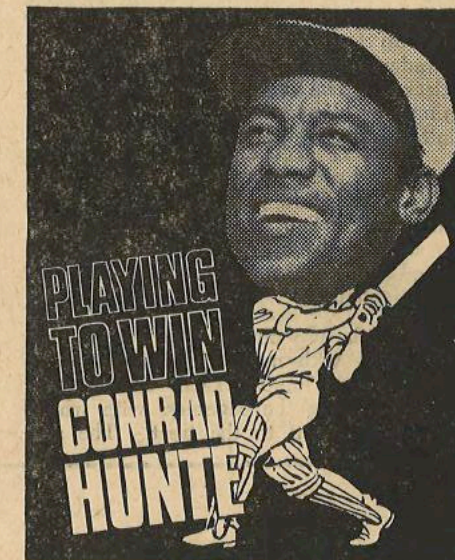
This writer's information is that whilst earlier as many as 1500 war trial cases were expected to be registered, Bangladesh is now keen to try only those who are guilty of "mass genocide". They are not interested in a soldier who fired a gun but at the top officer who ordered it.

Even so the leaders of Bangladesh will have to think through how wise it is to hold these trials and if so which part of Bangladesh will be safe to try those accused of mass genocide. Last year this writer had the privilege to sit with some of the men in Dacca who had suffered or witnessed some of the nightmares of that nine months. Men don't often weep but at least two distinguished men broke down relating what had happened. One was a professor of political science the other a deputy secretary of a government department. "It doesn't worry us if you try the war criminals," I told the Deputy Secretary. "But even as you speak I can see that old wounds which were healing are being rubbed afresh." The man nodded and with his eyes filled with tears turned away.

The Bengalis are a sensitive, cultured people. One of their leaders told this writer, "We need a light in the dark tunnel we are passing through. If people in Europe who have fought so many wars can forget and forgive why cannot people on this subcontinent, even if they cannot forget perhaps forgive."

Could Sheikh Mujib now show the statesmanship of courage — a quality

not alien to him — and make the love of the Bengalis for their brethren in Pakistan the motive force of policy rather than anger at the war criminals or even pride on the question of recognition. It may be his crowning gift to a people he has loved and has been saved to serve.



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THIS INDIA

The Jatra

"JATRA" — that is the magic word in the villages of Maharashtra. In the north it is "mela", derived from the word "milan" (meeting).

A distinctive feature of rural India, the Jatra is celebrated once a year by every village to honour the local deity. People walk up from the neighbouring villages. Nowadays even trucks are hired and bedecked. The day is declared a holiday. Strings of paper flags span the streets, afflutter with gay abandon.

As you walk down the main street there's a spring in your step and a lilt in your heart. You wonder why feel so buoyant? Perhaps it is the joy and whole-hearted enjoyment of the village fair that is so infectious.

Little girls turn out with their hair oiled and plaited with nylon ribbons of red or pink, the black line of "kajal" around their eyes heightening the eagerness with which they look forward to the treat. The sun

catches the gold and silver thread in the silk sarees that the women wear, taken out from the bottom of their trunks for this occasion.

The sweetmeat shops do brisk business, the delicacies vanishing in no time as people, along with the flies, relish them.

Then there is the inevitable palm reader, probing the mysteries of lives, stars and horoscopes and ensuring his future as others grease his palm to extract information of what is to be. At the same time the pick-pocket exercises his skill and finesse. The ice-candy seller makes different shapes and sizes of crushed ice on which dazzling green or yellow syrup is poured. This the children suck and slurp with satisfaction. Sticks of freshly cut sugarcane lie outside the stall, constructed of bamboo matting, on which calendars hang. Pictures of film stars, deities like Hanuman and Kennedy or Nehru add their charismatic flavour.

At noon the drums start beating. Everyone gravitates to the village square. With cymbals in their hands, the men dance and throw colour at one another. The village Romeos swagger around rendering film songs in a fashion that would make Rajesh

Khanna look pale and insipid.

Late in the afternoon, a wrestling match is held. The prowess of anyone and everyone is tested. Judges are appointed and a sum of money awarded to the muscle man. After that participants either drown their sorrows or celebrate their victory.

As the stars shine down, people make their way to the "pandal" where a drama is enacted. If this does not go on till past midnight, people feel deprived of their share of entertainment.

And so ends the Jatra — but only till the next round.

Neeraja Chowdhury

HIMMAT

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Letters

A Japanese's impression of India

I WOULD like to take advantage of your pages to thank the people of India for their kindness and honesty.

A delegation of seven of us Japanese, headed by Mr Y. Otsubo, came to India to attend the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Asia Plateau, Panchgani held from January 20-28. In attending this conference, we came to know the soul of India. In Panchgani I was greatly impressed to see a young leadership with love of country and practising how to care for peoples and nations. The spirit of the conference was demonstrated in the fact that every flower in the garden received individual love and care, and this spirit reached the hearts of the people there.

We were gathered there from all parts of Asia, Europe and America, but we could not feel any difference between us; in Panchgani was produced the harmony of mankind which everyone is looking for. Coming from the bustle and competitiveness of Tokyo, I felt myself cleansed in spirit and reborn, and released from daily tension. I learnt how to listen to my inner voice and obey. I admire India for having created this place, and as an Asian I am very grateful for its existence.

On January 28, we arrived at New Delhi airport, and took a car and rushed to the hotel. Then Mr Otsubo said anxiously, "Where is my bag?" We looked for it, but could not find it. A friend, Mr Ali, and I went back to the airport immediately. He told me to relax, and that all would be well, but I had great doubts, knowing what might happen in Tokyo in such a case.

In the airport we went to the office, and the officer came forward with a beaming face and said, "Here it is." We found it had been roped up and sealed and kept in a special place, and I was very happy to find that. I am very grateful to have experienced the honesty and kindness of the people of India.

From now on I would like to have a part in creating close friendship between India and Japan.

FUSAICHI YAMAZAKI
President, English Language
Training Centre,
Kawasaki-shi, Japan

Union Budget 1973

THE basic thinking at the top level behind this year's Budget proposals is the same as in the previous three years. Therefore, the effect should also be the same, viz. galloping inflation, galloping corruption, galloping tax evasion, mounting unemployment and stagnating production. Unfortunately these have become a way of life in India.

The Budget, as usual, has a word of cheer for a certain class of the citizens, viz. the section of businessmen and politicians who are unscrupulous and who will continue to prosper. For the rest of the

peoples, including the poorest sections, the middle class, the honest among the businessmen and the professionals, there is not a ray of hope.

What matters most is the sincerity of the leaders at the top to do a good job and not confiscatory taxation or empty talk of socialism with no will to enforce either.

R. C. COOPER, Bombay

Credibility gap

ON February 23 a Union Minister made a sweeping statement in Parliament calling the performance of the public sector a "million times better" than that of the private sector. On the same day, in Parliament, another Union Minister informed the house that during the year 1971-72, Central Government public sector enterprises had incurred a cumulative loss of Rs 18.96 crores, whereas the loss in the previous year was Rs 2.86 crores.

For the public sector or any other enterprise to incur losses in our country is a crime against the nation because it means a) the money invested in them could have been productively employed elsewhere and thus the country loses the benefit of wealth creation, and b) in the case of the public sector the losses are to be subsidised from the General Exchequer which means that the poorest people in the country, who pay indirect taxes on kerosene, etc, are made to subsidise the losses.

In the course of time this realisation will dawn on the illiterate. In the meantime, by making blanket statements like the one above, Ministers are destroying the credibility of the Government among the thinking public.

M. R. PAI, Bombay 1.

Indo-Pak friendship

COMING to India after a lapse of nearly two years, I felt so pleased to find some people have carried on with vigour the cause of Indo-Pak friendship. It has been my privilege to work for the same cause in Pakistan continuously from 1949. What we have done and are doing is little known in India. There is an acute need, in my opinion, for creating some machinery whereby the workers for peace on either side may know each other and if possible correlate their activities.

The peoples of our two countries do want to live in peace and amity. Let us revive communication, trade, cultural and sport exchanges at an early date. The first 25 years of independence have been a period of discord. The next 25 years should be a period of understanding and concord between our two nations.

SYED MURTUZA ABDI, Karachi 33, Pakistan.

Wrong date

Thanks to your printers' error, the latest issue of HIMMAT is dated 'March 27' instead of 'March 2'. Indians are generally blamed for their tardiness, laziness and lagging behind by ages. HIMMAT, on the other hand, is 25 days ahead. Shall I console myself with the axiom "Even an elephant trips".

N. Balkrishna

Guilty — Ed.

This was a Life

CARDINAL ACHILLE LIENART

1884-1973

CARDINAL-ARCHBISHOP LIENART was called by some employers the "red cardinal" for his support of workers' causes. His involvement in the struggle for economic and social justice was certainly complete, but it grew out of his Christian conscience rather than from any Marxist dogma.

Cardinal Lienart was born in Lille, a grimy industrial city of Northern France, and spent much of his life there and eventually became its cardinal. In the First World War he served as an army chaplain and was awarded the Croix de Guerre for extreme bravery in rescuing wounded men on several occasions from positions exposed to enemy fire.

During the Second World War he was a persistent target of Nazi pressure because of his influence in the area. Once he told a German SS officer: "I was a soldier. You cannot frighten me by threatening death."

He took the same courageous spirit into his work for the Church and for the people of Northern France. He fought consistently for improved workers' housing and better wages for the lower paid. He first attracted attention by his support of textile workers striking in a wage dispute prolonged by the refusal of some employers to negotiate with the union.

Internationally he spoke out against any racial discrimination whether it was anti-Semitism or disdain of the African. He found in Moral Re-Armament a kindred force in his efforts to reshape the relations between men, classes and peoples. "Moral Re-Armament is a crack of the whip to Christians who have forgotten their mission and offers a positive alternative to sincere Marxists," he said.

He was a prominent figure at the Second Vatican Council and was at one time considered a possible successor to Pope John XXIII. During the Second Vatican Council he opposed what he considered to be too formal and legalistic ideas for the council's consideration. His initiative at the council led to a greater international representation on the various commissions.

He died at his home after a long illness at the age of 89.

B. L.



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Sheikh Mujib and the new Asia

by Rajmohan Gandhi

BANGLADESH goes to the polls on the 7th, and results will come in on the 8th.

Sheikh Mujib, treated more like a father than a leader, is widely expected to take his Awami League back to power. It is stated that he would like the opposition parties to win a fair number of seats; this would keep his party-men on their toes and strengthen the country's democratic base.

A prodigious worker and traveller, eager to give his attention to every person coming to him with a need, Sheikh Mujib is doubtless relieved to see the end of the electoral campaign. If anyone in the world merits a break for a few days, Sheikh Mujib does, and one hopes that his friends and colleagues persuade him to take it.

His reflections at the end of the period of electoral tension would probably take him to different parts of Asia and the Arab world.

The Asian-Arab world, if it is permissible to think of these two teeming portions of humanity together, waits for what in simple terms could be called good news. It desires dignity and peace with the thirst that the parched soil of much of this part of the world has for water.

Khartoum has not merely been a grotesque disservice to the Arab cause. It has not merely alienated large numbers of men essentially sympathetic to the aspirations of the Palestinian Arabs. It has wounded Arab self-respect and Arab unity, and shaken the faith of Arabs in their own decency and sense of honour.

And not just the Arabs are affected. Monstrosities of this kind cause ordinary men everywhere to question their belief in the nobility of man and to injure their hope in mankind's future.

Our subcontinent, the subcontinent of Sheikh Mujib, Mrs Gandhi and the people of Pakistan, is significantly situated. To our West is the Arab world with its truncated liberty, precarious peace and agonised soul. To our East live the sad millions of Indo-China, of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, venturing tremblingly and halting-

ly to believe in a future of peace after over two decades of the torture of war.

Both West Asia and South-East Asia seek glad tidings. They want to hear of a move or act that could revive and strengthen their faith in themselves and their countries and in the uprightness of man.

They look for an end, if possible, to the chain reaction of enmity and revenge. They wonder why it is that men so often manage to give their worst to those that mean the most to them. The wrath of the Khartoum killings was directed at the Israelis; the victim of that wrath is Arab progress.

At times consciously, in the main unconsciously, they wish to hear a tale of man's generosity.

More than anyone else in the whole of Asia, Sheikh Mujib is in a position to create such news. He has suffered personally. His people, loving him and loved by him, have sorrowed on a scale and with an intensity seldom experienced by any nation. Magnanimity from those who have been comfortable is not necessarily attractive. Coming from Sheikh Mujib and from Bangladesh, magnanimity or generosity would come into its own. It would possess pristine lustre; and it would astonish races burdened with pessimism into cheer again.

One thinks, of course, of the Pakistani prisoners of war now in India. Mrs Gandhi is clear that although they are held in India they surrendered to the joint command of the Mukti Bahini of Bangladesh and the armed forces of India. There seems to be no doubt in her mind that without Bangladesh's consent they cannot be returned to Pakistan.

Yet consent is not what the hour calls for. The first move for their release and return has to come from Sheikh Mujib; it is this that would touch people all over Asia and the world. Were he to persuade India to send the POWs home, and many in India need persuading, he would emerge as a builder of a new Asia.

Asia is changing in many ways. Japanese hands have shaken

Chinese hands. The two Koreas have worked out steps towards normalisation. Peace, its content still unknown, appears to be coming to Indo-China.

Are we near an age of Asian fulfilment? Are we at last going to see an end to man's hostility towards man in Asia? Are different nationalisms going to learn to honour one another and to merge for a greater objective? Can one also have the vision of the Communists and capitalists of Asia finding agreement on a new philosophy of life applied in action that enables freedom, equality and discipline, all three, to flourish?

These conceptions may never be realised in detail. Yet surely we are meant to hope and work towards them. And here the role of our subcontinent is crucial. We will not see a new Asia without friendship between India, Bangladesh and Pakistan.

Some write history. Others create it. The latter are few. Fewer still are those who help make the kind of history that restores man's confidence in himself and in other men.

Historians will always be at work, and their service is worthy. Sheikh Mujib's role is, of course, considerably larger.

His asking India to send the POWs back would be of real and needed help to our people at this juncture. Sections in our country are at the moment tragically concentrated on where other sections in India have hurt them, and have forgotten what the nation together could do and become.

Is this not also the sort of spirit that Bangladesh herself might now require? One reads with sadness of the political killings on the eve of the elections there, and hopes for all the people of that nation born in anguish to be able to enjoy full peace and trust.

Will Bangladesh and India create news of uncommon statesmanship? It would resound all across Asia and assure people everywhere that despite tyranny and abomination our world under God has a sunny side.

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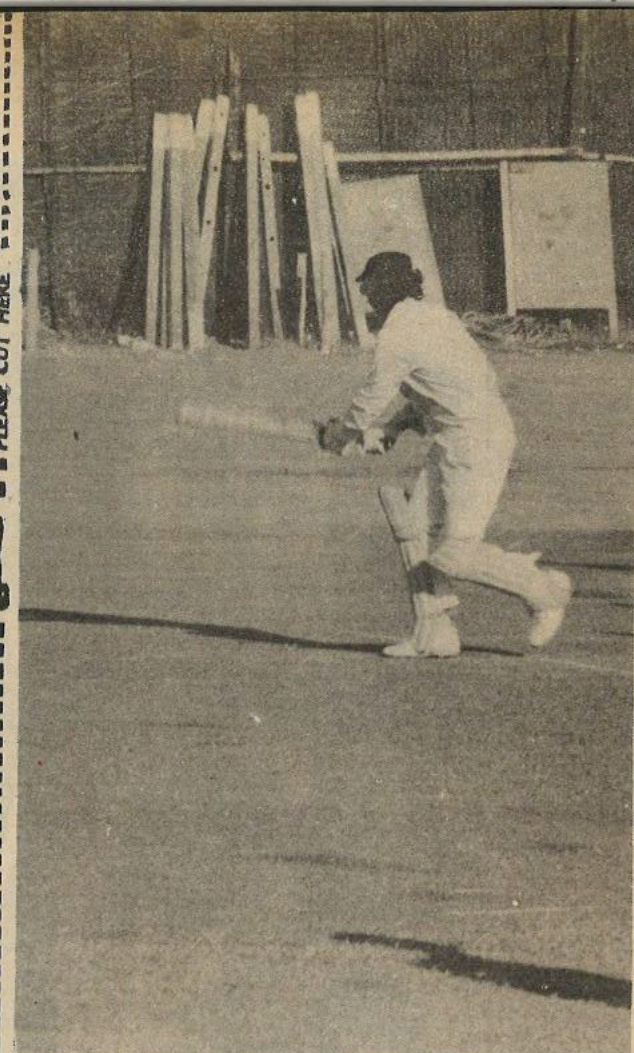
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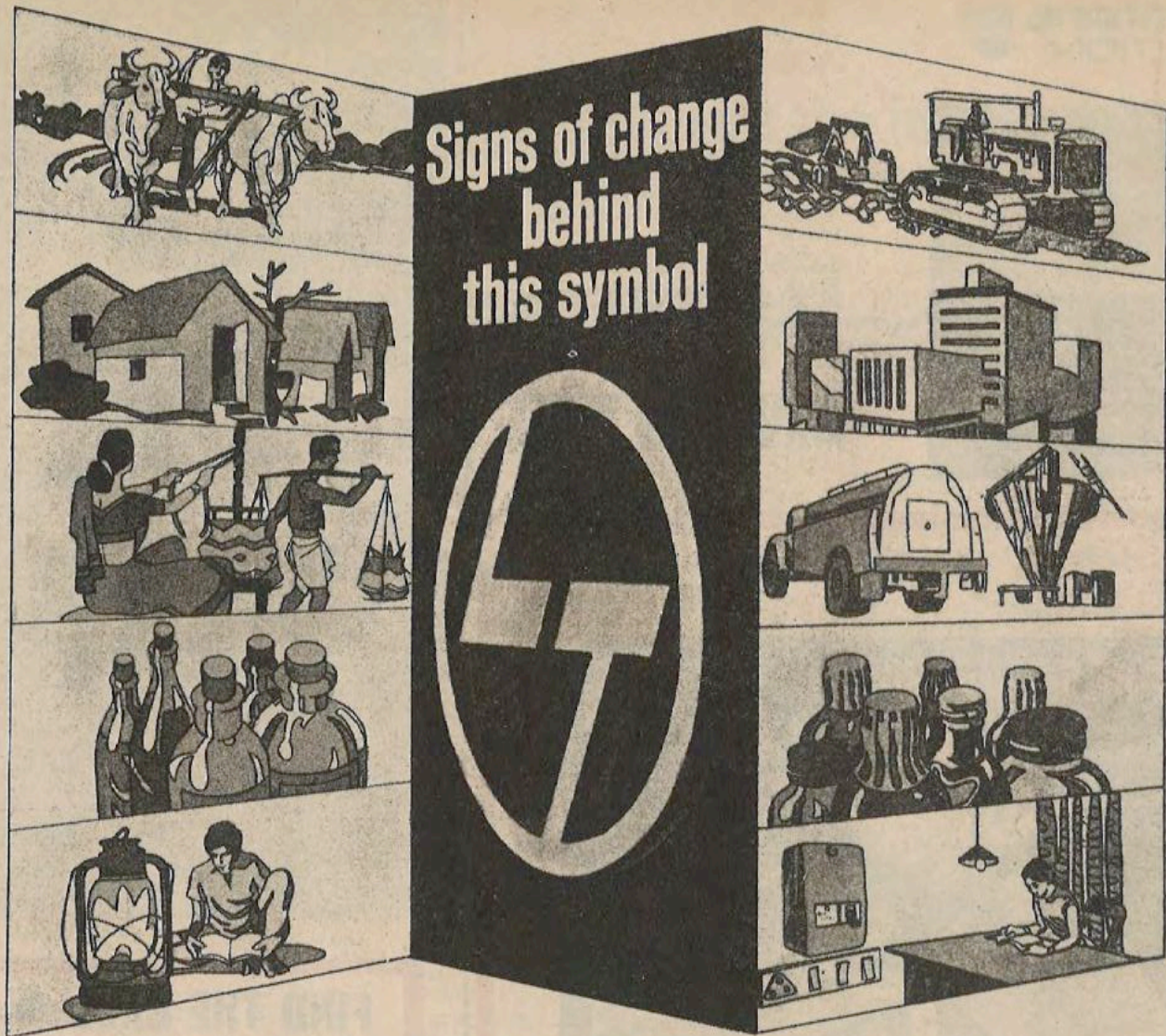
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