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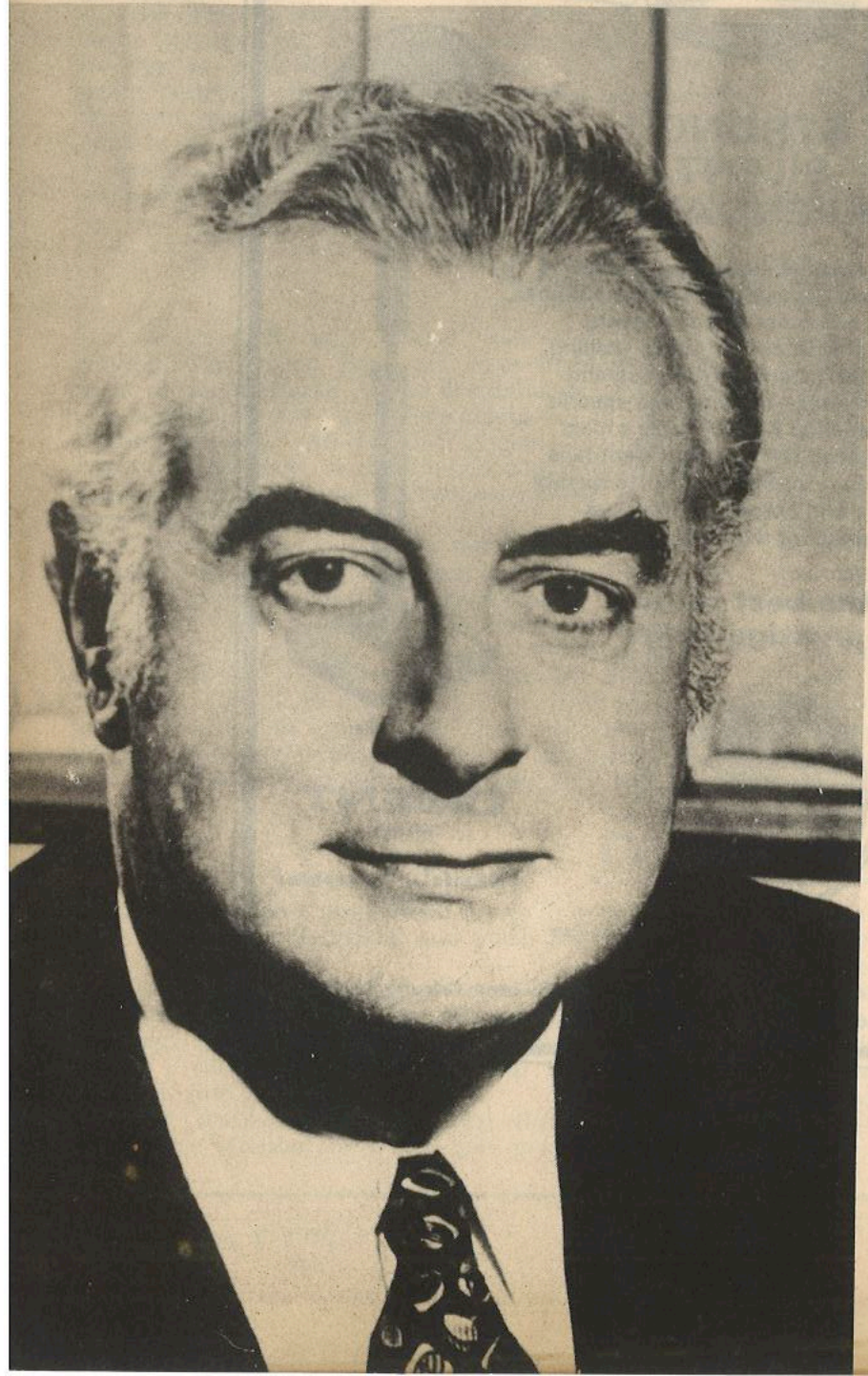
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ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY JUNE 8 1973

## ***THE WHITLAM DYNAMIC IMPACTS ASIA***

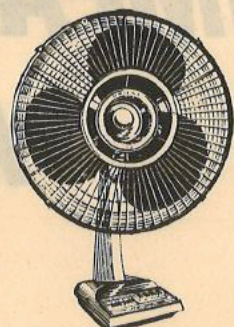


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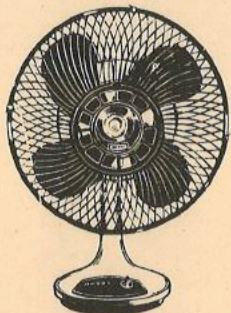
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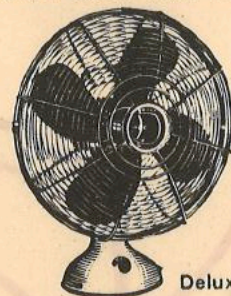
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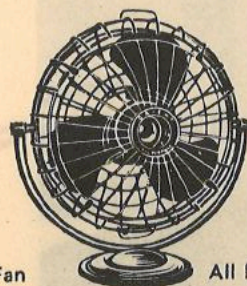
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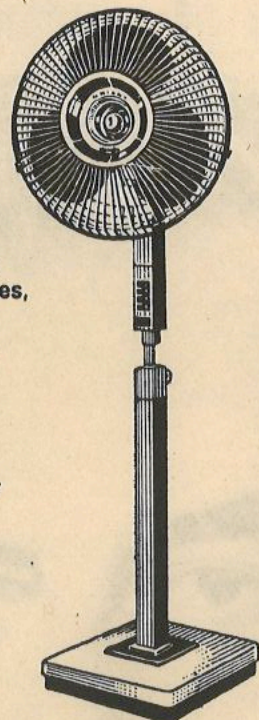
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## EDITORIALS

### Canberra and New Delhi

It is surprising that the last visit of an Australian Prime Minister to New Delhi was as far back as 1959 as both countries have interests and ways of life in common. Commenting on this Mr Whitlam said, "There has been perhaps too much of the feeling that we can take each other for granted . . . If this has been so, I intend to amend it and amend it thoroughly."

Both India and Australia are firmly committed to the democratic political system and both are concerned that the Indian Ocean neither becomes the lake of any one great power nor a zone of conflict between many. In the Bangladesh crisis and the 1971 war Australia was one of the countries that gave support to the Indian cause and was among the first nations to recognise Bangladesh.

For these reasons Australia's relations with this country rank high in her links with the Asian continent. Japan, Indonesia and China are the other nations which are key in Australia's stance. Japan is Australia's largest customer and second biggest supplier. Japanese corporate assets in the Australian mining industries stand at A\$280 million (Rs 2520 million). Indonesia, of course, is Australia's huge neighbour to the north. It has ceased to be a source of fear to Australia

as it once was under Sukarno, but is now a country with which Australia wishes to co-operate, politically and economically. With China, Mr Whitlam hopes that the People's Republic will eventually join some regional association of South-East and East Asia which will facilitate trade and economic co-operation and lead to a pact of mutual non-aggression for the whole region. He would perhaps regard the achievement of this as the major accomplishment of his foreign policy (see page 5).

This type of regional association is in tune with much of New Delhi's thinking. It is a style of co-operation that would be independent of super power interference and would be generated by the nations of the area themselves. What Mr Whitlam has in mind therefore may be of help in the normalisation of relations between India and China—a policy aim on which Mrs Gandhi has frequently and recently spoken. This is not to say that Mr Whitlam is to be a broker for India in Peking. Rather it means New Delhi and Canberra regard the structure of relationships between Asian nations in similar terms, including the role of China.

Mr Whitlam's visit to New Delhi is a welcome development in the affairs of the continent.

### Challenge to the Centre

ALL is not well with several Indian states—Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Bihar are cases in point. The revolt of the Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) in UP highlighted the gross maladministration of the Tripathi Ministry. At the time of going to press Mr Tripathi is planning, in consultation with Mrs Gandhi, to reduce the size of his Cabinet which has 38 members including himself.

Not so long ago in Gujarat the Oza Ministry was rocked by dissidents. At present a lid has been put upon the simmering discontent in the party.

In Bihar, Mr Kedar Pande was also faced with the problem of dissidents. Apparently after consulting Delhi, Mr Pande asked seven of his Cabinet colleagues to resign. Four of them challenged his right to do so on the ground that he owed his Chief Ministership to the Congress High Command which nominated him and that they would follow instructions only from the

same source. Consequently Mr Pande submitted the resignation of the entire Cabinet to force the exit of the recalcitrant Ministers. But in the reconstituted Cabinet he has been forced to take back three of those he was most anxious to get rid of.

These three states are held by the Congress Party. Mrs Gandhi may be firmly in command at the Centre but her Achilles' heel seems to be the states. It is not as though the Congress High Command has not tried to influence events in these states. It has even gone to the extent of supporting dissidents and splinter groups.

Our people deserve stable and efficient state Governments. If Mrs Gandhi and the Congress High Command could use their good offices to ensure this it would be welcome. If they fail to do so the instability in the states can rock or perhaps even wreck the Congress at the Centre in the not too distant future.

### Candle-holders

Who says that India cannot hold a candle to the West? Take the subject of scandal and you'll find we do it best.

President Nixon's brow may furrow over Watergate; with the call girls scandal Britain's in a state; and in Norway, Belgium, Germany and Italy of scandals there's a spate. But we've had one in Mysore too, isn't that just great?

Of the disappearing Miss Desai there is still no trace. The Minister she visited (no one knows exactly

why) has resigned from the power race.

In the West the battle of the sexes raged on a tennis court. And Bobby Riggs the veteran beat Mrs Margaret Court. But India is not so far behind as any one can see. Mrs Nirupama Mankad (26), twice Asian Champion, and Jimmy Mehta (57), player in the veterans' double at Wimbledon, plan a tennis spree.

Do not talk of the many fields in which we've lagged behind. Let these shining efforts made be the salve to ease your mind.

# Briefly Speaking.....

Every misery I miss is a new blessing.  
IZAAK WALTON, 1593-1683

## Filling the lack in lakhs

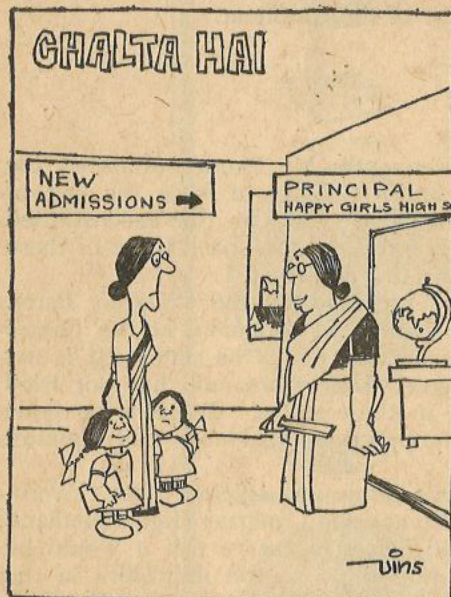
Nor content with its "One Lakh Houses" scheme for the landless rural poor (see page 13), the Kerala Government now plans to distribute with the Central Government's financial backing another one lakh (100,000) housing sites to the landless poor in the villages.

Birbal, impressed with this brisk onslaught on the housing problem, considers the Kerala Government "Lakhon mein ek" (one in a lakh)!

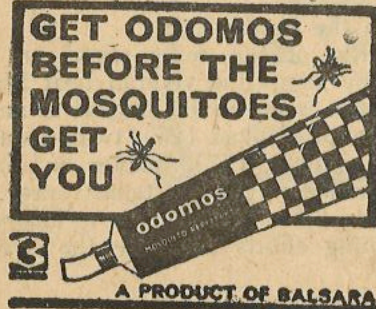
## Locating pollution

FIFTEEN THOUSAND schoolchildren in Britain have helped to produce an air-pollution map of England, Scotland and Wales. This has had a disquieting effect on most people in Britain and added, so to speak, fuel to the fire of conservationists.

How could children of 11 years accomplish this feat? Nature has pro-



"With every child admitted, we are accepting a tin of Vanaspati as donation."



vided a good pollution indicator in the form of lichens. These are small plants which grow on rocks, buildings and trees in a damp climate. These plants are sensitive to and disappear in the presence of sulphur dioxide, a major pollutant. The children were told to mark the areas where they found lichen as "Zone three" on their maps. Some children visited every square mile of the hundred-square mile area, which each one was asked to investigate.

## The West we leave behind

A study conducted by the Central Public Health Engineering and Research Institute says that the level of air-pollution in India is "alarming".

In Delhi the level of the poisonous sulphur dioxide gas is 0.22 micro gramme (mcg) per cubic metre; and 0.71 mcg in Calcutta, while this level is maintained at 0.10 in the US and at 0.05 in West Germany, by law. The level of "dustfall", which also includes fibres and other industrial particles, in the air is 800 tonnes per square mile in Delhi and 600 tonnes in Calcutta. In the advanced countries this is kept down to 150-200 tonnes.

India has overtaken the developed nations, albeit in an unusual direction.

## Health and Haryana

THE Health Minister of Haryana, Mr Harpal Singh, had some startlingly unhealthy facts to disclose the other day.

He said that almost the entire population of the state—10 million people—fell ill at least once a year and 70 per cent of them twice or more.

He said that Haryana suffers a loss of 90 million working days annually on account of the ill-health of its people which costs the state Rs 270 million. This does not include the cost of treatment.

It should be noted that Haryana is supposed to be one of the best states in India in terms of climate, availability of food and per capita income of the populace. Birbal shudders to think about the conditions in less fortunate states.

## He said it

THIS statement by Artemus Ward who died in 1867 is well worth a ponder today: "I am not a politician, and my other habits are good."

**Birbal**

## STOP PRESS VOICE OF ASIA

NEITHER the cry of suffering nor the blast of bombs but the still small voice within each one could become the voice of Asia. That is the theme of "Song of Asia", the new Moral Re-Armament musical revue. It has a cast of 42 drawn from 15 nations.

In "The Smile of the Apsara" a poem in dance about Indo-China, a Cambodian speaks of sincere apologies as the fire that could consume hatred and suspicion in Indo-China. A dance quartet from Turkey, Loas, Japan and India weaves an attractive pattern of Asian colour and diversity and also conveys the truth Asia has stood for. The show opens with an invocation where Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims and Christians worship together.

A revolutionary from India's North-East, while considering what action should be taken against his enemy, asks himself, "If I have the courage to kill a man can't I have the courage to love him enough to make him different?"

At the premier of "Song of Asia" in Ooty's Anna Stadium, Tamilnadu Governor K. K. Shah and Major General Rajwadi GOC, three Southern states, were among the capacity audience of over one thousand. The distinguished audience included Colonel Bedi, the Commandant of the Madras Regimental Centre School, school principals and representatives of the press.

## UPON MY WORD!

UPON MY WORD Puzzle No 32 has been held over until next week. The answer to last week's puzzle is given below.

### ANSWER TO PUZZLE NO. 31

Arise, arse, aside, aster, astir, dais, deist, desert, desire, disrate, ease, east, erase, erst, ester, raise, raster, reast, reset, reside, rest, rise, said, sard, sate, satire, sear, seat, sedate, seed, sere, seta, side, sire, site, staid, stair, star, stare, stead, steed, steer, stir, stride, tease, teras, terse, tsar, DESIDERATE — to long for.

# The Whitlam dynamic impacts Asian nations

by Brian Lightowler and Michael Brown

GOUGH WHITLAM has now been Australia's Prime Minister for six months. He got off to a fast sprint overthrowing many of what he termed policy "shibboleths" from the past. But any bid to affect the shape of affairs in Asia must be more in the nature of a marathon than a 100 metre dash.

With Mr. Whitlam's visit to New Delhi it is timely to assess the impact of the policies of Australia's new leader on Asia.

AUSTRALIA'S Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, like John F. Kennedy and Harold Wilson, believes that the first hundred days in the office of supreme power should be marked by dynamic action. Whirlwind decisions affecting Australian foreign policy were made within a matter of days after the tall Australian captured power in the general election of December 2.

He told the Australian people that they must acknowledge new realities instead of "old fears, shibboleths and suspicions".

The People's Republic of China was recognised. The Australian Ambassador was quickly received in Peking and the Chinese sent one of their best diplomats to Canberra.

East Germany was recognised putting, as Mr. Whitlam expressed it, Australia in the vanguard rather than the rearguard of nations coming to its own foreign policy decisions.

The United States was strongly assailed for its Christmas bombing of Hanoi. But Whitlam was care-

ful to separate disapproval of American Indo-China policy from Australia's desire for friendly relations with Washington.

On the ANZUK arrangement (the treaty whereby Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom combine to aid the defence of Malaysia and Singapore) the Australian Prime Minister announced that his nation's troops would pull out by early 1974.

Similarly over SEATO (South-East Asia Treaty Organisation) and ANZUS (an agreement whereby Australia, New Zealand and the United States would come to each other's defence in the event of an attack) Mr. Whitlam urged that the military content of these pacts be lowered.

He redefined Australia's immigration policy, confronted Rhodesia's racialist policies and improved government policies towards the Aborigines.

All these actions were done swiftly and with a bold aplomb to which the press both in Australia and in the world as a whole gave considerable attention.

After this first few weeks in office, the new Prime Minister said no one should be surprised at the rapid changes: "This was all promised or implied in our platform. We only did what we said we were going to do."

In fact, practically all the new policies initiated by Whitlam's Government were laid down in a policy speech during the election campaign — 130 specific promises to be exact.

Not least among his achievements has been his success in unifying the Australian Labor Party to the point where it could gain enough support to win power. It has been no mean feat, particularly as it meant reconciling left- and right-wing factions within the party itself.

In doing so Mr Whitlam had also to overcome intense suspicions against his background as a politician. The son of a top civil servant, he was raised in middle-class, comfortable surroundings, was an officer of the armed forces, and graduated from university in Law and Arts. Unlike other leaders of the Labor Party, he had never received a worker's wage, had never worn overalls, had never been on strike or belonged to a trade union.

In the Australian press his foreign policy has come in for considerable criticism. "The Sydney Morning Herald" wrote that his policy is "regarded with misgivings and suspicion not only in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur but also in Jakarta and Bangkok... The break up of the ANZUK defence arrangement... is unwelcome in all these capitals."

"The West Australian" wrote: "Australians are entitled to know where their country is going and by what path. They cannot be blamed for believing on the evidence so far presented to them that Labor is hellbent on sacrificing close ties with old friends for loose identification with new ones and on retreating from past obligations to an isolationist stance."

But the newspapers' desire for stark black and white confrontations that make headlines plus Mr Whitlam's own penchant for the dramatic may have made more out of Australia's new independent foreign policy than is actually the case. As early as May 1972, a Department of Defence policy review said Australia can no longer rely on its remoteness and the sea and air power of the US and the UK to secure it from attack. It needed to look much more to its relations with friendly Asian powers.

Much of the criticism of Mr Whitlam's policy has centred on his visit to President Suharto in Jakarta. Indonesia is Australia's biggest and nearest Asian neighbour and clearly the reaction of Jakarta to Australian policy is vital in any assessment of Whitlam's impact. The Australian newsmen covering the mission to Indonesia painted a picture of the Gough bull charging around loose in the Asian china shop.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## SO THEY SAY

I am not the best judge of my own credibility.

DR HENRY KISSINGER  
US Presidential Advisor

I am not averse to having some modern amenities like a refrigerator, a car or a good house.

MOHAN DHARIA,  
Union Minister of State for Planning

Our Constitution offers ample opportunities for social and economic transformation of our society through peaceful means.

Y. B. CHAVAN,  
Union Finance Minister

# VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT...

**CENSURES** the Food and Agriculture ministry for the utter mismanagement of its current food procurement and distribution drive and **PROPOSES** that the Ahmed-Shinde duet be called off immediately.

**NOTES** that the Greek military regime under Papadopoulos has now abolished the monarchy and **IS SCEPTICAL** about its promises of holding parliamentary elections in view of its similar but unfulfilled promises of the past.

**MAINTAINS** cautious optimism over President Kenyatta's statement that the European and Asian minorities in Kenya shall not be subjected to discrimination by the African majority and **UNDERSTANDS** his difficulties in resisting the pressures generated by recent events in neighbouring Uganda.

**WELCOMES** the Reserve Bank's decision to raise the bank rate from six to seven per cent but **POINTS OUT** that it can have only a very limited impact in curbing inflation unless stricter budgetary controls are exercised over governmental expenditure.

**LOSES ITS FAITH** in expertise on reading that UN experts in Geneva have so far been unable to define the term "aggression" and have asked for another year in which to complete the task which was started 23 years ago and **PONDERS** whether ordinary mortals might have done a better job!

**IS DELIGHTED** that Princess Anne has finally announced her engagement to Lt Mark Philips after repeated denials and **CONCLUDES** that even a royal "NO" in the case of a woman can mean "YES"!

**IS UNNERVED** to find that members of the Organisation of African Unity meeting in Addis Ababa have misspent a good part of their energies in mutual attacks and recriminations and **REGARDS** it a sad reflection of the present confusion of a disunited Africa.

WHITLAM—from page 5

After only the first two sessions the press headlines said that the Australian Prime Minister's plan for regional co-operation had been "rebuffed", "rejected" or in the words of one wordsmith, Suharto had shot down in flames Whitlam's trial balloon. Pungent though this may sound it is inaccurate reporting.

In the first place Mr Whitlam was not trying to get the Indonesians to quit their defence arrangements and immediately join an Asian Forum, initiated by him, which would also include the People's Republic of China. The joint communique said that Whitlam talked of the "eventual emergence" of a "comprehensive regional organisation" which, free from "ideological overtones", would be able to limit "great power interference and rivalries" in the Asia-Pacific area. Suharto in return welcomed Whitlam's objective of the evolution of a widely representative Asian regional organisation.

The Australian Prime Minister made a significant pledge: "Australia would punctiliously consult with regional neighbours and would be sensitive to their ideas and aspirations... new forms of regional co-operation would not be quickly or easily achieved. His (Whitlam's) ideas were intended to complement ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations) and were no way competitive, or alternative to it."

Mr Whitlam is seeking therefore new forms or regional co-operation with less emphasis on the military and more on the economic and social. How this co-operation will be realised is far from clear at this point. Mr Whitlam has said it will tax "statesmanship to the limit".

Referring to the great gap in the standard of living between Australia and the nations of South East Asia Mr Whitlam said, "This is something that should be, must be, solved in a short term; that is, a generation."

In his first hundred days he dramatised this new Australian approach to the Asian mainland. This may have been necessary to alert foreign capitals and to wake up the surfliving and affluent Australians. But to realise these policy aims is going to require steady undramatic work. It is an earnest of Mr Whitlam's intentions that he has come to India—the first Australian Prime Minister to visit New Delhi since Sir Robert Menzies in 1959.

To build bridges with Australia's neighbours Mr Whitlam has suggested that Australians can start, not with military or economic pacts, but right within their own borders: by facing their responsibility to the Aborigines. "Australia's real test as far as the rest of the world is concerned is the role we create for our own Aborigines," said Mr Whitlam.

Within the first month of office, Mr Gordon Bryant, Minister for

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

# Denmark's Prime Minister who rose from poverty to power

From R. M. Lala in Copenhagen

"IN November," says the Danish Prime Minister, "I spent a short holiday on the West Indian islands. The air trip gave me a strange experience."

"I read about the slave ships on the way to the Indies. Suddenly I felt as if I were crossing the Atlantic in an 18th century slave-ship. The ship, by the way, was sailing under the Danish flag."

"There were only 28 inches between decks, so it was better to lie down. My thoughts were taken up with whether my wife and children were on board, were they still in Africa, or maybe on another ship going to another market? Already more than a hundred of the original five hundred had died. I was thirsty. The drinking-water was scarce and foul."

"Then I told myself that all this about slaves and slave-ships belonged to the past."

"And still! We know that in many places on this earth you find oppression and violence, that there is bitter fighting between oppressors and oppressed. The fight for freedom, justice and dignified human conditions is eternal."\*

There are not many Prime Ministers in the world who have the compassion and warmth of Anker

\*From his New Year broadcast to the nation.

Jorgensen, Denmark's 50-year-old Premier. He has reason to feel for his fellow men. Son of a lorry driver, he lost both his parents by the time he was 4 years old. Brought up by his aunt, he went to a school for orphans about which he is reported to have had "no happy memories".

He left school when he was 14 to work in a locksmith factory and many years later he attended evening classes to complete his education.

When the War came he joined the Guards. Demobbed in 1943, he joined the resistance movement against the Nazis. A capable organiser, the trade union movement claimed him more and absorbed him fully in 1950. He rose steadily in the trade union ranks, became the editor of the trade union magazine in 1964 and in 1968 became the Chairman of Denmark's largest trade union of Unskilled Workers (builders, factory workers, transport workers, gardeners and farmers) with its 250,000 members.

In 1964 he was elected to Parliament but held no ministerial office until last October when he was unanimously elected as Prime Minister by the Social Democratic Party. A strong supporter of the Common Market, he became Prime Minister when Denmark decided in a referendum to join it.

Anker Jorgensen, has no frills. Short and stubby, he has an almost circular ring of moustache and beard combin-

ed. He says things which often raise a storm around him. He has always been so and one hopes he remains so. When on a visit to Russia some time back with a trade union delegation, Soviet leader Alexander Shelepin told him there were not enough exchanges between the trade union leaders of Russia and Denmark and deplored this fact. Jorgensen promptly replied to his hosts that Danish trade unionists could not accept what happened in Czechoslovakia and Hungary and during Stalin's time.

Jorgensen is a warm-hearted man and came out of his office to receive us in the ante-room. He is businesslike. "You have some questions for me, I hear?"

He was asked, "Do you expect that the cease-fire in Vietnam will hold?"

"I hope it will but there will be some difficulties before it happens."

"Would Nixon's weakening position at home (Watergate) affect the chances of peace in Vietnam?"

"It is a difficult question. I hope it will not. We need both sides to be strong for people to negotiate. I hope difficulties in America won't affect Vietnam."

"What is your view of the growing detente in Europe?"

"I am happy about it. It is the first time we are having a real detente. Mr Nixon's services in achieving it should be noted."

"What do you think are Soviet objectives in Europe?"

"I think the Soviet Union has influence today in East Europe and Asia and will keep that influence. I do not believe the Soviet Union wants a bigger influence outside. The Soviet Union can have more influence in Europe, India or Asia if people in these countries cannot resolve their problems. It is not only a question of military force."

"What would you like to see achieved in Denmark?"

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19



ANKER JORGENSEN

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"Sorry, this is not a ration queue but for the swearing-in ceremony of the new cabinet."

CHINA:

## Bamboo curtain Buddhism

To Marx, religion was the opiate of the masses. According to Mao, religion seems to be a good weapon to win the masses of Asia for China. There is a sudden spurt of Buddhist activity in China, coinciding with China's policy of wooing Asian nations to her side.

The public appearance of the chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association is a sign that China wants to encourage the image of Buddhism being allowed to be practised in China. There are also reports that in some Chinese cities high school graduates are being selected for training as Buddhist monks.

The Chinese Government has adopted an interesting arrangement about Buddhism—Buddhism is protected but is strictly kept under Party control. Holmes Welch's "Buddhism under Mao" (Harvard University Press \$15) gives an insight into the role of religion in this Marxist-Leninist state. He speaks about how the Government made arrangements for Buddhist priests and nuns to be present at the airport when Buddhist heads of Government such as U Nu of Burma and Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia came to Peking. Money was also spent in restoring Buddhist temples and places of religious importance.

But one of the most moving sections in Welch's book is the tortures suffered by Hsu-Yun, one of the most revered monks in China. Welch gives in detail how Hsu-Yun was assaulted by members of the Central-South Land Reform Committee. They thought there was hidden gold and wealth in the Yunmen Ssu monastery and took control of it on March 31, 1951. Hsu-Yun was beaten up, starved and even two of his ribs were broken. The monk took his beatings without a murmur. Strangely enough, it was the Chinese Government that came to his rescue. They invited him to Peking to be one of the 18 monks to discuss the founding of a Nationalist Buddhist Association.

In the early sixties, the Chinese announced that they had in their possession a tooth relic of the Buddha. But there was such a controversy among the Buddhists about the authenticity of the tooth that the Chinese withdrew it from public exposition and it has not been heard of

again. Buddhist monks and scholars pointed out that the tooth had never been mentioned even once in the 2500 years and more of Buddhism.

Welch sees the need for Buddhism in China and feels that "subtle pressures will build up to burst the Party's holistic grip on human life and goals". Buddhism teaches that man is free to choose and that on his choices will depend his future. Whether such a religion will be allowed to be practised in full in a society like China remains doubtful. What may develop are showcase Buddhists, who are present to impress Buddhists from other lands and show them that China tolerates Buddhism.

LAOS:

### Struggle for power

THE Laotian ceasefire agreement was signed on February 21 but there is no indication as yet that a settlement is in sight. The Laotian Prime Minister, Prince Souvanna Phouma, wants to "unite Laos" but hard bargaining by the Pathet Lao, possibly encouraged by North Vietnam, has meant no progress has been made about the composition of the new government.

This is the third attempt by the Prince to "unite Laos". On both previous occasions, in 1957 and 1962, the Government of National Union that was formed did not last long. There is no guarantee that the new united administration which is being planned will be able to work together either.

The February agreement stressed that in the new government both sides will share equally the number of ministries. But the Pathet Lao now say that if Prince Souvanna Phouma becomes PM, the equal representation formula will be upset. So they want a deputy PM from the Pathet Lao faction. Unless this is conceded, they may not accept to serve under the Prince.

The other main bone of contention are the key portfolios of Foreign Affairs, Interior, Finance and Defence. Prince Souvanna Phouma is said to be willing to concede a Pathet Lao representative as Foreign Minister. But the Pathet Lao want equal representation and insist that junior Minis-

ters also be appointed so that there is a balance. But what the Pathet Lao may be really after is the Interior Ministership, a portfolio that Communists always try to get in coalition governments.

The only glimmer of hope are rumours that Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho have reached some agreements in Paris about the whole of Indo-China. It is clear that no settlement will come to Laos unless it is part of a deal for the whole of Indo-China. When that time comes, it will not be the Pathet Lao that will be giving the green signal but North Vietnam.

YEMENS:

### Another war or unity?

THE Government of North Yemen believes that the leftists and their supporters were responsible for the assassination of popular leader Sheikh Mohammed Ali Osman last week. This may endanger the implementation of the unification agreement between North Yemen and Marxist-oriented South Yemen.



AL-IRYANI: friend killed

The 63-year-old Sheikh was a member of North Yemen's three-man presidential council. He was a close friend of North Yemen's head of state, Kadi Abdul-Rahman Al-Iryani. The Communists are said to have treated him as an enemy, because he had much influence with President Iryani.

Though North and South Yemen have agreed to unite by November, their policies are poles apart. The North has links with many Western nations and also with Saudi Arabia. The South has growing links with Communist nations, is committed to Marxist policies and openly supports the rebellion against the Sultanate of Oman. Because of this, it is difficult to see how the two nations can achieve a United Republic, with a democratic government.

There are reports that South Yemen's population on the Northern border is being armed. Iranian arms are also believed to be pouring into North Yemen through the port of Hodeida. If these reports are true the two nations may be preparing for another war rather than taking steps to achieve unity.

## Pompidou talks straight to Nixon

PRESIDENT POMPIDOU of France, like Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan earlier, persuaded President Nixon to meet him, not on the mainland of the United States, but on an island remote from Washington. With Tanaka it was on Hawaii—true, a state of the American Union but 2000 miles from the American coastline—and with Pompidou the meeting took place last week for two days in Iceland in the North Atlantic.

This is symbolic of the new power relations between the United States and Japan in the east and France in the west.

At the end of the Pompidou-Nixon talks in a converted museum in Reykjavik the official statements made at the time were more non-communicative than is usual. Dr Henry Kissinger simply said, "We achieved what we set out to do." President Pompidou himself commented, "There was more agreement than disagreement and the results of the talks will be seen in the future."

The one thing that clearly emerged was that there would be no unilateral withdrawal of American troops from Europe. But it hardly needed the Iceland conference to establish that point. President Nixon had assured the nations of Western Europe of this American stance on many occasions and saying it once again face to face to President Pompidou is of no great moment.

The nerve matters that were discus-

sed between the two Presidents were: —the international monetary set-up and how it could be restructured to make it reliable and secure;

—the balance of international trade between France and the USA, and the Common Market and the USA.

In the nature of such talks very little can be released without in a sense giving the game away to financial speculators or other men who live by their wits in international trade affairs. So, as the French President said, the world will learn what took place at these talks as the months go by and new policies and arrangements across the Atlantic take shape.

It is believed that Pompidou won an important point from the Americans in the negotiations to take place later this year during President Nixon's visit to the Western European nations. The Americans wanted to deal with the outstanding issues between the US and the West Europeans—trade, money and defence—in one package deal. The French disputed this approach and have more recently been supported by the British.

The European argument is that a package deal would mean the Americans would be able to trade their military support of Europe for better terms on the financial and trade fronts. The Europeans maintained that each aspect of the relations between America and her transatlantic partners should be negotiated separately and independently of the other



FRANCE'S POMPIDOU: wait and see what happens

questions. In the Iceland talks the French put forward the European view with considerable effectiveness.

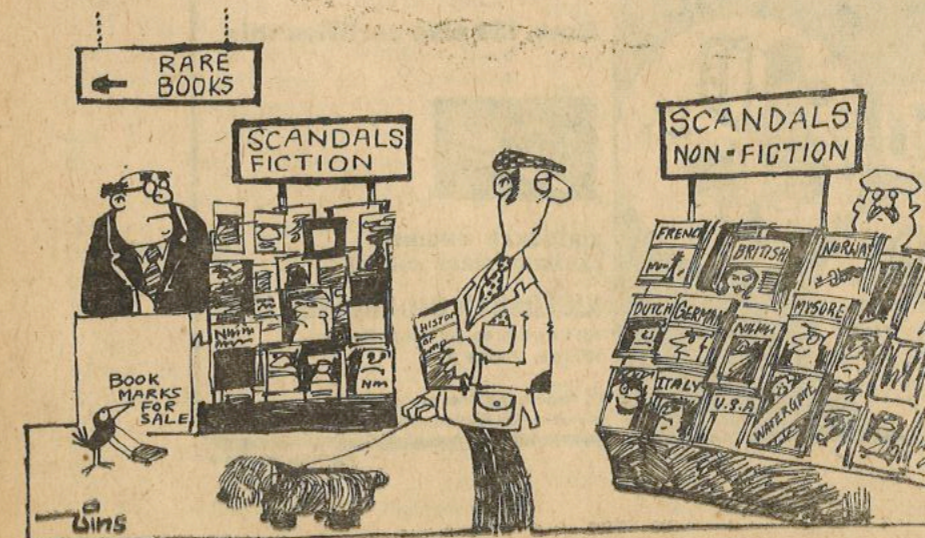
In these recent talks between the Americans and the French on this strategic island, there was more at issue than the immediate items on the agenda. President Pompidou is the inheritor of Gaullism. The French still do not trust the Americans. They believe that the Americans still regard Europe as a sphere of interest between themselves and the Soviet Union rather than as a continent with great power, influence and traditions in its own right. They suspect a deal between Washington and Moscow embodying super power hegemony.

Dr Henry Kissinger's statement last month calling for a new Atlantic Charter in certain passages confirmed this French interpretation of American attitudes. Kissinger said that the United States had global interests whereas the European nations were only concerned with regional affairs, with the implication that America should have great respect and authority accorded her.

In his major foreign policy review to the United States Congress last month, President Nixon said:

"In Western Europe the inevitable strains of readjustment persisted as we moved from American predominance to balanced partnerships. Major political security and economic negotiations are on the agenda. They will test the wisdom and adaptability of our alliance."

The first real test was Iceland and further hurdles lie ahead especially during the visit of the American President to the European continent later this year.



**OAU MARKS 10TH YEAR**

If the 41-nation Organisation of African Unity takes its own charter seriously it will give priority to two tasks above all others: relieving the famine that threatens millions of Africans in six countries bordering the Sahara and halting the killing of Africans by other Africans for ethnic and tribal reasons.

It is a measure of the OAU's obsession with ending white minority rule in Southern Africa—to the exclusion of everything else—that the organisation has played no major role in calling world attention to the catastrophic situation developing as the result of perhaps the century's worst famine in Central and West Africa. This was the same attitude of neglect assumed by the OAU during a cholera epidemic that the World Health Organisation says killed more than 13,000 Africans over the last two years.

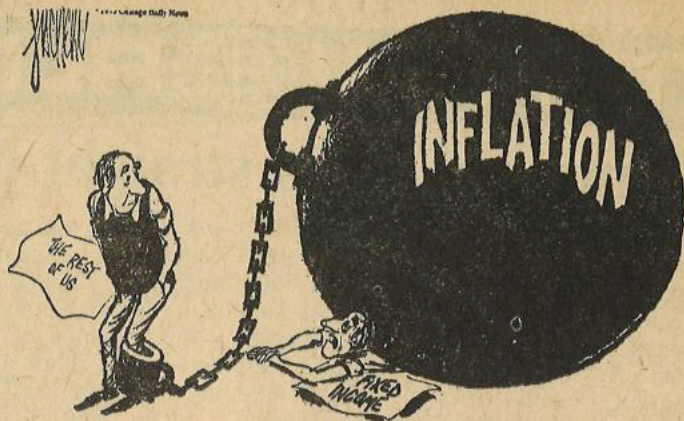
The white rulers of South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique deserve the world's censure for re-

pressing African majorities; but none of them has carried out ethnic massacres on anything approaching the scale of the Tutsis and Hutus of Ruanda and Burundi. An estimated 100,000 Hutus were slaughtered by the Tutsi minority regime in Burundi in tribal conflict last year.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

This month renewed fighting has broken out between the Tutsi and Hutu tribes in the Central African nation of Burundi. In the spring of last year similar clashes cost the lives of many thousands of people in that country. This time there is also the possibility of an internationalisation of the conflict with neighbouring Tanzania and Ruanda sympathising with the rebellious Hutu majority while Uganda and Libya have offered arms aid to the Tutsi-run Government of Col Micombero.

NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, Zurich



'Boy, I wish I had your mobility'  
Courtesy: Chicago Daily News

With some pride, OAU can point to its influential and unified bloc within the United Nations and to the number of border disputes which it has been able to settle on the African continent. OAU is both a forum for the exchange of ideas and for regional planning as well as an arbiter of disputes. It is the one organisation in Africa that can focus interest and energies on future targets...

THE JAPAN TIMES, Tokyo

# Clearing up the Lambton-Jellicoe affair

From Gordon Wise in London

THE headlines told the story: "Cabinet Minister resigns over call girls" (Evening Standard); "Jellicoe quits in call girl scandal—Heath sets up security test" (The Daily Telegraph); "Heath's blacklist" (Daily Express); "I have no excuses... I behaved with credulous stupidity." (The Times, quoting Lord Lambton).

Ten years ago, this nation was rocked by the Profumo Affair, when a Minister of that name, with access to military secrets, was involved in a strikingly similar way. One of the damaging aspects then was the way the matter dragged on with a notable lack of frankness, until the full truth was forced into the open.

On this issue, Mr Heath, according to well-informed accounts, has reacted "ruthlessly". The Prime Minister told his Cabinet members that he hoped there need be no more resignations. They all knew that the stark issue was that their personal and collective reputations were under scrutiny as never before.

Mr Heath was keenly aware that he had to act fast, that he had to be seen giving his team a thorough going-over, and, if necessary, a good scrub.

The Security Commission has been asked to verify that there have been no security breaches resulting from this affair. This Commission was set up in 1964, mainly to advise the Prime Minister on security lapses in Whitehall. Both Lord Jellicoe and Lord Lambton had responsibilities for the Armed Services. They have said categorically that there were no security breaches and that there was no blackmail. But this is a sensitive area, and over the years, certain countries have obtained a good deal of information through compromising public men and blackmailing them in order to extort military or diplomatic secrets.

Mr Heath has said firmly that there is no other member of the Government under suspicion. However, speculation continues. This will be left to the usual processes of law.

The House of Commons joined forces, across the political divide, to support the brisk promptness with which Mr Heath handled the unsavoury situation. Mr Wilson's attitude was equally appreciated for, as Leader of the Opposition, he immediately

agreed to referring the matter to the Security Commission.

The fact that the members of the House of Commons closed ranks in this way does not mean that they wanted to sweep the matter under the Common's carpet. It is simply that the confessions were made promptly and honourably, that the Prime Minister dealt firmly with the matter, and MPs felt there was appreciable attitude



HAROLD WILSON

was no point in kicking the men when they were down.

It was on April 9th that the Security Service reported to Mr Carr, the Home Secretary, and to the Prime Minister, allegations of the association of a prostitute with a Minister. Security were then instructed to take steps to check that there was no compromise of national secrets. Four days later, the Minister was named as Mr (or Lord) Lambton, with the additional information that it was possible that dangerous drugs were involved. Then in early May, among other names which came forward, was that of Lord Jellicoe.

Mr Heath explained that premature disclosure would have tipped off other suspects before they could be held.

"The Daily Telegraph" features the fact that the call girl's flat visited by Mr Lambton is one in full view of the staff of the Communist Chinese Embassy. The building in which the flat is situated adjoins a six-storey block used as a residence of Chinese Embassy staff. Various suppositions are made about how easy it would have been for Chinese Intelligence officers to have picked up information. So far, this is nothing more than speculation.

Adding spice to this theory is the report that police want to question a coloured woman, half Chinese and half Negro, who is understood to be an associate of the "friend" of Mr Lambton.

There are important moral and philosophical aspects. Some people

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17

**NEW DELHI**—A six-day strike by 30,000 locomotive running staff over a pay dispute badly crippled the train services on the Western, Northern and North-Eastern Railways, delaying many "food specials" headed for scarcity areas.

**PATNA**—a special survey carried out by the Union Agricultural Ministry has disclosed that there are over 2 million bogus ration-cards in this capital city of Bihar.

**SHILLONG** — Powerloom and handloom industries in Assam are in the grip of an acute shortage of yarn, and have requested the Central Government to allot adequate quotas.

**CALCUTTA**—The police seized 11,000 copies of Bengali pornographic magazines and photos from two printing presses in the northern part of the city, one of the biggest hauls in recent times.

—A powerful ocean-going tug, the first of its kind to be built in India, has been constructed for the Indian Navy by the Garden Reach Workshops.

**BARODA**—The lion population of the Gir forest—the last refuge of the Asiatic lion—which showed dangerous signs of depletion only five years ago, is increasing slowly and has crossed the 200 mark.

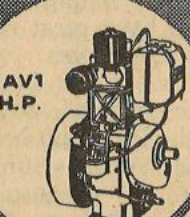
**NAGPUR**—Work on 21,000 wells to provide water for drinking and irrigation has already started as part of the Maharashtra Government's plan to provide 100,000 wells all over the state in the next three years.

**BOMBAY** — A defence-oriented children's park, having life-size cement models of aeroplanes, tanks, guns etc, has been built at the suburb of Ghatkopar by the local Lion's Club in co-operation with the municipal authorities.


**TRIVANDRUM**—The Kerala Government is introducing a special police force to be called the "Locked-houses Special Squad" to keep a watch over locked houses in the state capital.

## KIRLOSKAR ENGINES

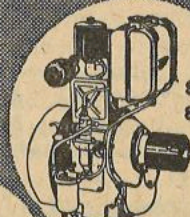
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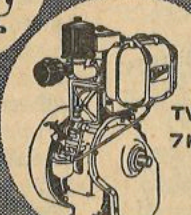
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# Problem: Eighty million families live without sanitation or electricity

by Gopal Bhargava

NEARLY nineteen per cent of the families in Indian cities live in less than 10 square metres of space. Only 1.6 per cent of the resources of the Fourth Plan are allocated for housing.

The population explosion in our large cities has given rise to an acute shortage of housing. According to the 1971 census the population of Calcutta is 7.01 million, followed by Greater Bombay 5.97 million, Delhi 3.63 million, Madras 2.47 million, Hyderabad 1.65 million, Ahmedabad 1.59 million and Kanpur 1.27 million. The problem is aggravated by the increase in the number of rural migrants.

Too many people are chasing too few houses, rents have risen sky high and even the accommodation available, particularly in cities like Bombay and Calcutta, is unsatisfactory. A large portion of the population lives in one-room tenements. Slums and pavement dwellings are increasing rapidly.

## Housing shortage

In our country housing shortage has become a challenge. More than 80 million families are living without the most elementary needs like water, electricity, fresh air, light and private toilet.

One estimate places India's urban housing shortage at about 12 million units including temporary and dilapidated houses, which need substantial repair or remodelling. However, this deficit is concentrated in the 11 metropolitan cities where about 40 to 60 per cent of the population lives in slums.

The availability of permanent residential buildings in cities falls considerably short of the requirements. In Bombay city itself, there are only 460,000 permanent residential buildings against a requirement of 1.03 million estimated on July 1, 1970. In other major cities like Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, Ahmedabad, and Kanpur the position is no better.

A survey of Delhi has revealed that about 70 per cent of the families live in one-room tenements, without basic amenities like water, electricity, bathrooms, etc. The overall shortage of houses is of the order of 200,000 which increases at the rate of 25,000 units per year.

It has been estimated that in our urban areas only 45 per cent of houses are classified as permanent and the re-

maining 55 per cent are either semi-permanent or temporary. It is found that 16 to 19 per cent of the families live in less than 10 square metres of space and 51 to 54 per cent live in less than 20 square metres.

However, the urban housing shortage has progressively increased because of the low rate of construction activity. The shortage of housing was 2.8 million units in 1951, 9.3 million in 1961, an estimated 11.9 million units at the beginning of the Fourth Plan, 12.4 million by mid 1970, and 15 million by mid 1973.

During the three Plan periods, the financial funds allotted for housing

were not fully utilised. Consequently, the planned target of housing was not realised. Moreover, the three Plans did not give recognition to the proper use of the financial resources to boost the plan targets.

## Evaluation of Plan periods

Mr I. K. Gujral, in an article entitled "Housing Explosion Needed" in the annual issue of "Socialist India" May 29, 1971, has rightly indicated that during the First Plan the housing outlay constituted 16 per cent of the total public sector investment. It was eight per cent in the Second Plan, seven per cent in the Third Plan and only 1.6 per cent in the Fourth Plan, that is about Rs 2420 million. The last figure would, at the present high cost of construction, provide only 250,000 dwelling units and will not offset even the annual increase in

housing deficit, let alone neutralise the huge backlog.

However, under the social housing schemes during the three Five-Year Plans, roughly 400,000 housing units were constructed at a total cost of Rs 2620 million as against the target of about 650,000 units for which Rs 3000 million were allotted. This shows a shortfall of roughly 40 per cent.

## In search of a solution

Slums come up in big cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Kanpur and Madras because the inhabitants want to live near their place of work. However, if efficient transport facilities are made available people might consider living outside the central residential areas, as in the United Kingdom. For instance in the case of Delhi, satellite towns like Faridabad and Ghaziabad could take away much of Delhi's

housing burden if transport services were made efficient.

Another solution would be to develop small towns as promising centres of income and employment opportunities thereby checking the inflow of rural migrants into the urban areas. Construction of multi-storey buildings will also help in solving the urban housing problem. In this way, the optimal use of land is possible.

Honesty is essential if we are going to solve the nation's housing problem. In a city like Delhi, there are places where vacant land is not utilised because files stagnate and no decision is taken about them.

An integrated regional planning framework is needed to ensure balanced development in the rural and urban areas. Housing conditions can be improved if people are taught what might be described as the urban attitude. They should be made aware,

through the press and other mass media, of ways of optimum use of the space available.

The urban housing problem of India has posed a challenge to planners. The best policy would be to have mass scale operational mechanised construction as in the US and Japan. Prefabricated material could be used as there is an acute shortage of cement and bricks.

In conclusion one can quote Mr Jagmohan, vice-chairman, Delhi Development Authority, "Our new policy should clearly lay down that we have a problem not of housing in the conventional sense but of shelter; not of comfortable or luxurious living, but of a roof over the head; not of having spacious colonies, but of avoiding extreme congestion and creating an atmosphere conducive to growth and regeneration".

## Housing II

# In Kerala : The blueprint of an answer

by G. S. Kartha

THE state of Kerala, notorious for political instability, chronic unemployment, political infighting and endless agitations—has at last stepped forward to give a lead to the rest of the country in construction action.

In May 1972, the CPI-led coalition Government of Chief Minister V. Achutha Menon, launched its big scheme of building 100,000 houses for the homeless poor in rural areas who have not benefited from land reforms. The Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, who formally inaugurated the scheme extolled it as a "brave and imaginative experiment".

So far 13,000 houses have been completed. The "One Lakh Houses Scheme", as it is popularly called, is dovetailed with the scheme sponsored by the Central Government for providing housing sites to landless workers in rural areas. The Kerala scheme has gone a step further by putting up houses on these sites. Fifty per cent of the houses under the scheme will be allotted to Harijans.

Even with the completion of this scheme only one-third of the estimated 300,000 landless and homeless rural workers would have been provided with homes.

The acquisition and development of 96,000 housing sites in 960 panchayats, distributed equally, would cost Rs 80 million. While this would be fully met by the Centre, the state Government has to find as much as Rs 250 to Rs 300 million for putting up the houses.

Now, let us take a look at the scheme. Though under the Central scheme the size of a house site was fixed at 100 sq yards, the state Go-

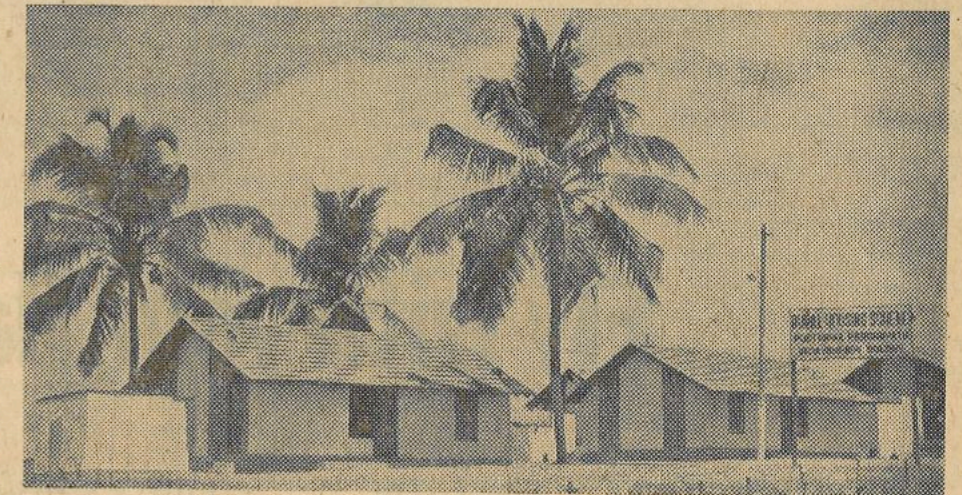
vernment raised it to 200 sq yards so as to provide a little open space for raising coconut, tapioca etc. Each house consists of two rooms, a kitchen and a small verandah, with a tiled roof and cemented floor. It is also provided with a latrine.

The estimated cost is Rs 2000—perhaps the cheapest house of its kind. A lot of money is saved by the back-to-back construction of a twinhouse with a wall separating the two units, and the bulk purchase of materials required for construction.

The allottees of these houses will have to pay only a nominal sum of Rs 100 including Rs 30 towards the cost incurred by the Government for sanitation. The current market value of a house under the project would be Rs 3,500 including the cost of the site.

The allotment of the house site is done by the drawing of lots in public under the auspices of local committees headed by the president of the panchayat concerned, and consisting of representatives of all political parties. This has helped cut across party considerations. The house sites shall be inheritable but not transferable.

An idea of the magnitude of the scheme is provided by the enormous quantity of materials and labour in-



KERALA'S ONE LAKH HOUSING PROJECT : the finished product

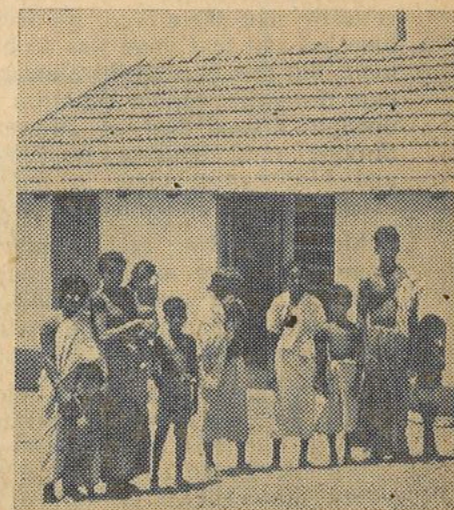
involved. It is estimated that the project will require 2.2 million cubic feet of wood, 60 million tiles and 6 million bags of cement. Tiles and cement are obtained directly from the manufacturers and wood from the State Forest Department at concessional rates.

On the whole 6.7 million man-days of work (2.6 million man-days by skilled labour, such as carpenters, and 4.1 million man-days by unskilled labour) will have to be put in to build the houses. The skilled labour would be paid. Unskilled labour would be in the form of "shramdan" (voluntary work) by the beneficiaries, local peo-

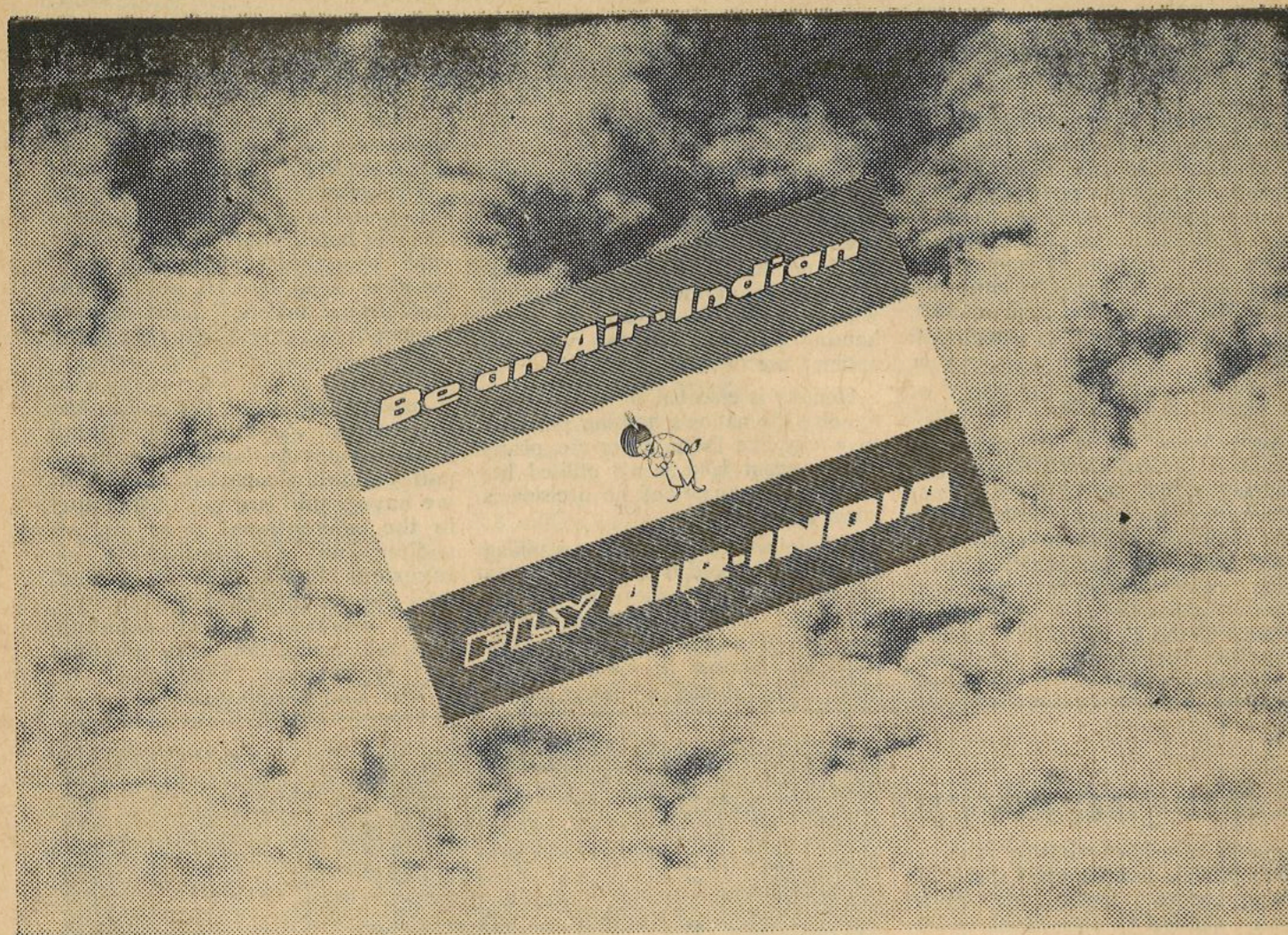
ple and students. Assistance by way of technical supervision would be provided by over a thousand works superintendents from the Public Health and Health Engineering Departments.

It is significant that the programme is being implemented without the Government employing any additional staff, mostly depending on the willing co-operation of the local people. This is an impressive administrative experiment. No less significant is the work turned out by the under-employed and unemployed rural

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15



The beneficiaries



## Fly with your flag.

Remember the joy when you first saw your flag being hoisted. As if your heart would take wing, as if it would flutter in the wind along with the flag.

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Be an Air-Indian. Fly Air-India.

AI, 6126

### Housing III

## True Socialism is the key

by Prof. C. N. Vakil

THE Government of India has decided to impose a ceiling on urban property. The effort to impose ceiling on urban property is fraught with many difficulties but even if they are dealt with, the main problem will not be solved. The real problem therefore is of having adequate accommodation for the increasing population in towns and cities, particularly for the poor.

Is it possible for Government to think in terms of socialisation of urban land and property? If this can be done in a true socialistic spirit, it may help in the solution of the problem. Let us consider the ways in which this can be done by sketching a model, which may serve as the basis of discussion.

1. The Government should acquire available land for the development of suburban areas. For example, mainly unoccupied land at some distance from Bombay could be acquired and developed into a suburban township. There would be a separate town authority which would own the land and plan the township.

Only those who have employment or work in the town would get accommodation suited to their status

at a reasonable rent. Roads should be properly planned and the need for going to the city reduced as far as possible. But in case of need, the transport facilities to go to the city should be quick, cheap and efficient. If such relatively cheap but good accommodation is created near Bombay (or any other big city), the value of urban property in the city will have a tendency to fall.

This is not an original idea. Eight small towns on these lines each having a population of about a 100,000 persons have been created around London. The author had occasion to see and study one of them.

2. Having taken such a constructive step, the Government should take over all unoccupied land in the city paying only reasonable compensation. This would also help in reducing the value of urban property.

3. The value of land or of buildings owned by Government should be fixed, and at the same time notice should be given to owners of property that they could hand over the same to the Government at rates comparable to those of the reduced value of Government property.

4. Simultaneously it should be an-

### HOUSING II — from page 13

labour. Many tile factories which were languishing have been revived, and the saw mills are being fully utilised.

However it is not all smooth-sailing. It is a tough job for the Government to find the funds required. Appeals for liberal contributions to the Chief Minister's One Lakh Houses Fund have not produced the desired result. The attitude of many wealthy men in the state has been disappointing. But a large section of the Government employees, students, religious and educational institutions, voluntary social organisations and cinema-owners have come forward with their contributions. "Star Nights" have also been held to collect funds for the scheme. An official source has disclosed that many Keralites staying in other parts of India and the world have sent in their contributions.

Mr M. N. Govindan Nair, Minister for Housing and Electricity, who is the master-brain behind the project, also plans to travel to some foreign countries to raise collections for this

ambitious project. Mr Nair, one of the top leaders of the CPI in the country, considers the completion of this housing scheme as the fulfilment of a big mission in his life.

Some members of the Marxist Party have accused him of trying to "betray the revolution" by providing homes for the poor workers. Some have openly stated that this scheme would blunt the edge of class war. But Mr Nair considers it in the light of care for the poor people, instead of exploiting their misery and want.

Leaders of some other parties accuse Mr Govindan Nair of trying to gain political kudos for himself and his party. The other political parties in the state are co-operating with the scheme to a certain extent. Some of the constituents of the coalition including the Congress, only pay lip service to it.

But this bold experiment, when completed, is sure to be a major landmark in Kerala's progress. And already some other states are becoming interested in undertaking schemes along Kerala's lines.

nounced that the intention of Government is to socialise all land and property in the city and put it under one authority, which will be responsible for providing accommodation to different classes of people according to their status and requirements.

5. At this stage the property owners will gradually come round and accept reasonable compensation which could be given in the form of Government bonds similar to those used for the abolition of zamindari in UP. If they do not accept it compulsory acquisition should be resorted to by passing special legislation.

6. The City Authority which would thus be in charge of all land and property in the city would give the premises on rent giving preference to existing occupants, but distribute the available area in such manner that accommodation is released for those in need. For example, it should be possible for Ministers to live in flats and release space for others. The scheme for the removal of slums should be simultaneously put into operation.

The implementation of such a plan would presuppose integrity and efficiency on the part of those in charge. There should be no political prejudices or considerations, as all classes of people should have equal and fair treatment.

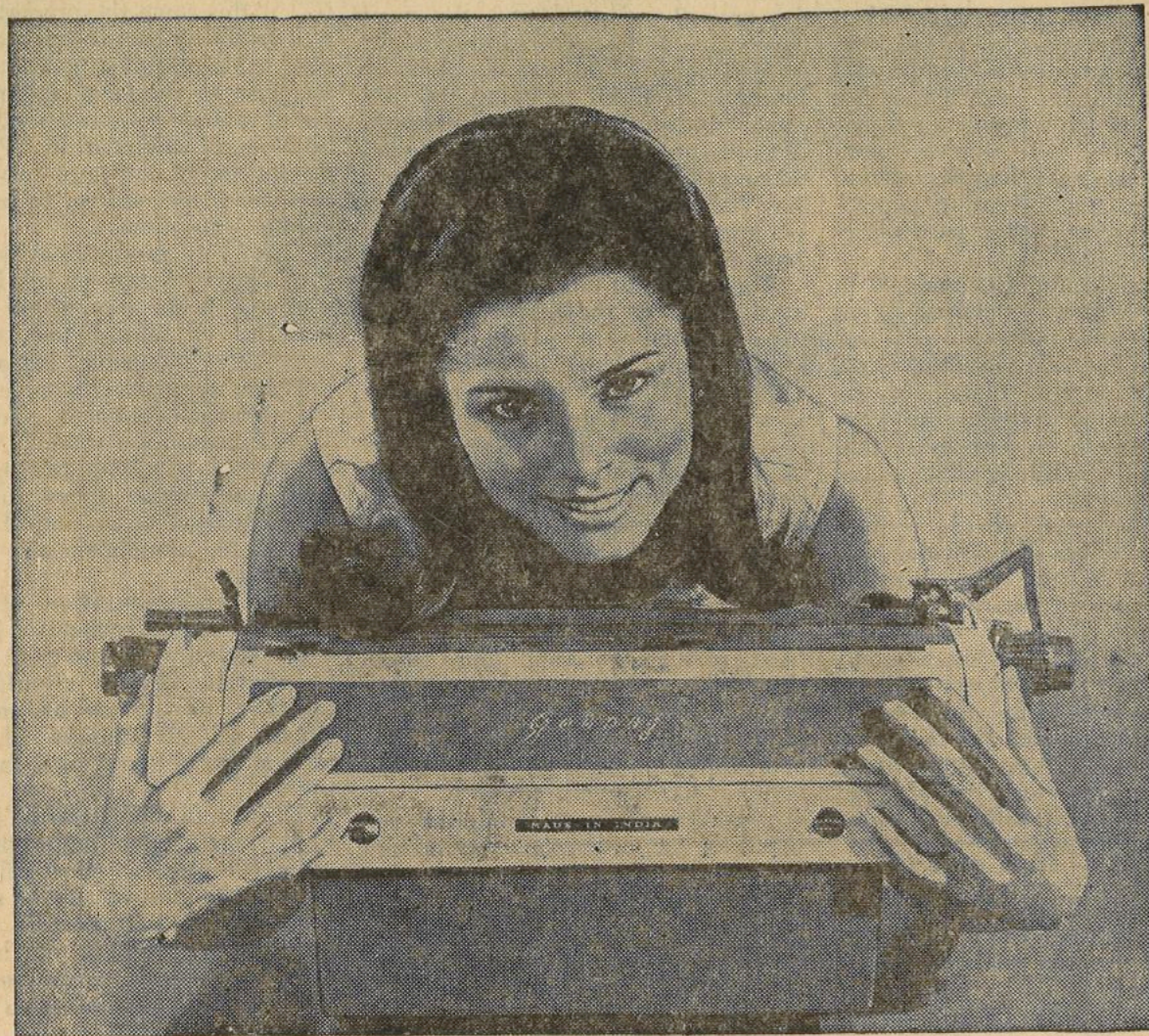
This rough model can be perfected if the main idea underlying it is accepted. Such an effort will be consistent with the concept of socialism. The present half-hearted measures for imposing ceiling on land and property on urban areas create more confusion and do not solve the real problem.

It will be a step towards the removal of gross inequalities in an important aspect of life. With the fulfilment of this basic requirement, it would be possible for the people to devote themselves in improving their lot by hard work. The schemes under the Plan will then have scope for fulfilment.

The great amount of energy that will be released can be utilised for the welfare of the people. It will not then be necessary for the Government to try to make the impossible and absurd effort of regulating all aspects of the economic life of the people. The Government may then confine itself to providing the infrastructure and public utilities necessary for a decent existence in which individual freedom and initiative can have full scope.

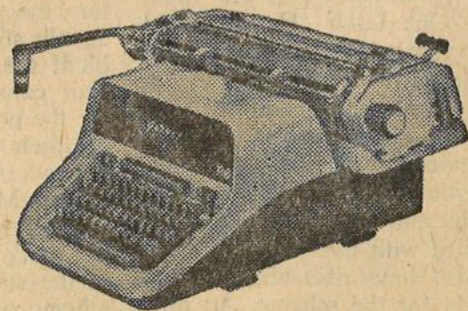
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**I'M GOING STEADY...**

**...WITH MY**



**— the proof of progress**

ULKA-GBT-31

say that it is hypocritical for the press and public to get worked up about the indiscretions of public men. This argument claims that in the so-called permissive age, moral lapses are more normal than they once were. This would seem, on casual examination, to justify the quotation of Biblical teaching.

There is the story from the New Testament of the woman caught in adultery and brought to Jesus. He told her accusers, "Let him who is without sin among you be the first to cast a stone at her." But then there is the strict moral code enjoined by the founder of Christianity when He told those who would follow Him that "anyone who even looks with lust at a woman has already committed adultery with her in his heart."

In a nation which is still known as Christian, it is quite in order to use the yardstick of Christian morality. A Christian should be strict with himself, and not judging of others' failings. It is clear that no one is without sin and therefore it can be hypocritical to condemn a fellow sinner.

But this matter is quite different. For here you have public men, who were not forced to take public office, but volunteered to do so, behaving in a way which most people feel is improper, as do they themselves. It is quite clearly in order that the public should expect a high moral code from those who offer to govern them. True, in a free society, a man can carry on "affairs", and as long as he is not breaking the law, he will not be interfered with (though his deceits may destroy his marriage). But if he wants to indulge, let him not offer himself for a public post, or continue in pub-

lic office, if he goes astray while in office.

The example which should be set at the top is vital. But should there really be a disparity between the moral standards expected of public men and of the ordinary citizen? If the ordinary citizen reckons it normal to wallow in the pig-trough, then he is, in the course of time, certain to have about him leaders likewise stained by the mire. If Mr Citizen wants to have decent, law-abiding family men at the top of affairs, then it is fair to expect of Mr Citizen that he practices these same virtues. For the leader is elected by the mass, and will inevitably reflect the morals of the mass. In the long run, a people gets the quality of Government it deserves—at least, in a free society.

Then, take the "security aspect". Investigations into "security lapses" are usually thorough. Doubtless, if there were any breach of military secrets, this will come to light. But even if there is no technical guilt about the handing over of military secrets, one should ask, "What is national security?" For any country, national security is bound up with the respect which other nations have for that nation. It is fairly obvious that Mr Nixon's authority as President of the United States has been weakened by the Watergate Affair. And quite definitely, Mr Heath's authority will be affected—one hopes not grievously—by the Lambton-Jellicoe affair. So, in this sense, national security has already been endangered.

Clearly, although some kind of positive security vetting for Government ministers is desirable, especially those concerned with the Armed Services, in a Democracy it is manifestly undesirable and in fact impossible to police the private conduct of everyone in office. The quality and security of Government will still be a matter of individual honour.

A "Times" editorial on the matter sums up: "In practice in ordinary life, we try to help each other bear our weaknesses unless and until they become insupportable for the work that has to be done. We display a decent tolerance towards each other's failings.

"Public life has different standards from ordinary life in a number of ways. A public man must conduct his private life with discretion. He must avoid putting himself under a questionable obligation to anyone. The higher a public man rises, the less freedom of private life he can expect to retain."

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### Next Week

HIMMAT will carry special articles on North-East India. The editors would like to offer complimentary copies of this issue to readers' friends in the North-East. If you wish to avail yourself of this offer, please send the names and addresses of three of your friends in the North-East to the circulation manager, HIMMAT, 501 Arun Chambers, Tardeo Road, Bombay 400 034

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\* Love marriages are better than arranged marriages.

Closing date June 15

\*\* Housewives who go to work don't do justice to their homes.

Closing date June 29

Aboriginal Affairs (a new portfolio), left comfortable offices in Canberra and went on a "walk-about" throughout the Aboriginal settlements around Australia to see first-hand the plight of the Aboriginal people. Unprecedented reforms to give the Aboriginal people education in their own language and culture, full legal rights, land rights, and a direct involvement in

the administration of the Ministry for Aboriginal Affairs, have been long overdue, even if they now cause some criticism.

Equally, Whitlam has moved decisively in regard to Papua New Guinea, granting self-rule at the end of the year and suggesting independence almost immediately after. While still in Opposition, Whitlam had toured the country extensively and

personally got to know many of the leaders — an advantage the previous Government did not have.

The new Australian Prime Minister wants his country to be recognised as a partner with the nations of Asia and is making bold efforts to achieve this. His first six months in office have signalled his intentions: the next years hopefully will see some of his aims realised.

"We have already achieved comparatively equal rights. We still want to make a society with equal rights in business affairs. We don't want to nationalise but to have a system where the new capital being formed goes partly to the wage earners."

This scheme of the Prime Minister's is rather complicated but he does not want to thrust it down the throat of his party or the Parliament and is happy to wait till it is fully debated by the Parliament and public. The scheme is not intended to stop private or foreign investment but to add to it.

When I ventured to suggest that Denmark's laws which promote the publishing and the mass export of pornographic literature gave an unfair image of Denmark—many of whose people I found were vigorous and dynamic—the Prime Minister said that it was the Conservatives who introduced the legislation. He added that the Danish people did not find pornography exciting any more and that "cleanliness has to come from within rather than be imposed from outside."

If this be so, one hopes for positive moves on the part of the authorities to encourage trends which create this "cleanliness from within" by an adequate educational policy and the encouragement in Denmark of clean

literature, films, etc. Perhaps the Prime Minister can give more thought to this matter.

In Anker Jorgensen Denmark has an earthy statesman who has the pulse of his people. He faces a growing challenge from a party that has suddenly sprung up and reached popularity by calling for a substantial tax reduction (and the winding up of Denmark's Defence Forces). In a recent popularity poll this mushroom party obtained 26 per cent of the public support. The day I met him, Anker Jorgensen had offered a national coalition of all responsible parties in Parliament to meet this new challenge. It was a clever political stroke but Anker Jorgensen's success may depend on whether he can inspire his people to new heights that reach beyond their concern for material benefits to a new climate of opinion in the land.

Born in poverty he rules a rich nation and is searching how to give it what he calls "a quality of life".

Returning to the point of slavery he says, "We live in a time marked by jets and international organisations. Our history spans from slavery to freedom. We must not submit to a new slavery that technique and organisation would impose upon us."

**This was a Life**

**JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER**  
1839-1937

HE earned his first money at the age of seven, and invested it at the age of ten—at seven per cent interest! This quiet village-boy was destined to become one of the richest men in the world.

John Davis Rockefeller was born in a poor family of German descent in Richford, near New York. John, because of his academic promise, was sent to Cleveland, Ohio, to attend high school.

At first the only petroleum known by the Americans was "the oil" siphoned off the surface of streams for use as an "embrocation for tired limbs"! Later, when they discovered how to dig for and refine crude oil as a very superior fuel, Rockefeller was one of the first to go into business, in a humble way, with his Standard Oil Company.

He methodically and ruthlessly set out to eliminate his competitors and make his company the sole refining, transporting and marketing agency for oil in the US.

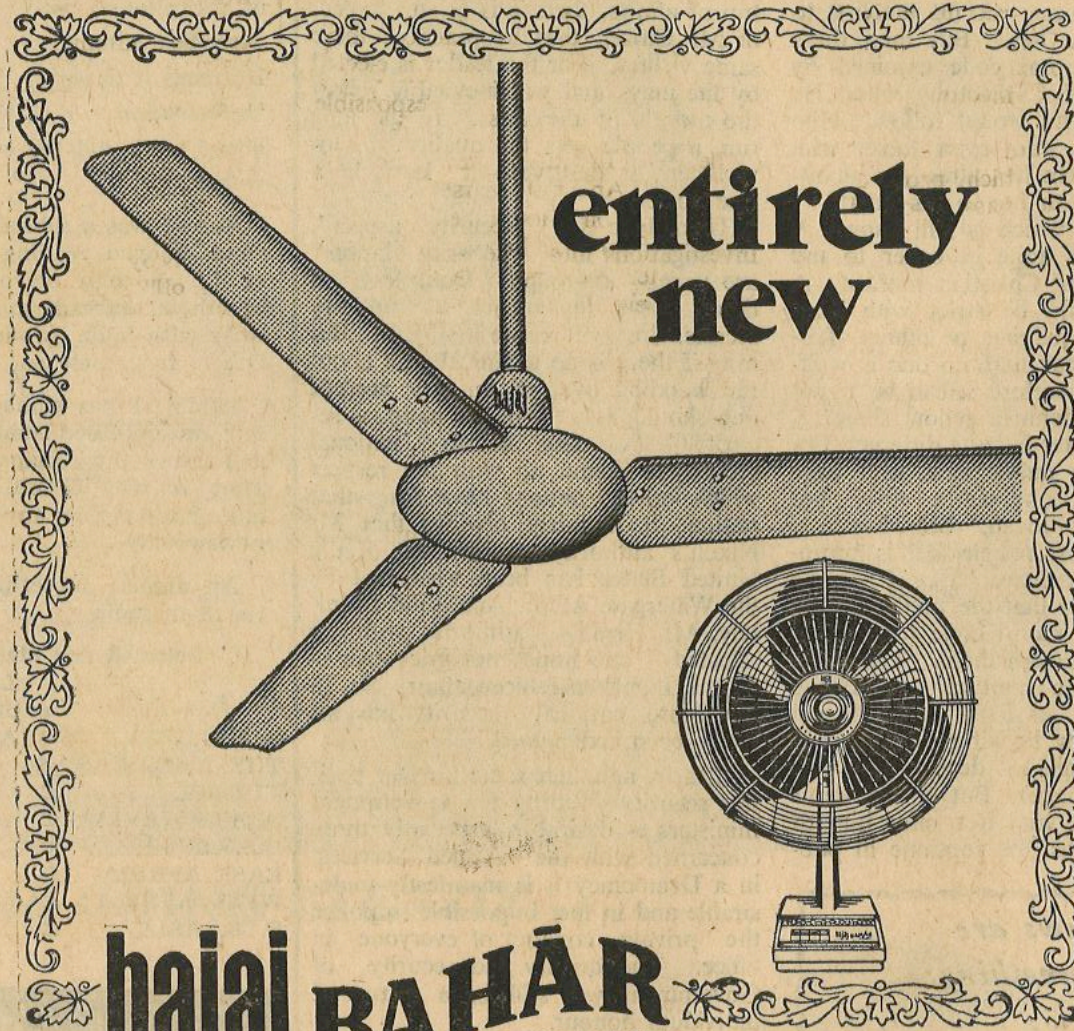
Desperate efforts were made to thwart him. The Press maintained a continual tirade for 40 years against this "shrewd operator" and "rogue" amassing his "tainted" millions. At the end of that period the Press made a complete turn-about to make "John D." a national hero because of his huge donations to the war-effort of 1914-18, as well as to numerous other charities.

All told, in the last thirty-eight years of his life he gave away more than twice the amount of money he had made in his first sixty!

He loved to live quietly with his wife and family. He was a devout Christian and taught a Bible class every Wednesday.

America's "first billionaire" was also her greatest philanthropist.

S. C.



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PROMISE OF PLENTY WITH 



## The Delhi air disaster

by Rajmohan Gandhi

"It could have been me."

This was the reaction of plane travellers in India when they read the news of the crash of the Indian Airlines Boeing 737 in Delhi. Many doubtless felt that there, among the charred bodies and pieces of aircraft, they might have lain, but for God's grace.

Man's tenure on earth is uncertain, and no Parliamentary enactment can remove the uncertainty.

In Mohan Kumaramangalam India loses a personality that was clearly out of the ordinary. He was born in a rich family. His father, Dr P. Subbaroyan, took him to England as a young boy to be trained in gentlemanly arts and skills. But it did not take Mohan long to join the Freedom Movement. He went to Cambridge and London for his studies, and embraced the international Communist movement.

For his beliefs he worked underground and in the open and went to prison. He left the Communist Party to become Advocate General in Madras. Then he operated from Delhi as Chairman of Indian Airlines and later as a Cabinet Minister.

Those who knew him said he had a brilliant mind. He worked long hours. He was still young, and some of his friends thought that bigger offices would come his way.

"Although I have left the party, my beliefs now are more than what they were when I became a Communist in my youth," he told the writer in January of this year. He meant what he said. He did not hide his convictions from colleagues who differed with him in Congress, or from the Parliament or the public.

Yet there is no question that a change was taking place in his thinking. His socialist conviction had survived, but he seemed increasingly to desire a liberal and democratic India. Those working with him found him courteous and free from self-importance. His refusal to take a seat in the front row on his last flight was characteristic and fatal.

Mr Kumaramangalam had in

fact an open and courageous mind. He was ready to consider new ideas. He could have played a key role in increasing the supply of heartpower and humanity to the leftist case. His death is a major loss.

The crash took the lives of two active Communist leaders, Mr Satish Loomba, General Secretary of the All India Trade Union Congress, and Mr K. Baladandayudam, a CPI Member of Parliament. Both were able and dedicated figures, and will be missed even by many who did not share their political views.

Mr Gurnam Singh, who had been a judge and Chief Minister in Punjab, was only recently named High Commissioner in Canberra. God knows why he had to return to India and keep this date with destiny. He has been praised in words of tribute not often expressed for diplomats by Mr Whitlam, Australia's Prime Minister.

Mrs Devaki Gopidas, Commissioner of Minority Languages, had been a social worker and politician and a friend of the Prime Minister. For Mrs Gandhi personally and the administration generally the crash has been a large tragedy.

Indians greatly regret the fact that men and women from other lands—from the USA, Britain, Japan and Yemen—perished in the crash. The wife and two daughters of an American engineer, accompanying him on his journey after four and a half years in Madras, were killed, but Mr Sterling, the engineer, and his son escaped. Evidently the son pushed his father out of the emergency exit and followed him.

Miss C. Macleod, 18 year-old daughter of the factory manager of the Hindustan Motors' earthmoving plant near Madras, was to join her parents who were in Scotland on home leave. Her brother is in boarding school in the Nilgiris.

Mrs Kousalya Narayan, Collector of Customs in Madras, was to have travelled four days earlier. She stopped her journey to accom-

pany Mr R. N. Das, Excise Director.

"The air hostesses were smiling as they walked down the aisle checking that the passengers had tightened the belts. Then the aircraft bumped violently . . . . the person sitting next to me asked what was happening. I assured him that such bumpings were experienced whenever the aircraft hit an air pocket or something like that. As I finished talking to him, the aircraft jerked again and split into two along the aisle," reported a New Delhi-based journalist, Mr Madhavan Kutty, one of the 17 survivors.

The three hostesses did not survive, nor did the flight stewards, Mr Sekhar and Mr Bernard.

Captain G. P. B. Nair, commanding the aircraft, who with his Deputy Captain Reddy survived spoke in hospital of "a blinding dust storm" and that the "localiser" was not working.

Experts will question the survivors, study the flight recorder and analyse other evidence available to discover the cause of the crash. Some of the questions in the minds of the public are as follows. Was the aircraft in good condition when it left Madras? Were its landing instruments working? Were the landing systems at Palam airport functioning? If not, why not? Is there a defect at Delhi airport that has caused three accidents within a short period of time, all to planes trying to land? Are Indian Airlines aircraft being over-used and under-serviced and unsatisfactorily maintained?

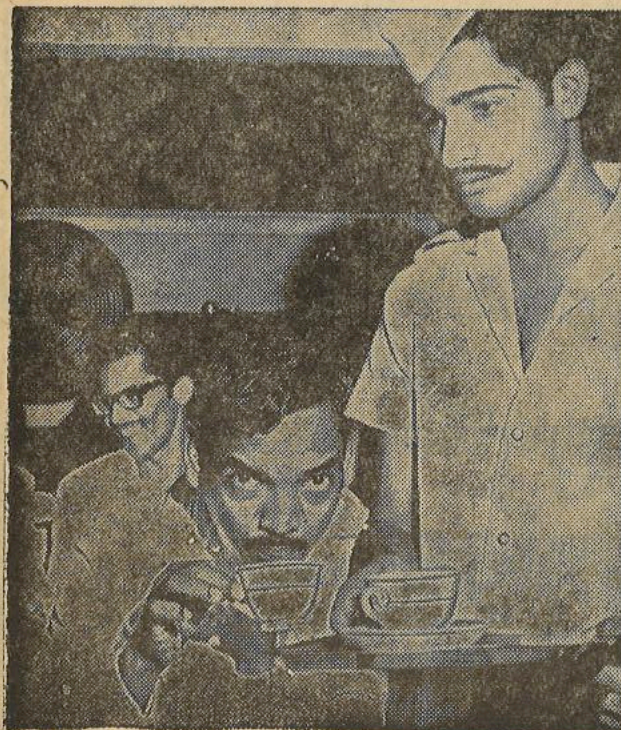
Death is always death, but when it takes place in an air crash it deals a staggering blow to the families of the victims. It gives no notice. It is the substitute for reunion. It is joy turned into horror and grief.

Yet the suddenness of the crash and the unique mechanism of the human body seem to reduce or even eliminate the physical pain of an air crash victim. From this mercy the families of those killed can take some consolation.

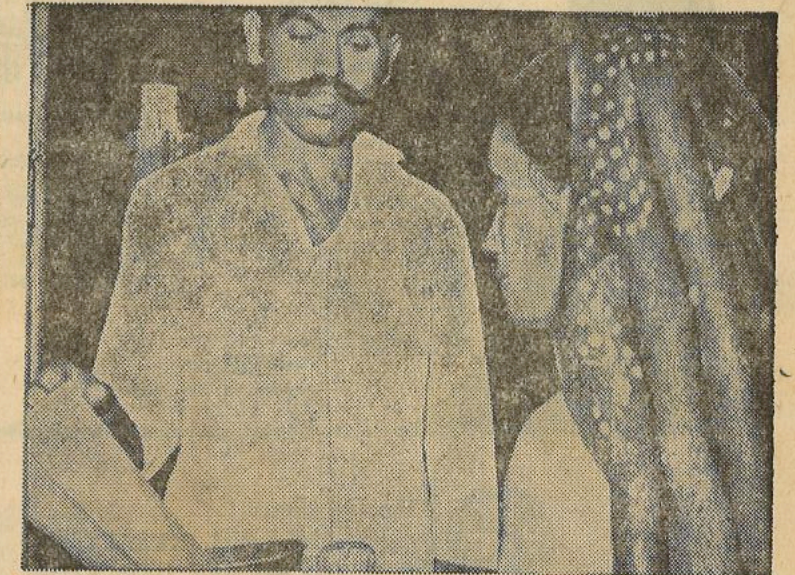
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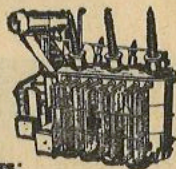
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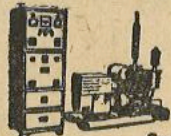
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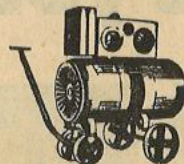
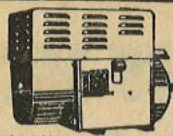


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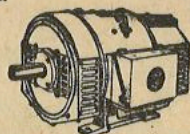


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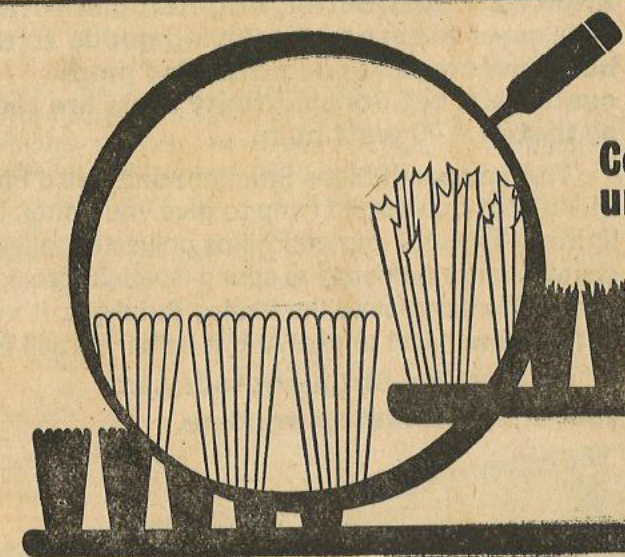
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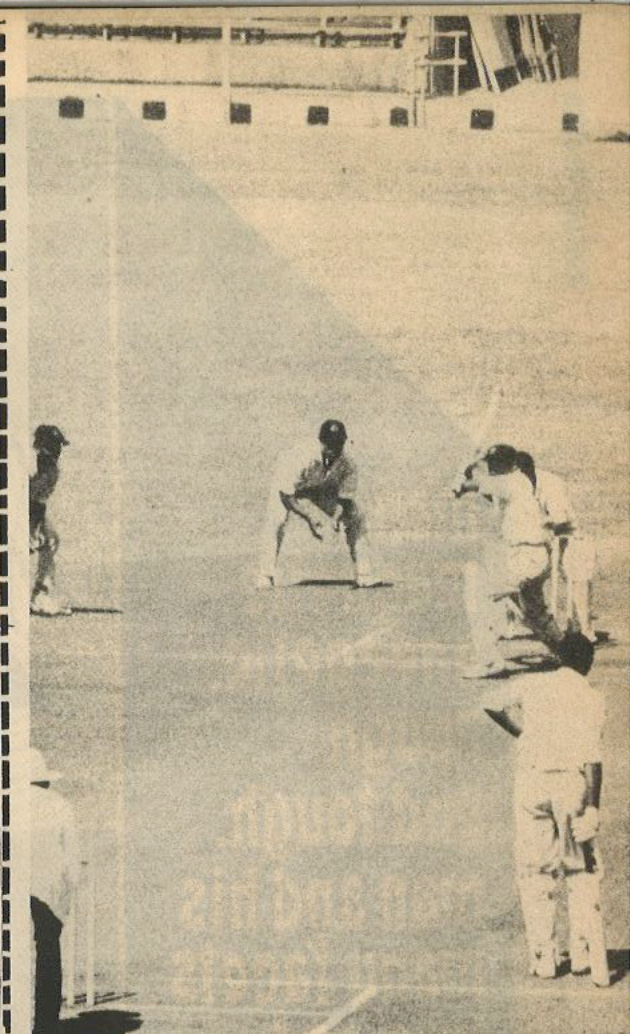
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**WINNERS**

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

\*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.

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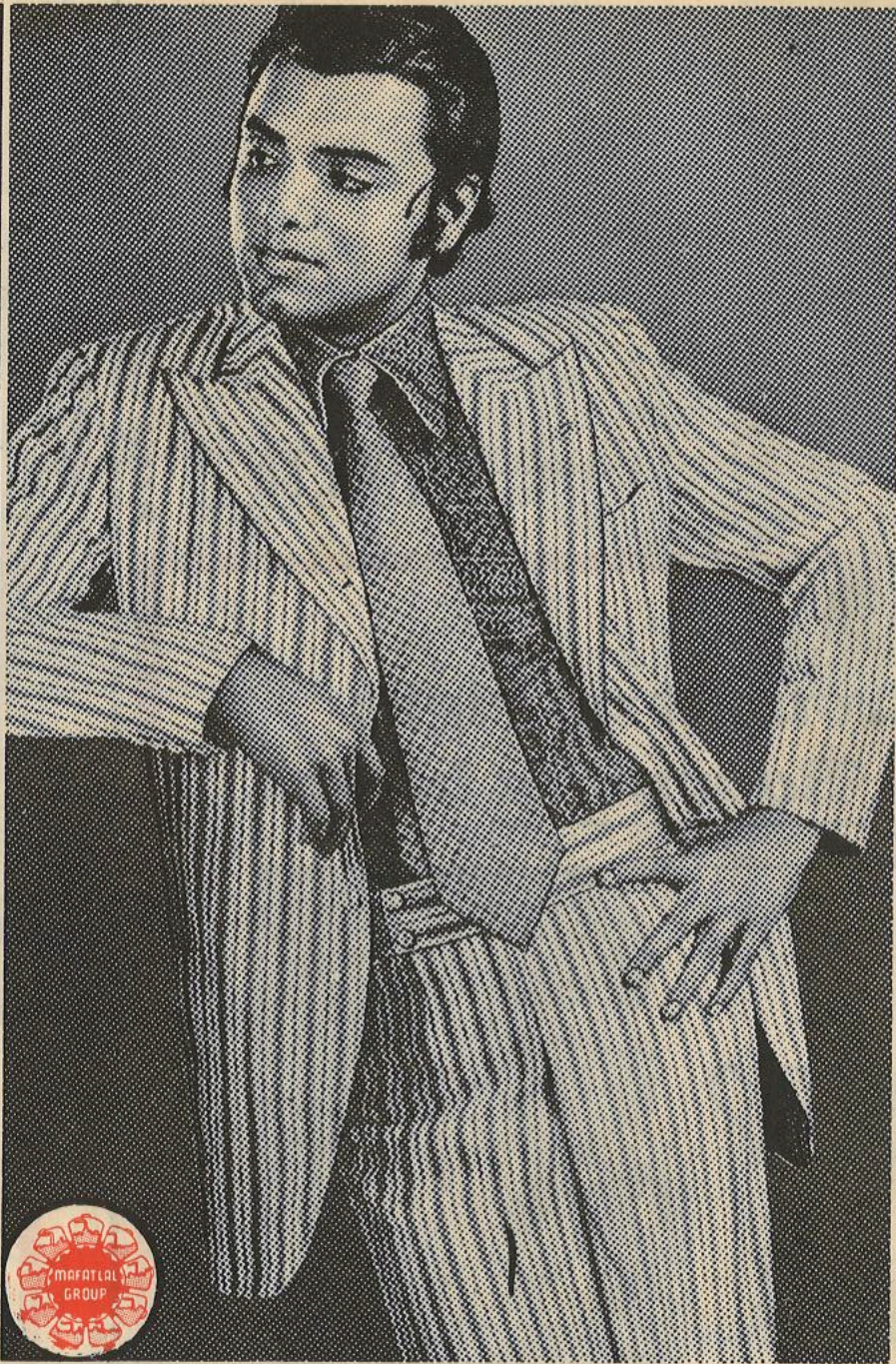
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