

year Anton Geesink of Holland has been training at Tenri city and the Japanese have acquired a healthy respect for the difficulties of winning. Japan seems almost sure of the light-weight division but the heavy and middle weight divisions seem more in doubt. Of the above list, gymnastics seems the best bet for a Japanese gold medal but they are working hard to improve in other fields which have not been their traditional strong-holds. For example, the fencing team has spent a lot of last year in France and the hockey team recently paid a visit to India and Pakistan.

Although they naturally hope to obtain as many medals as possible and every night there is some programme on TV or on the radio on different aspects of the Olympics, the Japanese look upon the Olympics rather as a sort of final *rite de passage* to acceptance once again as a full-fledged nation. A great deal of the almost pathological concern of the Japanese for the opinion of foreigners is undoubtedly due to their feeling that somehow they are despised. This was shown very clearly in the attitude of one of my students who recently

made his first business trip abroad when he visited London, Utrecht, Holland and Bombay before returning to Tokyo. When I discussed his trip with him his predominant altitude was one of surprise that these other cities had much the same sort of houses and trains and problems as Tokyo. He confided to me that before leaving he had thought Tokyo was behind the big cities in other countries but now he had realised that all advanced countries were much the same and that he never wished to leave Tokyo again.

#### New Independence Overseas

Of course, this is the extremely naive view of a young traveller but to some extent it reflects the motivation for the Olympics. I was recently presented with a large wall calendar by my local daily newspaperman. It showed a picture of the Olympic stadium (completely empty of people) and the Olympic stamps issued by other countries which have staged the Games in the past. Japan would now be the equal of these other countries. I do not think that it is by any means a coincidence that during the last year the Japanese Government has shown

a great deal more flexibility both in its foreign policy and in its trading policy. Confidence abroad really rests on confidence at home and the gradual completion of the Olympic programme successfully will undoubtedly result in a new independence overseas (unless, of course, rapid monetary deflation takes place with the sudden drop in spending).

On the surface it might look completely irrational for me to suggest that one day India should propose to hold the Olympic Games in Bombay or Calcutta. The standard of living in Japan is shooting up and she can well afford to spend money on the Olympics. Yet the existence of a definite goal to be attained some time in the future with an audience from outside India might be the trigger to let off an atmosphere of economic confidence. I hope those Indians who will be fortunate enough to attend the Tokyo Olympics will seriously consider the economic advantages of a common non-economic aim in peace-time as they travel over the new roads and seat themselves in the large and comfortable new public buildings watching the best athletes in the world competing among themselves.

#### Letter from South

## Swatantra's Opportunity in Kerala

DISSENSIONS bedevil Kerala politics. The two most significant political formations — the Congress and the Communist parties — are split badly and with quite dreadful acrimony. The people are thoroughly bewildered their choice has been widened to a chaotic extent. Too much choice has paralyzed choice and destroyed meaningful initiative.

Chacko's quarrel with the majority group in the Congress had taken on added ferocity after he felt that his ally, Sankar, the Chief Minister, had been drawn away to join the Organisational group. He had become all the more apprehensive after Madhavan Nair announced his intention to resign from the Presidentship of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee. It was not that Chacko had any particular affection for Madhavan Nair. After all, only a few months ago he had run a tearing campaign against him as the stooge of C K Govindan Nair. What he fears is that a compromise President being hustled out might mean still stricter control over the

party machine by his more inveterate foes. Having declared before Kamaraj and the public that he would not allow his vote to be used against the Sankar Ministry in the Legislature, Chacko tried to wriggle out of his predicament by offering to resign his membership of the Assembly. Now that the Congress High Command has turned down his offer, he has perforce to take recourse to more desperate stratagems.

#### Nair-Catholic Alliance

Chacko's followers are now going about saying that the situation inside the Congress has become irretrievable. Now "service to the people" can only be conducted from outside the party, as part of the Opposition. They claim that some 30 Congress ML As and the bulk of the effective cadre of the Congress will leave that organisation with Chacko. Their morale has received a further boost from the strenuous efforts of Mannath Padmanabhan, the Fuehrer of the Communal Nair Service Society, to break up the Congress and

establish an open Catholic-Nair alliance, which he claims has the right to rule Kerala by virtue of its past and its present grip over positions of economic power. The Muslim League has also been making advances to both Chacko and the Nair Service Society. Its contention is that it was betrayed after having been brought into the anti-Communist electoral alliance in 1960 not by the Congress as a whole but by the Malabar Congress group which constitutes the core of the anti-Chacko organisational wing.

It cannot be ruled out that the Swatantra party will now make its official debut in Kerala as the amalgam of those Catholics whom Chacko is able to swing and those Nairs whom Mannath Padmanabhan is able to sway. Their overwhelming landlord bias, their conservatism and their communalism make them eminently fit to be included in the Swatantra fold. Then, just as has happened across the border in Tamilnad, the Muslim League could ally with the newborn Swatantra and

this alliance could make a bid for power in the forthcoming elections.

And this is where the split in the Communist ranks acquires particular significance. Namboodiripad's reputation has received a severe setback after the revelation that he wrote to Nehru in 1957 offering to join the Congress. He has admitted this lapse just when he was in the middle of his campaign against what he termed the pro-Congress approach of the official Communist Party! But there can be no denying that, together with A K Gopalan, he constitutes a formidable minority in the Communist Party. While only four out of the 30 Communist MLAs, one-third of the State Council and one-third of the District Councils are with him, his campaign against the official CPI will do damage and pull behind him some forty per cent of the Communist following.

Namboodiripad has hitherto been very outspoken against the ideological positions of the Chinese and has thus caused much embarrassment to his left-wing colleagues in Kerala and outside who have decided to leave the CPI. Nevertheless, with A K Gopalan's open declaration that there is no harm in joining with the Swatantra to pull down the Congress, it is quite likely that this powerful splinter Communist group will be a big accretion of strength to the alliance that Chacko hopes to forge.

#### Krishna Menon's Role

What attitudes will the majority Congress party and the majority Communist party adopt towards each other? Even in the Chacko-less Congress there will be quite a powerful section which is far removed from anything resembling progress. Topping the list of these dubious luminaries is Chief Minister Sankar himself. Then, again, it is far from clear whether the organisational wing of the Congress will be able to shake off its encrusted anti-communism, no matter the brand or variety of communism. It might prefer to go it alone or try to out-bid Chacko for the support of the Nair Service Society or even of the Muslim League. A great deal, it is said, depends on what influence Krishna Menon is able to exercise over this group which has been fairly close to him for quite some time now.

The Communist majority will have its hands full in the coming months dealing with the followers of

Namboodiripad and Gopalan. There is also the problem of answering the main criticism against it that it is bent on collaborating with the Congress. It will undoubtedly be sorely tempted to prove its anti-Congress bona fides. It will perhaps be inhibited when it comes to executing strategic manoeuvres when the split in the Congress becomes a reality. A bold initia-

tive, combined with maintenance of strength, is required just at the time when it is exposed to constant sniping attacks from two of its hitherto most prestigious leaders.

All this rumbling in the political atmosphere can only cast a shadow upon Kerala at the moment. But it could produce a cleansing thunder-shower.



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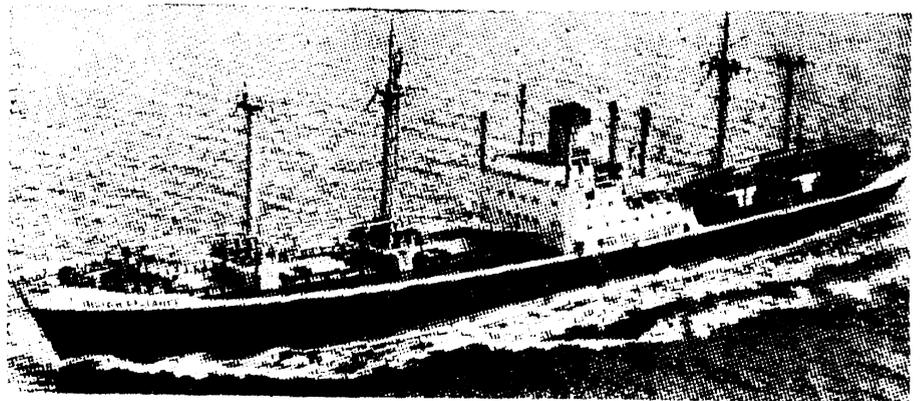
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