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# HIMMAT

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ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY FEBRUARY 16 1968

## BOMBAY

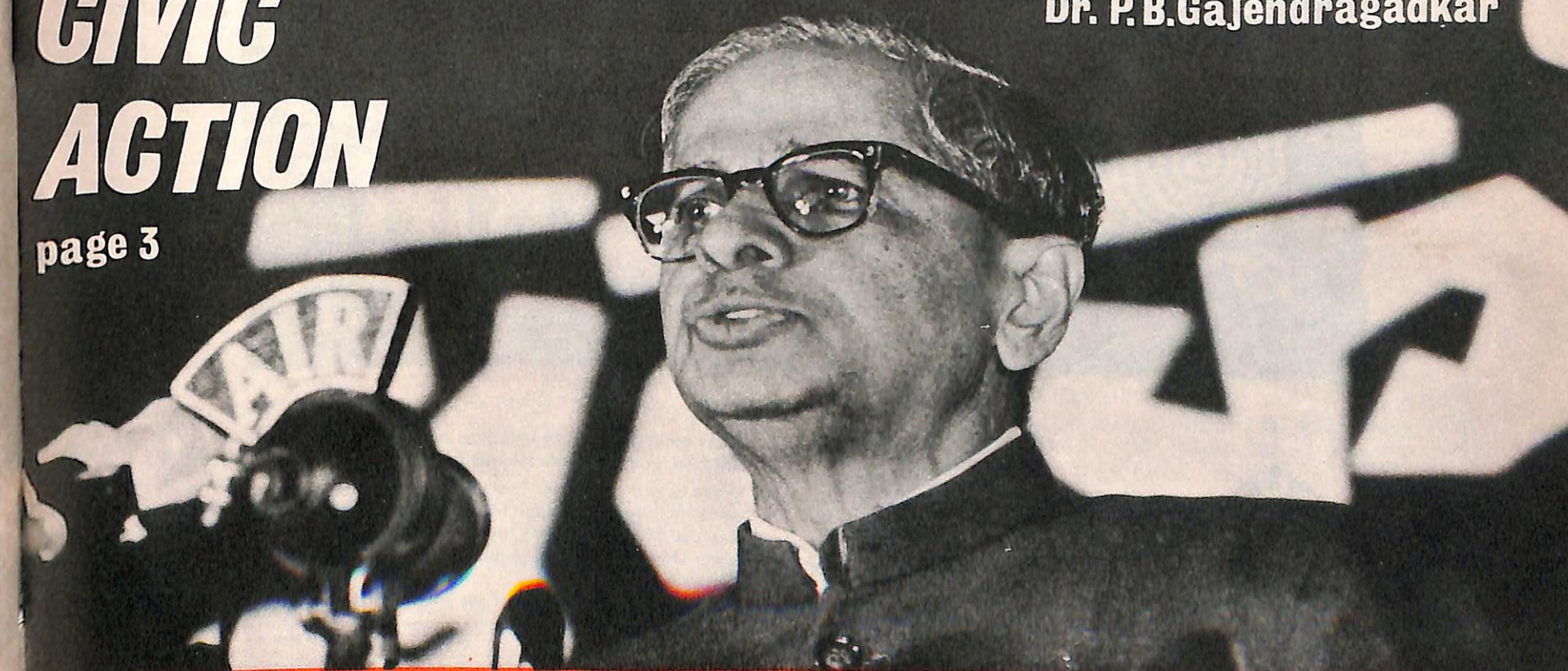


George Fernandes M.P.

Dr. P.B.Gajendragadkar

### STIRRING CIVIC ACTION

page 3



### Rajmohan Gandhi **OTHER VIETNAMIS ?**



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# Editorials

## Stirring civic action-I

EVERY SURFEIT PRODUCES its nausea and today there are signs, faint glimmers perhaps, that public opinion is revolting against violence and senseless disorder.

In the past week several demonstrations against anarchy have chased violence off the front pages.

Vice-Chancellor P. B. Gajendragadkar of Bombay University, former Chief Justice of India, led a march of students and teachers in Bombay last Sunday to voice an "articulate intellectual opinion against destructive tendencies" in the community. He pointed out that this rally to launch what was hoped would become a fast-growing movement in the nation had been convened to strengthen national unity and raise a wall against the destruction of public property. It was not concerned with any political programme.

The rally took a pledge "to do everything in our power to protect and preserve the unity and dignity of our nation and its wealth". It emphasised that "the property of the nation is our wealth". One of those reported to have encouraged the students was Mr George Fernandes, MP.

In Calcutta, a few days earlier, 61 citizens — law-

yers, doctors, businessmen, journalists, artists, traders and social workers — issued a statement condemning "all forces of violence". Underlining Calcutta's indispensable role in building up the nation, they point out that 42 per cent of India's exports and 25 per cent of her imports pass through that port. Its factories account for 15 per cent of India's gross product. Its schools and colleges educate 13 per cent of the nation's students.

"The resurgence from this tired, worn-out and decadent state to a vibrant new community is the need of the hour," they say in a fervent call to end the political and industrial disruption endemic to Bengal.

Mayor C. M. Gupta of Indore led a silent procession of citizens from all walks of life through the city streets last Sunday to register public annoyance over growing lawlessness in the city.

And so it goes on.

Pledges and marches may be only a start, but HIMMAT salutes those in every community who love their country enough to stop moaning about the nation's decline and try to do something to halt it.

## Stirring civic action-II

WISDOM PREVAILED in the Bombay transport strike. After ten day's absence the familiar red BEST buses rolled out of the depots to the relief of commuters whose patience, though remarkable, was breaking.

The decision to call off the strike followed a midnight meeting between Chief Minister V. P. Naik and Mr George Fernandes, MP, the leader of the striking workers. The Chief Minister's offer of arbitration was accepted by Mr Fernandes. Both sides in the dispute had hardened into "will not budge" positions. The BEST management had a growing public opinion on their side while Fernandes commanded a large section of labour whose loyalty to him is not in doubt. He threatened to use this position to escalate the striking by bringing other units out. This he could have done. In fact earlier

in the week he said that he "would go down fighting".

He was in a difficult position. The course he took required courage. He called off the strike. It is easy for his enemies to gloat. But many of them are interested only in their own political fortunes.

George Fernandes has built up a powerful labour force in Bombay, men who say he is the only leader who really cares about them. He is a man of considerable drive and ability and, unlike many other leaders, he has a grasp of world issues. To employ these assets in too small a sphere, when his skill and spirit could be used to give fresh dynamism and direction to the nation, would be a tragedy. India desperately needs men who will do this. Will George Fernandes rise to this need? HIMMAT thinks he could.

## How Red the summit ?

ON FEBRUARY 26, delegates from 70 Communist parties will meet in Budapest to prepare a summit conference of world Communism. For years the Soviet leaders have tried to convene such a conference. Khrushchev failed. Now Brezhnev and Kosygin apparently have succeeded.

When comrades gather in Hungary's capital, Kremlin leaders will have some successes to report since the world Communist meeting in 1960. Russia's fleet has penetrated the Mediterranean and no doubt it will appear in the Indian Ocean before long. In Europe and other places the "policy of coexistence" has opened doors which had been closed for many years. Also in Africa and Latin America there is certain progress.

However, there are three fundamental questions to which the Kremlin leaders seem to have no answers.

First, to secure the Budapest gathering of Communist parties, many concessions have been made. But even so, those not at the conference will weigh as heavily

ly in balance as those participating. What does a Communist summit mean without Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh and Fidel Castro, not to mention the leaders of Albania and North Korea?

Second, even the most optimistic of Communist leaders cannot pretend that things are going so well inside the People's Republics, especially in Eastern Europe. One of the last Moscow faithfuls, Czech President Novotny, has just been demoted. In countries like Yugoslavia the economic situation is serious. President Tito said at the last Party Congress, "The real need of Yugoslavia is the reawakening of conscience in us Communists."

Third, and most important, where do Kremlin leaders want to take their parties and countries? Will it be enough to ask once more for a "co-ordinated action in the fight against imperialist aggression"? Will they have anything fresh or more imaginative to offer?

# Briefly Speaking...

## Obliging the burglar

WITH INDIA'S help, the Soviet Union frustrated US efforts to make the International Control Commission an effective patrolling force, able to detect incursions into Cambodian territory by Communist or non-Communist troops. India, an ICC member, according to a news report, "adopted the Russian view that stricter patrolling would provide more public evidence of incursions and thus encourage American hawks".

This is like deciding not to appoint a watchman lest by discovering burglars he encourage more burglars! Or is it to oblige the burglars who are in the house already?

## Lost patriot

THE SUDDEN DEATH in mysterious circumstances of Deen Dayal Upa-

dhyaya, President of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, while on a train journey to Patna for a party conference, shocked the nation. He had been the Jan Sangh's General Secretary for 14 years until his unanimous election as President last December. The Party's recent efforts to win support in the South and its shift to a more accommodating policy on language, were largely due to his efforts. The words "patriot" and "true nationalist" appeared most frequently among the tributes paid to him. India can ill spare a leader with his integrity and devotion to country. Upadhyaya was only 51 when he died.

## No vacuum?

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS Minister Swaran Singh is reported as saying in Damascus that Britain's withdrawal from Asia will leave no vacuum as countries of the region could fill it without interference. The Minister might do well to read our Middle East correspondent's report (page 9) that South Yemen has fallen into the hands of Peking-trained revolutionaries. *Mysindia* comments: "Britain's withdrawal precipitates the advance of both claws of a Communist pincer movement towards India. Within five years, and possibly less, China will control Singapore and Russia will control Aden and the Red Sea."

## Far out and way off

THE MYSORE EXECUTIVE of the SSP, meeting in Shimoga, has expressed concern over the anti-Hindi agitation, behind which it suspects a "CIA-supported Indian-English lobby". This lobby, said the Party executive, "in the guise of anti-Hindi agitation, was wantonly trying to suppress Kannada"! The CIA has been blamed for most things in its time, including failure of the monsoon, but this surely deserves first prize for far-out political invective. The Shimoga shemozzle!

## Not alone

INDIA is not alone in suffering from linguistic rivalries. A dispute between Flemish and French-speaking sections of the Belgian people last week caused the fall of their Government. Eight Flemish Ministers resign-

*The heart has its reasons, which are quite unknown to the head.*

BLAISE PASCAL, 1623-1662

ed when the Government refused their demand that the French language section be removed from Louvain University.

Till the Congo became free in 1960, imperial service gave Belgians some sort of national goal — just as freedom provided Indians with a united aim before Independence. Winning freedom or losing an empire may both leave a void in national aspirations. Till it is filled regional differences come to the fore.

## Firm friend

KING DORJI WANGCHUK, ruler of Bhutan, has been a welcome visitor to New Delhi during the past week. The 39-year old monarch has reigned since 1952 over his mountain kingdom, sandwiched between Tibet and Assam. His 700,000 people are mainly Buddhists, like himself. Except in foreign affairs, Bhutan retains complete independence. A firm friend of India, King Dorji invited Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi to visit his country later this year. It is to be hoped she will soon be able to do so.

## Oiling the wheels

PRESIDENT Ayub Khan's birthday greetings last week to President Husain met no outcry such as Mrs Indira Gandhi's message to the Pakistan President on a recent trip to Moscow. At the UNCTAD conference Pakistan's Commerce Minister complimented Mrs Gandhi on her "lucid and farsighted" speech and thanked the Indian Government for its "warm hospitality". It is good that, despite their differences, national leaders can exchange these diplomatic civilities. They oil the wheels for more significant exchanges.

## Just breathing!

A HYDERABAD Revenue officer who went on vacation applied for leave pay on his return to duty. His application was returned on grounds that it was not accompanied by a certificate that he was alive.

It is an excellent idea that Government officers should be asked to produce certificates to show that they are still alive, especially in the balmy hour after lunch!

**Birbal**

## FROM THE CAPITAL

# Living with crisis in Bengal and UP

by **ANTENNA**

**NEW DELHI** All the signs evident here point to long-drawn out political crises in West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh, with no hope of stability of any kind. By the time this goes into print Dr P. C. Ghosh should be out of office in Calcutta and President's rule proclaimed. For the well-laid plans of the Congress mandarins in Delhi and Calcutta to put back their own party men in the saddle have gone awry — not because of the strength of the United Front of Opposition parties but because of the inner rot in the West Bengal Congress.

It was obvious from the first that Dr Ghosh's strange assortment of leaders without followers who called themselves the Peoples' Democratic Front had been allowed to form a government solely as a stepping-stone between the United Front Government headed by Mr Ajoy Mukherjee which was booted out by Governor Dharma Vira and a full-fledged Congress administration.

## Dug toes in

Dr Ghosh, however, had other ideas and toyed with the illusion that he could form a coalition of his own PDF, politically a cipher, and the Congress, with of course himself as its head. This was not to the liking of the Congressmen of the State, but Dr Ghosh dug in his toes and refused to oblige them by resigning instead of waiting to be thrown out.

Dr Ghosh should have gone by the end of December, but he has been saved by the revolt in the Congress ranks against Mr Atulya Ghosh, a revolt, it should be remembered, which was sparked by the Prime Minister's special envoy, Mr Gulzari Lal Nanda, in September. What has happened at the headquarters of the Congress machine in Delhi has restored Mr Ghosh to his rank as one of the key men in it and has deflated Mrs Gandhi's ambitions of running the organisation herself.

## Rebels on the run

Thus the rebels in the West Bengal Congress find themselves on the run and have turned to New Delhi to save them from the vengeance of Mr Ghosh. This may be more than Mrs Gandhi can do at the moment, but the rebel group headed by Mr Ashutosh Ghosh has just enough strength to topple the present tottering Ministry and at the same time see that a Congress Ministry fashioned to Mr Atulya Ghosh's desiring does not get into office.

Congressmen who have been hitherto loyal to the organisation will stomach President's rule, and how to sell the idea to the politically conscious middle class of the State is going to be a major headache.

## Administration at low ebb

Dr Ghosh's short spell in office has reduced the administration to near-anarchy. Mr Dharma Vira may not be able to halt the spin to complete anarchy, not at any rate with the kind of administration which he has at his disposal for this purpose. Observers say the morale of the West Bengal administrators is at its lowest ebb. Most of them, it is said, expect an overwhelming victory of the United Front if there are elections in the State immediately or

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## On your toes

### THE SORDID TRIANGLE

INDIA'S whizz-kid demographer, Dr S. Chandrasekhar, has a straightforward solution to what is unscientifically termed the "population explosion". He visualises a "cafeteria style" availability of contraceptives at bargain-basement prices to fit the poorest purse!

Sitting in his "think tank" the noble doctor feeds his facts — how many fertile couples exist in India, average marriage ages, infant mortality rates and a secret digit representing all the unknown factors — into a magic box, presses the button and out comes a red neon triangle which is supposed to represent India's victory over human proliferation.

Dr Chandrasekhar, recently demoted (without explanation) from Minister to Minister of State for Health and Family Planning, has just the kind of computer-mind to inspire the confidence of some Western experts. They seem to feel he is "modern" and "scientific" enough to forsake the "old-fashioned" mores which might slow up organised efforts to reduce the rate of climb in India's population.

Dr Chandrasekhar reported last week that during his recent 50-minute talk with President Johnson he was assured of complete US support for his family planning programme.

He hopes to get Rs 15 crores from the United States and has already been promised another Rs 20 crores of PL-480 counterpart funds held by the US in India. Another report mentions a gift of 6000 jeeps for village work and millions of devices to be sold at a few paise each.

His aim is to instal his "cafeteria" in every remote corner of the country and for this he has also enlisted the ready help of large foreign companies who have learned over the years how to sell cheap soap, tea and cigarettes (at a profit) in every last one of India's 500,000 villages.

Dr Chandrasekhar's schemes and theories may attract some foreign governments and organisations. But how many of their taxpayers or shareholders have witnessed the sordid and unhygienic circumstances in which his contraceptive peddlers operate? They wouldn't want it for their countries.

*Freebooter*



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BIG SHOT

# VERDICT!

## This week HIMMAT...

**WELCOMES** President Kenyatta's reassurance that foreigners who made Kenya their home need fear nothing provided they obeyed the laws of the land and respected the Government and people.

**WOULD** like to know the under-surface reason for Russian Navy chief Admiral Gorshkov's 10-day "goodwill" visit to this country.

**PRAISES** the forthrightness of World Bank President George Woods in criticising both advanced and developing countries, and his own organisation, for backsliding in furthering development.

**IS AMUSED** by the Punjab Government's giving free medicine to the children of writers, poets and artists — to relieve the pangs of creativity presumably.

**NOTES** that the Soviet Union, not to be outdone by China's mass-production of Mao's Thoughts, claims to have produced 84 million copies of the works of Marx.

**WELCOMES** the Japanese UNCTAD delegate's announcement that his country would give preferential entry to products from developing nations.

**IS CONCERNED** about the setting up of a joint Indo-Soviet body for scientific collaboration, **MARKS** that high priority is given to mineral prospecting in India, and **WONDERS** just who is going to control future exploitation of India's mineral wealth?

**CALLS "FAIR DINKUM"** Australian Foreign Minister Hasluck's statement in Kuala Lumpur that his country's foreign policy was based on the assumption that Australia's future is intimately linked with the future of this (Asian) region.

**DOUBTS** whether Marxist leader EMS Namboodiripad's conviction by the Kerala High Court for contempt of court will change his opinion that "judges are guided by class prejudices".

**OFFERS** a garland of sweet potatoes to the Hyderabad citizen arrested for leading a satyagraha to remove flowers from the public gardens and plant vegetables instead.

ANTENNA — FROM PAGE 5

even within the next two or three years. Quite understandably, they do not want to do anything that would invite the wrath of the United Front on their heads.

Uttar Pradesh is clearly heading for elections somewhere around next June. Chief Minister Charan Singh, who has succeeded temporarily in re-establishing his hold over the creaky coalition he heads, is said to be determined to have elections, come what may. People in the know say Mr Charan Singh is fed up with the Jan Sangh, the largest component of the Samyukta Vidhayak Dal. His private opinion of his Jan Sangh allies is that they are more corrupt, more intriguing, more unscrupulous, greedier and stupider than his former Congress colleagues. Orderly govern-



Mr Charan Singh

## Israel loses hope

**NEW DELHI** Israeli hopes of establishing friendly relations with New Delhi are said to have been finally damped by the chilling official treatment the Israeli delegation to UNCTAD has received here.

This treatment has been in striking contrast to the manner in which ordinary Indian citizens have responded, according to members of the delegation. The delegates have met nothing but sympathy from all those whom they have encountered unofficially or in social gatherings.

If evidence of what non-official India thinks of Israel was needed, it was there for everybody to see at the reception the head of the Israeli delegation, Commerce and Industry Minister Zeev Sharef, gave at the Intercontinental Hotel before he explained for Tel Aviv.

### Large turnout

Mr Sharef was overwhelmed at the turnout of prominent Indian citizens, diplomats and UNCTAD delegates at the reception which started a little over 24 hours after the Arab delegates walked out of the plenary session when Mr Sharef rose to speak. The Arabs were accompanied

ment is impossible so long as they have a major say in the making and executing of policy.

Mr Charan Singh's strategy appears to be to see that the Jan Sangh is isolated in the next few months and is forced to abandon the SVD and fight the elections alone. Meanwhile, he hopes to more than compensate for the loss of this contentious ally through the defection of large numbers of Congressmen to his party.

The only counter-move which might frustrate his plan is that the Jan Sangh might team up with the Congress Party to fight Charan Singh and his allies in the SVD electorally. An election pact between the Congress and the Jan Sangh could spell disaster for the SVD, but one compensatory factor would probably be that the Muslim vote, which is decisive in many constituencies in Western UP, would be withdrawn from the Congress and go to the SVD.

Mr Charan Singh is taking a calculated risk in trying to disentangle himself from the Jan Sangh octopus, and it may well pay off. Politically, the Jan Sangh is losing its grip on the Hindu voters in the towns of UP, and at the same time it is not making any headway in the villages.

by a handful of Africans from South of the Sahara, two Asians — Afghanistan and Pakistan — and the Soviet bloc, with the significant exception of Rumania, which still has close diplomatic ties with Israel and only recently concluded a new trade agreement with that country.

### India's position

The Indian attitude to the walkout was interesting. UNCTAD's President, Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh, was not in the chair. India was represented only by two junior men, described as "observers". They remained seated when the Arabs and their friends left. Later Dr Abdel Karim Kannuna, Iraq's Economy Minister, told Indian newsmen: "We all know where India's heart is."

At the reception, incidentally the first official reception held by an Israeli Government representative in the Indian capital, more than 350 people were present. What was most striking, perhaps, was the fact that almost all the delegations of the African states were there. The lone

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## WEST BENGAL

# "Ghoshes, Ghoshes all the way"

FROM S. K. MUKHOPADHYAY IN CALCUTTA

IN WEST BENGAL today, it is Ghoshes, Ghoshes all the way. The three principal characters in the complicated political drama are all Ghoshes—Atulya, Ashu and Prafulla. The fourth one, Mr Surendra Mohan Ghosh, better known as Madhu Da, a member of the Rajya Sabha and a former President of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, who had to bow down to the spell that Mr Atulya Ghosh cast on the State Congress Party, is serving somewhat like a prompter to the rather sordid drama.

In fact, Mr Surendra M. Ghosh, who it is reported has played a significant role in this so-called "coup" against Mr Atulya Ghosh by backing Mr Ashu Ghosh and the other dissidents, has always harboured a feeling

against Mr Atulya Ghosh, and, sensing the anti-Atulya mood amongst a section of Congress legislators, he decided to strike while the iron was



Atulya Ghosh

hot. Whatever flutter Mr Ashu Ghosh has been able to create is undoubtedly due to the silent patronage of some very powerful Congressmen, both at the state and the Centre level, determined to get rid of the coterie of leadership lorded over by Mr Atulya Ghosh.

With Mr Ashu Ghosh and a number of dissidents trying to convince the Congress High Command that something must be done to curb the dictates of Mr Atulya Ghosh and his followers, the question as to what will happen prior to the budget session of the Assembly, scheduled to meet on February 14, has reached a million dollar proportion.

### Uncertain future

Will the High Command agree to the demands of Mr Ashu Ghosh and his associates, who include Mr Shankar Das Banerjee, a former Finance Minister in Mr P. C. Sen's Cabinet and an ex-Speaker of the Assembly, and once again set up an ad hoc committee, which seems to be one of their main demands?

Will the Coalition Ministry be dissolved and President's rule established? Or should there be a mid-term poll as proposed by Mr Atulya Ghosh and the State Congress Chief, Dr P. C. Chunder, should the rapprochement move fail? Administration, naturally, is suffering. Ministers, not knowing what the morrow will bring for them, are just doing routine office work.

### President's rule

It is being whispered that the Governor, too, is getting a bit weary and is contemplating recommending to the Centre the imposition of President's rule. Simultaneously, Chief Minister P. C. Ghosh is reported to

have expressed annoyance at this turn of events and might even tender his resignation.

Quite a large number of Congressmen, though not advocating the stand of Mr Ashu Ghosh, are of the opinion that this spell of the State Congress hierarchy must be broken to revive the old glory of Congress. They are also said to be against the proposal of holding a mid-term poll. The chances of President's rule look quite probable though a last moment accord cannot be ruled out.

Meanwhile, the recent judgment of the Calcutta High Court delivered by Justice B. C. Mitter upholding the decision of the Governor to dismiss the Ajoy Mukherjee Ministry and install the P. C. Ghosh Cabinet instead has added a further piquancy to the situation. The Speaker, when contacted, refused to say anything concerning the action he will take on February 14. He is obviously holding his opinion pending the full disposal of the matter in the Supreme Court.

The United Front leaders, too have kept mum though some remarked that the judgment showed that "paid bureaucrats" were more powerful than the will of the people reflected in the Legislature. The Assembly may not function on February 14. A number of student organisations with left leanings have decided to demonstrate before the Assembly gates, breaking the order under Section 144, currently in operation in the city.

Some Left leaders have taken exception to the actions of Mr Ajoy Mukherjee and other non-Communist leaders who met Mr Ashu Ghosh and discussed the possibilities of forming a "national Government" in West Bengal minus the Communists and the fellow-travellers.

ANTENNA—FROM PAGE 6

Indian official present was Dr S. Chandrasekhar, Minister of State for Health and Family Planning, in his personal capacity.

At a press briefing on Thursday evening after his speech, Mr Sharef stressed his country's willingness to trade with India without any written agreement and to provide technical aid in agriculture, irrigation and fertiliser production. Mr Sharef said he had been greatly impressed by the range and quality of Indian machinery he had seen. He added that Israel was ready to buy such machinery in exchange for Israeli products. So far as I am aware, there has been no response to this gesture and Mr Sharef left India a disappointed man.

### STOP PRESS

Mr Ashu Ghosh told the Governor that Dr P. C. Ghosh's Congress-PDF coalition Ministry had lost its majority in view of the fact that his newly-formed Indian National Democratic Front, which numbered 19 MLAs including 12 Congress dissidents, had gained the support of the United Front.

### SO THEY SAY

*Elections bring out vividly what is all the time evident, that food nourishes man, but the absence of food nourishes the politician.*

B. VENKATAPPIAH  
Quoted in *Opinion*

*I am the happiest Prime Minister in the world today. I have no problems, neither has my country.*

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN  
Prime Minister of Malaysia

*We want to be everybody's friends.*

W. C. NAUDE  
Leader of South African delegation  
to UNCTAD

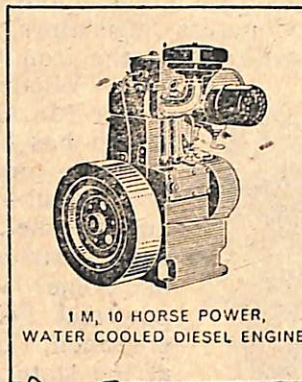


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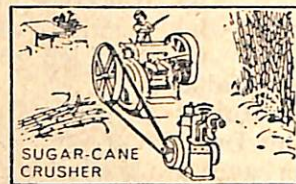
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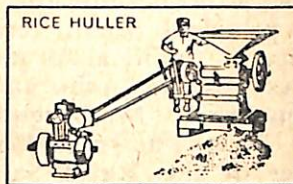
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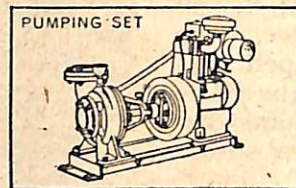
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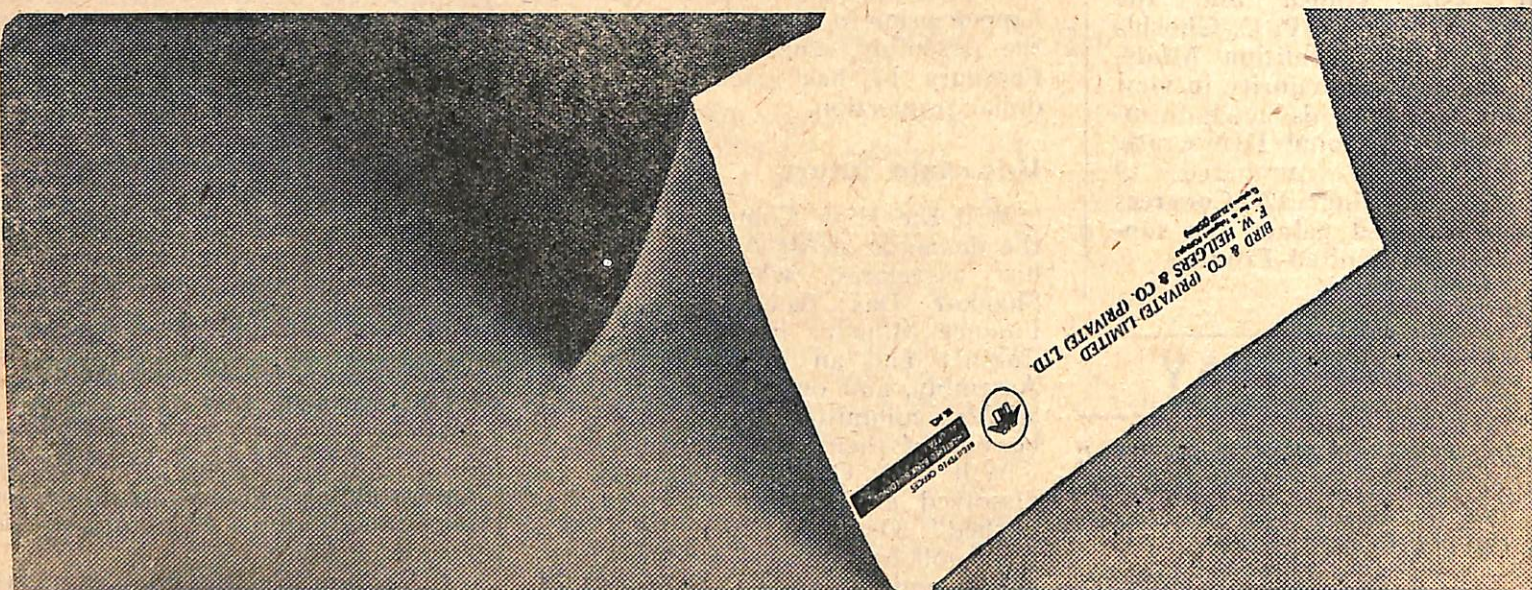
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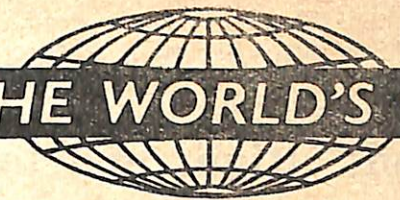
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## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS



### Memorandum on Aden and the Persian Gulf

FROM HARRY ALMOND

**BEIRUT** The new People's Republic of Southern Yemen has at its heart a core of men trained in Peking, according to informed sources. Some of them are reported to have had combat experience as well as part of their training in Hanoi. There exists a People's Guard which is reliably estimated as high as 75,000 men, armed with Chinese submachine guns and some 105mm mortars.

South Yemeni Government scholars in the non-Socialist world who are considered questionable ideologically by the new regime are being told they must either return to Aden or continue their university studies in Peking.

While the Government of the new People's Republic can presumably be expected to lie low for a year or so, an issue seems to be already joined with neighbouring Oman over the Kuria Maria Islands — a group given to the Crown in the last century and now handed back to Oman, the original donor. The new Aden Government is claiming them. In the other direction the Government's policy as stated in the UN is unity with Republican Yemen.

A commercial aeroplane was recently hijacked by a few Hanoi-trained guerrillas and the crew forced at pistol point to fly a trained cadre of guerrilla fighters into Mahara State which borders Oman and Saudi Arabia.

There is little doubt in the minds of experienced observers that in the coming years there will be an attempt to overthrow the traditional rulers of the Gulf States — Oman, the Sheikdoms of the Trucial Coast, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait. Already these states, seeing the way the wind may blow, are trying to regroup somehow to fill the gap to be left by the British withdrawal by 1970.

Four factors operate in the area:

- 1 the existing governments,
- 2 Anglo-American oil interests,
- 3 progressive Arab nationalism,
- 4 Soviet Communism.

They are constantly at play. Various combinations temporarily align themselves and dissolve. Arms alone cannot fill the vacuum left by the British military withdrawal. Gaps of conflicting interests between these four elements must also be closed by a great uniting idea.

The Russian stake in all this is probably not so much to gain the oil reserves for itself, as to create the chaotic conditions which would deprive Western Europe primarily of this strategic source which now supplies about two-thirds of its petroleum needs.

The short-term economies realised by the proposed withdrawal from Bahrain will probably be offset by the longer-term strategic losses in human relations as well as petroleum reserves.

### Ceylon deficit

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

**COLOMBO** The Ceylon Government cancelled all Independence Day celebrations in its foreign missions this year "because of the serious economic difficulties that have beset the country".

There is a four-fold increase in the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

### Ek-minit!



"I hope you're feeling better. I've run out of prescription forms."

## The week in ASIA

**SAIGON** — In a surprise operation the Viet Cong used Russian-made tanks to overwhelm a US special forces camp at Lang Vei, in the vital sector of Khe Sanh. The Viet Cong also wiped out an American marine convoy near Hue.

**KUALA LUMPUR** — The Chinese are Malaysia's most dangerous enemies, according to Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman. "If they do not cause direct aggression they will do it indirectly by getting others to create havoc," he said.

**SEOUL** — South Korea threatened to take unilateral military action against the North unless the United States took firm measures to forestall any further North Korean "military provocations".

**KARACHI** — Pakistan and Czechoslovakia agreed in principle to collaborate in producing television films, while a US trade mission discussed 100 specific proposals to promote trade and investment in Pakistan.

**COLOMBO** — In a major concession to the Tamil-speaking people, the Government said that all circulars issued in Sinhalese, the official language, would be accompanied by a Tamil translation.

**MANILA** — Cancer claims one life every 70 minutes in the Philippines, according to the Philippine Cancer Society. Cancer took 7186 lives in 1965 — an eight-fold increase over fatalities in 1920 when only 842 died of cancer.

**MOSCOW** — Nuclear torpedoes have been created for the Soviet Navy, according to Fleet Admiral Vladimir Kasatonov. Referring to technological changes in the Soviet Navy, he said nuclear power plants for atomic submarines had also been perfected.

**KATHMANDU** — President Zakir Husain has accepted King Mahendra's invitation to visit Nepal in the autumn, according to an official announcement.

**KUALA LUMPUR** — Australian Foreign Minister Paul Hasluck said that Australia believed the presence of American troops in Asia was necessary in the "immediate future" to ensure stability and security of the region.

**SINGAPORE** — Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew asked President Inche Yusof Bin Ishak to dissolve Parliament. A general election will be held within three months.

trade deficit, which is up from Rs 59.5 million to Rs 242.5 million compared to 1965-66. Falling world prices for the country's main export commodities — tea, rubber and coconut — are the main reason for this, though not the only one, since total imports have increased. Rice imports are down by 36.4 per cent, a hopeful sign, though it is partly counter-balanced by a rise in wheat imports. Clearly a section of the people have changed their eating habits to meet the situation.

Some hope is seen in the results of the UNCTAD meetings in Delhi,

if they can be kept off sidetracks like walkouts to eject South Africa. In the rubber industry, for instance, much depends on rich countries

which produce synthetic rubber and some progress was made in recent talks in London which might well be finalised in the Indian capital.

## Left, Right and lost

FROM GORDON WISE

**LONDON** British University students who once joined the Labour Club in the days when Harold Laski was their mentor are often now either politically uncommitted, extreme Left, or free enterprise Conservatives, though not necessarily belonging to that party.

Two political groups have a vociferous young following, most noticeable at the party congresses: Young Liberals, who now adopt Trotskyite stances on many issues, and the official "Trots" who use such names

as "Socialist Labour League".

This turning away from the traditional political parties was dramatised when Mr Wilson was pelted with vegetables on a visit to Cambridge: the vegetable throwers were Socialists. And both at Oxford and Cambridge, the Student Unions delivered whacking majorities indicting the Government. Such student voters gravitate to the anarchist or Trotskyist philosophies.

### Student power

Since the world war ended in 1945 and the dismantling of the Empire began there has been scarcely a cause to stir the blood of the young British. "Student Power" attracts some, as expressed in the tussle at the London School of Economics last year over the appointment of the new Principal; and the recent ousting of Vice-Chancellor Malcolm Muggeridge from the Edinburgh University, after a campaign spearheaded by a determined young woman.

But to many these causes are transitory. So if the "visionary Left" in Government soon becomes the "stationary Centre", and if the Right merely produces blood-kindling global manifestos, then where can a young person with the restless energy and idealism of youth turn? As Bernard Shaw once remarked, "Youth is a wonderful thing. What a pity to waste it on children." But the middle-aged rarely carry forward the same zest and thrust which they had as youth.

### Disillusion widespread

This disillusion among the young is not confined to the West. A few days ago the Russian Government newspaper *Sovietskaya Rossiya* published an article which for the first time officially admitted that there is a widespread popular disaffection, particularly among the young Soviet citizens; even the appearance of a political underground opposed to official Soviet policies. The author

was Alexander Chakovsky, known as one of Russia's leading "cultural bureaucrats".

He writes that in Russia the chief job of the ideologist today is to educate the people of the 'sixties. He complains that this generation knows nothing of past sacrifices and seems to be bored by reference to them. Significantly, he points out, this group grew up in the 'fifties and early 'sixties when destalinisation

brought about what Mr Chakovsky calls "a complicated period full of contradictions".

One of the chief causes of dissatisfaction and disillusion is of course when ideals are expressed and not lived, by young or old. This gap between preaching and practice is more the point than the generation gap. The country which makes that link will have no trouble enlisting its youth.

## Seven lakes for South America

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

**SAO PAULO** Since the early days of colonisation right up to the present day South America has remained a continent where the main part of the population is concentrated in the coastal regions. There, commerce and modern cities develop while a few hundred miles to the interior nature has hardly been touched by human inventions.

The founding of Brasilia has started to turn the eyes of the whole world to these immense untouched regions of the continent. In these last months a group of American scientists from the Hudson Institute (a non-profit research organisation) have turned to several Latin American governments

Brazil and the linking of the Guapore in the centre of Brazil with the Paraguay-Parana River in the south. This would establish an inland waterway from Venezuela to Argentina.

A further lake in the Peruvian part of the Amazon Basin at the Ucaiali would link this part of Peru and Bolivia with Brazil. At the north-west corner of the continent there is the further project of the Hudson Institute to connect, in the Choca region of Colombia, the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans through two artificial lakes, which would make the Panama Canal obsolete. The Colombian Government has already given the green light for the detailed studies. There also, as in the case of the Amazon, the area to be inundated is tropical jungle and very scarcely populated.

The ideas for several of these projects have existed in one form or the other for quite a while, but the increasing need for intelligently opening up one of the few remaining underpopulated areas of the world could bring them to reality even in this century.



Map showing the area of the lake formed by the proposed dam at Obidos

and to the public with a series of suggestions which could, if accepted and implemented, alter the whole face of the interior of the continent.

The idea is to open up and connect different regions of the interior by the construction of several artificial lakes. The largest river in the world, the Amazon, would be stopped by a dam only 30 metres high, but 40 kilometres long, in the region of Obidos, halfway between Manaus and the Atlantic. The lake thus formed would be 1200 km long and have a surface area of 180,000 sq. km. It would create 70 million Kw of electric power. Such an undertaking would be 30 times the size of the Aswan Dam in Egypt.

An extension to this plan would be the linking of the Orinoco Basin in Venezuela with the Rio Negro in

## The week in INDIA

**NEW DELHI** — 98 defence personnel, including seven Army and Air Force officers and one civilian, were missing in the worst air disaster in IAF's history. An IAF Antonov transport plane carrying these men was lost near the Rohtang Pass in bad weather.

**BOMBAY** — The 10-day-old strike of Bombay's bus workers ended after the strikers had agreed to Chief Minister Naik's proposal to refer the dispute to arbitration.

**NEW DELHI** — UN Secretary-General U Thant warned the second UNCTAD here that ultimately the choice before the world would be between development in a framework of world co-operation and one in which the developing nations "are forced back largely on their own resources".

**TALCHER** — Mrs Indira Gandhi commissioned Orissa's Rs 34.77-crore thermal station which will generate 250 mw power. It will be the base of a massive power grid connecting Hirakud and Rourkela power stations.

**COCHIN** — The Kerala High Court held Chief Minister Namboodiripad guilty of contempt of court for his statement on the judiciary and sentenced him to a fine of Rs 1000 or, in default, simple imprisonment for one month.

**PATNA** — Mr Jayaprakash Narayan warned politicians that unless big problems like Kashmir, Nagaland and language were divorced from politics, it would be impossible to reach "sane solutions".

**CALCUTTA** — Mr Justice B. C. Mitra of the Calcutta High Court ruled that the Ghosh Ministry had been legally constituted. He rejected three writ petitions challenging the dismissal of Mr Mukherjee's United Front Ministry.

**JAIPUR** — Despite bumper crops in most parts of Rajasthan, 122 villages of Barmer district have been affected by famine this year.

**BANGALORE** — Hindustan Machine Tools will export machines to Ceylon for the first time, under a three-year agreement signed with the Ceylon Steel Corporation.

**CHANDIGARH** — Government plans to set up a tractor factory and a plant to manufacture small helicopters for agricultural use, according to Punjab Finance Minister Jagjit Singh. Ex-servicemen will be employed in these plants.

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BIHAR 1934

**Q**UETTA 1935

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MAHARASHTRA (KOYNA) 1967

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## Prime Minister with a "credibility gap"

"BRITAIN," Harold Wilson once said, "achieved greatness and stayed great because throughout our history we accepted change." He aims to continue the process of change. His idea is a Socialist Britain — a Britain economically sound, socially just, politically respected, and bearing to immortality the name of its creator — Harold Wilson.

Although he rose to power through the left wing of the Labour Party, Wilson's Socialism owes little to Marx. He calls for equality of opportunity, a classless society and a controlled economy, but rejects the use of force in attaining them. He believes that the framework of social reform must be built by a "democratic and evolutionary process".

"The cult of violence," he says, "has made no appeal to the British Labour movement, which has been concerned not to destroy but to construct, not to level down but to level up."

His own background is neither rich nor poor. His father was a chemist and the family could always afford what they needed. Harold was a brilliant and ambitious student. He won his way from the local council school, where he was the only student in the sixth form, to a First Class Oxford degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics. He then became a university lecturer.

### "Gets things done"

When Harold Wilson volunteered to fight in 1940 he was drafted into the Civil Service. There, as an economist dealing with manpower and resources, he made a name for himself as "the man who gets things done". His success convinced him that he was suited to a political life, and at the end of the war he stood for Parliament as a Labour candidate. He was elected, and immediately given the job of Number Two at the Ministry of Works by Prime Minister Attlee. Two years later, at the age of thirty-one, he was President of the Board of Trade with a seat in the Cabinet.

Since then he has worked steadily for a single aim: to be the leader of a government that builds a Socialist Britain. The drive for power has often been more apparent than the Socialist idealism.

Harold Wilson has called himself a "pragmatist" — a man who takes

each problem as it comes rather than trying to apply the same principles that he applied to the last problem. This approach has led many to think of him as "slippery", "too clever by half" or "scheming". His ability to state a firm policy one day and act quite to the contrary the next has caused a gap in public trust.

This "credibility gap" was considerably widened over the recent devaluation of the pound. Wilson had been telling the public for three years that devaluation was not the answer for Britain's economy and that he would never consider it. Then, after a week of rumour and



speculation, he announced that devaluation was in fact the ideal solution. Thanks to himself, it would solve all the difficulties without causing any hardship for the public, if they cooperated.

"The pound in your pocket will be worth the same," he said.

But price increases on bread were announced the next day. Other basic commodities are following. Ordinary people have lost faith in his word.

Harold Wilson is a genuine idealist. He wants to build social and economic justice in Britain and the world. If



he abandons double-talk and chooses to work in honest team-work with his colleagues and his people, some feel he has the ability to make Britain a dynamic and creative force in answering the needs of the world. If he continues trying to play the role of the "all-wise, never-wrong" he could remain, as one British commentator described him, "The hard-slogging prize-winning schoolboy who became the Prime Minister, still rather dazzled by his own cleverness".

R. T.

## The week elsewhere

### ECHOES OF STALIN

**MOSCOW**—Fifty-two Russian scientists, writers and linguists petitioned the Soviet Supreme Court to review last month's conviction of four young Russian intellectuals for circulating literature critical of the regime. The petitioners, who compared the trial to Stalin's purges, gave copies of their appeal to Western newsmen as the Soviet press continued to ignore protests against the trial.

### RUSSIAN GAS

**BRUSSELS**—The USSR has just made its first agreement to supply natural gas to Western Europe. Austria will receive 300 million cubic metres this year, increasing to 1500 million by 1971. ENI, the Italian oil firm, is reportedly negotiating to import 6000 million cubic metres of Russian gas into Italy by the early 'seventies. France is said to be interested in getting 2000 million cubic

metres. Austria and Italy will supply steel pipes and pumps in exchange for the gas.

### SAUDIS BUY FRENCH

**RIYADH**—Saudi Arabia's Defence Minister, Prince Aziz, flies to Paris next week to sign a \$100 million contract for Aml-90 armoured cars for the Saudi army. The Saudi Government says it is buying French arms, rather than American, because of the latter's support for Israel. France has also provided the Israelis with a considerable part of their armaments.

### LORDS ON TV

**LONDON**—The 700-year-old British House of Lords decided to let its proceedings be shown on TV as an experiment to see if parliamentary debates should be televised nationally. A select audience watched Dukes, Earls, Bishops and Barons conduct their business on closed circuit TV.

# RECESSION MEETING THE RESESSION CHALLENGE OF RESESSION RESESSION

The recession has hurt us too—very much so. We could, of course, have thrown up our hands in despair. But that is not the Indian Oxygen way of doing things. For us the recession is a challenge. And some of the ways in which we are meeting it are these.

Our marketing Division is always on its toes studying the needs of consumers so that our products may be redesigned to meet their requirements whenever necessary. It has developed export outlets in countries in South-East and West Asia and Africa. And the search continues.

Our engineers and scientists have been engaged in intensive research to develop new and better products and save foreign exchange. Last year alone, for instance, foreign exchange worth over Rs. 36 lakhs was saved through Import Substitution. Recent examples of new products made available by Indian Oxygen to industry for the first

time in India through indigenous production are the INDARC IMR-300 Selenium Rectifier Set for welding, INDARC Submerged Arc Welding Wire and the Continuous Covered Electrode for FUSARC/CO<sub>2</sub> Automatic Arc Welding process.

New uses are being sought and found for oxygen, nitrogen and other gases which are helping Indian industry to raise productivity and improve manufacturing techniques.

Variety reduction and in-plant standardization have helped us to rationalise production and improve the quality of our goods and services.

There are many other fields too in which innovative management is helping to improve efficiency and overcome the effects of the recession.

The effort continues to find more ways of serving the Indian economy. Indian Oxygen has faith in its own as well as the country's future.

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## A chance to choose

BY ROLAND WILSON

UNCTAD draws a line between developed and under-developed nations. The measure of judgment it applies is materialistic. All sensible men anxiously watch UNCTAD's progress and wish success to its aims. But the final test of growth and maturity — for a person or a people — extends far beyond materialistic assessments.

In the West it is being steadily demonstrated that affluence without morality and faith can ruin a nation. This does not mean that affluence is wrong. It does mean that it is a sound servant but a miserable master.

I am an Englishman. My country has made many blunders. Others besides ourselves have paid for these blunders. England also has had certain traditions. Yet today hard work, clean hands, pure hearts, selfless purposes, fruitful family life, and honourable national policies are all less in evidence in Britain, since what is called material welfare took precedence over the building of personal and national character.

### Cement of humanity

It used to be said (not by the English) that an Englishman's word is his bond. Now Government tears up its promises to old friends, and thinks that material considerations justify a breach of faith.

Suppose Harold Wilson had said to the world: "We are economically in a jam. We are in need. But honour persists. We will take no step which betrays our promises or embarrasses our friends. In this spirit we will go all out to win through." Two things would have happened. The rest of the world would have been on his side. And a blow would have been struck to strengthen the moral forces that are the cement of humanity.

### Integrity not geographical

It is cheap to blame governments. Could Wilson have so lightly broken his own promises if millions in the British nation had not been increasingly making light of their own? And the trouble about broken promises is that they spread. Britain is now seeking entry into the European Economic Community. But promises broken in Asia cast doubt on promises now being made for Europe. Geography unfortunately does not

stimulate integrity, which is the result of brave men's choices.

Mahatma Gandhi once wrote; "God is the greatest democrat the world knows, for He leaves us unfettered to make our own choice between evil and good." He also said: "I know I shall never know God if I do not wrestle with and against evil, even at the cost of life itself."

In this increasingly sophisticated world, division and battle are the hallmark of our age. Could it be the destiny of today's India to lead the whole of humanity into the right fight? Good and evil are in conflict in the world. Men can be sidetracked from this fundamental and decisive encounter by pre-occupation with battles between race and race, class and class, nation and nation, colour and colour, even between husband and wife, or parents and children.

The test of the validity of a battle is whether, in order to fight it, I have first to face and get rid of the known evil in myself. What is right rather than who is right is one sure guide. Freedom from bitterness and hate is another. Purity of heart is a further test. Likewise the love that quenches anger.

Suppose there were one nation which put honesty before self-interest, which felt the pains of the poor in other lands as keenly as in its own, which produced leaders known and

seen to be incorruptible, which made God and morality the motive force of education, which demonstrated hard work as the friend and not the enemy of man, which encouraged victory over lust rather than making provision for its indulgence, which studied how to magnetise forth the latent greatness and self-sacrifice of its people for the sake of the whole world, which systematically made character its priority export.

### Man's greatest moment

To aim to establish these targets even in one nation would be a battle that would resound through history. But a nation dedicated to such a task would stir and challenge the earth. Man's greatest moment is not the relaxation of effort after battle — though it is natural enough we should think so. His greatest moment is his giving of all he has and is in God's battle to lift humanity. Rest after labour lures us, and has its place. But it is in all-out battle that we really live. The point is to know and enlist in the right battle.

There is the story of an Irishman who saw two men fighting. He instantly took off his coat and asked, "Is this a private fight or can anyone join in?"

What, I wonder, do the readers of HIMMAT regard as the supreme and globally relevant battle of our age?

## FRONTIERS OF science

### "Early warning" for heart attacks

DOCTORS have long wanted an accurate "early warning" system to predict heart attacks. Now they are on the verge of getting one.

A team of technicians at Ferranti's near Manchester is perfecting a tiny electronic "bug" that can be inserted inside a patient's heart and is many times more accurate than existing equipment, such as electrocardiographs.

Smaller than the head of a match

the device will be pushed along blood vessels by a special tube right into the chambers of the heart.

It is intended to leave it there for hours, even days, to send back information on changes in the heart's rhythm.

The device, a "silicon pressure transducer", converts the various pressures affecting the heart into electrical impulses. These in turn can be picked up either visually or audibly on a control panel near the patient.

### Oldest ants

WHEN DINOSAURS, clumsily clumping about the earth, had had their day and were becoming extinct, nimble ants were nipping about, dodging the monsters' feet.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17



Electrical  
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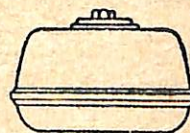
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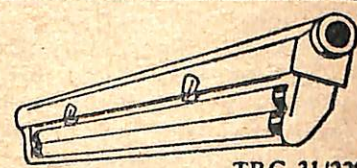
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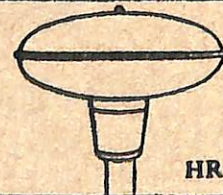
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**PHILIPS**

# BOOKS

## South India

**LAND AND CASTE IN SOUTH INDIA**, by Dharma Kumar, Cambridge University Press, Price 45s, Pp 221.

EVER SINCE the Industrial Revolution a great deal of attention has been paid to the proletariat. The same cannot be said of agrarian labour although they have been in existence all through the centuries. But their history and conditions of existence deserve careful study from both the economic and sociological points of view.

There is, besides, the surprising fact that even in 1961 there were as many as 31,500,000 agricultural workers in India, most of whom were working on other people's lands. How did that happen and what were their conditions of life and work? These are the questions that Dr Dharma Kumar examines in her well-documented book.

## SCIENCE — FROM PAGE 15

Two of these ants, 100 million years ago, were investigating a lump of amber in what is now New Jersey, USA. They got stuck in it and were fossilised with the amber — becoming "forever amber", in fact. Two amateur rock collectors found the fossil recently on the shore of Raritan Bay. The ants are 40 million years older than any previously known.

## X-ray light through space?

SPACE seems to be bathed in weak X-ray "light".

Instruments on an Aerobee rocket fired into space brought back evidence of X-ray "shine" which fills the universe between galaxies (collections of myriads of stars).

Dr Herbert Friedman and colleagues, pioneers in the new science of X-ray astronomy in America, have found that X-ray radiation comes from quasars. These quasars (quasi-stars, hence the name) are believed

She explains why she has concentrated on South India by observing that "South India is differentiated from the rest of India both by the importance of pre-Aryan elements in its social structure and by the fact that Muslim invasions came much later and did not leave so deep an impact".

The first question she discusses is how landless labour came into existence. She points out that agrarian serfdom existed from very early times as there was need for land labour outside the family circle. At the same time these labourers were not exactly landless, because they had a sort of right to work on the lands on which they were employed.

The British policy of non-intervention gave a lease of life to the servitude; but their emancipation spirit worked towards the liberation of the landless labour. Thus Collectors refused to aid masters to recapture runaway slaves, and in 1833 Parliament moved for mitigating slavery.

Much of the information about agrarian labour is obtained from census reports, as from 1871 there has been a decennial census. These show that both population increase and wage rates were never steady. But on the whole agrarian labour has

grown out of the earlier servitude; and this more because of the changing spirit than because of economic reasons. Various forms of agrarian reforms are still called for in India, and a careful study like this book must considerably help in effecting those reforms.

P.L.S.

## Understanding Europe

**HAROLD NICOLSON—DIARIES AND LETTERS, 1930-1939 and 1939-1945**, Collins, 1966 and 1967.

Harold Nicolson combines in himself several qualities which no other writer of memoirs of that period can muster. An MP and newspaperman, he was always near the events without being completely absorbed by them. He had the leisure to spend one or two hours every morning at the typewriter to put down in detail all that had happened the day before. He was endowed not only with a talent to write but also with a basic

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

to be near the edge of the universe as we so far know it. They are bigger than ordinary stars and give out up to ten million times more light and energy.

Radiation which scientists have picked up from them has travelled through space a distance of 1500 million light-years. (One light-year is the distance light travels in one year — six million, million miles).

This radiation is, however, too weak to penetrate even a sheet of paper, so seems unlikely to be a hazard to space travellers. Diffused throughout space, it may well be the leftover from a titanic explosion with which, some theorists believe, the universe began, possibly ten thousand million years ago.

A primordial fireball, like an H-bomb 200 million miles across, would leave just such radiation evenly distributed throughout the universe. The super-dense matter of the original core, according to one widely accepted theory, was scattered and re-formed into stars and galaxies, which are still receding from one another in a rapidly expanding universe.

Within 20 minutes of your read-

ing this the distance between us and the distant galaxies will have increased by more than the 93 million miles which separate us from the sun.

## Pick-up from Venus

FERRANTI technicians not only probe the heart of man. They probe out towards the heart of the universe. They made an amplifier to attach to the radio telescope at Jodrell Bank in Britain which monitored the Russian space shot to Venus.

This amplifier cut out background space noise and picked up the "bleeps" from the space vehicle Venus IV as it neared the surface of the planet. This was a remarkable achievement as the signals had only a power of ten million million-millionths of one watt and had to travel 50 million miles!

Information from the signals was then deciphered and told what the legendary planet of science fiction is really like.

REGINALD HOLME

honesty about himself.

The four main actors in Nicolson's memoirs are Britain, Germany, France and the United States. The discussion during the first period of the book turns mainly around the question of how to deal with Nazi Germany.

In September, 1936, in a castle in Upper Austria, Nicolson meets with a group of British who are all for compromise with Germany. He writes: "They think that we should let gallant little Germany glut her fill

of the reds in the East and keep decadent France quiet while she does so ... I say that this may be expedient but that it is wrong. We represent a certain type of civilised mind, and we are sinning against the light if we betray that type. We stand for tolerance, truth, liberty and good humour. They stand for violence, oppression, untruthfulness and bitterness ... apart from which I love Germany and hate to see all that is worst in the German character being exploited at the expense of all that is best."

In his second volume, one goes through the war from 1939 to 1945,

starting with deepest despair and rising to greatest heights of courage and triumph. On January 20, 1940, the British nation is still asleep: "We listen to Winston Churchill on the wireless after dinner. He is a little too rhetorical, and I do not think that his speech will really have gone down with the masses. He is too belligerent for this pacifist age, and although once anger comes to steel our sloppiness his voice will be welcome to them, at the moment it reminds them of heroism which they do not really feel."

On August 11, 1940, the mood is dark black: "A lovely clear morning but rather cold ... Viti (Nicolson's wife) asks the unspoken question which is in all our minds, 'How can we possibly win?'"

"It does seem as if we shall shortly be assailed from all angles ... It will be represented that Churchill in his sullen obstinacy is imposing tremendous suffering upon the world, and that if only we could recognise the fact that Hitler has now consolidated Europe, peace and prosperity would return. We shall become the most hated race on earth."

**Brilliant description**

On December 26, 1943, Nicolson writes: "I feel depressed by the war and the coming revolution and the loss of my past life and values. Even Europe, which I knew and loved so well, has ceased to be important ..."

And on January 6, 1944, "There is a definite tendency growing up to regard 'Europe' as something old fashioned and therefore reactionary. There is no realisation of the fact that if Europe were abolished, we should ourselves almost immediately decline to the status of a third-rate power."

In the final pages of the second volume the first indications are given on the growing rift between the Americans and British on one side, the Russians on the other. This dampens considerably the joy over the final triumph over the German war-machine.

Several issues like de Gaulle's rise from the position of an unknown officer in 1940 to the leader of the Free French movement, the ups and downs of Churchill's curve of popularity and the successes and failures of the British propaganda efforts are brilliantly described in these memoirs. It is essential reading for whoever wants to understand Europe's situation today.

P.S.

**sport**

**Tennis crossroads**

THE CRISIS that has been brewing in international lawn tennis over the growing demands of so-called amateur stars for under-the-counter payments from organisers for figuring in their tournaments is now heading for a show-down. The Lawn Tennis Association of England had been campaigning for honesty in the game by regularising the payments through the removal of the barrier between professionals and amateurs. It had many supporters but these could not or did not force the issue at the International Federation level.

England, tired of the humbug that is present-day amateur tennis, has now forced the issue by declaring its famous Wimbledon Championships open to professionals and amateurs from this year. Other competitions in Britain next season will follow the Wimbledon lead. Considered the undeclared world championship, Wimbledon has been the Mecca of tennis; and whether open or closed to professionals it will always rank as the No. 1 competition.

Now it is left to other nations to choose between Wimbledon and so-called amateur tennis. Indications are that many countries, including the United States and South Africa, will side with England. Italy, Australia and France may have their sympathies with England but may find it more profitable to stay in the other camp.

Indian tennis is strongly against open tennis, which is but natural for a country with so little hope of showing up in open competitions. A split will benefit smaller tennis nations like India, and may eventually benefit the game as a whole. The Davis Cup is considered the criterion for international supremacy among tennis nations; and if the powerful countries opt for the open, lesser ones will have greater chance of Davis Cup success provided the International Federation sticks to its guns and bans "open tennis" nations from the Cup.

**VIEWPOINT COMPETITION**

\* Should the marriage age of girls be raised?

Closing date: March 1

\*\* Are human heart transplants ethical?

Closing date: March 15

Prizes: Rs 25, Rs 15

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

**Billiards surprise**

JUST AS the retirement of Krishnan has left a big void in Indian tennis, so also has the withdrawal of India's former world billiards champion (twice), Wilson Jones. Furthermore, Jones's closest rival Michael



Wilson Jones

Ferreira seems to be on the decline. Ferreira, who represented India in the recent Amateur Billiards Championship in the absence of retiring holder Jones and finished fourth, performed below expectations in the National Championship of India earlier this month at Bangalore and fell to a comparatively little known Madras player, S. A. Aleem, in the quarter-finals. Syed Aleem made a poor showing against Arvind Savur of the Railways in the semi-final. Savur went on to win the National title, beating another newcomer to the headlines, Satish Mohan of Gujarat, in a tame final.

While new champions do good to the game, the standard of billiards throughout this year's National has been moderate. Big breaks and promising totals were absent.

The National Snooker Championship, played concurrently with the billiards, also provided an upset. Holder Tony Monteiro (Railways) was beaten by former champion Shyam Shroff (Bombay) in the final. Here again there were no impressive breaks. The general impression among followers is that unless Wilson Jones, who is still at the top of his form, returns to the championships India's hopes of figuring among the top players of this Commonwealth game are remote. A snag in Jones's return will be the purses of almost a lakh of rupees he has received from his admirers in India after announcing his retirement. He may be now considered a professional. If so, he can still contribute to the sport by coaching the newer set to his high standard.

**National hockey**

THE "OLYMPIC SYSTEM" introduced in the National Hockey Championship of India this year is proving a success. The 23 teams representing regions or national sports boards have been grouped into four zones and are playing a league to qualify for a knock-out eight-team tournament proper. In past championships the weaker sides played one match and got out, to await the next national appearance a year hence. The better ones, perhaps, got through a couple of rounds before being eliminated. The new system ensures at least four appearances each, giving every team and player the chance to display his skills and strike forms. This also gives

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

**This India**

**DON'T ASK A COMPUTER**

IT IS SAID that the US Secretary of State and the Soviet Foreign Minister were conversing through their respective computers. The Russian asked the American, "What will the USA be like in fifty years' time?" The question was fed into the computer. Out came the answer: "Communist." Now it was the 'Secretary of State's turn to ask the same question. The question was fed into the Russian computer. The answer came out. It was written in Chinese.

I don't know what is the moral of that story. People can draw their own inferences. The fact is Russia has a plan for the world. So does China. Many feel that it is a choice between the two so "let us choose the lesser of the two evils". There are others who prefer to stay non-aligned and silent.

The problems faced by Russia and America are similar. The Russian youth are becoming soft and bourgeois. They have lost the fire and revolutionary passion of their ancestors. They want affluence and comfort. They are not so interested in working for the next generation or the generations to come. The purposelessness of the American youth is more blatant.

The choices are not just the permissive piety of America, the modified ideology of Russia or the militant revolution of China. We can have instant revolution. We live in the age of "instants" — instant coffee, instant milk, pills for instant relief. Instant change is possible. It takes as much time as it does to make a decision. People can change. That is the basis of the instant revolution of Moral Re-Armament.

I was talking to a doctor who has given his life to this revolution for the last thirty years. He said, "What I have given my life to is the most satisfying way. The new world couldn't be better. For me it is here and now — on the spot. I wish this for everyone I meet." This new world is an instant possibility for anyone whose philosophy is to live daily and practically by absolute moral standards, whose passion is to change people and whose plan is the world transformation of society.

In India we may not have economic stability, political solutions or military strength to offer any nation. Could it be that India's role is to give this revolution to the White House, Kremlin, Peking and every nation?

*Neerja Chowdhury*

*Fragrance that Lingers like Memories*



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the selectors the opportunity to watch every player more than once.

The matches played so far in the high Nilgiri stations of Wellington and Aruvankadu have produced some welcome surprises — with the little fancied teams giving unexpectedly good displays and testing the stamina and fitness of stronger sides. A startling feature is the elimination of the organising association's team, Madras, from the tournament proper.

Madras, with Railways, were joint winners of the National Championship

last year. Madras's elimination is the topic of controversy and criticism because it is alleged that Mysore and Hyderabad conspired to help each other into the quarter-finals at the expense of the host team. All three were level in points before the all-important Mysore-Hyderabad match. If either team had won, the loser would have had to meet Madras again to decide the second qualifying team as each would have had five points. But by playing a suspected "arranged draw" both Mysore and Hyderabad finished a point ahead of Madras (six each) to seal Madras's fate.

The crowd seems to have seen through the deal and forced the abandonment of the match on the first occasion. In the replay also the teams appear to have played for a draw rather than to win. The organisers and the Indian Hockey Federation somehow chose to ignore the farce. Having brought in a healthy innovation the Federation should ensure that it is not exploited to promote bad sportsmanship.

• **topscorer**

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A-28

## This was a Life

### GUSTAV II ADOLF 1594-1632

GUSTAV II ADOLF, King of Sweden, ascended to the throne in 1611. Still a teenager, he was faced with a two-front war against Russia and Denmark and with a national economy on the brink of ruin.

His family life was shaky: a number of his predecessors had merrily been poisoning each other and making love and war in best renaissance style.

The young King was roistering in much the same way when he ran up against rugged Rudbeckius, preacher at the Court. This man publicly told Gustav Adolf from the pulpit that he was no better than King David of the Old Testament who made love with the wife of one of his officers while the husband was sent to the front to get killed. Gustav Adolf had the humility to change himself rather than decapitate Rudbeckius.

In the following years the Russians and the Danes were kept at bay while the King launched a vast programme of cultural and economic development. Meanwhile the "Thirty years war" was raging in Germany, and Sweden's Protestant friends on the continent had a rough time against the Austrian Catholic Emperor's seasoned troops. Responding to urgent requests for help, Gustav Adolf decided to intervene. He was motivated by fear that he might lose his own throne if the Emperor and his friends, among them Gustav Adolf's Catholic cousin in Poland, prevailed. Gustav Adolf also believed that every state should be free to choose its own religion, Catholic or Protestant.

For a start, the mighty Emperor did not think much of little Sweden. But "mini-Sweden" turned out to have a "maxi-bite". At Breitenfeld in 1631 the Emperor's General Tilly was completely outmanoeuvred by Gustav Adolf's mobile units. Gustav Adolf's military genius, combined with the strictest discipline swiftly changed the whole situation in Germany. In 1632, at Lutzen, he faced the famous Wallenstein who was defeated — but at the cost of Gustav Adolf's own life.

Gustav Adolf, however, had a genius for raising up a team of dedicated leaders who carried on in Gustav Adolf's footsteps. Sweden became recognised as a great power and dominated northern Europe for the next eighty years.

B.J.

## SHALLOW VIEWPOINT

MAY I comment on the Viewpoint Competition "Nasser Should Open the Suez Canal Unconditionally" (HIMMAT, January 26)? I am sorry to see HIMMAT's prizes awarded to a somewhat shallow view of the Middle East situation. Whatever we may think of the criminal folly of Nasser's provocative words last May, the branding of "aggressors" seems to be more than usually futile.

Israel has successfully demonstrated that the law of "what I take I keep" can still be followed with impunity in this world of ours, by an attack, provoked indeed in timing, but long pre-meditated and carefully and brilliantly planned. This in the face of every injunction and resolution of the UN. Today's news shows Israeli guns halting the work at last begun of clearing the canal. The appealing idea of an "economic" solution under the UN does not deal with any of the realities in the hearts of men.

The important thing is, what and who is going to bring healing to this sore and festering wound of mankind? To condemn one side and condone the other is a futile attitude, whichever way it is taken. Personally, I have long felt and hoped that India is meant under God to have a vital part to play in finding and bringing a cure. HIMMAT's voice is one of the few that penetrate the Arab world, and its opportunity to speak out with statesmanship is not lightly to be jettisoned.

CHARIS WADDY, London W. 1

MADAM, Thank you for your comments and vision for India. Viewpoint Competitions are judged on the basis of vigorous writing and fresh ideas, and not on the basis of agreement with editorial views. It is the reader's viewpoint. Editorial views appear on page 3. — Ed.

## POOR SELECTION

It is not the standard but the selection of our international sides that is responsible for our poor show. This is evident from the recent performance of the Indian cricket team in Australia. The absence of Kunderan, Venketaraghavan and Hanumant Singh in the Indian team is responsible for our poor performance.

Frankly we can say that it is high time for Borde and Nadkarni to step down.

T. PRASAD, Madras 33

## HOW LONG?

RATNA SEN (HIMMAT, January 26) holds out hope that there is room for improvement everywhere — in students, in teachers, in politicians and in the home. I do not know if you would call it pessimism, but I fail to see a single ray of hope anywhere! Our students are bent on burning buses on the roads with unabated enthusiasm; our teachers, thoroughly underpaid, plan to gherao the principal for a rise in pay; our politicians eagerly await a chance to grab power by any

# Letters

means at their disposal; and in our homes we are at a loss to know where the next quarter kilo of sugar will come from!

Really, Sir, how long are we expected to keep on kindling the vain hope that there will be an overall improvement in our plight?

S. DAS GUPTA, Ambarnath

## HOOLIGANS TAKE OVER

SINCE the last report in HIMMAT about the violence at Bangalore, several other cities in Mysore State have been paralysed by riots with devastating effect. Scarcely had a fortnight passed since the Bangalore disorder than the violence erupted in Mysore City. Again, police had to open fire on an unruly 2000-strong mob which, with the usual quota of destruction, set fire to a petrol tank. The death of one person and injuries to many were officially reported.

The very next day, the anti-Hindi agitation in the coastal city of Mangalore culminated in looting and arson. In Doddaballapur, a town famed for its silk industry, 22 miles away from Bangalore, the local co-operative society was ransacked and looted, and a tractor was burnt along with many other things by the mob of 3000. In the police firing that followed, one was killed. The cause of violence was not Hindi imposition in this case, but a growing dissatisfaction among people about the food situation in the city.

A glance at these acts of ruffianism shows that hooligans always take the upper hand in all such situations irrespective of the reason for the agitation.

S. CHANDRASHEKARA, Bangalore 12

## STUDENT INDISCIPLINE

INDIA had to face many a misfortune after her independence. Partition of the country, threats from Pakistan and China, food scarcity, all these have been real blows in her face. But none of these need to be so feared as student indiscipline. The failure of students to attend to their duties cuts us off from all hope of a better India for all time.

Fully aware of this fact, we, thirty students of S. H. Boys' High School, Mawlai, Shillong, call upon all students of India to give serious attention to preparing themselves for the duties that lie ahead of them.

We appeal to all political leaders and all persons having any influence on our fellow students, to exert every pressure to bring them back to their one chief duty.

Moreover, we pledge to dedicate ourselves to the cause of discipline at home, in school, and in every walk of life. Jai Hind.

S. ADUKANIL and 29 others, Shillong 8

# Other Vietnams?

by Rajmohan Gandhi



IF AMERICA'S WEAKNESS in Vietnam is her lack of an ideology that could be an alternative to Communism, the Communists' weakness there, as everywhere, is that their ideology is so deficient.

A red victory in Vietnam would not only mean bloody reprisals and repression. It would fail to remove corruption in the country. It would not end the rivalries and hates among different sections of the Vietnamese people. The country would soon become an arena where Moscow and Peking fight for control.

Some would prefer a Communist Vietnam to a continuing war with all its killing, maiming and devastation. There will be others insisting, "Better dead than red."

## World's failure

Vietnam's hopeless horror is the result of the world's failure to teach people how to live.

Will men in America yet demonstrate and proclaim a way of life that changes and wins over a corrupt anti-Communist as well as a hating, heartless Communist?

Senator Robert Kennedy has attacked Johnson and gravely damaged his position. But it cannot be said that he has indicated a promising road to the Vietnamese people, or even a way out for the Americans.

To millions in Russia, China and Vietnam, in Africa, Asia and Latin America, the Communists are now able to show that a substantial section of America opposes the US war in Vietnam. Robert may not be as popular as his late brother John, but his denunciation of America's part in the war would certainly have shaken the conviction and morale of the GIs.

With what heart will American soldiers, white or Negro, fight in Vietnam after learning that Robert Kennedy thinks that they are merely helping divert money from millions of American taxpayers to a few corrupt Vietnamese?

The Kennedy reaction has, of course, to be measured against the rousing in others in America of a passion for righteous revenge. The Americans are as proud as any other people, and, particularly if

their encircled marines in Khe Sanh are defeated and destroyed, they will want to give a crushing reply.

U Thant has tried to persuade Russia and Britain, as co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, to play a mediatory part. He is unlikely to have received an encouraging response. Kosygin, declaring that the Soviet Union has no authority to conduct talks with anybody else on Vietnam, also states, "The United States cannot defeat Vietnam, and we, for our part, will do all we can so that the United States does not defeat Vietnam."

Soviet MIGs and more modern bombers, and Soviet tanks and guns are becoming increasingly conspicuous in Vietnam. President Johnson will calculate the risk of bringing Russia more actively and massively into the war.

Harold Wilson has already said that it would be "sheer lunacy" for America to use tactical nuclear weapons to save Khe Sanh. With the rising public opposition in America to the war and in the light of views such as Wilson's, Johnson is unlikely to yield to the hawk pressure. But he will not find it easy to forgive Robert Kennedy.

For her own sake and for the sake of other nations, America direly needs leaders and led who practise in their lives and broadcast to the world a moral ideology that cures the causes of Communism and enables America to win her wars or make wars unnecessary.

## Likely reaction

Indians and other Asians who assail American actions in Vietnam may find themselves in need of American help in the future, as they have been in the past. It will take a lot of inspired and painstaking work with scores of American leaders, hundreds of American newspapers and millions of American individuals and families to persuade them to help again in the defence of another Asian country.

Some Asian countries, including India, seem to think that Russian friendship will be enough to restrain the Chinese from attack-

ing them or interfering with them. This reliance may be dangerous, and the support expected may turn out to be illusory.

Let us assume, for instance, that armed Communist guerrillas in India launch an insurrection. Let us suppose that their money and weapons come from the Chinese. Judging by the experience of Malaysia and Vietnam, each guerrilla would require the engagement of at least 10 loyal soldiers. If, therefore, there are 50,000 guerrillas there would be need for deployment of half a million troops.

Assume further that the Americans are either not asked to help or are unwilling to do so. (Each alternative is distinctly probable.) Suppose then that the Russians are asked to help. There is no place in the world where they have sent large numbers of their troops.

Let us, however, suppose that they are both willing and able to send help. (A distinctly improbable presumption.) Is there any single reason to suppose that in such an event the Russians would be able to do in India what the Americans, with their much greater wealth and experience, have failed to do in Vietnam?

## Indian "Viet Cong"

It is not difficult to observe the serious flaws in the American operation in Vietnam. But if countries like India are to survive as free and robust peoples, their leaders and led will need to practise and proclaim an ideology that answers corruption and hate.

Those who are capable of belonging to the future Indian Viet Cong (and only a blind fool would doubt their existence) need to see a new type of Indian politician and man-in-the-street—honest, unselfish, fearless. The kind of man watching and hearing whom the Indian Communist will exclaim, "Here is a revolution infinitely more promising and so much quicker than Communism."

If we Indians understand these realities and produce on our soil this superior revolution, we will have the chance to play our part in the task to which few today give a thought—the healing and rebuilding of a shattered Vietnam.

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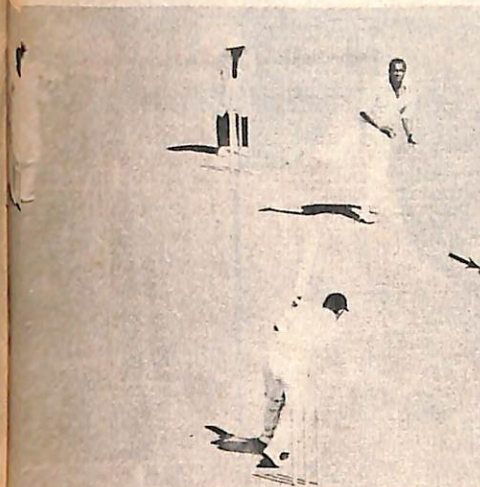
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The winner will be announced in the following issue. There is no limit to the number of entries you can make, but only one cross may be marked on each picture. The Editor's decision is final.

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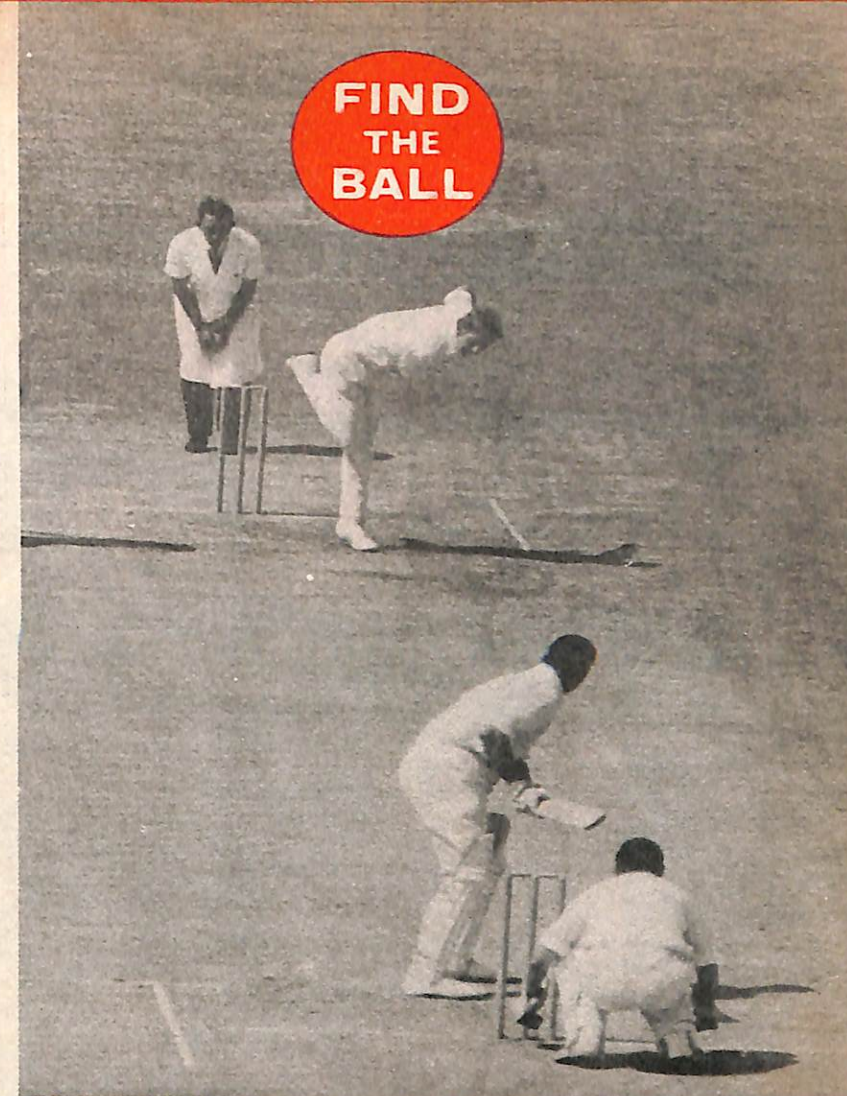
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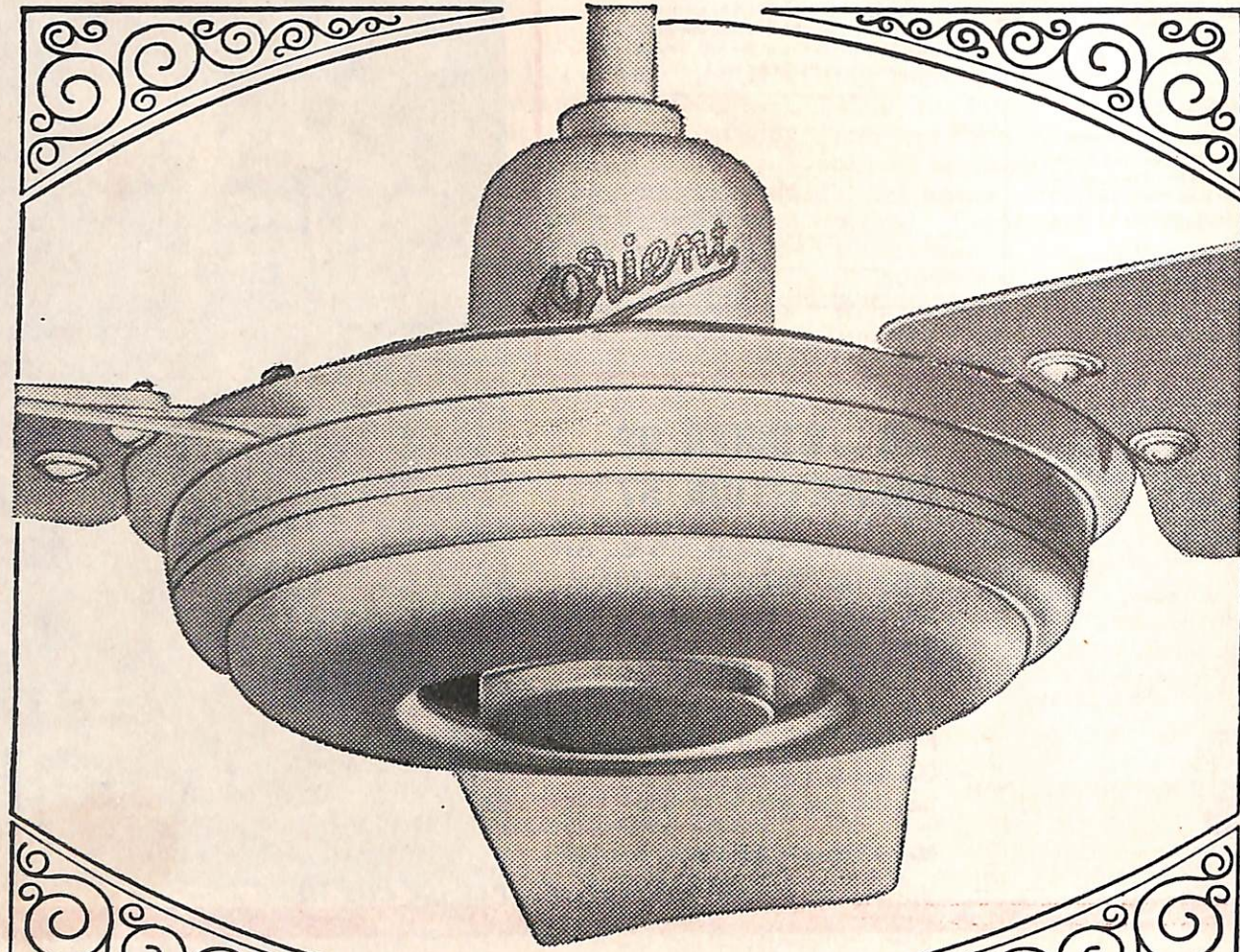
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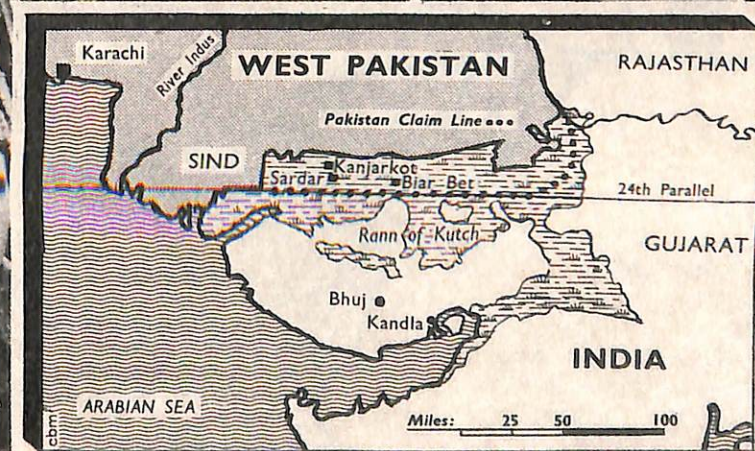
ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY FEBRUARY 23 1968

## UNDERSTANDING the RUSSIANS

RAJMOHAN GANDHI: "Who is changing whom?"

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