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ASIA'S VOICE

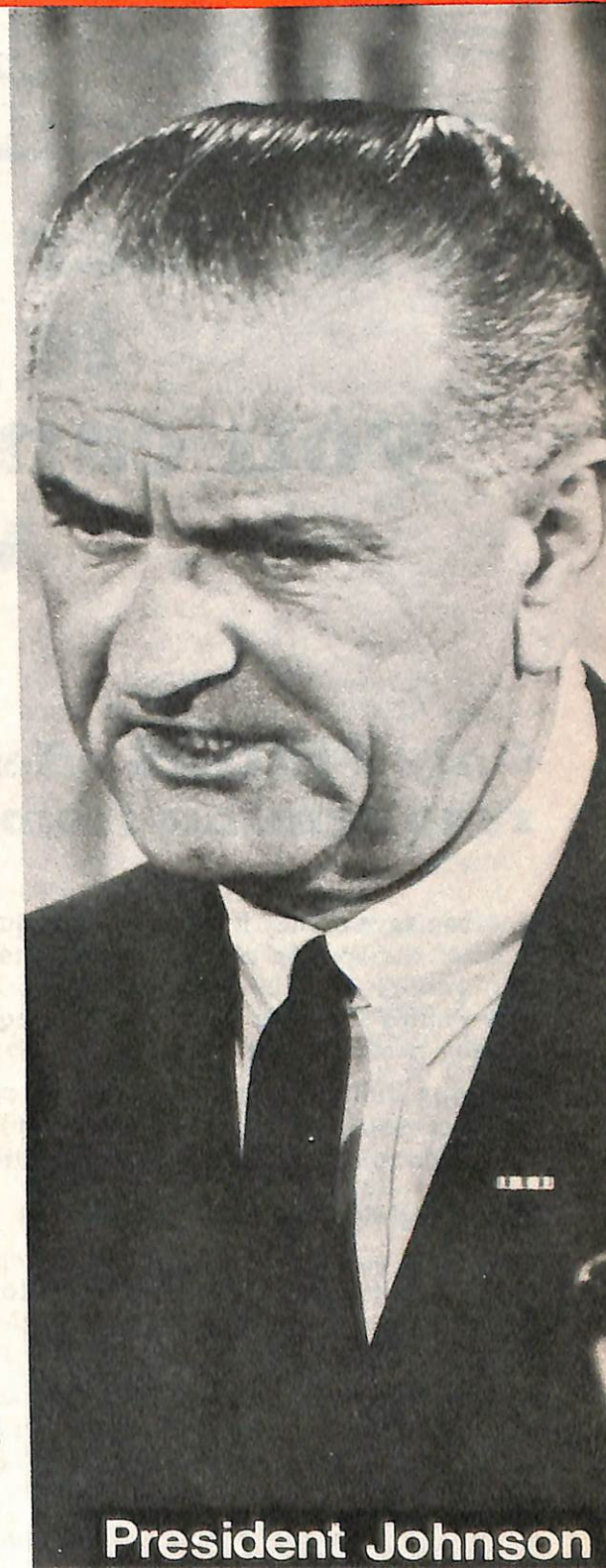
FRIDAY APRIL 5 1968



Senator Kennedy

Johnson pricks Kennedy's balloon

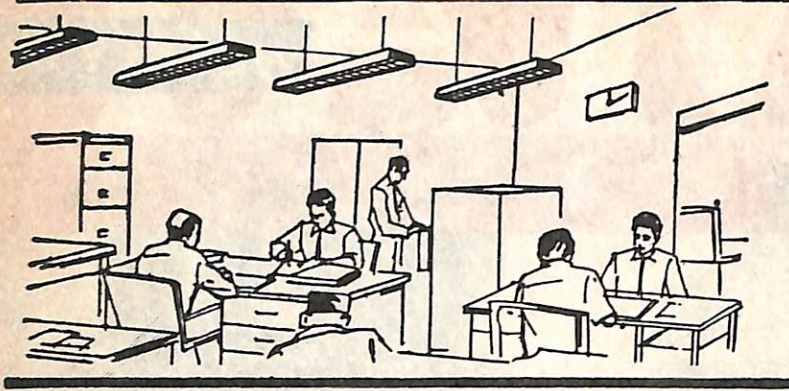
p.3



President Johnson

Kashmir - no time to lose BY ANTENNA

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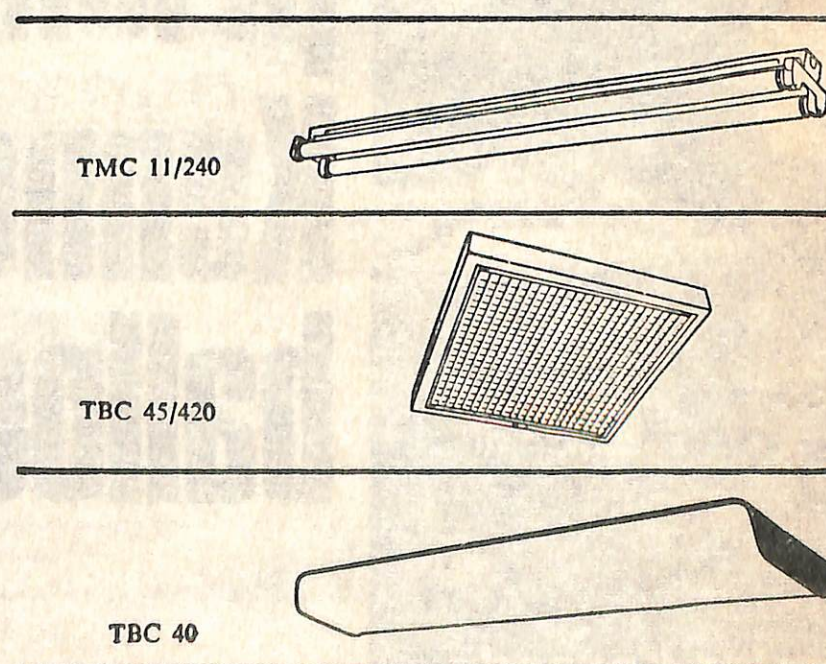
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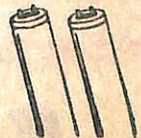


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Editorials

Johnson pricks Kennedy's balloon

PRESIDENT JOHNSON's announcement not to stand for re-election has stunned America and shaken her Asian allies. Is this the first move in an American withdrawal? "If this happens," says Thailand's Prime Minister, "no one will ever trust the US again."

Johnson says he will not permit the Presidency to become involved in partisan divisions developing in the election year but will work for peace in Vietnam. Simultaneously he has announced a sharp limitation on bombing of North Vietnam, hoping to bring Ho Chi Minh to the conference table.

The President's decision is no doubt influenced by Robert Kennedy contesting for the Democratic nomination and strongly criticising Johnson's Vietnam policy. Johnson now has sacrificed his political future. He has also pricked the campaign balloon of Robert Kennedy. He is now free to conduct the war or negotiate a peace as he wishes without "wasting an hour on personal political affairs".

In his broadcast he stated that the ultimate strength of a nation lies "not in its powerful weapons or infinite resources but in the unity of its people". And he candidly admitted that America was a house divided

against itself. His main concern is not to polish America's image but to wrestle with the issues it faces.

Johnson's life so far has been a study in the pursuit of power. That he is now willing to give up power for his convictions deserves high praise. But in itself this will not secure either peace in Asia or unity within America.

If Vietnam is his main concern during the next nine months in office he needs to ask two questions. First, why is it that with all its sacrifice in lives and dollars America has failed to win the trust of the South Vietnamese? Second, if America is a house divided against itself, what can make her one again? As material means have admittedly failed could he not consider the application of a moral ideology that frees men from hate, fear and greed and changes Communists?

What Abraham Lincoln told his people is as relevant now as when he said it: "We have grown in numbers, wealth and power as no other nation has ever grown, but we have forgotten God."

Even a minority totally determined to make God's will regnant in the life of America will unite her and help her serve and save the world.

Nasser's new deal

PRESIDENT NASSER's announcement that a new liberal constitution is in the making indicates that the appeal to Arab nationalism can no longer substitute for the sense of political participation that increasing numbers of Egyptians demand. The 50-year-old President, who architected Egypt's revolution of July 23, 1952, decided at that time to forego liberal parliamentary institutions in order to speed social reform. His personal popularity ensured obedience by the majority until last year's disastrous military defeat. Since then Egypt has been shaken by political unrest—student demonstrations, political trials, signs that the Government has become more concerned by the reactions of the ordinary man.

Nasser has proposed "free" elections but has not yet guaranteed that parties other than his Arab Socialist Union will be able to contest. In that case the elections may boil down to approval or disapproval by the voters of official candidates. He has, however, stated that the future constitution will guarantee personal freedom,

freedom of expression and of the Press. By granting this he will soon have to come to terms with political freedom as well.

He has obviously to fight a rear-guard action against those who stand for the political *status quo*. Thus his proposal to put these liberal reforms to a national referendum before implementing them is seen as an attempt to rouse popular pressure for his measures.

Lest any accuse him of veering from the Socialist path, his recently-reshuffled Cabinet strengthened his Socialist policies. The Chairman of the Planning Commission, Mr Zakaria Mohieddin, who had attempted to prune unproductive "Socialist" measures, was dismissed. He had frowned upon subsidised bread, the guarantee of employment to every college graduate, and paying wages to workers whose factories had closed down. He encouraged private enterprise and foreign investment. His exit may have been the price Nasser had to pay the Left to win their support for his new proposals.

Tardy justice

THE three-day seminar on "Law and the Common Man" held in Bombay last weekend serves to underline once more the seriousness of the crisis of congestion in our courts. Grievances about the "laws' delays" are age-old and universal but in India these delays have been allowed to reach alarming proportions.

Figures of cases pending at the beginning of the year, quoted in the paper read at the seminar by Justice P. B. Mukharji of Calcutta, are: Supreme Court, 5039 and High Courts, 334,629. In lesser courts throughout the country the situation is, if anything, worse.

Justice delayed is justice denied and Dr P. B. Gajendra-gadkar, himself a former Chief Justice, has wisely pointed

out the dangers if a feeling should become widespread that justice in India is no longer easily available.

Two factors underlined by Justice Mukharji which greatly aggravate the present crisis are the increasing number of political cases masquerading "in the garb of constitutional outfit" and cases which seek to exploit the mechanics of law purely in order "to put off the evil day". These should be weeded out at a preliminary stage.

It is clear, however, that the cure of the problem lies in the machinery of judicial administration itself. This needs an immediate and drastic overhaul. Only courageous and business-like reform in this field can save the situation now.

Briefly Speaking...

Was it robbery?

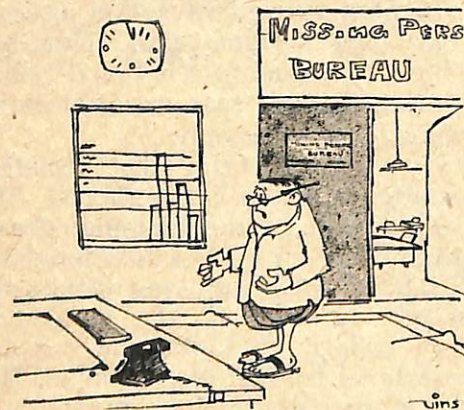
MYSTERY still surrounds the recent murder of Jan Sangh leader Deen Dayal Upadhyaya. Information so far released by the Government points to the simple motive of robbery. Under fire in the Lok Sabha last week from members who charged the Central Bureau of Investigation with being "incompetent", Home Minister Chavan said the CBI was involved in a "probe to the core". He further announced that, so far, 11 persons had been arrested in the case.

Eleven culprits seems rather a lot if robbing the poor man was the only motive.

Taken for a ride

"My four weeks in New Delhi have left me confused," confessed UNCTAD delegate and Christian Democrat MP Mr Boersma on his return to his native Holland. Just to show how confused he got, he added,

CHALTA HAI...



"I seem to be the only person on duty today, Sir. Shall I put the rest of the staff on our Wanted List?"

THIS WEEKLY FEATURE comes to you through the courtesy of the EAGLE VACUUM BOTTLE MFG CO (PVT) LTD

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MIKADO

"We have been lamenting about the Communists in Kerala, but this State is much further ahead than the rest of India. Radical Left-wing solutions are probably the best for a lot of these countries..."

Some clever Kerala Communist must have taken this gullible Dutchman for a ride. Mr Boersma should be advised that many have to leave Kerala in search of work in India's more advanced areas. After a year of stagnant rule, Kerala's Communist-dominated Government seems unable to maintain law and order. Serious internal policy disagreements have threatened the coalition of Communist Chief Minister E. M. S. Namboodiripad. He may share the fate of his Left-Communist comrades in West Bengal who were forced out of office recently because of disunity and incompetence.

Admittedly, Kerala can boast of India's highest literacy rate. However, this is not an achievement of the Communists, but largely of Mr Boersma's fellow Christians who pioneered education in the State.

We wonder what other quaint notions UNCTAD delegates took home.

Any offers?

ADVERTISEMENT in *The Times* of London:

Cynic needing proof of supernatural requires night in reputed haunted establishment. — Write Box 0117 H, *The Times*.

Perhaps the advertiser would consider a trip east if any local reader can oblige.

Flowers for Yuri

THE DEATH in a plane crash of Soviet cosmonaut Colonel Yuri Gagarin, 34, is a loss to space exploration generally, not just the Soviet's. One Moscow report says that the space hero and an Air Force colleague crashed while attempting to avoid a built-up area. It is thought they could easily have bailed out.

The world's first spaceman, Gagarin was known by the Russians as the "Columbus of Space" since his flight in Vostok-I on April 12, 1961. His sudden death, strangely, only points up how safe space travel is, in terms of deaths per millions of miles travelled.

Gagarin was the son of a carpenter on a collective farm. A foundry worker, he took up flying in his spare time. Ironically, he had been ground-

Crime is contagious. If the Government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, 1856-1941

ed since his historic flight because he was regarded as too valuable to be risked in further space launchings.

Ominous change

THE ELECTION COMMISSION has recently modified the instructions for taking the oath of allegiance by a candidate to Parliament or the State Legislatures. The revision now empowers the superintendent of a prison or the commandant of a detention camp to administer the oath of allegiance if a candidate "is in prison or under preventive detention".

Rather ominous?

One vote victory

THOSE ELECTORS who voted in last month's Parliamentary election in South Australia will probably never again wonder, "What is my vote worth?" The ruling Labor Party won the deciding seat by only one vote.

Press for justice

BRITISH JUSTICE — or the world's view of it — took a buffeting last week when a man was sentenced to life imprisonment after a one-minute hearing at Leeds Assizes in which no details of his crime were given. The man, 43-year-old Valentine Sokol, had pleaded guilty to murder, but widespread press comment raised objections to a hearing in which such a severe sentence was given with such dispatch.

The Bradford Telegraph and Argus wrote, "This is a travesty of the principles of justice being seen to be done. No doubt justice was done. But if this procedure is allowed to continue much longer Britain's reputation of having one of the most patently fair legal processes in the world will disappear."

Now that the press have taken up the matter there will be a sigh of relief all round. For if there is something more reliable than British justice it is the record of the British Press in guarding public liberties.

Indian Hyde Park?

JAN SANGH MP Professor M. L. Sondhi made a suggestion that Delhi should have its counterpart of Hyde Park where people can speak as they like. One would have thought that he would have been satisfied with the Lok Sabha.

Birbal

FROM THE CAPITAL

BY ANTENNA

No time to lose over Kashmir

NEW DELHI The Indian Government cannot temporise much longer over Kashmir and Sheikh Abdullah. It must either decide to hold fresh elections, as he demands, or put him out of circulation again, maybe for good.

Both alternatives are equally hazardous, but a decision — very soon — is inescapable.

Sheikh Abdullah, a veteran Indian politician once told me, "must be either Chief Minister of Kashmir or be behind bars. You cannot have him on the loose and at the same time hope for peace and stability in Kashmir unless you place him at the head of its government".



Chief Minister Sadiq

The Sheikh may not be particularly anxious today to become Chief Minister of the State of which he was once Prime Minister. He might opt, if he was in the position to have his desires fulfilled, to be its Governor — but with a special relationship with the Centre.

The fact which New Delhi, and especially Home Minister Chavan, has got to face is that it is rather hazardous to lock up the Sheikh for the fourth time for demanding self-determination for the Kashmiris, but at the same time he cannot afford to turn a deaf ear to this demand for a fresh election. For pressures are building up on the Central Government from two sides; from the people of Kashmir, who, despite Chief Minister Sadiq's disclaimers, seem to be overwhelmingly behind the Sheikh in demanding elections; and from Members of Parliament who think the Sheikh is talking out of turn and should be gagged.

No illusions about Congress

Now, if one is a political realist, one will not pay much attention to what Mr Sadiq has to say about the popularity of his regime, which the Kashmiris, perhaps misguidedly, think is nothing more than an instrument of New Delhi. Nor about the ability of his Congress Party to hold its own in an electoral contest with the Sheikh's supporters in the Plebiscite Front, who will probably find an

ally in Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and his National Conference.

The fact is that Mr Sadiq would not like another election until 1972, by when he thinks he will be able to build some stable following for himself in the valley. Mr Sadiq and his friends in New Delhi are fully aware that in free and fair elections, unlike the ones Kashmir has had so far, the Congress does not stand a chance against the Sheikh's supporters.

The manner in which last year's elections in Jammu and Kashmir were "managed" by the ruling Party is well known. Members of Parliament have said they were rigged and demand a judicial inquiry into their conduct, a demand which has fallen on unheeding ears here.

It is significant that there are more election petitions lying with the Jammu and Kashmir High Court

than with any other state High Court in the country, and the long delay in hearing the petitions has been adversely commented on in many quarters. When protests were raised before the elections against the large number of rejections of nominations of anti-Congress candidates, the Chief Election Commissioner held an inquiry and ruled that there was no justification for the charge.

But after scrutinising the election results the Commissioner seems to have had second thoughts. Of the 22 uncontested constituencies for the State Legislative Assembly, in which the Election Commission had rejected the opposition nominee, it is noted that all went to Mr Sadiq's ruling Congress Party, and that without those "safe" seats Mr Sadiq would have only 38 seats in an Assembly of 75.

If, as seems evident from these facts, Mr Sadiq was uncertain of

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

on your toes

RAILWAYS OFF THE TRACK

IN SOME COUNTRIES a serious rail crash prompts the Minister's resignation. In India a series of crashes provokes a Ministerial explanation of how the number of accidents is being reduced each year.

On March 19, 54 persons were killed at Yalvigi on the Bangalore-Poona line. On March 30, 20 were killed at Bharwari on the Agra-Allahabad line. In each case one stationary train was rammed at high speed by another.

It is no comfort to the bereaved, nor to the travelling public (2000 million a year), to be told that accidents have been reduced to 5887 last year and that only 11 per cent of these were due to mechanical failure, 72 per cent being due to "human error".

What "crash programme" to deal with this murderous situation does the Minister have? Surely in this age of electronic wonders there are available fail-safe procedures to save the travelling public from these disasters.

Perhaps the high-power committee just appointed to go into the causes of recent accidents will get at the sickness dogging the railways. Headed by the former Chief Justice, Mr K. N. Wan-

choo, and including Mr M. R. Masani, MP, a terrier for Government lapses, the committee should produce results.

Last Monday rail fares were raised again. For many this will mean extra hardship and perhaps less travel (97 per cent of passenger traffic is by third class). But even this would not be grudged if there was also improvement in service, safety and comfort.

How often do members of the Railway Board, whose resignation was angrily demanded in Parliament last week, watch third class travellers trying to get a ticket? Two ladies were travelling Bombay-Poona. They went to VT station 40 minutes early. There were 92 people in the queue for the one and only third-class ticket window. If every passenger was dealt with in two minutes — impossible — they would have waited three hours. The Station Master unofficially advised them to take their seats on the train anyway (there were plenty) and pay the guard. This they did. But how many do just this, out of frustration, and "forget" to pay the guard?

There will be no solution for the railways until those who run it from the Minister downwards accept responsibility for its deficiencies.

Freebooter

VERDICT!

This week HIMMAT...

SYMPATHISES with those who attempted to achieve major gains at UNCTAD amid senseless political wrangles such as one that held up the report on trade problems because the East European countries challenged Britain's right to call herself "Socialist".

CHUCKLES at a headline in *The Times of India*: "Alleged Arrest of LSD Legislator" and **ADVISES** the Lok Sevak Dal of Bhopal to select another title whose initials do not so readily conjure up visions of legislators taking hallucinatory "trips".

HAILS the announcement that self-sufficiency in all high-yielding varieties of seeds has been achieved.

CONGRATULATES China's President Liu Shao-chi on being charged by *The People's Daily* with advocating "goodmanship", an attitude defined as favouring tolerance and forgiveness.

IS NOT SURPRISED by the evidence recently uncovered that Gujarat was occupied by man 70,000 years ago as it had already **CONCLUDED** by their achievements that Gujaratis had been around for a long time.

WELCOMES the Kerala Government bringing holders of political office, past or present, under the scope of anti-corruption inquiries but **WONDERS** if many can make use of the Bill as every corruption petition lodged by "an ordinary citizen" must be accompanied by a treasury receipt for Rs 500.

IS HEARTENED by the annual quota of 7800 tons of Indian textiles permitted to be imported by the European Common Market — three and a half times the best export performance of Indian textiles to the EEC to date.

SMILES at the Madras Chief Minister's attempts to prevent his colleagues from profiting from their offices by ordering them to remit to the treasury all gifts over Rs 300 yet not limiting the number of gifts each can receive.

ANTENNA — FROM PAGE 5

success in 1967 with the Sheikh and Mirza Afzal Beg and most of the top men of the Plebiscite Front out of the way, one readily understands his trepidation at the idea of an early poll with all of them actively campaigning against him. Poor Mr Sadiq, a cultured man with liberal views and a genuine desire to do his best for the people of Kashmir, would then have to look for other ways to employ his talents.

I learn there is a wing of the Government, with considerable backing in the Congress Parliamentary Party, that feels the Sheikh should be taken at his word and given soon an election that may be considered a plebiscite enabling the Kashmiris to express their views.

This section believes that once the Sheikh feels his principles have been vindicated he will accept Kashmir's accession to India and hand over office to one of his followers, probably Mirza Afzal Beg, while he will play the role of an elder statesman striving to bring about harmony between India and Pakistan.

But what if, having got his election and won it, the Sheikh plays New Delhi false and raises the whole issue of accession afresh, the doubters in the Government ask. He

might, they fear, offer Kashmir to Pakistan once he is on top.

The answer to this seems to be that the Sheikh and astute followers of his like Mirza Afzal Beg, know their future is bleak in Pakistan. They cannot be forgetful of the fate of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and of the puppet leaders of that part of Kashmir under Pakistani control.

If these men are demanding a fresh election in Kashmir, it is because they want to get full control of the territory in consonance with their popular influence, not to hand it over to the Pakistanis who will give them short shrift if they attempt to assert themselves, say the advocates of taking the Sheikh at face value.

They say the Centre has a choice of risks: being taken for a ride by the Sheikh after he wins the elections, as he surely must if they are cleanly conducted, or denying his demand, putting him back in detention and forfeiting the remaining goodwill of the Kashmiris and driving them to seek help from Pakistan in their bid to get what they think are their rights.

The lesser evil, they say, is the first alternative, and even if the Sheikh reneges there are safeguards which can be applied if called for. But Mr Chavan and his colleagues have little time to choose.

Best World Press

Vietnam war

President Johnson's decision to give General Westmoreland a new job instead of the 206,000 new troops he requested could mark a basic turning point in Vietnam, but only if the change in commanders is accompanied by a change in strategy...

The search for a military solution (is) not only futile but irrelevant. The Communists have no need to win big-unit battles if, by gratifying the American desire to fight them, they can divert American attention from the real task in South Vietnam. That is the political task of protecting, pacifying and winning the loyalty of the populated areas for the Saigon Government.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Arab-Israel conflict

King Hussein of Jordan has at last convinced King Feisal of Saudi Arabia of the necessity of a new concerted Arab military and political strategy...

The results of the March 21 Israeli aggression, if one is still wondering, have thus come in favour of the Arabs; that

King Feisal has accepted the invitation to attend an Arab summit meeting... And as King Feisal accepts it, one can now say that the summit will take place.

L'ORIENT, Beirut

The idea that King Hussein can shut down terrorist commandos like a watch committee shutting down seedy night clubs shows an astonishing misunderstanding of the situation. It is known that he would like to bring them under control. He has said as much. He rightly thinks that they do the Arab cause no good and the security of Jordan a lot of harm. But they are trained and financed by other Arab countries...

THE TIMES, London

Gold crisis

Certain leaders of the modern world reason in monetary matters as in the times of the oil lamps!

France has already shed tears of blood in 1940 for not having understood that the gold standard had sunk in the storm of 1928.

Was France not crushed by tanks and stukas which Dr Schacht (Hitler's financial adviser) had built without a ton of gold available, while our stockpile, the object of our national pride, was sterilised in safes in Conakry and Fort de France?

LES ECHOS, Paris

Masani quits Party post: will Nija and Basu follow?

BY R. M. LALA

NEW DELHI The day Swatantra leader M. R. Masani resigned from the National Executive and the Parliamentary Board of the Party, he told me, "I thought it was about time that somebody made a Gandhian stand."

In his letter to the Party's General Secretary, Masani, who with Rajaji has been the main architect of the Party, stated the reasons for his resignation. He said that he had given, on behalf of the Parliamentary Board of his Party, a solemn assurance to a candidate in Gujarat that he would be selected for the Rajya Sabha seat in 1968. "A score of our members violated this agreement," he said. He accused them of joining hands with the opposing Congress Party and defeating the very candidate they were supposed to elect. (The leader and the deputy leader of the Swatantra Party in the Gujarat Assembly have also resigned from their posts.)

"Act of atonement"

In his letter Masani says, "This is unfortunately not an isolated case, but one more example of how the general demoralisation of the country is finding its way into our own ranks." He concludes, his resignation is "an act of atonement to those who have been let down by this breach of faith on the part of some of our colleagues, in the hope that this may stimulate the conscience of our Party".

Since the Party was founded in 1960, Minoo Masani has been its General Secretary until a few months back when he resigned to "give others a chance". During this period he substantially helped in making the Swatantra Party the second largest in the Indian Parliament. Known for his integrity, keen intellect, organising capacity, Minoo Masani is author of a number of books and was one of the founders of the Congress Socialist Party with Jayaprakash Narayan and Asoka Mehta. Since then he has veered considerably to the Right.

His partymen concede his outstanding qualities but some complain he is intolerant, domineering and over-ambitious. Masani believes that his present move will serve as much-needed shock treatment to bring the erring members of his Party to their senses, and will inject into the Indian political scene some semblance of morality.

Sitting on the verandah of his

room in Tuglaq Road last Saturday he spoke at length about many things. Most striking was the story he related about his father, the late Sir Rustom Masani. When Sir Rustom was Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, Minoo was a struggling young barrister with few briefs and even less of an income. The Dean of Law placed the name of Minoo among the examiners for the LL.B exams. At a meeting in the University, Sir Rustom located his son's name on the list of examiners. He said, "What is this? My son on the examiner list? I won't have it so long as I am Vice-Chancellor."

The Dean of Law protested in vain that Minoo had got in on his own merit.

That night at supper Sir Rustom mentioned what had happened at the University meeting. "There is enough nepotism in the country and I won't add to it," he told his son. Minoo replied, "Do you realise father you have deprived me of the chance to earn Rs 2000?"

After supper Sir Rustom went into his study and emerged five minutes later to hand Minoo a cheque for Rs 2000. "Here is the income that you have lost," said the father. Minoo had no heart to cash the cheque.

Twenty-four hours after meeting Masani I met the leader of another political party, an MP who has been a driving force in politics for the last 20 years. He said "I am in the same position today as Masani was two days ago. The choice before me is to obey my conscience or compromise." He spoke with feeling of how his party was being controlled by certain interests, its growth throttled and policies confused.

Will he be the next to resign?

He spoke about a colleague of his who was high and mighty and enjoyed power without responsibility. It was a new thought to him when I said, "You may be the one person who can change him. He may need your help."

"I'll be quite frank with you," came the reply. "I don't like him."

He said that to change another person he may need to change on some points himself. Leaders of all political parties face this question of how to get on with their colleagues. Neither Congressmen nor the Communists are free from this clash between personalities within their party.

Congress President Nijalingappa when questioned on a recent report that 60 of his Party wanted a closed-door meeting snapped, "If they don't want me, I'll get out."

I understand from Calcutta that Jyoti Basu, former Deputy Chief Minister of Bengal and leading Communist-Marxist, does not see eye to eye with many of his party colleagues and finds it difficult to work with them. They can't drop him because he has been the public image that wins votes. To win, he needs them too. But how long will he be able to continue this relationship?

"Super-Gandhian" approach

Could it be that politicians now need to consider some new way to answer differences where their own colleagues are concerned? Something even beyond the Gandhian approach is now needed. One might say a "super-Gandhian approach". It may require something more than just pointing a finger, or even resigning on a moral issue, a laudable thing to do. It may require the capacity to see where one's own self is wrong, courage to admit it to one's colleagues.

Defections which are ruining our democracy are the result not only of ambition for office but also of unresolved differences with party colleagues.

The old ways have failed. Why not try something new and give hope to the millions?

SO THEY SAY

I have done nothing improper by becoming the Chief Minister.

MR BHOLA PASWAN SHASTRI
Chief Minister of Bihar

I have not quite got the hang of the situation there (in Czechoslovakia).

S. A. DANGE
Chairman of the Communist
Party of India

All was not well. Neither was everything unwell.

Y. B. CHAVAN
Union Home Minister
(referring to communal riots)

DMK's one year in office

FROM K. S. RAMANUJAM IN MADRAS

MADRAS Chief Minister C. N. Annadurai has been invited to visit the United States of America and he will tour that country for three weeks from April 17. He will also be visiting Japan and the Far East for a few days before returning home. With the background of hard experience for over one year as the Chief Minister of Madras, this visit will be of great value to his Government.

America and Japan have thrived during the last few decades through "practical wisdom". Anna, more than anyone else in the country now, realises that it is the call of political leadership in India to turn people's outlook towards dependence on hard work and faith in their own efforts.

Madras has been one of the stable states, well administered and with a political leadership of sober disposition, ever since Independence — perhaps even earlier. The sudden exit of the Congress Party after two decades of power resulted in the equally surprising catapulting into office of the DMK Party with assurance of complete control over the affairs of the State until 1972. Thus, Madras has established a unique re-

cord as the first State to show the rest of India how well the democratic way of life, by means of two strong political parties vying with one another for people's support and goodwill, can take root.

For the DMK party there was exceptional good luck in having as its founder-leader Mr C. N. Annadurai. During the last 12 months, when the DMK has functioned as the ruling party of this State, Mr Annadurai has earned the wholehearted appreciation of the entire Tamil people.

Steady performance

Though Anna's Ministry has appeared rather slow in its decisions it has been steady in its performance. The official machinery has not been interfered with and on the other hand officials with drive and imagination have received much greater encouragement than they did during the earlier Congress ministries.

One of the most praiseworthy decisions of the Anna Government was to stick to the prohibition policy of the Congress. This was considered by the DMK leaders as the foundation on which their popularity amongst the electorate would have to continue. Mr Annadurai has proved himself a true Gandhian by this one big step at a time when many Congress ministries are giving up this policy for the sake of increasing their states' revenues.

The one-rupee-a-measure rice subsidy has also been a highly imaginative policy. In the two major cities

of Madras and Coimbatore where it has been in force, the people have been greatly relieved. As the Central Government would not support the scheme with financial assistance, and since there was seasonal failure in Tamilnad affecting food production to some extent, it has not been possible to extend this scheme to other areas of the State.

The World Tamil Conference, which was attended by delegates from all over the world, owed its success to the enthusiastic interest of the DMK Ministry. At no time in the history of Tamilnad have the sentiments of a people for their own mother tongue been so fully roused.

The decision of the Anna Ministry to do away with Hindi, with the overwhelming support of the State Assembly, was an inevitable step if the emotional disturbance caused to the student community was to be answered in a manner that would re-

move their fears, and restore confidence in their own future. No government could have ignored their genuine apprehensions of "Hindi imposition".

In dealing with the problems of labour, Mr Annadurai and his colleague Mr Mahavan have been human in their approach. They have been pleading with industrialists to be generous, and counselling patience and discipline to the workers.

The DMK Ministry, well settled in its saddle, has been stressing that there is urgent need for a fresh reappraisal of Union-state relations so that the dependence of the states on the Centre for everything, big or small, may be ended.



C. N. Annadurai

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WEST BENGAL

Firm stand pays off in student riots

FROM S. K. MUKHOPADHYAYA IN CALCUTTA

STUDENT VIOLENCE is assuming an ugly shape in West Bengal. Hardly a day passes when there is no disturbance in some educational institution and of late young boys of 10 to 14 years have come out in the streets,

joining processions and hurling bricks and stones at the instigation of others. Guardians and teachers have been helpless spectators.

The climax was reached on Tuesday

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Ceylon emerges from economic crisis

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

COLOMBO In a vote of confidence on the progress Ceylon has made in putting right 20 years of living beyond her means, the World Bank says, "Economic recovery is under way...the atmosphere of crisis is no longer present...a holding operation has been transferred into a growth effort." In its recently-published report on Ceylon's economic comeback the Bank commends the increased production of food which has reduced imports, and also praises lower absenteeism and better labour relations in several Government-run corporations.

At the Aid Ceylon Club meeting in Paris recently (attended by the United States, UK, France, West Germany and Japan) a further \$45 million of aid was promised in addition to \$12.5 million worth of food aid from America.

Premier Senanayake has taken tough and unpopular decisions like halving the heavily-subsidised rice ration and banning the import of potatoes. The country, under an emergency since December 1966, is gradually becoming self-sufficient in food. Natural calamities including widespread floods and drought did not hamper a record rice harvest which was 12 million bushels more than the official target. Total self-sufficiency, however, is still not expected before 1977.

The World Bank comments, "Production targets which were quite ambitious were reached not because of official schemes, which lagged be-

hind, but because of the responsibility of individual farmers."

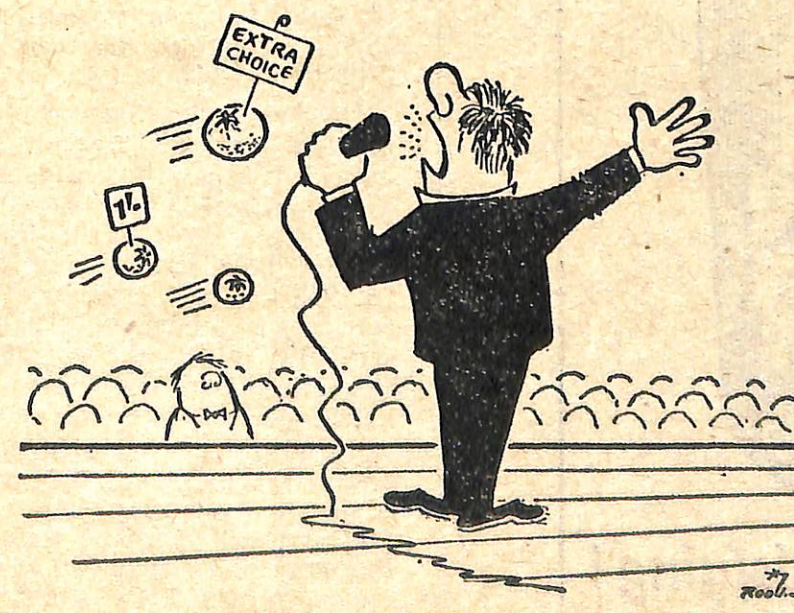
The state of the world market in tea, rubber and coconut remains the key factor in the country's economic position. Whereas Indian and African tea production has increased, Ceylon's production went down by 13 million tons last year. This reflects the belief that Ceylon's quality teas will sell better which has led some estates to go in for quality rather than quantity.

Ceylon-China agreement

Rubber production continues to increase, though the income from it does not. China and Russia are this country's best rubber customers. China has just had a trade delegation here and has signed an agreement accepting an increase in Ceylon's handling charges in this highly valued commodity.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Ek-minit !



The week in ASIA

HONG KONG — The guerrilla army of Burma's pro-Peking Communist Party has established a Chinese-style revolutionary base in the mountains near Pegu City, 100 miles from Rangoon, the New China News Agency disclosed here.

KARACHI — The United States will provide \$115 million (Rs 86.25 crores) of commodity assistance to Pakistan under an agreement signed in Islamabad.

KATHMANDU — The Republic of China spent \$6000 million on military expenditure in 1965, whereas India spent \$2077 million and Pakistan \$588 million, according to an American report circulated here. The report states that the total world expenditure on defence in 1965 amounted to \$140,000 million.

HONG KONG — China will fire a missile with a range of 2000 miles in autumn this year *Sing Tao Jih Pao*, the pro-nationalist daily, reports.

SAIGON — American and South Vietnamese troops killed over 400 Viet Cong in operation "Will to Win" in the provinces around Saigon in one day, according to a US spokesman.

KATHMANDU — Japan decided not to contest the United Nations Security Council seat in November, when India vacates its seat, in view of Japan's good relations with Nepal, the only other contestant from Asia, announced Mr Hidemichi Kiras, Japan's Ambassador to Nepal.

ADEN — South Yemen, the four-month-old Asian independent country, ordered out the US military attache in Aden, Commander Perry. Mr Gathan Al Shaabi, President of South Yemen, accused the attache of counter-revolutionary activities.

SAIGON — Fifty-six people died in an epidemic of bubonic plague in the first 11 weeks of the year, according to a US spokesman.

AMMAN — About 150 Jordanian military, political and business leaders pledged allegiance to King Hussein as the military forces braced for a new Israeli attack.

JAKARTA — The Indonesian Congress confirmed General Suharto as full President for a five-year term.

KATHMANDU — China and Nepal will exchange scientists, teachers, journalists and theatrical troupes under a cultural agreement signed here.

Throwing things

It's the thing nowadays
To be able to throw

Words
Stones
Criticism
Bombs
Stained glass at clergymen
Scorn at God.

Everybody does exercises to
improve
Their biceps and triceps.

Baby throws things at Daddy
Daddy at the workers
The workers at employers
Employers at the Government
The Government at the rest of the
world
The world at the moon.

I hope the moon doesn't
take offence.
He only has to lean over
the edge and drop.

JEAN MCALL

Shipping lines running to Europe, Australia and USA have also agreed to reduce their freight rates for handling Ceylon's coconuts and it is hoped

Britain's "last ditch" Budget

FROM GORDON WISE

LONDON What can explain rows of Government back-benchers in the House of Commons standing and cheering and waving their order papers, after hearing the grim facts of just about the toughest peace-time Budget in British history?

The British always seem most at home fighting a "last ditch" stand. They are a politically-sophisticated people. Whichever way you slice the body-politic, you find informed (even if biased) opinion on most major issues.

So despite a cynical disbelief of the politicians' dire warning about "an eleventh hour", the broad mass of the people sense that a rot has set in which "somebody" should halt.

Mr Wilson has not done it, nor Mr Brown. So when Mr Roy Jenkins came up with punitive measures even greater than expected, there was widespread relief that here at last was bedrock.

The risk, of course, is that the problem will remain stated and not solved. A nation geared for two decades to "wanting it better" even when it "never had it so good" is not going to bring to birth a new way of living without "labour pains".

that the same agreement may be extended to tea.

With hard work and accommodation on the part of Ceylon's friends, there seems no reason why the present gradual upward trend should not be continued.

So far, the post-Budget anguish has been from the committed Left, largely. Their most "way out" spokesmen ask openly for nothing better than a "collapse of the capitalist system". They want to build a society in the image of Mao or Trotsky. The danger to Britain is that millions who would not subscribe to these extreme views will go part way in begrudging any extra effort in the national interest. The unofficial strikes and stoppages of all kinds reflect this temper. It is a mood that could turn uglier in a long, hot summer for Britain.

Candour in the Cabinet would help. One of the most telling points

made by Mr George Brown in his Commons speech of resignation was when he castigated the Government for ignoring the basic reasons for their declining support, misreading the political signs and "refusing to recognise that we ourselves were partly responsible for the mood of cynicism in the nation".

Another shaft of plain speaking came from a unique television appearance of the Duke of Edinburgh on a programme called "Meet the Press". Answering questions on various national and personal issues, he said about the rise of "racism" in these islands: "In the days of God, so to speak, everybody was equal in the sight of God, and that was the anti-racial side. But if you remove God, what else is there but to be racial again and re-form tribalism?"

The same could be said about other divisions such as class. If men are created equal in God's sight, it is man's godlessness which creates and perpetuates class hatreds and racial inequalities.

Restoring God to leadership in Britain may be a great deal to ask from a Humanist Chancellor. But such a restoration is needed, if a repressive Budget is to do its long-term job.

A look at Malaysia's economy

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

KUALA LUMPUR Malaysia's financial review for 1967 spells out a developing country's woes in cold figures.

Last year, Malaysia produced 41.5 per cent of the world's natural rubber and 42 per cent of its tin. The volume of her tin and rubber exports even increased by 4.5 per cent during 1967. But the falling prices of these products combined with the rising costs of imported consumer goods and rice, plus a population increase of three per cent, caused the per capita income to decrease from Rs 2308 to Rs 2296 in 1967.

However, the Malaysian economy remains basically sound and the outlook is generally considered bright. The main reason for this is the prospect of increased world demand for rubber, both natural and synthetic. In 1966 the USA consumed 25 lbs of rubber per person, both natural and synthetic, though the consumption in Western Europe was only half as much.

Malaysia is also diversifying its production to reduce dependence on rubber and tin. So, chances are that Malaysia will continue to be one of the more prosperous countries in the region, provided the political situation remains reasonably stable.



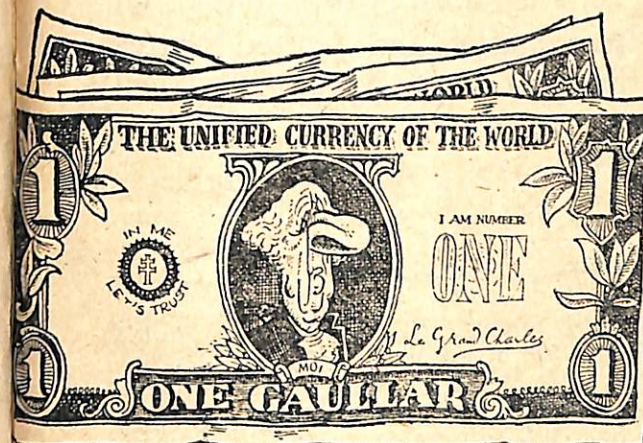
So tempting — So satisfying!

everest/449/PP

The week elsewhere

"DE GAULLE STANDARD"

STOCKHOLM—President de Gaulle remains wedded to his concept of international monetary transactions being based on gold. At last week's meeting of the Finance Ministers of the ten wealthiest nations here, France again stood aside from the



(Courtesy of The Philadelphia Inquirer)

proposal, supported by the nine other Finance Ministers, that the plan for Special Drawing Rights — commonly described as "paper gold" — should be implemented as quickly as possible. In the cartoon above, Feb of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* suggests that, in fact, France is calling for a "Gaulle Standard".

SOUTH AFRICA BARS UN

JOHANNESBURG—Mr Vorster, the South African Prime Minister, declared his Government would refuse entry to the UN Committee on South West Africa. The 12-member group planned to enter the territory on or about April 5 from Lusaka, Zambia. The UN last year declared null and void South Africa's mandate to govern South West Africa.

GERMANY AND POLAND

BONN—West German Chancellor, Dr Kiesinger, declared that the dispute over Germany's eastern border with Poland, marked by the Oder and the Neisse rivers, must not be allowed to prevent a reconciliation between Germany and Poland. He made it clear that his Government does not recognise the Oder-Neisse frontier but considers the border an open question until a general peace settlement is arrived at. He urged the people and Government of Poland "not to reject the hand we stretch out to you".

NEW CZECH PRESIDENT

PRAGUE—Czechoslovakia chose the Commander of Czech forces in the Soviet Union during World War Two, General Ludvik Svoboda, as her new President. Students and intellectuals favoured two younger candidates who have been popular spokesmen for the Communist Party's new programme here. However, both these men gave Svoboda their full support before the election, describing him as a man of exceptional moral quality. The General played a key role in the Communist take-over of his country in 1948 by ensuring that the Army remained neutral.

YUGOSLAV "NYET"

BELGRADE—A Soviet diplomat who called on the Foreign Minister to lodge a complaint against the extensive and favourable coverage by the Yugoslav press of Czechoslovakia's liberalisation campaign, was given a cool reception. His protest note was rejected. Long, front-page stories written by the 16 Yugoslav correspondents resident in Prague give daily glowing accounts of the events in Czechoslovakia.

NASSER'S PEACE TERMS

CAIRO—President Nasser has written President de Gaulle thanking him for France's stand in the recent Security Council session when she condemned Israel's raid on Arab guerilla camps. The letter is believed also to contain specific proposals aimed at seeking a long-term settlement. They are believed to include recognition of the *de facto* existence of Israel, a return to pre-war boundaries, a mutual frontier guarantee, resettlement of the Palestinian refugees and freedom of navigation through international waterways. The reason behind the letter is thought to be the Egyptian opinion that any settlement in the area must first have the support of the major powers.

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HIMMAT

The week in INDIA

BOMBAY — Nearly 70 per cent of the electorate of 2,593,625 in Bombay exercised their franchise to choose 140 members of the Municipal Corporation. The Congress secured 67 seats and the Shiv Sena-PSP alliance 51.

MADRAS — Students and State Transport workers clashed in many parts of the city following the death of a bus driver allegedly assaulted by students. The police made a lathi charge in front of the Madras Medical College and 50 students were hospitalised. The trouble started when a student occupied a seat intended for the conductor.

MYSORE — The American Ambassador Mr Chester Bowles inaugurated the third and fourth units of Saravathi hydro-electric project which when completed will be the biggest in South-East Asia.

TRIVANDRUM — Mrs Gowri Thomas, Kerala's Revenue Minister, announced that the Government will distribute Government waste lands to at least one lakh landless families in the next three months.

NEW DELHI — The first trade agreement between India and the Philippines was signed. The two countries will facilitate exchange of goods and services for the development of commerce and trade.

MADRAS — Three ships of the Soviet Navy — one cruiser and two destroyers — arrived here on a goodwill visit. This is the first time that Soviet warships have come to India.

NEW DELHI — China has started printing fake Indian currency for financing subversive and lawless elements in India's Eastern and North-Eastern Frontier regions, according to reports reaching here.

TRIVANDRUM — The Kerala Government published a Bill bringing legislators, municipal councillors, panchayat members and secretaries of political parties under the scope of anti-corruption inquiry prosecution. Uttar Pradesh is the only other state where such a bill exists.

RAJKOT — Popular demands are afoot for the irrigation of Kutch from Narmada River, for the building of a Bhuj-Kandala railway line, for exploration in the Bay of Kutch for oil, and for the establishment of an aluminium plant using the bauxite deposits in the Rann.

BOOKS

"The American Challenge"

LE DEFI AMERICAINE, by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, Denoel, Paris, 1967

DURING the last week of 1967 and the first months of 1968 one book has held steadily its place on the best-seller lists in Europe. The American economic journal *Business Week* wrote about it, "You cannot go to a cocktail party anywhere in Europe anymore without having at least read some chapters of, 'Le Defi'".

The reason for the success of this book lies both in the personality of the author and in his controversial subject, which is none other than the growing domination of the European economy by American industrial interests.

Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, 43, comes from a prominent family of France which has given several political leaders and prominent writers to his country. He joined the French resistance before the end of World War II, then went into journalism. During the Algerian war, he was a lieutenant in the French Army. What he saw in Algeria made him so bitter that he wrote a book against the policies of the then government. The book caused such an uproar that Servan-Schreiber was accused of high treason. After being acquitted, he founded the French weekly *Express* which follows the pattern of *Time* or *Newsweek* and attacks week after week some aspects of the foreign and economic policies of the French Government.

A new 'Far West'

"The American Challenge" shows in the opening chapters how during the last years American superiority in technology has driven industry in other parts of the world onto the defensive.

Servan-Schreiber writes, "The third world industrial power after the United States and the Soviet Union may well be, in fifteen years' time, not Europe but American industry in Europe... The Europe of the Common Market has become for the American businessmen a new Far West, and then investments do not

show themselves in large transfers of capital back to America but in a power take-over in the heart of the European economy... The American enterprises control in Europe: 15 per cent of the consumer industries; 50 per cent of the production of semi-conductors (which replace the older type of electronic tubes); 80 per cent of the production of computers and 95 per cent of the production of 'integrated circuits' (which are essential for the construction of ballistic missiles and for the new generations of computers)..."

Servan-Schreiber shows next that nine-tenths of the capital needed for these "take-overs" comes from European sources. "We are paying them, in a way, to allow them to buy us."

The book describes then what will happen to Western Europe or to any other part of the world, if the "technological challenge" by America is not taken up.

The Hudson Institute in the United States has made a special study of what will be the ranking of nations in thirty years' time. There will first be a group which have reached the "post-industrial" era: the United States, Japan, Canada, Sweden. To the nations belonging to the "advanced industrial society" with the hope of one day reaching the "post-industrial" era belong: Western Europe, the Soviet Union, Israel, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Australia and New Zealand.

Book to stir action

The stage of "consumer societies" will have been reached by nations like Mexico and other Latin American countries, South Korea, Malaysia, Formosa and the other countries of Europe. According to the Hudson Institute, the other parts of the world will have not yet reached the industrial phase.

Servan-Schreiber's intention in writing the book is not to describe or to lecture. He says, himself, in the last chapter, "This book has, in a way, no conclusion... The tragedy is upon us, but its outcome is not clear yet. This book is therefore not a book of history, but, with a bit of luck, a book that stirs action."

What Servan-Schreiber foresees is a "counter-offensive" of Europe. The elements of this counter-offensive include a rapid federation of the whole of Europe, including Great Britain; concerted efforts of concentration in the field of European industry; common projects undertaken with the help of the different governments, like the French-British

project of the supersonic plane "Concorde", only on a much larger scale, and an explosive expansion of the field of education.

The weakness of "The American Challenge" lies in the fact that the author seems to think that the world just consists of two continents — America and Europe. Concern for other parts of the world does, how-

"The third world industrial power after the United States and the Soviet Union may well be, in fifteen years' time, not Europe but American industry in Europe..."

ever, appear in some of the quotes he uses from other authors.

One chapter summarises some of the thoughts of former US Secretary of Defence McNamara who says, "The average income per head in more than forty nations in the developing world does not exceed \$120 per annum. The average income per head in the United States is more than \$3000. That is a difference of more than 2000 per cent. This figure has ceased to have only an economic significance... The economic chaos which one can foresee if such economic disparity continues, will be a greater menace to the security of the United States than the atomic weapons of China..."

But what should be done to overcome this "challenge", rather than what needs to happen if Europe wants to keep on the same level with the United States, is not covered in the book. The only place where it is touched on is in a longish quote by the French scientist and civil servant Louis Armand, who writes, "It seems to me that the absence of original thought in Europe is even more dangerous than the absence of technological originality. Europe looks with one eye on the riches of America and gets jealous of her — and jealousy is not a good counsellor. With the other eye she looks to the poorer nations in order to preserve her good conscience. I have never seen anybody who squints being very attractive... A change of mentality, of the spirit has become essential... And this change will not bring immediate material progress... There are utopias which always remain utopias. Others are dreams which

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

HIMMAT, April 5, 1968

India's national champ welcomes open tennis

PREMJIT LALL is a young man who takes his place as India's national tennis champion without fuss. For our one o'clock date, he turned up six minutes early, whipped off his dark glasses and apologised for being late!

His answers to questions about tennis and sport in general came unhesitatingly and with enthusiasm. A little later we branched off into political issues, sparked by the fact that though born in Bihar, Lall is proud to be a resident of Calcutta. An initial hesitation — and then with an "It's a free country, so I don't care what people think," he launched forth. His serves became pretty wild — students in politics, North

with the world's best."

Lall hopes a professional troupe can some day be formed in India, composed of players from both this country and abroad. "Of course, that will need promoters. Some businessmen may want to support such a move."

Such a troupe might well include players from other Asian nations. "Japan is becoming very good. She has been sending players to most of the international tournaments. Thailand is also on the way up."

Lall had warm praise for the National Institute of Sports and its encouragement to sports of all kinds and tennis in particular. "It runs a lot of coaching classes. I started in one such class organised by the Ministry of Education of West Bengal. I was 14 at the time. We now send our best three junior players abroad every year."

He recognised though that a great deal had to be done before tennis could come anywhere near cricket in this country in its popularity with both spectators and participants.

"You can set up three stumps anywhere and have a cricket match of sorts. A tennis court is far more expensive. There need to be far more public courts available, unattached to clubs. The clubs have excellent facilities but are too expensive for most people. Part of the blame also lies with the schools. Most of them emphasise team sports. By and large tennis is neglected."

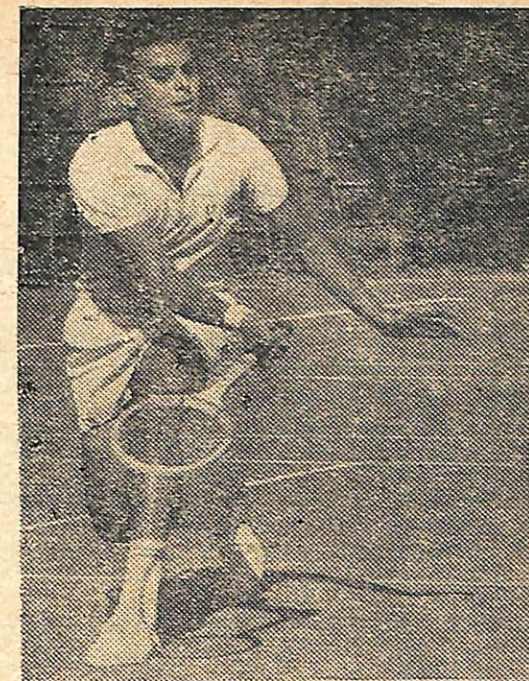
"I am also puzzled by the lack of participation in sports by so many young people. Maybe it is the lack of facilities, or the pressure from parents not to let anything interfere with studies. But students seem to be able to participate in processions and go on sprees burning and smashing property at will."

"Even here at the Cricket Club of India, I notice a far greater number of elderly people making use of its courts and grounds. I cannot understand why the youth are not interested."

Do you agree with the Government's view on boycotting the Olympics because of South Africa's inclusion?

"We played South Africa last year in the Davis Cup. Particularly if South Africa has changed its policy and is sending a racially mixed team, I cannot see why we should act like this."

"Sportsmen can do a great deal to enhance a country's standing abroad."



Premjit Lall

We need to get out and play more. The Government encourages this. I have been on tour every year since 1957 and have never yet had trouble with 'P' forms or other restriction."

His most memorable match was also his toughest. It was against K. Tiriac of Rumania in January this year for the national title and it lasted nearly three hours.

As we talked, two young men raced by on the cinder track. Premjit smiled. "Perhaps I was a little hasty in what I said about youth. Look at those two sweating it out in the two o'clock sun."

H.A.R.

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Should South Africa be excluded from the Olympic Games?

Yes — concessions on apartheid not enough

First prize to A. Peirce Nigli, Coimbatore 18

LET US view this question dispassionately. First by posing and answering a few questions.

Why was South Africa originally excluded from the Games?

On the grounds of unfair discrimination in sport within South Africa imposed by the white minority to their advantage.

What has this discrimination to do with South Africa's participation in the Games?

Such discrimination in sports on the grounds of race is contrary to the ideal of the Olympic charter. The charter requires its principles and guidelines to be followed in sports meets conducted in the respective countries. This South Africa refused to do.

Why was South Africa readmitted to the Olympic Games?

Solely because the South African authorities announced what Avery Brundage, the IOC chief, termed "far-reaching concessions".

What is the nature of these concessions?

There will be separate selection of teams — one being for the "whites" and the other for the "coloureds". Both will however travel together to Mexico, wear the same national colours and participate together. Formerly there was no such provision. In short, the "coloureds" and the "whites" cannot participate together within their country, but can participate together in the Olympics at Mexico.

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

* Should company contributions to political parties be banned?

Closing date: April 12

** Should India have a presidential system of Government?

Closing date: April 26

Prizes: Rs 25, Rs 15

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

Are the concessions announced in conformity with the Olympic charter?

No. They are not. The very fact that the selection of the teams within South Africa is to be on segregated lines disproves that country's bonafides. The Olympic movement lays down guidelines which participating countries must observe not only in international meets but national meets also. The concessions announced, therefore, amount to a double standard.

To talk about politics in sports is irrelevant and is a convenient stodge for South African "sporting" apologists. Despite all the concessions the

status quo — viz. complete segregation in sport within South Africa — continues to prevail. These concessions amount to an insult to the dignity of that long suffering South African "coloured" individual. There is no question of politics in sport here. It is the question of acquiescing in an unjust, degrading and inhuman discrimination.

The twentieth century is slowly becoming a century of despair, hypocrisy, spinelessness and purposelessness. This is because too often we tend to compromise our ideas when it is convenient to do so or when we are so exhausted that we lack the guts to uphold our principles. This is worse than having no ideal at all. The countries who have voted for South Africa's readmission have done just this.

No — because sport builds bridges

Second prize to B. G. Omprakash, Hyderabad 16

SLOWLY but surely, a hitherto impregnable citadel — sport — is falling prey to the petty compulsions of politics.

The future of the Olympic movement is under a cloud. A mass boycott of the 1968 Olympic Games has been announced. This is an outcome of the decision of the Executive of the International Olympic Committee to re-admit South Africa into the Olympic fold.

The stock argument is, since apartheid is still practised in South Africa, that country should not be allowed to take part in the Games. The concern of the world towards the plight of the coloured South African is well known. Indeed, there is universal sympathy for him. But not everyone is motivated by reasons of altruism. For some, this is a heaven-sent opportunity to deal a death-blow to the Olympic movement which they have long considered a monopoly of the imperialists.

What surprises one are the double standards adopted by some countries. Pakistan, for example, has no compunction in trading with South Africa but reacts with horror when it comes to the question of the latter's admission in the Olympic Games. Not that we are any better. No moralist raised his voice when India played the Springboks in the Davis Cup. But now there is a chorus crying for

South Africa's blood. Why this *volte-face*?

To imagine that a mere boycott of the Games is a panacea for apartheid is the height of stupidity. All other avenues were tried and given up. Social boycott, economic sanctions, UN resolutions, have all failed to cut ice with Capetown. The rigidity of its stance remains unshaken in spite of world public opinion. In this context, the relaxation of apartheid laws by South Africa to enable its coloured citizens to compete with their white comrades is significant. If this portends the shape of things to come, then it surely must be welcomed.

It cannot be denied that sport has succeeded where politics has failed. Politics tends to divide men whereas sports bring them closer. Politics creates barriers but it is sports that builds bridges. In view of this, South Africa must be allowed to participate in the Olympics.

The majority of this week's contributors (62 per cent) voted for South Africa's exclusion while 38 per cent wanted South Africa in. Among interesting conditions which some wanted placed on South Africa's participation in the Games was one from Mr Joseph Pulnil of Ranchi.

He advocates that South Africa be allowed to participate only if she would be willing to hold the Games in her country at some point. — Ed.

March 26 in a pitched battle between two groups of students on the Calcutta University campus. One group calling themselves "Naxalites" forced their way onto the campus and demanded that students detained under the PD Act must be released. Armed with lathis, hockey sticks and various missiles, they picketted the gates. They contacted the acting Vice-Chancellor, Mr S. N. Sen, who at their request telephoned the Home Secretary asking him to consider the students' case but nothing tangible seemed to emerge. This enraged the students who then ransacked the University Students' Union room.

Serious clash

The Union, at present controlled by the Right Communists, condemned this action and soon a fresh fight ensued. The matter, however, took a more violent turn when the next day two student groups belonging to the Right Communists and the Naxalites clashed violently for about two hours.

The Naxalites, who launched their attack mainly from the adjoining Presidency College, where they are

reported to be in the majority, seemed well prepared. Brickbats, acid bulbs, soda-water bottles and bombs poured like monsoon showers on the university lawns. With the shrieks of the girl students, panic and confusion prevailed. Students belonging to the other groups then started retaliating. The police soon arrived and restored order, making a number of arrests from the Presidency College. Almost all the student groups, irrespective of party allegiance, strongly criticised the Naxalites for making the campus a forum of violence.

A few days ago, students of Jadavpur University *gheraoed* the Vice-Chancellor and other faculty members for several hours. Reason? They wanted the examination date for the engineering students shifted to a more suitable date.

Tough line by authorities

The authorities remained firm. The Vice-Chancellor, along with the other imprisoned professors, forced an exit from their overnight confinement, resulting in injury to a number of teachers. This caught the students unawares. The authorities also wrote a strong letter to the guardians of

every engineering student, explaining their stand and stating that if any student did not appear for the examination, the responsibility was entirely their own. The dates were not to be changed. This toughness immediately paid off. The students apologised and the situation came under control.

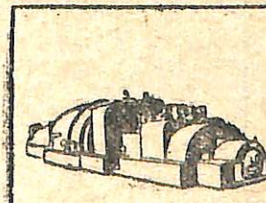
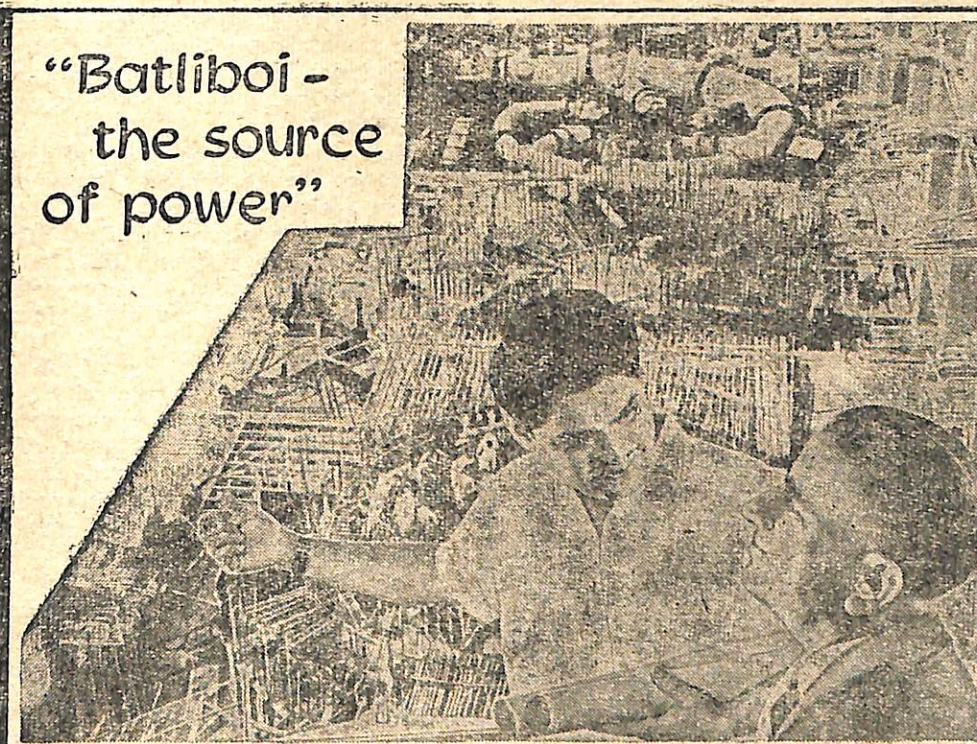
The same unfortunately has not happened at the University of Calcutta and the vacillation of the authorities over every demand of the students has emboldened the students to dictate their own terms today.

one day become true. The conquest of the Moon is one of those: the Russians and Americans will realise it in front of our eyes. Why should Europe not occupy herself with fulfilling another old dream, the dream of getting the people of the world to live together?"

It would be interesting if Servan-Schreiber would write a sequel to his book in which he describes how all the continents can meet the present technological and economic challenges.

P.S.

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sport

Misra confounds tennis bosses

Shiv Prakash Misra was once hailed as champion Ramanathan Krishnan's successor. A member of India's Davis Cup teams he was abruptly struck off the official list last year. He is back in the lime-light again with a vengeance and a big question mark: Why is he not among this year's Davis Cup probables?

Discouraged and dispirited by official apathy if not positive antagonism Misra has been under a cloud ever since his return from Australia last year as a member of the first Asian team to figure in the Davis Cup Challenge final. Spokesmen of the All India Tennis Association first explained his absence from their list as a disciplinary measure and when that was challenged changed it to loss of form and promise.

Misra's reply

Last weekend in the Western India and Maharashtra State Championships at the Bombay Gymkhana courts, Misra delivered his reply. He beat our national champion, Premjit Lall, in a five-set final purely on merit; and humbled the champion again when with Udaykumar he won the men's doubles, beating Lall and Khatau in a four-set final.

India is to meet Ceylon in the East Zone of the Davis Cup in Gauhati (Assam) next month. The Association has named Premjit Lall, Jaideep Mukerjee and Shyam Minotra as the certainties, with juniors Gaurav Misra and Anant Amritraj as possibles. Shiv Prakash Misra has now staked a definite claim for re-inclusion in the Davis Cup campaign. If merit and form are the criterion for national selection, the officials cannot overlook him.

Open tennis

The International Lawn Tennis Federation has bowed to the challenge of open tennis championed by Britain. It has agreed to permit professionals and non-professionals to play together at Wimbledon and in other approved tournaments.

This means that cash prizes can be offered and accepted and a new category of players who are neither full-time professionals nor pure amateurs get official recognition. The Federation thereby hopes to maintain the status of national tennis associations.

This arrangement is bound to affect the future of the game at an international level, for it is not all tournament promoters who can foot the heavy bill for conducting these open tournaments; so those who cannot afford it will have to do without top players. The crux of the many problems that will now arise will be the Davis Cup — symbol of world team supremacy. Unless it is confined to pure

amateurs as in the past, many small tennis nations will drop out. If it is limited to genuine amateurs it may lose its importance and attraction.

The Davis Cup competition is controlled by a trust and not by the International Lawn Tennis Federation. The innovation of open tennis, though accepted by the Federation, therefore, need not be binding on the trustees of the Davis Cup. How this poser will be solved is of vital importance to the tennis world, with India among the most keenly interested nations.

Keep Davis Cup for amateurs

The reaction to open tennis in the form accepted by the Federation is varied. Even Britain, the sponsor of the crusade against sham amateurism, does not appear to be fully satisfied with the makeshift arrangement. A typical reaction is that of Spanish ace and former Wimbledon champion Manuel Santana. He feels that open tennis will be grand to watch but will be hard on the thousands of budding amateurs who would have to run up against mature professionals in every major tournament. Retaining the Davis Cup at least for the pure amateur, perhaps, will alleviate the handicap for those who play tennis for the game's sake and not for the cash it offers.

A cricket double

Hindu Gymkhana, who retained the 50-over-innings Talim Shield for clubs a week earlier, completed a handsome club cricket double last week-end by successfully defending the Purshottam Shield against Dadar Union by four wickets.

The Gymkhana seemed to have caught a tartar when they sent in Dadar Union to bat first and could not get them out till the end of the first day of the three-day final while 325 runs were scored for 8 wickets. Dadar skipper V. P. Paranjpe went on to complete his century (126) before the side was out for an impressive total of 365.

Two runs per minute

In their turn the Gymkhana were shot out for 243, V. S. Patil being the main wicket-taker with 4 for 61. The Dadar team, with the first-innings lead of 122, had only to draw the match to claim the shield; and that appeared the probable outcome even when they were out for a meagre 169 (E. Solkar 5 for 54) in their second innings. The Gymkhana faced the improbable task of knocking up 292 to win in only three hours of play left.

But get those runs, the Gymkhana did — scoring at the rate of almost two runs a minute! The hero was Kishore Rao, who carried his bat for a splendid 164 runs, outstripping the clock all the way. The Gymkhana scored 292 in only 150 minutes.

● **topscorer**

This India

SAINTS AND RASCALS

How does one become a changer of men's lives?

The world is teeming with difficult people. One comes across them daily. The art of winning and changing people can be acquired by anyone. Anyone you meet whether they be Communist, capitalist, difficult parent or difficult child, adamant manager or worker, blackmarketeer, drunkard or Viet Cong-type guerrilla.

A well-known Indian General said that it takes 10 ordinary soldiers to combat one guerrilla. In Malaysia during the 1949 uprising the British had adequate armed strength in this ratio and the Communists were put down. In Vietnam today this ratio is four to one and America is fighting a losing battle.

Guerrilla-trained armies are being prepared in India: the "Gopal Sena", named after the Kerala Communist leader A. K. Gopalan which already has a strength of 20,000 and aspires for 60,000; the "Lachit Sena" of Assam and its like in Bengal and other parts of India.

We grumble about the increase in railway and postal rates but the black money out of circulation in the country is equivalent to our national budget. Then there are the escapists — some elegant and sophisticated, escaping from conscience into transcendental meditation, questing for happiness and trying to achieve a state of vague "absolutes".

How do we change them all? Force does not change people. Every totalitarian society has proved that. Nor does environment or education. Telling people what they should do often has the opposite effect. Many spiritual societies propound the truth but fail to do the job.

There goes the story of the eye doctor who went to the sixth floor balcony, surveyed the patients standing below and dropped a bucket of eye medicine on them. Another doctor took the patients one by one and with a dropper put the appropriate medicine into each eye.

In life-changing there is no substitute for meeting the needs of people individually, making friends with them, taking a genuine interest in them and listening to what they have to say.

Setting a good example is inspiring but not enough. Most people admire the example from a distance and keep their distance. People are more interested when you tell them what a rascal you have been and how you have changed rather than what a saint you try to be.

Neerja Chowdhury

This was a Life

LOUIS GONZALVE
HUBERT LYAUTEY

1854-1934

"MARSHAL LYAUTEY and Felix Eboue* were the two greatest colonial administrators in history," said a British official about these two Frenchmen.

Born in Nancy in 1854 and educated at St Cyr Military Academy, Lyautey in 1897 went to Madagascar as Chief of Staff and brought order to the south of that turbulent isle.

By 1906 he was in North Africa. In 1911, Atlas Berbers ousted the Alawid monarchy of Morocco. Pasha El-Glaoui of Marrakesh knew that Morocco could not survive in an industrialised imperialist world, in which Germany and France and Britain were tearing Africa apart, unless its own internal troubles were solved. He turned to France's Prime Minister Poincare who appointed General Lyautey to help.

Lyautey laid down that two Moroccans should be attached to every French civil servant. In 1925 he wrote: "We have not entirely succeeded, for it is hard, after a gruelling day's work to wait while two other people master and solve a problem which you could settle out of hand and go home! But we can say we leave Morocco a cadre of men trained, however inadequately, to run their country when the time comes."

In 13 years Lyautey laid a road network that ended inter-regional hostilities; introduced Courts of Appeal as a supreme guarantee of Moroccan rights; established an up-to-date education system, including laying the foundations of universal free schooling and setting up of primary schools in every village; introduced the Registration of Deeds in a country where no Land Statute had previously existed; initiated the purchase of lands by the State.

By his later use of these lands, reselling some to French settlers who introduced modern agricultural methods, and using the rest for immense public works, he created a new economic prosperity. He regulated the exploitation of Morocco's immense mineral wealth. The phosphate mines of Oued Zem were developed to produce 80 per cent of the world production.

Whatever Morocco's troubles may have been since 1925, they would have been far worse but for the heritage left by Lyautey.

F. J. G.

*NEXT WEEK: Felix Eboue

COMMISSIONS IGNORED

FOR our democratic social Government it has become a part of regular business to appoint commissions and committees for everything. They are appointed with great fanfare and are headed by responsible statesmen. Also each committee and commission requires a good amount of money and consumes the precious time and energy of many responsible persons.

But what is more surprising is that their verdicts are not faithfully honoured. They are simply rejected. How Mr Bhoothalingam's recommendations of rationalisation and simplification of the tax structure was treated proves the above contention. Justice Meherchand Mahajan after submitting his report has left this world, but our Government is yet to decide whether to accept it or not.

Before thinking of appointing any new commission or committee our Government should make it clear that it will not dishonour its verdict. Also our responsible leaders, before agreeing to head any new committee or commission, should ask for a guarantee from the Government that its report will not be thrown into the waste-paper basket.

K. RAMASWAMY, Bombay 22

ALL PARTIES TO BLAME

It is very distressing to note that floor-crossing and abuse of democracy by all means have become a fashion of the day for our politicians. The toppling of ministries is no more a rare phenomenon. All parties including the Congress seem to encourage defections.

D. SURENDRANATH, Pondicherry 6

REGIONALISM RAMPANT

THE UNCHECKED GROWTH of organisations like Shiv Sena in Maharashtra and the Lachit Sena in Assam raises public anxiety. Mr Chavan's ringing assurance that all measures would be taken to ensure the safety of people living in states other than their own is good as far as it goes. But there are occasions when institutional correctives must be supplemented by education, propaganda and social research to identify and then eliminate the sources which breed rampant regionalism.

Unscrupulous politicians incite feelings of antipathy against the people of a neighbouring state by a mixture of ersatz glorification of the allegedly historic past of their particular audiences with derogatory references to the allegedly shabby past and grubby ways of the minorities living in their midst. Nowadays these emotions are respectably dressed up in the guise of movements merely demanding equality and justice in terms of employment, housing, education and other opportunities. The majority of the inhabitants of a particular state are held to have been denied their "fair" share by outside usurpers. It is easy, in conditions of great privation, as the Nazis demonstrated in Germany, to build a movement of hate by appealing to the wolf-pack mentality.

The peril to nationhood is implicit in such phenomena as the Shiv Sena and

Letters

the Lachit Sena. They generate retaliatory movements in a chain reaction and the concept of oneness which, always somewhat tenuous, may vanish altogether.

T. S. PRASAD, Mysore 1

ISRAEL LOSES SYMPATHY

AFTER the six-day war and military victory of Israel we are not yet certain what the future holds in the Middle East. Israel had much moral backing and sympathy of the outside world during the crisis. But their stubborn refusal to return the conquered Arab territories and the revengeful attacks on the "so-called guerilla camps" in Jordan as reported last week have distressed many of their sympathisers. Neither Israel nor the Arab countries have much cause to be proud of their respective record in international accommodation since 1948.

It is very disheartening that due to our over-enthusiastic support of the Arab cause we are not in a position to be of any help in evolving a peaceful solution in the Middle East crisis. We have also not earned the gratitude of the Arab countries. It is worth recalling that not long ago in the UN election for the Security Council seat 12 out of the 13 Arab countries including UAR are reputed to have voted against us.

It is high time that we shaped our foreign policy according to the realities of the situation facing our nation.

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

WIDE HORIZONS

I HAVE been constantly reading your esteemed journal HIMMAT and the same has enriched my horizons beyond measure. There is no other such stimulating journal. To crown it all, HIMMAT is a compendium of general knowledge and information.

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Brains and the ego

by Rajmohan Gandhi

"STUPIDITY," Acharya Kripalani told me, "has three stages. There is the stupid man who knows he is stupid. There is the stupid man who thinks he is not. Finally, there is the stupid man who thinks he is wise."

We can all decide where others stand.

Stupid we Indians might be in some matters. But there are skills in the practice of which we are not illiterate. Listen, for instance, to this story.

Waylaid by goondas

"A young man working in Calcutta decided to visit his wife and in-laws in his village in Uttar Pradesh. He bought the necessary gifts, took a train, got off at a station five miles from the village, and was walking to it — it was getting dark — when he was waylaid by about ten goondas. They took everything. At his father-in-law's he told the whole story and went to bed.

"After his bath in the morning he asked his young brother-in-law, aged 10, for a new dhoti. Putting it on, he thought it felt familiar. Unbelieving, but curious, he looked for a hole in it caused by a cigarette in the train. Sure enough, it was there.

"He decided to tell the police. The police sub-inspector to whom he reported was wearing his watch. The *havaladar* who took down the details did so with his pen.

Murder plot

"When he returned to the in-laws, he did not know that they were plotting to murder him. However, they had reckoned without their daughter, the man's wife. Getting wind of the scheme she ran miles to the nearby town, found the police inspector, convinced his wife, and persuaded them to send a police party. The posse arrived literally a few seconds before the man's neck was strangled. They saved him and arrested the lot."

An unusual man told me this story. A labour leader in Delhi, he has a sense of what the coun-

try needs as well as of humour. He was sitting with three other labour leaders and a railway guard in a tiny room in a room-and-a-half of a house in a workers' colony. They were all from Uttar Pradesh. They were all uncommon.

They were conferring about a bitter strike in an engineering plant that had kept over 200 men out of work for a month. Selfishness had conquered on both sides. There were stories of every kind of dishonesty.

None of these men was directly or indirectly connected with the plant or the strike. None was commissioned by either side to assist. Yet they were all concerned, and had made up their minds to do something, because they felt for the 200-odd workers and families, and because they wanted to create a pattern of how a hate-filled industrial dispute could be solved.

True democracy in action

Here was true democracy in action. If the ordinary Indian man and woman was going to think and act to help neighbours in need, the new India was not far.

There are those who help or serve because they are paid to, or because their post or job obliges them to. They clearly have a part to play in solving our problems. But if practical and intelligent responsibility to put right what is wrong around us spreads as a habit and as a way of life, India will become a country with lessons for the world.

Failure in private behaviour

Nirad Chaudhuri writing in *The Hindustan Times* says, "Most of our political behaviour today is an extension of the pattern of our private behaviour. In this private behaviour one finds an unnatural readiness to take offence, to imagine offence, and talk about insults and snubs.

"This failing in private behaviour is spilling out into our diplomacy and international relations."

Criticising official and unofficial Indian attacks on the British on



the Kenya Asians issue, he says, "We know that if we said something strong against the Africans they would not be discreet or soft-spoken, but would give back more than what they receive: on the other hand, the British Government, if not the British people, would take it lying down."

Absolute principles

Nirad Chaudhuri makes a point which I believe is key: "We should, however, judge our behaviour not with reference to the British weakness vis-a-vis India, but in the light of absolute principles which will make India appear really strong and great to the outside world."

A brilliant professor came to the Moral Re-Armament centre at Panchgani. He heard from different people of how Moral Re-Armament was turning enemies into friends, uniting brothers, ending dishonesty, supplying courage. Someone told him of the four standards of absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. The professor said, "But does this way of life really satisfy one's ego?" "The ego is meant to be crucified, not satisfied," was the reply. "I didn't know Moral Re-Armament was so direct," said the professor.

Three stages of wisdom

A man told the professor of how he used to want to be big and important in other people's eyes, and how he had decided to live to make the other man great. "Living to make the other man great!" the professor repeated. "Quite an idea. I never thought of that before. I have wanted to make myself great."

The professor decided he would change and live a life that would show an answer to students, politicians, businessmen and workers.

Perhaps wisdom also has three stages. The wise man who knows he is wise. Then the wise man who thinks he is not. And, finally, the wise man who realises he is stupid and needs the help and ideas of other men and of God.

We can all decide where we stand.

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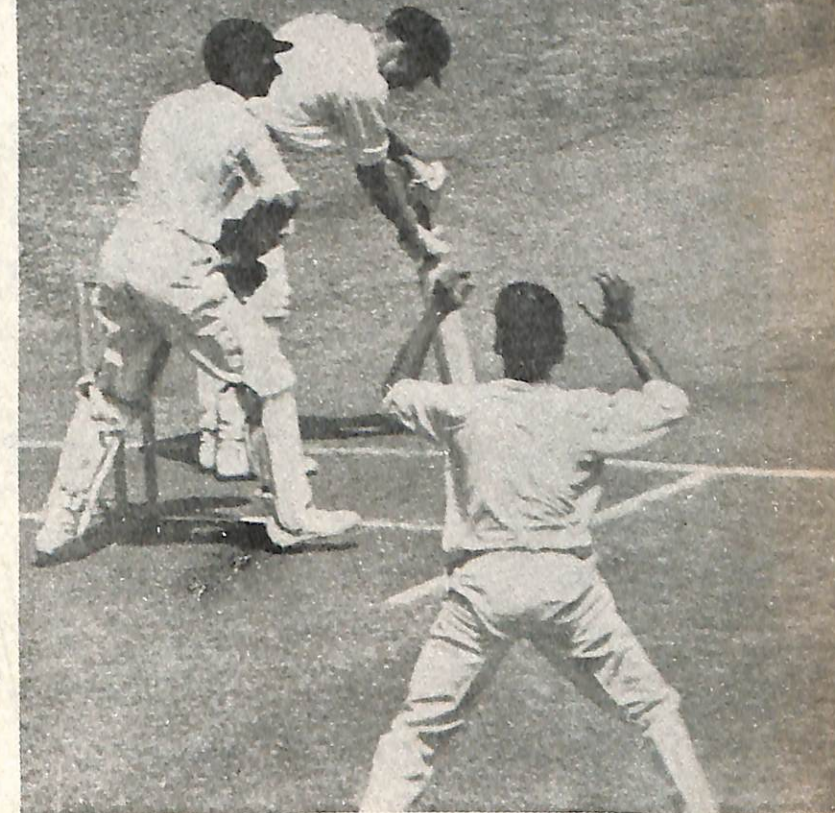
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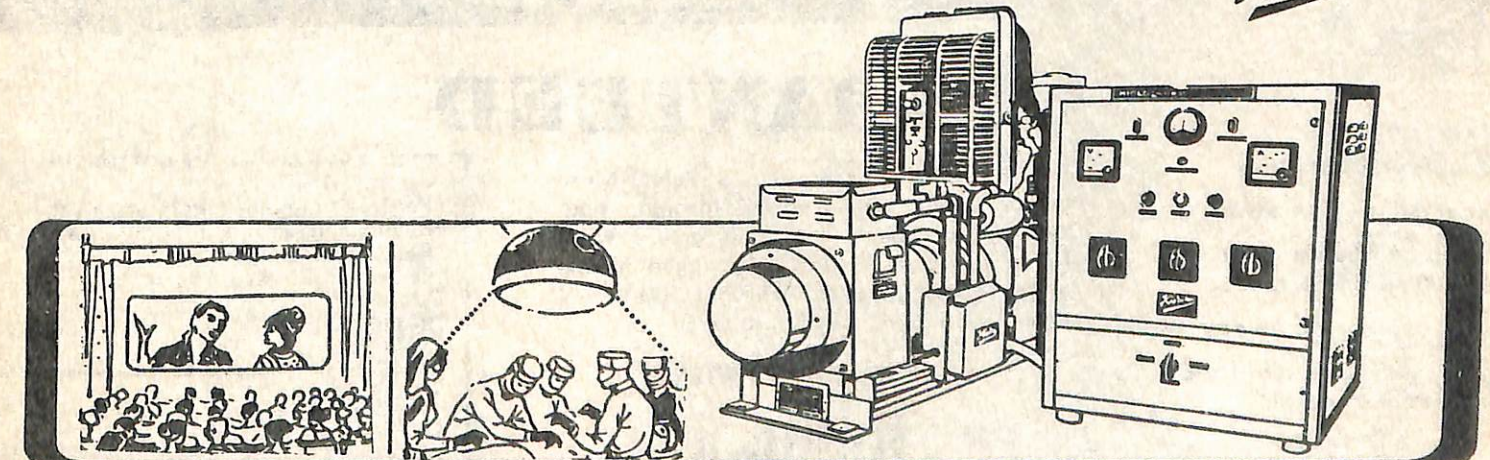
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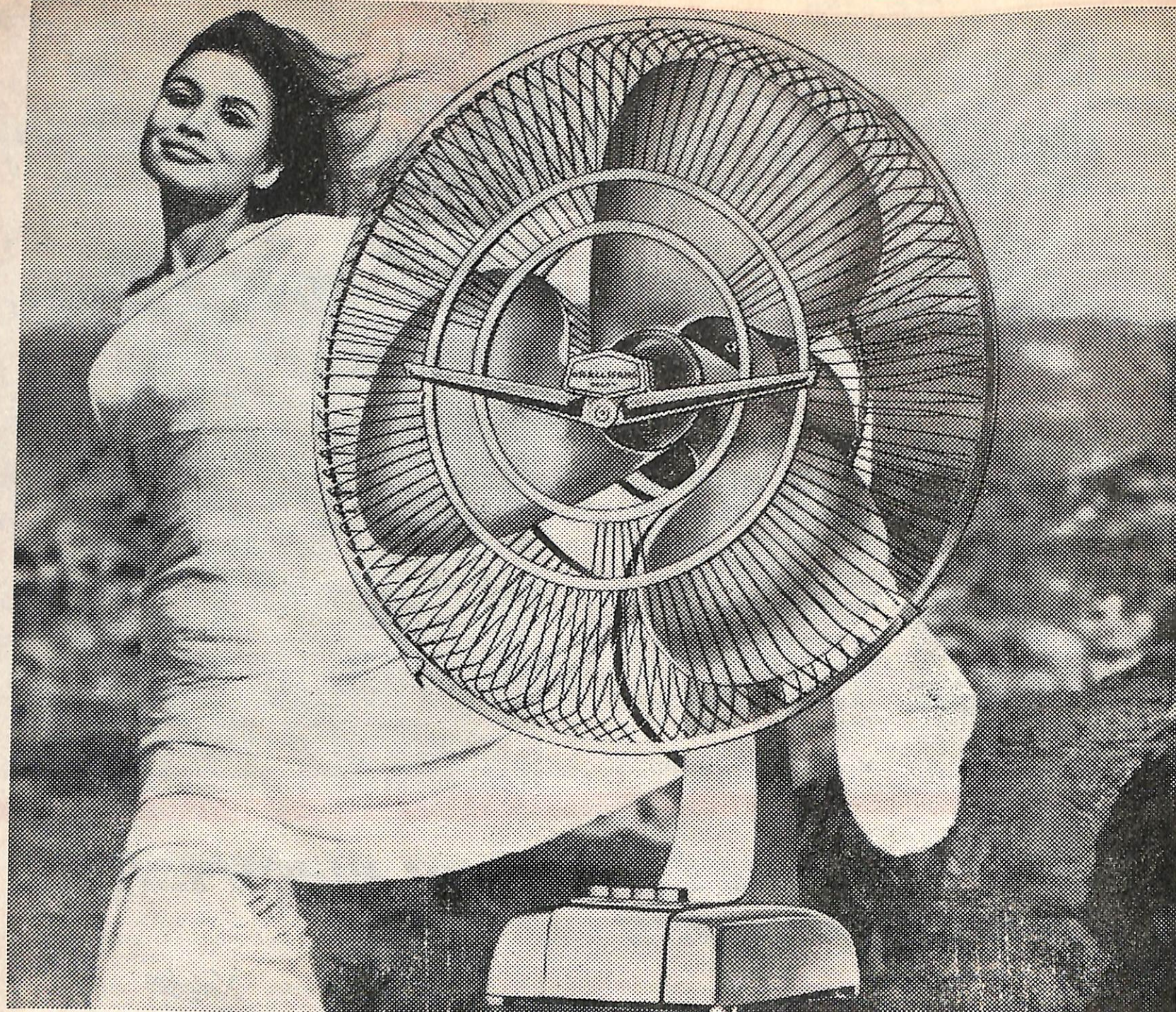
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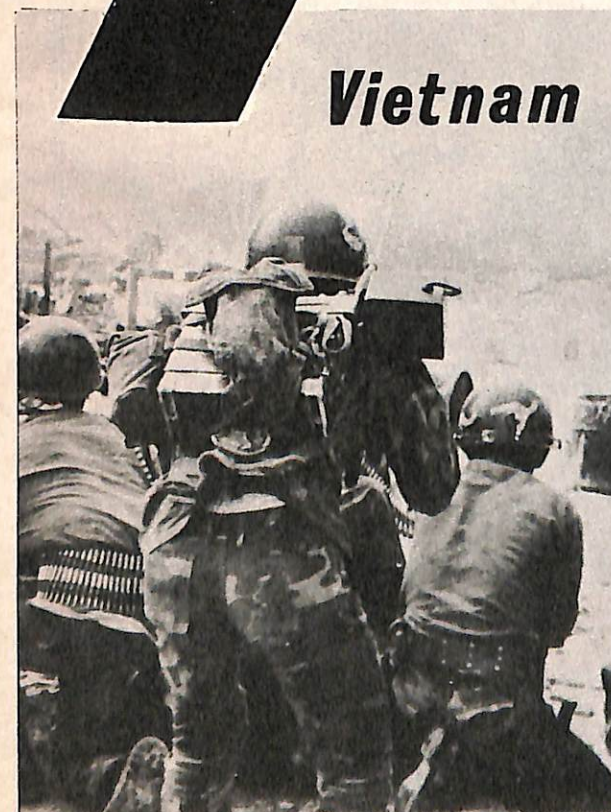
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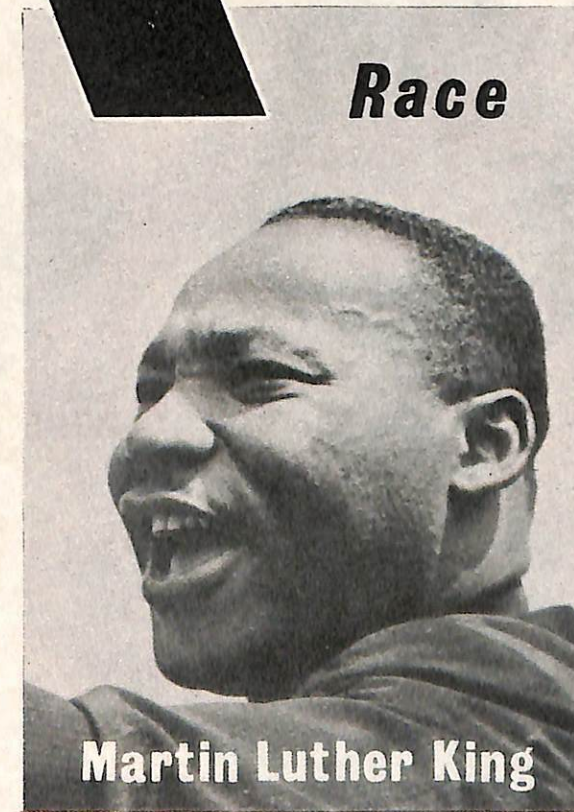
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Martin Luther King

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