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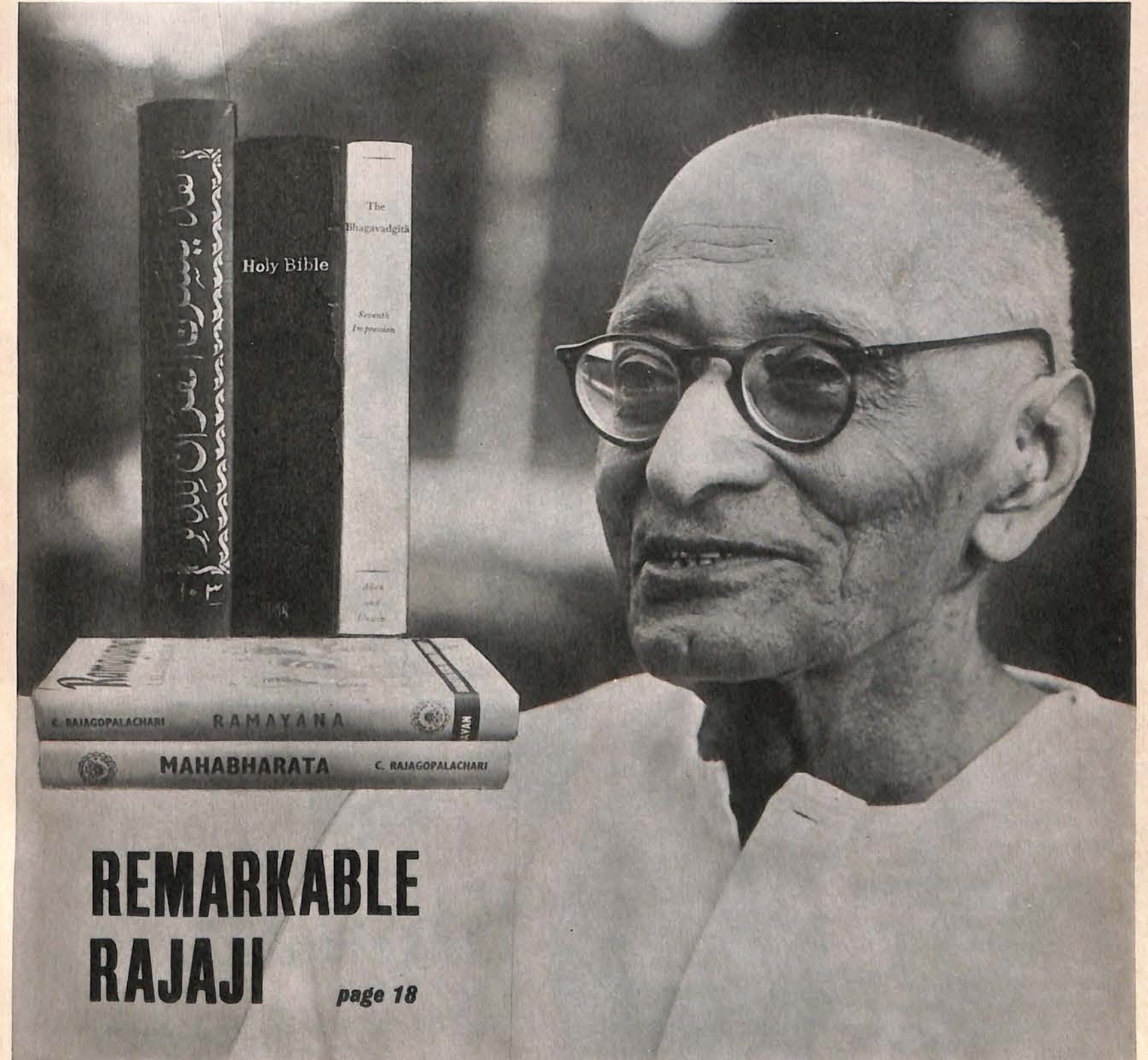
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HIMMAT

25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



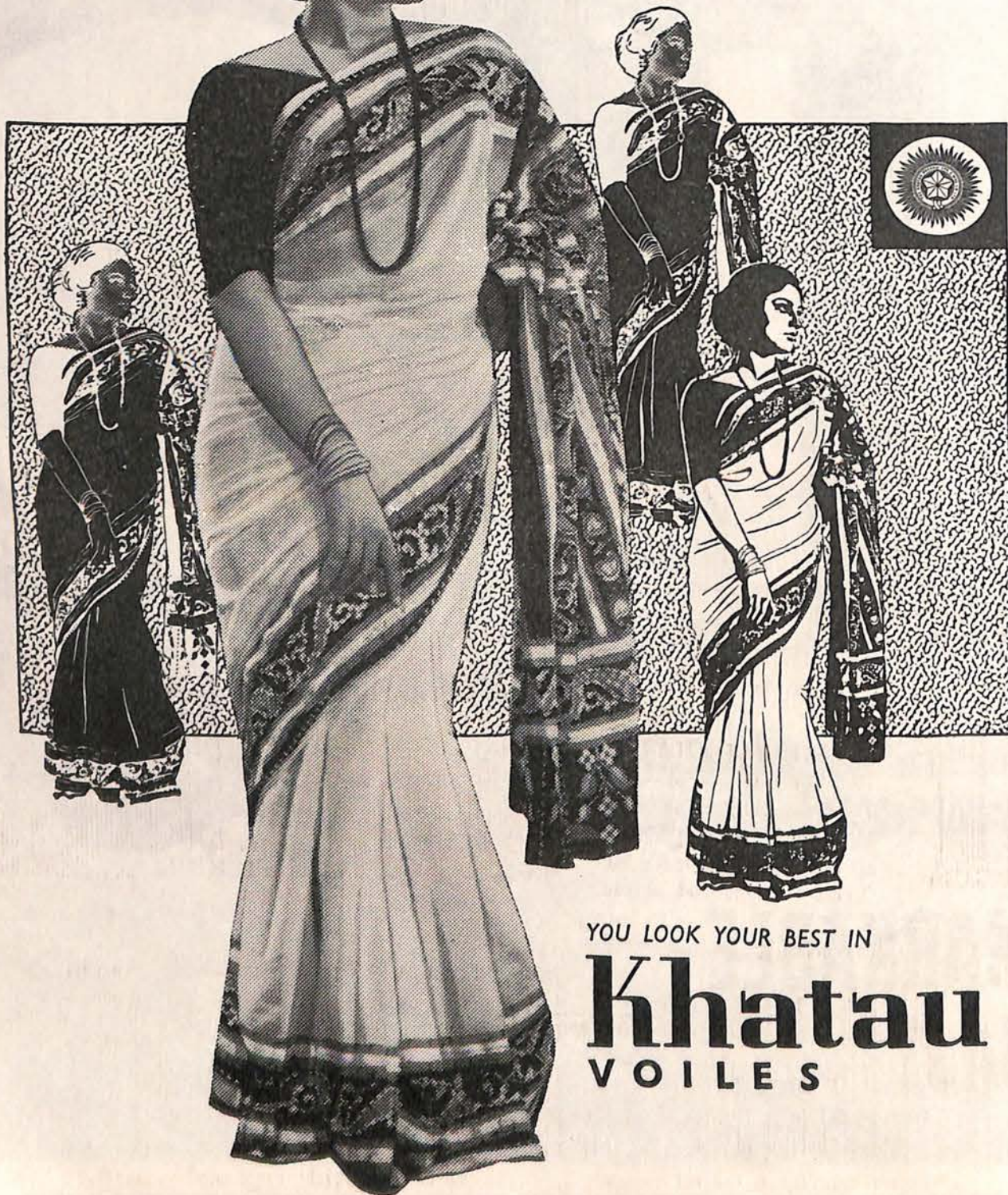
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1964

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LEARN FROM TIBET

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any place ...
any occasion ...



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, December 11, 1964

Vol. 1 No. 6

Truth-Aligned

MR. LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI is back from London. He obviously enjoyed his first visit to the West. He showed grace when he sought out the chauffeur of his car and the two motorcycle outriders to say goodbye.

India and Britain have a unique part to play together.

Did Mr. Wilson and Mr. Shastri discover what this role could be? They seem to have had a cordial round of talks. Each understood the other's position. But they did not arrive at a new concept of partnership for a truer enrichment of mankind.

HIMMAT also suspects that they did not find a strategy adequate to counter Chinese expansion.

Mr. Wilson, apparently, urged Mr. Shastri to continue with non-alignment. Mr. Wilson's views are important, but his endorsement does not mean that non-alignment is *enough* for India.

Mr. Wilson is like many in the West today who believe that the way to deal with Communism is to avoid confronting it directly. He thinks that trade, cultural, intellectual and social contacts with the West will soften Communism. He believes, too, that Communism contains the seed that will destroy it.

India's spirit, HIMMAT believes, looks at Communism differently. It understands Communism as a force that challenges the eternal distinction between good and evil.

Non-alignment may or may not be, militarily, a good policy for India's defence. It is certainly inadequate to deal with Communism's assault on the character of man.

What India needs is truth-alignment. This will satisfy India's spirit—and India's political, economic and military interest.

Still Alive

FRIENDS OF CEYLON have been concerned at the growing trend towards dictatorship in that country. There were reports that the power behind Mrs. Bandaranaike, her nephew Mr. Felix Bandaranaike, wanted to be the press overlord and that he was the genius behind the Press Bill to nationalise the Associated Group of Newspapers, largest of its kind in Ceylon. The coalition Mrs. Bandaranaike entered into with the Trotskyite group was driving her Cabinet further towards dictatorship. Men who egged Mrs. Bandaranaike on appeared to be riding high. They were riding for a fall. Senior Minister C. P. De Silva and thirteen others crossed the floor of the House and the Government lost by one vote.

It is a sign of a healthy democracy that the Government's Press Bill received vigorous opposition in Ceylon. It is another healthy sign that Mrs. Bandaranaike who was no doubt under pressure *not* to resign, has held to democratic tradition and offered to dissolve Parliament. She hopes to lead her party in fresh

elections. When lamps of freedom are dimmed around India, HIMMAT is grateful that democracy, though somewhat battered, is still alive in neighbouring Ceylon.

The coming weeks are crucial. Between now and the promised elections, the use of force, violence and strikes cannot be ruled out. Instead of being concerned only about the Indo-Ceylon agreement and the effect on it of the Bandaranaike Government's fall, Indians need to watch and pray that nothing happens that endangers freedom in Ceylon.

What's Our Message?

CHOU EN-LAI is about to set off on his second tour of Africa. India's Foreign Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, will soon journey to Indonesia and Mrs. Indira Gandhi is expected to visit Burma on December 16.

The world knows what China's Prime Minister will attempt in Africa: the Communisation, Peking style, of the whole continent.

Is the purpose of India's two Cabinet Ministers clear, as they prepare for their important missions?

Reports indicate that Moscow has finally abandoned the December 15 meeting of the world Communist parties. According to Reuter, Peking's leaders have also rejected Moscow's proposal for a preparatory meeting in March to plan for a major gathering of 26 Communist parties next year.

Instead, Peking has chosen to consolidate Africa in her bid for the leadership of the Communist world.

The forthcoming Afro-Asian Conference is due to take place in Algiers in March or April. Chou En-lai's African tour is expected to culminate in a strong move at the Algiers conference to organise a block of African, Asian and Latin American nations in opposition to Europe, Russia and the United States. Chou will attempt to replace the fading class war of Marx with the colour war of Mao.

HIMMAT fears that India's voice in Djakarta and Rangoon will be a defensive, explanatory one. Rather than telling Sukarno that India is "a peace-loving country" which wants to see Indonesia's "border conflict" with Malaysia settled in an amiable manner, could Mr. Swaran Singh not make clear to Sukarno what Indians feel about his aggression against Malaysia, and challenge the Indonesian nation to stand squarely with India and other free nations of Asia for an ideology superior to China's Communism?

Will Mrs. Gandhi only plead for Burma's friendship and assure her of India's goodwill? Or will she oppose in clear terms the mass expulsion of our people from Burma? Can she not, as a representative of one fifth of the human race, proclaim a revolutionary purpose which Burma could join India, Ceylon and her other neighbours in giving to China.

We have fallen so in love with the image of a "non-aligned, peace-loving, tolerant" India that we have ceased to think of our role in the struggle between good and evil.

Briefly Speaking...

More Congo Facts

FURTHER TO HIMMAT's article *Look Again At Africa* last week, three facts have come to light:

1. The Indian High Commissioner has lodged a protest with the Kenya Government at the anti-Indian mob demonstration incident in Nairobi.

2. 43 Indians have been rescued by the "imperialist" U.S.-Belgian para-troop operation.

3. *The Hindustan Times* of last Friday reports that Mr. Gbenye, the so-called President of the rebel Congo, said: "We will make our fetishes with the hearts of Americans and Belgians and we will dress ourselves in their skins." Then began the festival of the "new clothes." People were paraded in the streets....."

One of those rescued, Father Leonard Mueller of Austria, who has experience of a Japanese concentration camp, was more than shaken in the Congo. "May it suffice to say," he said, "that they tore out hearts of the prisoners and ate them still warm."

Perhaps Lord Russell would lodge a protest with "President" Gbenye and his fellow rebel Congolese with whom his influence may be a little greater than with the West.

Even in Sports

A PRESS TRUST OF INDIA report from Colombo, December 5, says: "India

suffered a setback in the Quadrangular Basketball Tournament here today when they lost to Pakistan by 70 points to 76. The match was marred by 'wild, partisan and unsporting' behaviour of the Iran team in favour of Pakistan."

Can't we lose a game sportingly, or must we blame somebody for it?

In dozens of cricket matches against foreign teams in India, crowds of thousands join in shouting, hooting, catcalls and reflecting mirrors against visiting batsmen. Anything the Iranians could have done from a distance would have been mild compared to the treatment we are capable of giving visiting teams in India.

Our national news agency will do well to report news rather than give reasons why India could not win.

What's Your Score?

BRITAIN'S FIRST SECRETARY, Mr. George Brown, relates the advice given to him when he joined the late Ernest Bevin as a raw recruit of 22.

Bevin, General Secretary of the largest trade union in the world—the Transport and General Workers' Union, advised young Brown, "Don't worry about making mistakes as long as you know it was a mistake. If you can get it right 60 per cent of the time you will be a better General Secretary than I have ever been."

Jet-Speed

WHICH is more efficient, the public or the private sector?

I have an instance when an urgent package was sent from Delhi by airfreight on the Wednesday morning I.A.C. flight. It reached Bombay airport at 10.55 a.m. The afternoon of the same day a bearer was sent to collect the parcel from the office of a private firm that has the contract for handling I.A.C. cargo. They said the parcel had not arrived from the airport and could be only collected from their office in the city the next day after 12.30 p.m.

Should a parcel that comes from Delhi to Bombay in four hours take over 24 hours to travel from Bombay airport to the city? The public deserves better service than this. If I.A.C. wishes to give the work of handling cargo to a private firm, let them at least see to it that the I.A.C. customers are not inconvenienced.

The general public is not so much interested in private or public enterprise. It is interested in ENTERPRISE.

R.M.L.

LETTER

LEAST WE CAN DO

Sir,

All Malaysians, and particularly Malaysian Indians, are grateful to you for your excellent editorial urging the Indian Government to speak out boldly on the Malaysian dispute.

You have spoken for thousands who are wondering at the Government's lukewarm attitude towards this vital issue. The confrontation policy of Indonesia, under Sukarno, is a threat not only to Malaysia but eventually to all Asia, not excluding India.

It is essential for the Indian Government to realise this and to support Malaysia in her present difficulty. This is the least India can do for a nation which condemned China's attack on India and raised a timely gesture shown by no other Asian country.

S. MUTHU

Madras 30

Stop This Witch-Hunt

by The Editor

measures could not have fed even the capital city of India for more than a few days.

Now the Ministers assure us the harvest is good. The shallowness of the Government's attitude to the traders is brought out by the Director General of the F.A.O., Dr. B. R. Sen, who said last week that the present trend of considering India's food crisis temporary was too optimistic and too complacent. He added that the crisis was deep in India's economy and needed long term treatment and a continued, well thought-out policy, both for food production and distribution. He did not blame the traders for the food crisis.

Only the most gullible will believe that just one class, one race, one community or one language group is more corrupt than the other. Politicians, as recent events in Punjab and Orissa have shown, can be man eaters too.

Man Eaters

The bureaucrats are not above board. Their grip on the nation is so great that not only the businessman but the farmer, the professional man, the teacher have begun to feel their grip. Ask these common people, Mr. Krishnamachari, where they think the real jungle is and where the man eaters sit. You may be surprised.

HITLER ROUSED Germany's hatred against the Jewish race. Mao Tse-tung fanned China's anger against the peasant landlord class. The end result of this hate campaign was the liquidation of millions of Germans and Chinese.

There are signs that a pale version of this technique of Hitler and Mao is being increasingly resorted to by the rulers of India. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Finance Minister, says in Parliament that the law of the jungle dominates our economic front. The implication is that another class of people have created the jungle and it is the Government's duty to go with a shotgun and slay the "man eaters."

Whipping it Up

Mr. Krishnamachari has the power to initiate whatever legislation is necessary to look after the economic interests of the nation. That is one thing. To whip up the anger of the people—suffering under rising prices and lack of food—against another class like the business community is quite another.

The Finance Minister is reported to have said last week, "What we want to do is to give a decent living to the masses by curbing the acquisitive instinct of some sections of the people....."

Surely, Mr. Krishnamachari, even if you liquidate a section of the people with the acquisitive instinct, all you will create will be another class with the same acquisitive instinct. The problem is much bigger than any class. It is the whole nation's character you have to tackle.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari is not the only Minister to indulge in this game. Recent months have shown many instances. Last June and July an acute food shortage hit India. Prices soared. The Government had bungled, yet no one in the Government admitted the mistake. Instead, Minister after Minister tried to foment the anger of the nation against the traders. The traders were threatened with dire consequences, compelled to fill in various forms, some were jailed. The Government raided certain godowns. Yet the total amount of grain recovered by these

Denouncing another class, the business community, is cheap. It is no solution. It is the refuge of men more concerned to maintain their power than put their house in order.

Honesty will help the Government and the Ministers as well as the people of India. When Parliament was furious with the Union Food Minister for the shortages in Kerala, the Lok Sabha witnessed one of its rare occasions when the Minister admitted it was his fault and said if it was repeated he would pay "the political price." This is the sort of language the Indian people understand.

Won't Stop Short

One Minister fully honest about himself could bring a new climate to the entire Cabinet. One M.P. who puts right dishonesty in his election expenses could bring a new climate to the whole Parliament. One civil servant honest about the pressures exerted on him of influence and money will inspire others to clean up the nation.

It is not inconceivable that some businessmen could change, pay their taxes, put right their pricing where it needs to be, say that their job henceforth will be to clean out the dirt in every aspect of the nation's life. Such

(Continued on page 15)

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Britain's Race Problem

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

IF THE COMMONWEALTH is to count in today's world, it must abolish all barriers of race.

Will there be, with the change of government, a new, bold, imaginative line in Britain? Or just the old negative one of resisting white supremacy in Rhodesia and elsewhere? And will the field be left open to Chinese-fomented racialism in Africa and Asia?

Race in Britain is now a major political force. It exploded at Smethwick and unseated the Labour Foreign Minister, Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker. Immigration policy and daily frictions between the communities here could keep it simmering. Labour's open door policy has already been modified, Tory-inspired immigration quotas will almost certainly stay.

There are 800,000 immigrants from India, Pakistan and the West Indies now in the country and at the present rate there will be 3,000,000 by the end of the century. These numbers alone point to a sizeable, and swelling, minority question.

Political Football

If this issue continues to be treated as a political football, it will do incalculable harm. Both parties are responsible. The Conservatives shout that 90 per cent of the Working Men's Clubs for ten miles around Smethwick operate a colour bar. Labour say Nazi-type salutes were given after the Tory victory at the polls there.

In truth it is a human problem, not a class or political one. Colonel Blimps and conservative-minded working men both easily resent intrusion on their comfortable privacy, secure jobs, schools and land values. The immigrants, too, need to learn to adapt themselves to life in a country of different traditions and ways.

Causes of friction are often small enough. In Southall, West of London, where some 6,000 Indians and Pakistanis have settled, the residents objected to strange cooking smells, dirty and over-crowded houses and children having to be taught English in schools thus supposedly retarding local children. Property values dec-

lined where Asians moved in, they added. The immigrants felt the English were standoffish and that they were discriminated against, for instance by building societies only one of which would advance mortgage loans to buy houses.

Students say most landlords refuse men of colour. They are borne out by the 62 per cent of Oxford lodgings-keepers who, as one survey found, hesitate to take Asian or African applications. These landlords again point to dirt, immorality and rowdiness as their reasons, not race, and to the high rate of illegitimate births from immigrant parents.

Obviously, changes are needed all round. But when community leaders have an aim beyond their own people's prosperity relations prosper.

China's Growing Trade with South Africa

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Nairobi

A RE-APPRAISAL of the African attitude to the boycott of South Africa has been taking place since the Cairo meeting in July of the 33 African Heads of State. This has been tempered by the economic realities facing the newly independent states, particularly those neighbouring the South African Republic.

Both Dr. Kaunda of Zambia and Dr. Banda of Malawi have frankly opposed boycott action for the practical reason that the economic repercussions in their own countries would be disastrous. They still depend on South African imports and, in the case of Zambia, on South African skills in the copper mines.

Only 4 per cent of South Africa's total trade is with the rest of Africa. Economic sanctions imposed by these states could have no appreciable impact on the Republic. They can only be of "protest" value and serve to increase race-hate which is being whipped up at every opportunity.

Meanwhile, China, which advocated the boycott of South African goods, has in fact increased its own trade with the Republic. This was reported recently by the Tass News

When Sardul Singh Gill, President of Southall's Indian Workers Association, declared his aim to make Southall "the answer to Alabama," his aim was seen to be big enough to unite the two communities. Vision like his could come true if both sides back it with action. He showed promise when he instituted a competition amongst the Asian community for the best-kept home.

The widespread criticism of South Africa here cannot hide the fact that Britons' superiority and fear of prolific coloured communities are every bit as strong as that of the South African promoters of apartheid whom they vituperate.

This human problem will only be solved as men of courage and vision clash with the pride and fear which are at the root of racialism and offer all races an aim big enough to require common action. In this way the Commonwealth can pattern the greatest inter-racial brotherhood of all time. Without it, all their ideals will splinter on the rocks of hate.

Agency and is confirmed by the publication of trade statistics in Pretoria. During 1961-1963 South Africa's imports from China trebled, and exports to China from South Africa rose from nil to over £2 million.

During the current session of the United Nations the question of future sanctions against the South African Government will focus on an oil embargo. This could bring the major part of South African industry to a halt. But it would have to be enforced by a blockade requiring the assistance of naval powers like the United States—nations that financially stand to lose most by such action.

The declared purpose of sanctions is to compel the Verwoerd Government to convene a national convention of leaders of all races at which a new constitution would be devised to extend democratic privileges throughout the country.

This the present South African Government is committed to resist, with force if necessary. If sanctions fail the alternative could be war.

"A dialogue of reconciliation", which responsible leaders in Kenya and Zambia are known to favour, could present a third way. It is an opportunity that should be considered on both sides.

WANTED: A Colour-Blind World

by Peter Howard

Author, playwright, sportsman and revolutionary leader of Moral Re-Armament, Mr. Peter Howard is currently drawing a huge response in American colleges and universities. The following article is compiled from some of his recent talks to them.—Ed.

THE WHOLE WORLD is hoping, longing and praying to see a great society. A great society is only created by great people. Big purses don't make a great society. Big welfare schemes don't. Laws, however important, and they are important, don't make people great. What makes people great is greatness of character—people free from the selfishness, fear, the hates and greeds that have made so many nations small in the midst of prosperity and power.

The white man's world statistically is ending. Some people think it will be a red world. Some people think it will be a yellow world. Some may think it will be a black world. I would like to see a world that was colour-blind because it was character-built. I would like to see a world where freedom was normal because men and women learned to live under the guidance of Almighty God a quality of life that enabled them to stay free.

The Russian-Chinese split is a division of colour, not continent. Khrushchev fell because he no longer believed that the interests of Russia coincided with those of China.

Leaders in London and Washington laughed last year when I told them China was going to explode a nuclear bomb. Now, after the explosion, the Western world has relaxed because it is assumed the bomb was an outdated type. This is mediocre statesmanship, to turn over in slumber.

Cavemen

The West, the Communist world and the uncommitted nations need change. All need liberty from fear, greed, hate that separate and kill like cancer of the spirit and cannot be cured merely by more affluence and aid. In this age of the atom, men can span the stars, probe the depths of the ocean, talk to each other across continents without raising our voice above a whisper. Man alone is out of date. We are cavemen and jungle dwellers in the midst of a century which calls itself sophisticated.

We need a society great because its members have of their own will decided to pay the price of great

change. Honesty, purity, unselfishness and love as absolute standards are the answer of greatness to an age grown small with corruption, contempt, cynicism and rationalised compromise with evil.

Russia also is in need of a "Moral Re-Armament."

Athletes

Two former Olympic medal winners, who travelled with this year's U.S. Olympic team, talked with Russian athletes in Japan. They heard the Russians describe the need for a new spirit in their country. This un-

publicised meeting of the former Olympic winners and the Russian athletes was one of the most successful results of the Olympics.

My interest is revolution. A revolution involving the world and everybody in it. It will not be accomplished by moral platitudes, which are scattered so lavishly at election time in my country. It will not be accomplished by atomic force, which, if it is unleashed, must destroy civilisation as we know it on this planet. It will be accomplished not by hot air or cold steel but by explosion, a thunderstorm of the human heart created by men and women who realise that modernisation of men is the great task of our times. The world will be modernised and rebuilt by those willing to match scientific revolution by a real revolution in their own aims and motives, a revolutionary commitment to change the direction of history.

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Speak Up, Educators!

WE HAVE MADE a mess of education.

"The only positive thing about our education is the numerical increase in schools, colleges and universities," a teachers' training college lecturer told me. "The number of pupils in a classroom or institution have in almost all cases become unmanageable."

The dedication to statistical increases that is an obsession with our planners has meant the sacrifice of every other consideration. Governments have granted recognition to medical and engineering colleges that have had neither capital nor buildings nor equipment but aim to collect these at the rate of a few thousand rupees per student. They have opened primary and middle schools in buildings no better than cattle sheds.

They have winked at extortion, exploitation and embezzlement by educational bodies. As if state mismanagement of education were not enough, government has now handed over schools to Zilla Parishads and made teachers and students tools in the hands of local political bosses.

Is it surprising that Indian degrees seem to have no value abroad?

"The main trouble with our education is that it has no purpose. The British wanted to produce clerks. Now I don't think we know what we want our matriculates to be," commented a parent of three children.

Total Misfit

"The result is a final product who is a total misfit. He cannot express himself either in English or in his mother tongue. He possesses no cultural values except what is purveyed by the cinema. He thinks manual work beneath him because he is 'educated'. As for moral values, he is taught nothing."

The teachers are not unaware of this but often couldn't care less. Except for a few dedicated men, the majority prefer to teach outside school in return for special payment, what they should have been teaching the same pupils at school. Teachers of Government schools, as well as the best private institutions, indulge in this practice. It is one of the causes

of lack of respect for the teacher, rowdyism and indiscipline.

Teachers who are jealous of each other because of the amount of money they make in private tuitions, or their popularity with the students, or their pull with the headmaster, employ their own 'gangs' of students against each other. To add to the confusion, politicians make common cause with one or the other group of teachers and students.

Must Stop

This has to be stopped at all costs. Teachers cannot and must not be allowed to turn schools into recruiting ground for private tuitions. They are entitled to demand and get adequate pay.

It is hypocritical to pay lip service to the "noble profession of teaching" and deny them the minimum necessary for a decent life. But the brazen

Under the Lens

greed that sees in every handicapped student a fresh opportunity for more money must not be tolerated.

Political interference with education must cease. Politicians with narrow loyalties cannot be allowed to lay down educational policy. Self-seeking servants of the power-cult must not be permitted to make tools of students and teacher. Lack of courage on the part of educators, who have themselves often chosen the easier road of toadying to the politicians, is the largest single cause of the educational mess.

The Vice-Chancellor of a South Indian university complained to me that lecturers were often most indifferent to the problems of students and that all cases of student grievances, indiscipline and demonstrations were invariably passed on to him.

His solution is to cultivate the politicians and the office bearers of the students' union and keep them happy. The lecturers claim that they have to live with the students day after day, class after class, and that it is only natural prudence to keep an indifferent silence which keeps them on

the right side of the students as well as the authorities.

It has become normal in all of our universities to keep on the right side of the Government and the student leaders. There is an unwritten law, for example, that marking of examination answer papers is to be done not only on the basis of proficiency but also with a view to ensuring a minimum percentage of "passes".

Few examiners dare to overlook this rule. Too many failures invariably bring frantic telephone calls from injured cabinet ministers who are concerned about their 'boys'.

These actions of educational authorities speak far louder than the moral precepts that are dished out at convocation addresses and inaugural and valedictory functions of college and school unions.

Moral instruction is necessary both in schools and colleges, but is no substitute for the right conduct on the part of educational leaders, parents and politicians. Ethical conduct is laudable, but divorced from a great aim is uninteresting. It is not enough to train engineers, doctors and scientists. It is not even sufficient to develop our young people into informed, cultured, moral persons.

Sad and Cynical

It is essential to enlist them in a bigger task. Education must fulfil India's national destiny. The truth is we haven't even begun to discover it. The sad, cynical, disillusioned men who today are in charge of education are inadequate for this task.

Foreign experts who come to India to implant Russian or American theories of instruction and ideology are not the answer either.

Only patriotic, fearless educators, who are committed more deeply to God, conscience and morality than some others are to careers and popularity, can give to education a new direction.

R. VAJTHESWARAN

INDIA WELCOMES POPE PAUL



300,000 people crowd the special enclosure at the Oval, in the heart of Bombay. In the centre, raised so all could see, is the massive altar at which the Pope and other high dignitaries of the Catholic Church celebrated Mass during the days of the 38th Eucharistic Congress.



took more than two hours for the Pope's cavalcade to make its way rough the crowded streets from the airport to the Congress site.



The Pope and the protecting Archbishop of Bombay Cardinal Gracías.



Police arrangements were strict—and outstandingly efficient.

POPE Paul VI, leader of 600 million Christians, was welcomed to Bombay last week with respect and extraordinary enthusiasm by millions of Indians.

The unbounded response—greater than that accorded any former foreign visitor—was a people's tribute to a man of God. It was also a tribute to the Indian people. Though weighed down by rising prices and wearied by the delay in economic progress, they forgot their personal cares, cheered Pope Paul and shouted their greeting.

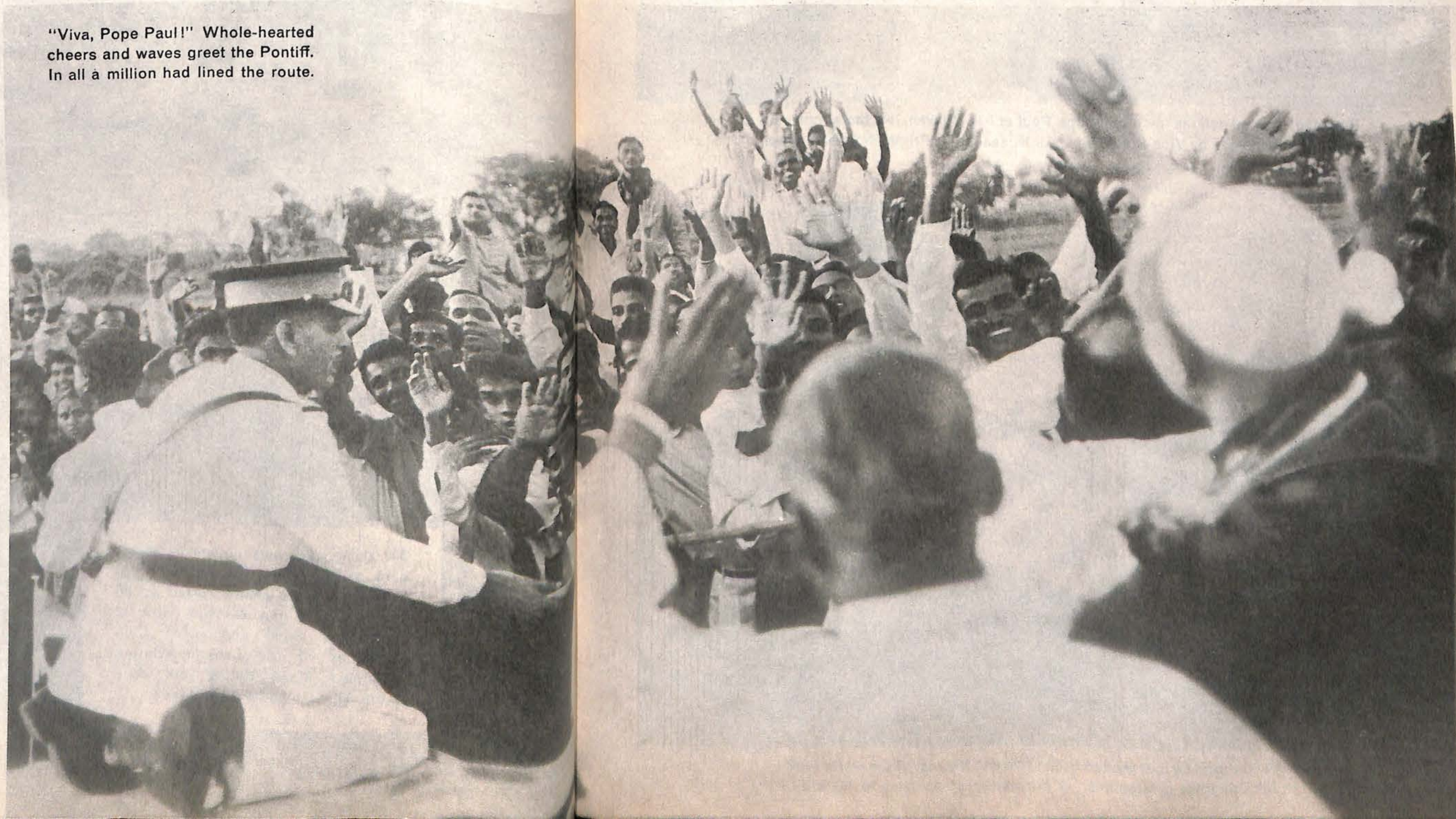
Indians may not all practise what they preach nor even what they believe. But it is also true that this country has not embraced, as yet, the "progressive" trend in the world towards lowering moral standards which for centuries men have known to be right.

The millions who lined the streets—Christian, Hindu, Muslim and Parsee—the 300,000 who waited inside the enclosure of the 38th International Eucharistic Congress, told, as it were, the Pope and the world, that they believed in the value of God and religion.

In an age of aggressive materialism, where rich and poor nations alike face the assault on moral standards, India's attitude to the Papal visit was a breath of hope.

C.B.M.

"Viva, Pope Paul!" Whole-hearted cheers and waves greet the Pontiff. In all a million had lined the route.





President Radhakrishnan receives Pope Paul at Raj Bhavan. At the airport, the Pope was welcomed by Vice-President Zakir Hussain and Prime Minister Shastri.



Thousands of priests and laymen from India and the rest of the world took part in the Congress ceremonies. A procession of acolytes to the altar.

Shall We Learn From Tibet?

by Our Special Correspondent

AT LAST India has decided to support Tibet's case before the United Nations, "on humanitarian grounds." We should. But let's go far enough to be effective. Tibet's anguish can teach us precious truth, if we will be taught.

"I used to think," said a young Tibetan at Simla, "that we refugees should get Indians and Westerners to help us win back our homeland. But unless we think for other nations, why should they help us? We Tibetans can never dislodge China unless we first win India, America and Russia. Then, together, we can tackle China."

This is sound sense for all who would preserve or regain their freedom. And leaders of nations should mark this Tibetan's further words. "We were left alone to fight the Chinese because we only thought of preserving ourselves. Our conquerors were out to win a continent."

India is now saying to the Afro-Asians, to the British, to the Americans what the Tibetans used to say about Chinese imperialism, before they were finally subjugated and their ruler forced to flee. We did not harken to Tibet then. Why should other nations head our cry, unless our concern is for mankind?

China's claim to Tibet was no more sanctioned by law and justice than is her claim to Indian border territories. India rightly complains about Chinese cartography—that their maps show Indian territory as part of China. But it is interesting that since China seized Tibet, we have published maps

which carry the word "China" on what Tibetans feel is "Tibet."

The International Commission of Jurists termed the Chinese action in Tibet "genocide"—murder of a race. A Chinese who defected to India from Tibet recently told of unspeakable tortures and atrocities still being meted out. Instead of keeping such witnesses quiet India should extend to the Dalai Lama and his colleagues every facility and encouragement to speak to the world from our soil. While Tibetans bled, and even when Indians began to bleed, we muffled Tibetan cries of warning.

Alert Minds

The Dalai Lama is now most concerned about the kind of education the young Tibetans in India are receiving. India has given schooling facilities in the hill stations. So we ought. But what values, what way of life will the Tibetans learn from us? Leave alone the Government, how many ordinary Indians have taken time, energy and sweat to equip the Tibetans with the qualities which they will need? It would be useful to think of what Peking would put into these alert young minds. If the situation were reversed, with India occupying Tibet, with the Dalai Lama in Peking, what would China not do with him and his students?

We look after the Tibetans with money, and patronize. Many Indians lump together the Nagas, Tibetans and all others whose ways to us seem strange, and call them "backward." Some said that the Chinese "would free the Tibetans from the feudal control of the Lamas." It was for their own good, they said.

We need a new attitude to Tibet. Tibet is a Buddhist land, as are a number of our neighbours. India proudly claims the birthplace of the Buddha. That faith which sprang from our soil has permeated most of Asia. "We celebrated the 2,500th birth anniversary of Gautama. But we haven't played our part to cure the instability and hate in most of the Buddhist nations today.

Can we not train the Tibetans to

play a pioneering role in this? Tibetans trained in a revolution greater than Communism should be assisted to travel to other lands. They could speak from experience. Their word would carry weight. Their job would be not merely to warn but to win other Buddhist nations to theirs and India's side in a common cause to out-revolutionize Peking.

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VIEWPOINT

Permit Criticism

by C. R. Narasimhan, former Congress M.P.

GOVERNANCE of the country cannot always be run by supermen for the simple and obvious reason that supermen are not in constant and continuous supply. Recent Indian political history was not lacking in a fairly continuous supply of super and near-supermen. But, of late, it is obvious that the source has dried up.

In parliamentary democracy collective wisdom should take the place of decisions by supermen. Good men, industrious men, practical men, men with common sense, can by collective wisdom run the country satisfactorily.

Once it is agreed that collective wisdom should guide the representative institutions, it follows that men should honestly exercise freedom of opinion. Normally, in a democracy, criticism is the opposition's privilege. The hold of the ruling Congress Party is strong, and its displacement, particularly at the Centre, is, as things stand, inconceivable.

Indian Parliamentary life is denied, therefore, the advantage arising out of constant debate and discussion.

The gap must be filled by men within the ranks of the ruling party. At the various ruling party levels there should be free and frank discussion before decision. Without such an arrangement, decisions tend to be taken arbitrarily by those in high political authority, in consultation solely with official or semi-official advisers.

The party or legislature group is not wise to this. The result will surely be the gradual disappearance of the sense of participation by those who have the task of running the parliamentary democracy's machinery.

When sense of participation is absent, even members of the party in power lose interest. There comes also a desire to avoid trouble and an anxiety not to get involved. Later on starts the tendency to become cantankerous or irresponsible. For just as power corrupts, in the words of our late lamented leader Nehru, "irresponsibility also corrupts."

Organs of democracy have to keep on asserting and playing their legitimate role, otherwise deterioration will take place. A type of dictatorship will install itself under a cover of formal democracy.

The leadership of the ruling party must boldly encourage free criticism. Theirs will be the guilt if democracy in India fails owing to want of self-criticism.

Instead of Abraham Lincoln's Government of the People, for the People and by the People, we will be heir only to Government of the Ministers, for the Ministers and by the Ministers, if a watch is not kept by all political organs.

It requires some courage and self-confidence to permit free criticism within the party in power. Posterity's finger of accusation will be pointed at it if the Indian infant democracy's onward march is obstructed in the middle of its journey.

Contributions to the Viewpoint Column must not exceed 500 words.—Ed.

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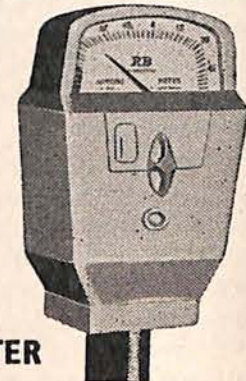
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FOR WOMEN

The Taste of Purity

TODAY, IMPURITY in all forms is used to divide, destroy, confuse and break down people and nations. Impurity has become fashionable. Sex has become god and perversion is acquiring respectability. Right and wrong have become relative terms and moral standards are on the decline.

A nation that is weakened morally can be easily taken over. Fascists and Communists have recognised this and used impurity as a weapon in their plan to control the world. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, has said: "We slip in our ideology through the weak spots in men's character."

Purity is no longer a personal matter. It is a condition for family and national survival.

A person's private life has every-

thing to do with his or her public life. A man or a woman who does not live straight cannot be depended on to make the right decisions in education, business, politics or anywhere else.

People in the grip of impurity are blinded and deadened by it. They no longer think straight or see straight and they no longer care what happens to other people. Very often they become traitors to their country by betraying secrets of state and other confidential information.

Just as impurity is used to destroy nations, purity as a force can be used to recreate nations.

Women who are pure will be like shining lights in a dark world and will lead their nations to greatness.

CHILDREN KNOW

By D. H. John

Miss D. H. John holds the Certificate of the National Froebel Union. She has been teaching young children for thirty-three years in boys' and girls' boarding schools in Europe. For the last twelve years she has run a Preparatory School of her own.—Ed.

IN THE DICTIONARY to "educate" is said to mean to train mentally and morally. Many people are trying to remove the moral aspect from education. We teachers can keep it there by giving children the joy of learning, training them for life, and giving them a faith in God.

It is necessary to present work as work, not as play. It is a world of work that children grow up in and it is our task to prepare them for that. Say to a child, "These sums are new. They are hard," and you see all the determination rise in him to face and conquer something that is hard. This is a quality he needs through his life. One of my small pupils was struggling to open a parcel. Someone suggested making the knot easy for him. He said, "I don't want things made easy. I like hard things!"

Educators must deal directly with the children's moral difficulties. A child who is clear of problems has a mind free to learn. A boy came to me with "word-blindness". He was fidgety and could not concentrate.

After a time I asked him some direct questions about his life. He answered honestly and with relief, and decided to put things straight and to quit the things he had been doing in secret. He was free to learn and the "word-blindness" disappeared.

Education needs to train the conscience and build character. One of my nursery school children of four years old said to her mother, "Tomorrow I will tell you the truth." Her mother said, "What is the truth?" The child said, "The truth is the truth, and not those lies I've been telling you."

A child does know the difference between right and wrong, contrary to what some progressives are telling us. I often say to a child after some trouble has occurred, "Did you know it was wrong?" On every occasion the child has answered, "Yes".

Our basic task in education can be to win the children to want to put right what is wrong in the world, and to use their learning, their gifts and their lives for it.

The men will be as pure as the women want them to be.

I was talking to a young girl of 14 and asked what purity meant to her. She said: "Putting God first. When I put God first, impurity and selfishness go. When I put self first, I get impure."

Joan of Arc was a pure girl. That is why this girl of 14 was able to do extraordinary things to free her nation.

Absolute purity means an end to flirtation, to craving for attention, applause or affection from people. It means an end to drawing people to yourself and instead drawing them to God. It means living absolutely straight and wanting nothing from man, woman or child for yourself. Above all it means an end to the worship of self or other human beings, and the enthronement of God in the human heart.

It means having a master aim in our lives to give the world a purpose and programme.

We need the cleansing flood-tide of purity in nations today. Absolute moral standards should become normal for everybody.

"Make and keep me pure within." These are the six finest words written in the English language.

Men and women are not meant to be beasts, slaves to their instincts. They are meant to be children of God, living in the glorious freedom of being His sons and daughters. And this priceless gift is available to all those who want it.

FRENY R. LALA

STOP WITCH-HUNT

(Continued from page 5)

businessmen can dare to demand that the taxes they pay are well used.

Businessmen need to make the working of this nation their main business. They need to shift the emphasis from class to character and demonstrate it by the way they live. It is a false philosophy which says that a man is bad because he is rich or good just because he is poor.

If Ministers of India think that they can arouse the anger of the public against one section of the people and that the public will stop short of the Ministers, they are sadly in for a shock.

Let us stop this witch-hunt whilst we still have the time, and take on a big enough task of changing the whole nation. Gandhiji did not point fingers. Instead he said, "Turn the searchlight inwards."



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If You Were Prime Minister

WHAT WOULD you do if you were India's Prime Minister?

How would you deal, for instance, with Kashmir? Would you examine if there was truth in some of Sheikh Abdullah's demands—and risk strong opposition all over India? Or would you arrest him and his friends, and risk a wholesale rebellion in the state?

What would you do with Orissa? Would you sack the Government—and incur the enmity of a powerful and wealthy Congress group? Or would you allow a state of affairs to continue that could lead to a total collapse of law and order?

Would you support Malaysia, and condemn Indonesia's aggression on her? That would mean annoying the Russians and the Chinese, who support Sukarno. If you don't want to displease Moscow, and therefore stay silent on Malaysia, you allow Communist power to increase in South East Asia. You give China a commanding position to attack us from

the south, as well as the north and the east.

What would you do over Africa? Would you attack the Americans and Belgians for sending their paratroops to rescue white hostages in Stanleyville? That might make some Africans embrace you. But the biggest gainer would be China again. An anti-Western Africa today would be a pro-Chinese Africa. China would then have a massive base on our west, as well as our north, east and south, to attack us.

Will you, in each case, choose the just and true course, even if strong men, groups or nations don't like it? Or will you waver and sit on the fence, refusing to commit yourself?

If you choose the second, you will strengthen the forces of hate and ambition at home—and China outside. You might think you are preserving your position. You will definitely not preserve your nation.

It takes moral toughness to choose the first course. You won't take it if you want for yourself prestige, power,

sex or even the respect and affection of your people.

You will have to learn to say no to friends, relatives and party colleagues.

You will need to know whom to hire—and whom to fire. And you will need the courage to do it swiftly.

Even if you had the world's cleverest brain, it will still be not enough. You will need God's guidance. You will need to take time each morning, and frequently during the day, to seek His wisdom and judgement.

You will need to learn the art of changing other men, of giving them courage, and motives greater than fame, power and a name in history books.

If you are willing and ready to live out these qualities you will make an excellent Indian Prime Minister. You will have the answer for Mao Tse-tung. And even if you don't become Prime Minister you will be a revolutionary who will transform this land.

—R.G.

This was a life

MIRABAI

1547—1614

BORN IN a princely family in Kurkhi, a Marwar village, Mira forsook the pomp and comfort of the palace in quest of God.

Mira talked to God as a person and God also spoke to her. Her family and others who saw her thought she was mad and criticised her, but her abiding faith in God made her oblivious of critics and cynics.

Her message is relevant today after 400 years. "None by reason of birth, poverty, age, sex or religion will be debarred from His divine presence. The way is but one—abiding faith in Him. Those who yearn for God will find Him in their own lives."

Mira was a revolutionary. She was in revolt against the established practice of containing religion in books, ceremonies and conventions. She was not fooled by cold intellectualism and boldly proclaimed the doctrine of absolute obedience and devotion to God.

Akbar's Respects

Married at a young age, Mira was an ideal wife. She was dutiful to her husband, but never compromised her faith in God. Her courage attracted even the Moghul Emperor Akbar, a staunch enemy of the Rajputs, who came in disguise to pay her his respects.

Widowed at 23, she was persecuted by her brother-in-law Rana Ratan Singh who tried every means to kill her. Undaunted by snake or poison, unperturbed by persecutions, Mira pursued the path of renunciation, sacrifice and courage, enlightening others and sharing their sorrows.

Miracles happened in her life and she believed they could happen in anyone's life if one had a complete trust in the Almighty.

Her life and songs are immortal.

Not all understood Mirabai in her lifetime, but her message is a challenge and hope to us in this materialistic age.

—A. N.

Q and A

Readers are invited to send questions about our land or the world and I shall answer them as truthfully and intelligently as I can.
—R.G.

Q — What is the difference between the Sadachar Samiti and Moral Re-Armament?

R. P. JOSHI, Mysore.

A — The Sadachar Samiti wants to remove bribe-giving and bribe-taking in India, especially to and by government servants.

Moral Re-Armament fights for a revolutionary change in the character and aims of men and nations to produce a new social and economic order—in India and across the world. An order in which empty hands are filled with work, empty stomachs with food and empty hearts with an idea that really satisfies.

The Sadachar Samiti seems to urge men to report and inform about other people's lapses.

Moral Re-Armament challenges each man and woman to put right themselves the wrongs in their own lives, so they can be fit instruments to transform society.

Q — Do you think Miss Fatima Jinnah will defeat President Ayub Khan in the Pakistan elections?

NAGAVENDRA RAO, Hyderabad.

Q — If the opposition wins in Pakistan, will they change their attitude towards India?

YAZDI SHIKARI, Poona.

A — I have not the slightest idea who will win. Supporters of both claim victory will be theirs.

Whichever side wins, I do not expect that Pakistan's attitude to India will change. Whether we like it or not, Indians are not popular in Pakistan.

It will require bold statesmanship by leaders in Pakistan and India to remove the hate between the two nations. India and Pakistan will have to go beyond and outside themselves to bridge the chasm.

We need to cease the selfish habit of being merely India-centred or Pakistan-centred. We need to look at the problems of the rest of mankind—problems of hate, materialism, hunger and war. If Indians and Pakistanis face that their task is to solve these problems, they will easily settle what keeps them apart.

Q — What is your opinion of compulsory N.C.C. training for college students?

NAGAVENDRA RAO, Hyderabad.

A — I welcome it and am grateful that lakhs of our students get it.

It will be suicidal for India not to give discipline and physical fitness to our youth. This the N.C.C. does.

I am sure that the prospect of hard work and exercise does not thrill everyone. But it is impossible to keep a nation's freedom without being ready to do things we don't immediately enjoy.

The tragedy is that our youth are not told why they need to train themselves to fight and serve. China's young men and women are told they must carry the flag of Communism to the world. When India's students are given an ideology to live and die for—as many of them are finding in Moral Re-Armament—they will understand the point of N.C.C.

Q — What can HIMMAT give to the young blood?

M. K. CHUGH, Delhi.

Q — What is your opinion of the new generation?

BHARAT VORA, Bombay.

A — Men and women of the new generation are lively, keen and modern. They are India's hope. They are more daring now than the older generation who have become cynical because freedom has not improved the life of our people.

India's stagnation tires the young. Communism bores them. Western materialism thrills them a bit but does not satisfy them. What will really satisfy them is a great crusade to establish the world's finest society on Indian soil. Many thousands of students are already participating in this crusade.

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Remarkable Rajaji

by Rajmohan Gandhi

IT IS FAIR to say that Rajaji has extended freedom's span in India.

The Government has not liked his constant attacks. Everyone does not agree with his views. The voters have refused to give his party power. But the pointed spears he has hurled at totalitarianism have established a vital precedent. If enough of us utter and proclaim the truths we believe in the way he has, our young democracy can be saved from an early death.

Rajaji became 86 on the 8th of this month, or thereabouts. Neither he nor his relatives know the precise date of his birth. Physically he is fit and his mind is sharper than ever. He is about to rush from village to village and town to town in Kerala, electioneering.

His fearless speaking started early in his political career. At the 1921 Congress session in Gaya, he led the revolt against the moderate policies of the established Congress leaders of the day—C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhair Patel and others. He won, against all expectations and heavy opposition.

He was the first Congress leader to face the reality of the massive Muslim support for Jinnah and Pakistan. His advocacy in the early 'forties of a confederation of which Pakistan would be an autonomous part brought him a temporary political eclipse. Today it is possible to argue that Congress acceptance of his views might have prevented the hate-filled and blood-spilling separation that came later.

Anti-Fascist

He had his differences with Gandhi, though they were fewer than Nehru's. Like Nehru, he expressed his contrary views.

He was, and is, a fierce anti-Fascist. He felt as passionately as Nehru, if not more than him, the evil of this tyranny. This was rare at a moment when most Indians were only exercised about their struggle against the British.

Like most Congressmen of the early days, he was not a socialist.

Unlike a majority of them, he has remained a non-socialist.

Examine his daily living, however, and you will see him to be a truer socialist than those who stick that label to themselves but remain greedy and ambitious. Rajaji's life has a care for others, a discipline and a simplicity which many socialists seem to lack.

Brilliant in his wit, shrewd in his reading of men and situations, he keeps in touch with the world's latest developments in politics, science, economics, medicine and literature. Yet his life's deepest note is religious.

Progressive India

He wants piety and virtue to rule in our land and his political polemics nearly always emphasise *dharma* and God. He believes that India will not be progressive without religion. Lakhs have read his *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. Many a modern Indian has discovered a pride in his ancient land by reading Rajaji's tales of the valour and nobility of the founders of our race.

His remarkable understanding of Hindu scriptures and devotion to them has not closed his mind and heart to the truths of other religions. Few Indians have his knowledge of the Koran or the Old and New Testaments.

He is humble before God. "No, you are not right, you are saying this because you are a grandson," was his comment when some time back I told him I felt his discipline was greater than that of another person.

He has served in India's first position, as Governor General, and held a variety of prominent posts. Yet I don't think his worst enemy will say that he has sought positions. He has fought instead for causes and beliefs, and for them he has given up positions.

He sometimes gives the impression that he knows best what people around him ought to do. Relatives and political colleagues have felt this. Doubtless he does, frequently, know better. But I have a feeling that this characteristic of telling the other person

what to do may have prevented the growth of an able of team fellow fighters by his side.

Only God knows how many more years he has. As an Indian and as his grandson, I pray that he lives to be a hundred.

I am satisfied that he can spread a new revolution of character more effectively perhaps than any other living Indian.

I don't say that God will want him to soft-pedal politics. Far from it. God will probably urge him to attack more strongly than ever the political wrongs of our country. But today's national and world crises demand something more.

It is impossible to change India without changing people. A new political party, Rajaji's or any other, may, one day, come to power. But unless the new leaders are free of moral compromise and have an aim beyond their own personal advancement, India's common man will remain as unhappy as he is today. And he will become even more cynical.

Priority Number One

Can God want Rajaji to use his years to train India's leaders to live straight and change others? He knows of what Moral Re-Armament has done with India's youth. The finding of new aims and the acceptance of discipline by a number of Madras students thrilled him, although at first he was sceptical. He told me after meeting them, "If this work of changing people can be done, it is something far more important than anything else."

Communism is a militant revolution of class war, caste war and race war. It is wrong. But the most spirited and unrelenting defence of democracy and liberty cannot counter it. Only a superior revolution can.

Asia and the world need the outreach of Rajaji's massive mind. The last great adventure of his life could and should be, in the spirit of Moral Re-Armament, to teach Asia and the entire world to live in freedom.

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