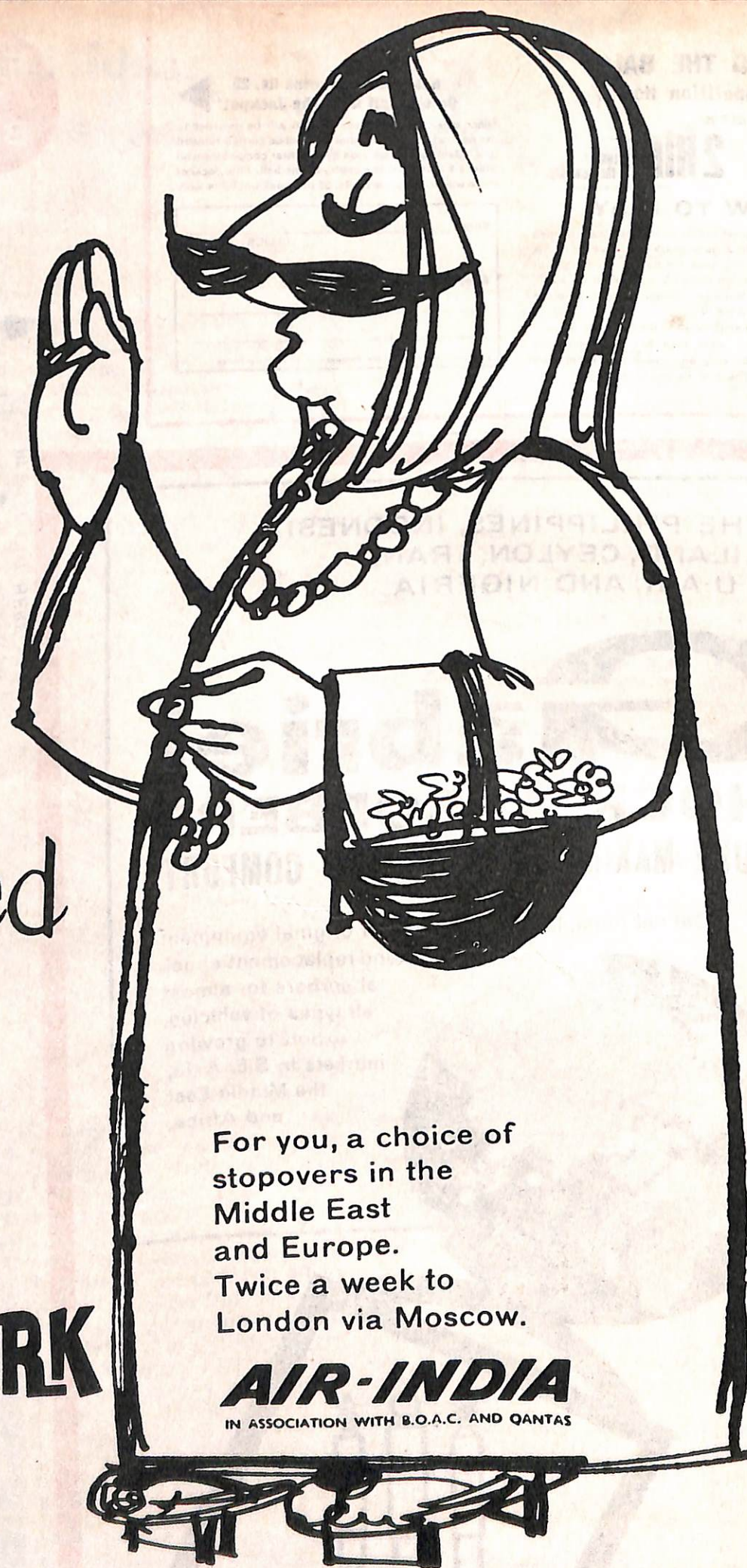


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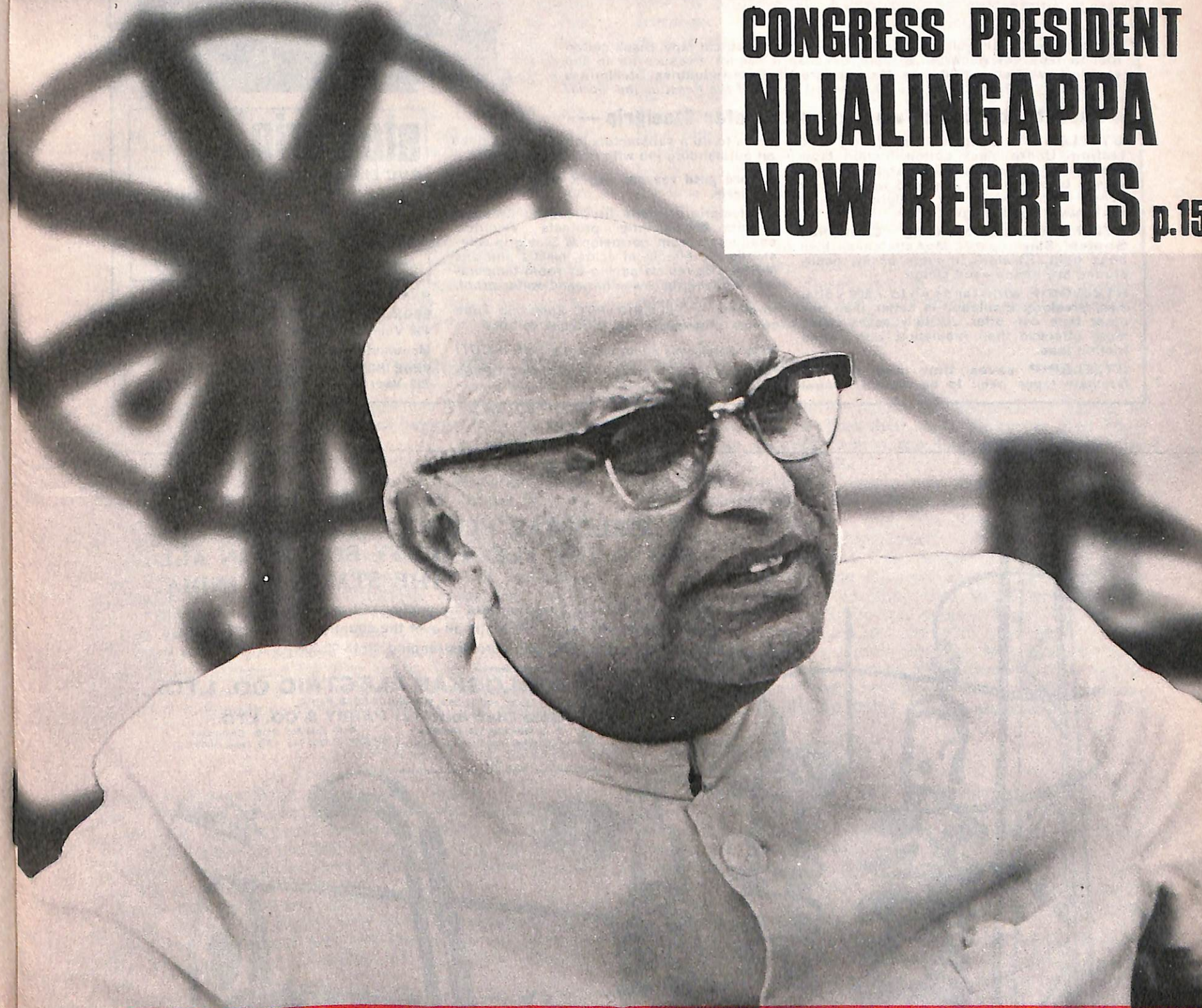
WEEKLY 30p

VOL 4 NO 32

ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY JUNE 7 1968

**CONGRESS PRESIDENT
NIJALINGAPPA
NOW REGRETS** p.15



Why Pak closes U.S. Air Base BY ANTENNA

Of interest to all electricians
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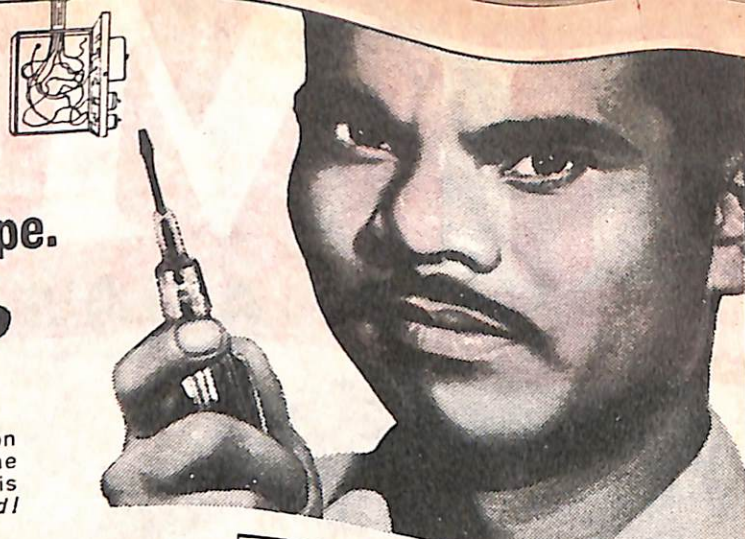
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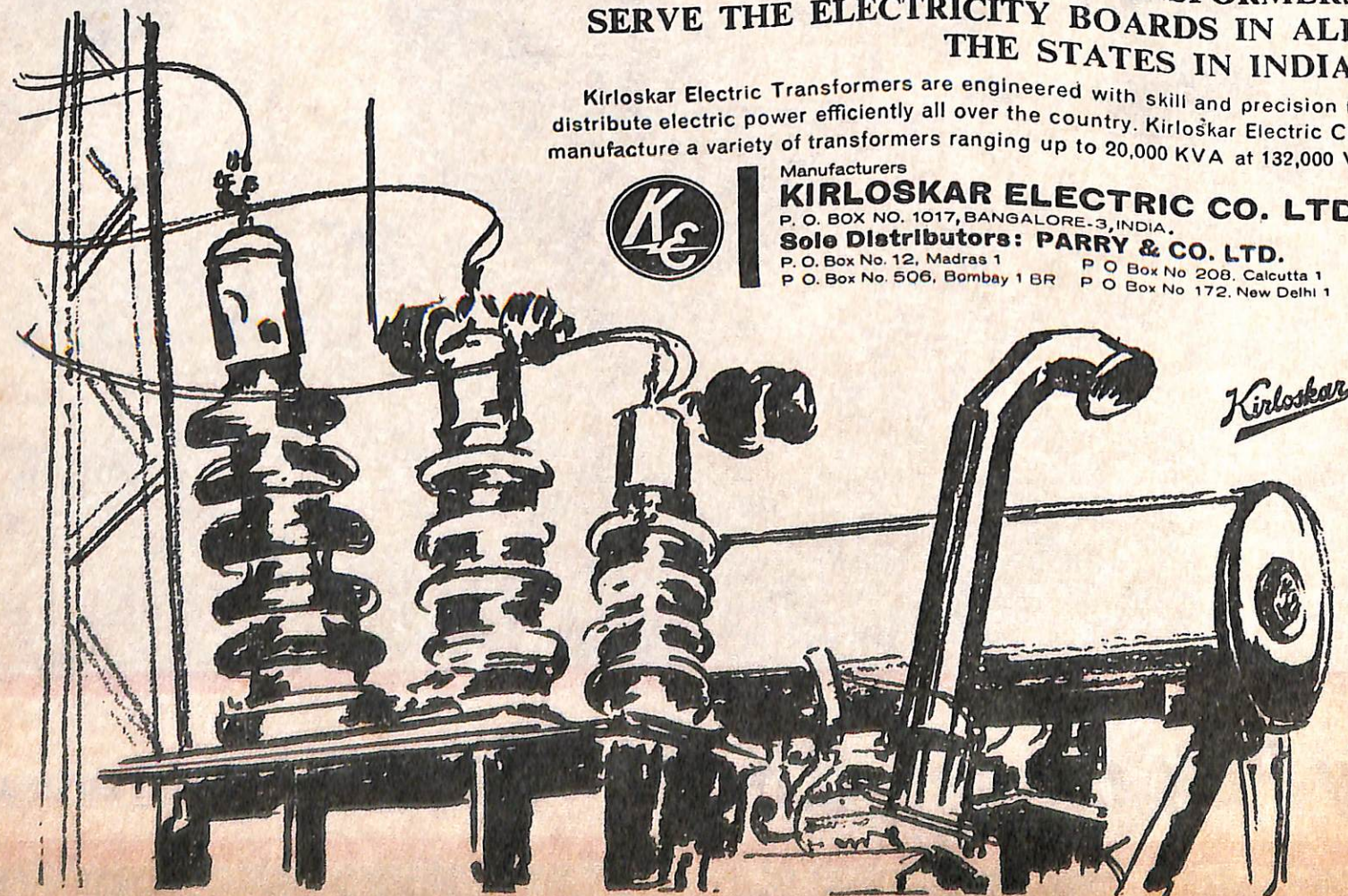
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Editorials

Time to change India's role

"ASIA is emerging again. We must get together," was Mrs Gandhi's theme on her South-East Asia tour. The warmth of the response she got shows that the people of these nations want the same thing.

Referring to the instability that threatened the region Mrs Gandhi said in Malaysia, "The answer to this threat is the ability of each country to run its own affairs." True, but is this enough on its own? To make a meaningful difference in South-East Asia, will take a bold approach.

Our envoys around South-East Asia conferred with her in Kuala Lumpur and put forward specific proposals as to how India's technology and industry could aid the development of these nations. Her gesture in offering Malaysia a technological institute and increased co-operation between Indian and Malaysian industry is most welcome.

Mrs Gandhi said that her Government wants a broad-based economic and political co-operation in Asia that excludes no country. If these statements are true the Government will have to make up its mind on participation in the two economic associations that already

operate—the ASEAN and the Ministerial Conference on Development of South-East Asia.

On the political front Mrs Gandhi called at a parliamentary luncheon in Canberra for international guarantees to South-East Asian nations safe-guarding their freedom. This of course was attacked in some circles as a denial of the Government's non-aligned stand. On her arrival back in New Delhi, when questioned about this statement, Mrs Gandhi hedged saying that she made the remark while thinking aloud — an unfortunate practice for a Prime Minister speaking at a parliamentary luncheon in another country.

Mrs Gandhi states she does not believe in power blocs or spheres of influence. This is a healthy attitude. Such a policy does not rule out a common agreement among nations to stand together against aggression.

In the coming months Mrs Gandhi will have to assure India's friends in South-East Asia that this country is master of its own mind in the policies it pursues. These nations will now closely watch the extent of freedom Mrs Gandhi's Government will enjoy to play a dynamic welcomed role in South-East Asia.

Suharto must produce results

IN INDONESIA, as elsewhere, people are finding that it is easier to pull down a discredited regime than to build up an effective alternative.

General Suharto, who waited two years before having himself confirmed as President of the Republic, finds himself at the helm of a nation he cannot propel forward or steer as he would wish. And the longer the nation lies becalmed in its sea of economic troubles, the greater grows the challenge to Suharto's captaincy.

In fact, there are signs already. General Nasution, Chairman of the People's Congress, called last week for a "return to constitutional rule" and stiff measures against corruption in the military.

Earlier President Suharto had asked for general elections to be postponed for five years. The Congress, reluctantly, agreed to a compromise of three years. There were also negotiations over the extent of the emergency

powers which Suharto would be allowed to retain in the meantime. The President, *a la* Sukarno, had been slipping his supporters into the Congress to ensure its backing of his policies.

A recent visitor to Jakarta was appalled at the hardships experienced by the average citizen. While a worker earns 100 rupiahs a day, one litre of rice cost 40 rupiahs. A Health Department official commented: "With the equivalent of four dollars a month, I don't earn enough to buy the food we need." The head of a middle class family told him, "For years we have not been able to buy milk, butter, meat or eggs." Crime in the cities is mounting. Cars are often ambushed.

These are realities which Suharto will have to face and solve. Otherwise he may find street-fighting youth ranged against his troops; or the cautious, patient youth offering a rallying point for an alternative regime.

Mental giants and moral dwarfs

DE GAULLE gave Paris a new look. Stones of the old, grand buildings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were scrubbed and cleaned till their black exterior yielded place to the grey stone. Till early last month the boulevards of Paris were wide and spotless. Traffic sped on her six-lane highways.

Today her streets are garbage heaps. Her cars have little or no fuel, her people little food. The students who started the revolt had not felt the pinch of poverty. They were sons and daughters of reasonably affluent Paris.

Twenty years ago we decided to make India an affluent, industrial nation. "Dams," said Mr Nehru, "are our concrete temples."

Now, a former Member of the Planning Commission, economist and Union Minister Dr V. K. R. V. Rao,

says: "The First (5 year) Plan was successful. The Second Plan was reasonably successful. The Third Plan was a failure. In the last three years there has been nothing but Plan holiday."

Mr Rao adds that with the Fourth Plan that has been drawn up "it would have been impossible to reach the target" of providing minimum standards of living for the masses by 1975.

Essential as planning may be, a total concentration on material programmes without moral re-armament is an unbalanced diet for any nation. It is like fat without protein. It may create mental giants but also moral dwarfs.

Leaders who plan for material progress should plan for moral growth and there is no better place to begin with than themselves.

Briefly Speaking...

In proud recollection

PEOPLE from nine nations gathered last Sunday, in a field where the Garuda Indonesia Airlines plane crashed 40 miles north of Bombay, to honour the memory of Mr Jap de Boer of Holland. Mr de Boer died when the plane came down in the early hours of May 28, killing all 29 people aboard. None of the bodies could be recovered. One villager died and 22 were injured in the explosion.

Mr de Boer left Europe a year ago to the day with his wife to work with Moral Re-Armament in Asia and Australasia. Eight months of that time he spent in Papua-New Guinea. He also worked in Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Indonesia. He broke his homeward journey to attend the MRA Assembly at Asia Plateau, Panchgani. His wife had returned to Europe to join their eight-year-old daughter two months earlier.

The service was conducted in the paddy fields three miles inland from the sea. Among those paying tribute to Mr de Boer were Dirona Abe, former Papuan Under Secretary of Health, and Ranjit Singh, a Harijan leader of New Delhi. Mr Abe said, "I and my fellow countrymen are grateful for the new spirit he brought to our people." Ranjit Singh said he felt that the Dutchman had become like one of his own people.

Mrs Z. F. Taleyarkhan of Bombay placed a floral cross of lilies and jasmine beneath a banyan tree overlooking the crash site.

Push-buttons or Parliaments?

BRITAIN'S Minister of Technology believes that science will enable a far more direct type of democracy than the parliamentary system. He predicts that each household will have a push-button system whereby citizens can immediately register "Yes" or "No" votes on major national issues. This of course raises the question of how many members of one particular household can register their votes. And if it is only "one household — one vote", then whose opinion counts — Dad's or Mother's, the older or the younger generation's? And what if a snap vote was called in the middle of the afternoon when Dad is at work? Would that enable the women to run the country? Parliamentary democracy is so much simpler!

The more, the merrier

THERE are some 15,000 surplus staff in 81 public sector enterprises in India, the Finance Ministry reports. Obviously some drastic rethinking on the sanctity of civil servants' jobs is needed. What will develop in Government enterprises when automation is introduced is unthinkable.

Panchgani, not Peking

THE thirtieth anniversary of the launching of Moral Re-Armament was celebrated on Sunday at the MRA centre at Asia Plateau, Panchgani. The gathering, which included 300 citizens of Panchgani and Mahableshwar, and visitors to the hill resorts, heard speakers evaluate the world outreach of Moral Re-Armament. It marked the concluding session of a month-long conference that included representatives from 17 nations.

Beware of bloodshed. Trust not in that, for blood never sleeps.

SALAH UD DIN (Saladin), 12th century

The theme was that Panchgani, and not Peking, would set Asia thinking on new lines.

Farmers from surrounding areas spoke at the function.

Amongst the various representatives and delegations who visited the conference were leaders from Nagaland, the High Commissioner for New Zealand and the representative of the Dalai Lama.

What will father say?

WHEN Senator Robert Kennedy lost to Senator Eugene McCarthy in the Oregon Presidential Primary, it was the first time a Kennedy had lost an election in the 27 contests fought by him and his two brothers since the late President was first elected a Congressman in the House of Representatives in 1946.

Redbeards

DURING the French upheavals of recent weeks the student leaders have even turned on some of their allies among the older generation. To the old French poet, Aragon, who wanted to address them on one occasion they said, "Get off the platform old beard!" Aragon was heard muttering, "You, too, will be old beards one of these days!"

"Indian leader hides toughness in sari"

THIS headline, in typical Australian style, greeted Mrs Gandhi's arrival. Australia's only national daily, *The Australian*, in an editorial, called the visit "one of the most significant we have ever received from the chief political executive of any country."

Australians felt Mrs Gandhi's toughness when it came to joint talks on the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty and in general sympathised with her stand. The *Canberra Times* pointed out that to sign the Treaty "requires a act of faith that no government can make unless at least two points are met. We must have the right to develop our nuclear industry for peaceful purposes, and our neighbours and countries which have nuclear capacity must accept the Treaty." When asked by the press why India refuses to sign, Mrs Gandhi replied that the main reason was that Communist China was not a signatory. This stand could affect Australia's policy.

Birbal

FROM THE CAPITAL

BY ANTENNA

Why Pak wants US base to shut down

NEW DELHI Tucked away on an inside page of the Sunday newspapers here was an item from Moscow saying that the Soviet Government welcomed the Pakistan Government's decision not to extend the lease of the American intelligence base near Peshawar when it expires next year. Pakistan's Foreign Minister Arshad Husain announced the fact that his Government had served notice on Washington to close the base, once the cause of a serious dispute between the Soviet and Pakistan Governments, some days ago.

The base, located about 240 miles from the Russian border, is used to gather military information from the Soviet Union, China and India. It earns Pakistan \$100 million yearly by way of rent, but its existence is humiliating to Pakistani pride because no citizen of Pakistan is permitted to set foot in it.

For Pakistan \$100 million a year is a large sum of money, and is it very unlikely that it would have agreed to forego it unless there was some tempting inducement to do so. The question that has been bothering people here since Mr Husain's announcement is: who offered the inducement and what is it?

One does not have to go far for an answer to the first part of the question. The Soviet Union, obviously, and probably at the time of Mr Kosygin's recent visit to Pakistan. But what the inducement was remains an intriguing mystery which might have serious consequences for India, some observers feel.

Propaganda blow

As for the United States, the closure of the base is more a propaganda blow than of strategic significance, for the functions the base performed are now performed much more efficiently by the intelligence satellites it has in orbit round the earth. The Russians can claim a major propaganda triumph if they finally succeed in getting the base closed. But closure will not be regarded altogether as a calamity by Washington if this results in drawing Rawalpindi away from Peking in the same proportion as it draws Rawalpindi closer to Moscow, since there is a fairly wide identity of views between Washington and Moscow on various aspects of political and military strategy.

Washington is as much aware as Rawalpindi that there are well-prescribed limits to the extent to which Pakistan can defy the United States because that country is still

the giver of foreign economic aid and it would be suicidal for Pakistan to think of offending Washington to the point where such aid will be cut off as occurred during the short war with India.

Rawalpindi has already made it clear to Washington that it does not intend making friends with the Russians at the expense of its friendship with the US. On the other hand, there has been a noticeable cooling off in the relations between Pakistan and China, mainly because Pakistan feels it has extracted all the political and economic advantage it could from China and now finds a better bargain in Russian friendship.

The question still remains: what is Russia going to give Pakistan as a reward for ordering the shutdown of the base? If it is arms, then India has just cause for alarm, it is said here. It is known that Pakistan has been pressing for Russian arms for a long time, and India has been pressing equally strongly against their supply, pointing as a warning to the fact that, despite Washington's assurances, American arms given to Pakistan for use against Communist attack were actually turned against India.

Russian interests first

But in these matters the men at the helm in Moscow think solely in terms of what is of political benefit to the Soviet Union. And they know that there is a limit to what India can do, in its present economic and political dependence on Moscow, to oppose Russian designs.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

CHALTA HAI..



"This is sad news. The Commission that was to look into the misuse of election funds can't account for some of the funds we allotted them..."

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



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CONTESSA

on your toes

DELHI'S DOORMAT

It is a myth to imagine that when electors vote the Congress Party to power in their own state they have voted into office a government that will rule according to their mandate. The picture of Congress rule in India shows that in practice the Congress state governments rule according to the pleasure of the Congress rulers at the Centre.

This was surely not envisaged by the constitution-makers and bodes ill for the future of Indian democracy.

A newspaper headline last Monday read:

INDIA WILL GO "FRENCH WAY"

Clearly a major element in the French crisis, and in the unrest which is dogging administrations in more and more world centres these days, is the frustration of voters over their apparent inability to get their rulers to heed their wishes and aspirations.

The *London Times*, in an editorial last week, wrote: "No parliamentary democracy can work satisfactorily if the people cannot see their own concerns and divisions reflected there. This means not that MPs should be the slaves of the opinion polls, or microphones for the discordant voices of their constituents. But too often genuine diversity is suppressed for the sake of party unity."

The new Haryana Chief Minister presented a pitiable picture the other day. Elected to rule his State, he yielded within days to the dictates of party bosses in Delhi, men over whom the Haryana electorate possess no control whatsoever.

Mr Bansi Lal announced that he was not going to make "daily" or "weekly" trips to Delhi. A brave attempt to prove his political virility! But within five days it was reported that his Cabinet would only be finalised after the Prime Minister's return from SE Asia and that, meanwhile, Congress President Nijalingappa had graciously authorised him to appoint one Minister. Even this, it was said, would require final approval of Mrs Gandhi.

What kind of democracy is this? It spreads a mantle of shame over Congress leaders both at the Centre and in Haryana. Was Mr Bansi Lal elected by Mrs Gandhi or by the people of Haryana?

During the elections, Rajaji described Haryana as the doorstep of Delhi. Mr Bansi Lal won't last long if he becomes the doormat too.

Freebooter

VERDICT!

This week HIMMAT...

SNEEZES at the hot news that India is the world's largest pepper exporter, selling over 15 crores last year abroad.

FIRES a salute to the Vijayanta tank of the Indian Army, judged to be among the four best tanks in the world.

PRAISES the Madras Government's advance preparations for settling many of the 50,000 repatriates scheduled to be returned to India from Ceylon in the next year.

COMMENDS Indian Airlines officials for withstanding strong pressure to buy Soviet TU-134 aircraft which the Russians claimed had a capacity for 72-80 passengers but, by Indian standards, can only seat 60.

NOTES with interest a captured Viet Cong directive relating to the Paris peace talks saying that "diplomatic struggles are primarily intended to obtain favourable world opinion and isolate the enemy".

IS CONCERNED that though the economy in the last 15 years generated 30 million new jobs, another 53 million persons will enter the labour market in the next ten years.

CHEERS the FAO's findings that four-fifths of the overall increase in the world production of rice took place in the developing countries.

DEPLORES the intransigence of Nigerian and Biafran authorities, who ordered their delegations to heel for making too many concessions and thus torpedoed peace talks in Uganda.

HAILS the Kerala Students' Union which proposed a scheme for rice cultivation that inspired the Department of Agriculture to distribute 300,000 small plastic bags of high-yielding rice seeds for sowing by students.

CENSORS the Union and state governments for ignoring year after year the ravages of the Brahmaputra that annually floods thousands of acres of Assam.

Thus, observers here say they will not be surprised if in the not very distant future, after they are assured that the base will really close when the lease runs out, Russia gives Pakistan at least some of the arms it craves for.

Soviet foreign policy is ruthlessly realistic in its aims, and its actions are all deliberately calculated to further these aims. It is therefore unlikely that the masters of the Kremlin will be swayed by sentimental reminders of "Hindi-Russi bhai bhai" from this end.

Looked at from the point of view that arms from Russia will reduce

Pakistani dependence for military hardware from China and also permit some control on the volume of supplies, New Delhi should not feel unduly worried by such a development.

Pakistan more reasonable

Despite occasional belchings of fire and brimstone from Rawalpindi, the Pakistani attitude to India is much more reasonable than it was some months ago, and perhaps the growing Russian influence in Rawalpindi might strengthen this process. In fact, the Russian pressure is already being applied to Rawalpindi to normalise relations with India as it is committed to do under the Tashkent agreement.

Best World Press

India and the bomb

India, led by Mrs Indira Gandhi, declined to sign the non-proliferation treaty and gave as a reason that the existing nuclear powers ought first to disarm themselves. Since nobody can imagine all the existing nuclear powers, including China, doing this, it means that India, the most pacific-minded country in the world, now gives its moral approval to the spread of nuclear weapons.

THE OBSERVER, London

Burma-China relations

The Revolutionary Government of Burma is now wide awake to the danger of subversion from Communist China. General Ne Win many presumably be considering to take a more friendly attitude toward the West. The release of

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

* **Should communal parties be banned?**

Closing date: June 21

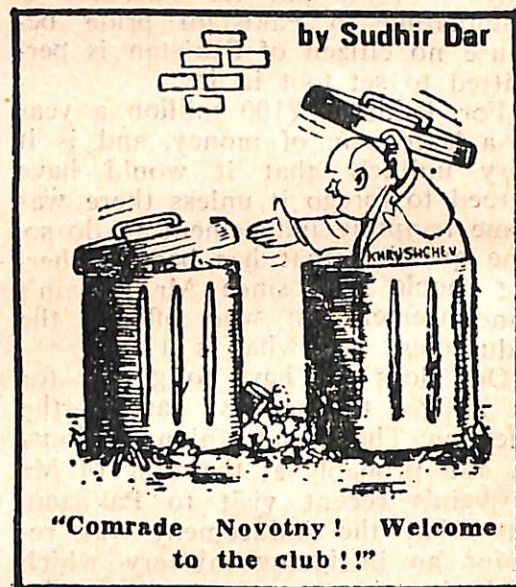
** **Roots of factionalism in politics and its cure.**

Closing date: July 5

Prizes: Rs 25, Rs 15

Send entries of not more than 300 words to Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 394, Bazargate St., Bombay-1.

COMPETITORS should note that the maximum length for entries is 300 words and judges will deduct points for extra wordage, cliches and vague argument. —Ed.



Courtesy of HINDUSTAN TIMES

127 leaders, including Brigadier Aung Gyi (a strong supporter of private enterprise and foreign investment), could possibly precede a radical conversion of Burma's foreign policy.

JAPAN TIMES, Tokyo

Mao's troubles

It is almost certain now that it is too late in the day for Mao to begin mass purges in an attempt to reassert his authority in every corner of China.

Mao's closest supporters are trying to calm China down and get order back into the land, in the hope of being able to control the country after Mao.

HONG KONG STANDARD

French crisis

For ten years de Gaulle has enjoyed the unfettered power to lead France in any direction, new or old. Choice of direction has been his. To promise now to lead his country towards different goals is to confess that the old ones — chosen by de Gaulle — were wrong.

THE GUARDIAN, London

Is it a new French Revolution?

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI IN GENEVA

ON the origins and outcome of the present strikes and violence which are shaking France, there will be as many interpretations as there are Frenchmen. And as the French have the talent of putting everything into well thought-out arguments, the flow of words coming out of government and opposition has become a flood-tide of oratory which often only the initiated can understand.

For some, like Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber of the *Express*, the present troubles can only be compared with the upheavals in the 15th century preceding the first Renaissance. Others, more conservative, compare them with those of the early 'thirties, which led to the ill-fated Popular Front Government of Leon Blum. Others call the present events "only a French version of the planetary revolution of youth". In fact, the present "French revolution" is a mixture of many different elements.

The students were those who touched off the rebellion. When the trade union leadership saw how dissatisfied the French population was with the Gaullist Government, they felt they had to join in if they did not want to be out-manoeuvred. And finally, the politicians, who had been driven from the centre-stage by the



M. Pompidou

street fights, took the initiative again by tabling a no-confidence motion against the Government.

The troubles amongst the students had been prepared over a long period. In Nanterre, a Parisian suburb, where an extension of the University of Paris had been built up during the last years, a leader had trained his troops for many months. He had visited Rudi Dutschke and his German colleagues several times. The

30th anniversary of MRA

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

GENEVA Mr Rajmohan Gandhi, Chief Editor of HIMMAT, told a conference of 525 people from 36 countries meeting at the MRA international centre at Caux-sur-Montreux near here, "Asians and Africans saw the stirrings in Czechoslovakia and felt the travail in France. They asked themselves whether it really was a changing revolution if it did not cure greed, hate and complacency."

He was speaking on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the launching of Moral Re-Armament.

"Let all French, German and Czech revolutionaries live up to the requirements of the new type of man," he continued. "It is easy for a man to shout revolution, but if he is hugging a mistress, hate or a bottle, he is very ineffective. Those who think they can create a new world with bricks of half-truths are in for serious trouble. If your revolution does not create unselfish men, Asia isn't interested — nor will Europe be."

Addressing delegates from France, Britain, Germany and other European nations, Gandhi said, "It would be a very great tragedy if Europe today were to disappoint the millions who put their hopes in her. For the sake of those in Africa and Asia who have no food, no work, and no hope, we could in Europe produce not phoney revolutionaries, but real revolutionaries."

leaders of these same German student groups had established a permanent liaison office in Paris.

The name of this leader is Daniel Cohn-Bendit, often called "Danny the Red". The tactics of Cohn-Bendit, whose parents emigrated to France from Hitler-Germany, but who has kept his German citizenship, were quite simple.

First, he organised the Nanterre students to protest against injustices, some real, some imagined. His cry that the university authorities were responsible for the "sexual despair" of the students because they did not allow male students to walk freely in and out of the girls' dormitories, made him popular amongst the students and a certain section of the press. Later he injected heavier political arguments into the discussion. Like the German leftist students,

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Mr Gandhi said, "The history of the last 30 years of the revolutionary idea of Moral Re-Armament shows that the hardest problems can be solved by miracles in men." The trouble with Europe today he said was that people did not hate enough — hate evil, complacency, greed and unselfishness. "Asia respects the search of your young people for a new society, but the things you want to tear down, Asia wants to grab. The trouble is neither affluence nor poverty, but man's attitude to man. Any idea that does not change men does not deserve to be called revolutionary."

Tenacity over years

Messages from world leaders included one from His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Offering his congratulations to MRA on its thirtieth anniversary, he said, "Its tenacity all these most difficult years proves that it has unshakable values to offer the world."

The Emperor, personal friend of the initiator of MRA, said that if some leaders had heeded the ideas of Dr Frank Buchman in 1938, "much of what has happened since would have been averted". In the audience were the Chairman of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, Mr Abid Ali; the Rajasthan Minister for Labour and the General Secretary of the Indian Metalworkers' Federation.

Cohn-Bendit is as violently anti-Stalinist as he is anti-Gaullist. His philosophy is often confused; but he feels that all the present political doctrines — capitalism or Marxism — are out-of-date.

Police entered university

When Cohn-Bendit joined a group of students for a sit-in at the Sorbonne, the main university of Paris, this demonstration may have gone by without much trouble had not the Rector and the Minister of Education taken fright and called the police. Only once before had the police penetrated the premises of the university — during the Nazi occupation of Paris. This was enough to ignite the whole population.

Today, although the students have occupied many of the universities across the country, and are discussing a fundamental reform of all institutions, they are not the decisive factor any more. It is much more the workers and the politicians who now have the word.

The French Left was caught unawares by the student rebellion. Their leaders had walked a tight-rope these last months as they tried to combine the role of opposition to the domestic policies of General de Gaulle with their support for his foreign policy. De Gaulle was making a very successful visit to Rumania, and his stand on world policies

seemed vindicated by the arrival of the delegates to the Vietnam peace talks.

But dissatisfaction amongst some of the workers had grown. And there had been, underneath the surface, a relentless push by pro-Maoist forces inside the labour movement. For many weeks the Communist leaders had attacked Cohn-Bendit as an "anarchist" and "trouble-maker". But when, after the student riots, many young workers inspired by Mao and his followers started to take over one factory after another, without waiting for instructions from their trade union headquarters, the Leftist leaders felt they had to act if they did not want to lose their authority over the majority of the French workers. The only way was to step before the rioting masses and lead them.

No one could rally people

Once political life was paralysed, the politicians got into action. And if one great personality on the left-wing of French politics had emerged with a truly prophetic revolutionary voice, the de Gaulle regime would have fallen right then.

But neither the leader of the non-Communist federation of left-wing parties, Mitterand, nor some of the old leaders of the Fourth Republic, like Pierre Mendes-France or Defferre, found the words to rally the people. For the students, especially, all these old names did not inspire

confidence, nor did their words.

One man who stood his ground and knew when to show strength and when to give in, was Premier Pompidou. Absent during the first student riots, he gave in, after his return, to many of the demands which he considered justified. When, a few days later, this was taken for weakness, Pompidou drew a clear line. And in the no-confidence debate Pompidou proved himself to be a real leader and a shrewd politician. He admitted many past mistakes, but made it clear that only through the democratic institutions could right reforms be carried through.

New words for France

Two words have constantly come up in the discussion of these days, and they indicate the reorganisation of French public and academic life which is demanded. One is "dialogue," the other "*partage des responsabilites*" — by those high up. This "sharing of responsibility" implies that, with technology producing such vast changes in society, the best minds of all generations and all sectors of society are needed.

That is what, probably, a majority of the French population would support as coming out of the "revolution of May 1968". But those demanding power for themselves rather than reform will certainly not stop at this.

What kind of leadership de Gaulle and his men show, could be decisive. But what attitude the ordinary Frenchman will finally take could also turn the balance.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Student power challenges de Gaulle

FROM PETER HINTZEN

THE HAGUE It happened within a few weeks. President de Gaulle was at the pinnacle of power. Paris was the world capital where Americans and North Vietnamese decided to talk peace. Britain had shown symptoms of not being "ready" for membership of the Common Market. Threatened by French gold, the American dollar wavered. And with Moscow looking on, peevishly, de Gaulle continued to hobnob with centrifugal East European governments. Then Paris students took to the barricades and workers joined them. Now de Gaulle's regime is tottering.

What has happened? Whoever sees merely a rebellion against de Gaulle's expensive autocracy and diplomacy, takes too narrow a view. It is not a French phenomenon but a symptom of Western decay.

Reject Western materialism

The students in New York, Berlin, Paris and other capitals, rebel not against a state, but against a state of mind. They hate being educated to become slaves of a materialistic, impersonal machine of technocracy whose aim they cannot detect. Disgusted with Western capitalist materialism, the students choose the side of its opponents. Marx, Mao, Guevara, Regis, Debray and Lenin are their heroes. "Students of all nations unite. You have nothing to lose but your brains," they seem to say, in paraphrase of the concluding words of the Communist Manifesto.

The prophet of the Western students' "Cultural Revolution" is undoubtedly Herbert Marcuse, 69-year-old German-American professor. In his book "One-dimensional Man",

Marcuse says he wants to liberate society. Bureaucrats and managers cleverly manipulate man so that unwittingly he has become the serf of a giant system which consists of a diabolic cycle of artificially created needs and an ever mounting production. The traditionally revolutionary class, the workers, are so intoxicated by this that they have lost the ability to resist. Only outsiders, eg. students, can successfully assail the *status quo*, but their frame of mind is, according to Marcuse, one of "absolute refusal".

The students' rebellion may be understandable. But in its total negativity it is alarming.

Silence on suspect Chinese missile

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

KATHMANDU What was first said to be merely a metallic substance falling from the sky in the Kaski and Lumjung districts of Western Nepal is now strongly suspected in informed circles here to be the capsule of a nuclear missile or satellite. Since the direction of the object, as eye-witnesses indicate, was east to west, it is thought to have been fired from China's Singkiang base.

According to a source close to the Kathmandu Police Superintendent, who himself was present in the area at the time of the incident on March 25 at about 10 pm, a metallic object of conical shape, six feet in diameter and three feet tall, fell at Balticur village near the picturesque Kokhura Valley with a thundering sound, which lasted for nearly five minutes (not a bright intermittent flashing, as reported in the press).

The object, which is now in possession of the police, is being examined by experts. **CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE**

The week in ASIA

KATHMANDU — Pro-Peking elements made a clean sweep of all elective posts in the annual election to four executive offices of the Tribhuvan University Students' Union. After the announcement of the result students held a demonstration shouting anti-American slogans.

HONG KONG — China and Nepal signed a trade agreement in Peking, the New China News Agency reported. China's Foreign Minister Chen Yi and the Nepalese Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Kirti Nidhi Bista signed the documents. Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai attended the signing ceremony, according to the report.

MACAO — Anti-American posters appeared here as Chinese residents mounted a propaganda campaign against the current visit of the US nuclear aircraft carrier *Enterprise* to Hong Kong. Some posters supported China's protest to Britain against the alleged use of Hong Kong as a Vietnam war base.

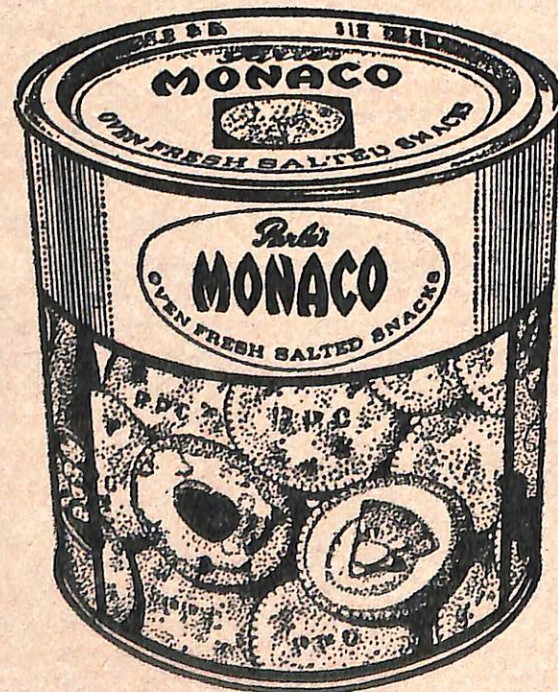
PHUNTSOLING — King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk inaugurated the first banking establishment of Bhutan here, a stone's throw from the Indian border.

RAWALPINDI — Pakistani Foreign Minister Mr Arshad Husain said here that "the Government of Pakistan is ready today, and they have always been, to sit at a conference table, with or without a mediator, for meaningful negotiations to resolve the Kashmir dispute in a peaceful manner".

KUALA LUMPUR — Indian Premier Mrs Indira Gandhi, on a visit to Malaysia, told Malaysian Premier Tunku Abdul Rahman that her country could have joint collaboration with his country in technical, economic, industrial and scientific fields. Malaysia would soon send a delegation to New Delhi to finalise a trade agreement, it is understood.

CANBERRA — Australian Government scientists claim they have discovered a new diet for sheep to make them grow two or three times the present amount of wool.

JAKARTA — An Indonesian Court sentenced two former Cabinet Ministers under deposed President Sukarno to jail terms. Major-General Achmadi, former Information Minister, was sentenced to six years imprisonment, and Dr Muhammad Achadi, former Minister of Cooperatives, was sentenced to 12 years for economic subversion.



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sion of the Nepal Government, is under examination. Newsmen who had been assured earlier of the

chance to photograph the object were refused permission as soon as the matter figured in the Indian Parliament. Some sources say that the Nepal Government succumbed to Chinese pressure.

Arab commando raids increase

FROM HARRY ALMOND

BEIRUT Until now Lebanon is the only country having a common border with Israel without, at any point, having been involved in the hot war between the Arab states and Israel. But one morning recently, Israel positions opened up with mortar fire against the Lebanese village of Houleh. Firing continued for fifteen minutes and Lebanese forces returned the fire. One woman was killed, another woman and a child were wounded, and there was damage to several houses.

An Israeli army spokesman in Tel Aviv had stated earlier that Arab commandos had attacked the Israeli frontier village of Margalyot in up-

per Galilee with mortar bombs on the previous night. The denial of the Lebanese military spokesman was not particularly convincing.

The fact is that throughout the Arab world there is an upsurge of sentiment in favour of commando activities. A young Lebanese lad, who had left his university studies to join a commando unit and was killed a few days later, was given a martyr's funeral from the great mosque in down-town Beirut recently with popular demonstrations all over the country.

The whole younger generation of Arab patriots, impatient with the speechifying politicians of the older generation, are very quietly taking matters into their own hands. They collect money and volunteer for service without great fanfare. They buy arms wherever they can get them. And nearly every night sorties are made into their occupied homeland.

After twenty years of procrastination and defiance of United Nations resolutions by member states, these young Arabs have lost faith in the international body. All who remember the heroism of resistance fighters against Nazism in Europe and the Japanese invaders in Asia during World War II feel an echo of sympathy for these people whose homes have been occupied by enemy forces which continue that occupation in defiance of United Nations resolutions and world opinion.

Israel, from another point of view, is in a bind. If she continues to

tolerate, without reprisal, the mounting Arab commando offensive, she risks a general Arab uprising. It must be remembered that the Arab population under control of the Israeli army now is not a trifling minority, but comes close to being half of the country. On the other hand, if Israel does permit herself to retaliate as she did last month in the blitz raid on the Jordan village of Karameh, her image will undoubtedly become even more tarnished in the eyes of the rest of the world.

It is even the opinion of some experienced observers that the Arab commando leaders deliberately hope to provoke Israel into an attack on Jordan as a commando base, which would lead to the occupation of the rest of that country. This would put Israel up against the frontiers of both Iraq and Saudi Arabia, both of whom possess considerable armed forces. It would also put under the control of Israel a very large and embittered Arab population which, it is felt, in the long run would prove far more than Israel could handle and eventually might even lead to a general uprising which would regain all their lost territory.

Saudi Arabia, which was not involved in the war of June 1967, is now demanding the return of the island of Tiran, which is sovereign

Saudi territory. This small island lies in the middle of the Tiran Straits which were closed by Egypt a year ago. Saudi Arabia granted the use of the island to the United Arab Republic for military purposes. The island is occupied by Israel and the Saudis now want it back.

Increased provocation

Unless the talks which UN mediator Gunnar Jarring is attempting to arrange in New York take place, and reach a satisfactory conclusion, it is likely that tension will mount as Arab commando raids increase their tempo and provoke increased Israeli reprisals.

It seems a hopeless situation. A new element is desperately needed. It is apparent to this observer, after twenty-four years of experience with Middle East affairs, that the Arabs, even if Israel were wiped completely off the map, would desperately need Moral Re-Armament. Equally the state of Israel, if she could be removed far from the Arab world to some coral island, would also be in desperate need of Moral Re-Armament.

To expect a true dialogue to take place on this basis may require an act of faith on both sides. To expect it to take place on any other basis is folly.

Behind Wilson, a triumvirate?

FROM GORDON WISE

LONDON Britain has become extraordinarily vulnerable to events, both at home and abroad. Race riots across the Atlantic find their Black Power spokesmen here. Enoch Powell's speech touched off a resounding controversy on race within the country. The gold-buying spree threatened to topple the pound yet again.

And now the state of affairs in France has produced warnings about the validity of British institutions, with a Government Minister, Mr Anthony Wedgewood Benn, saying publicly, "It is no good saying it could never happen here. It could."

Britain's sensitivity to external and internal factors reflects her uncertainty about the way ahead. Mr Wedgewood Benn may not have come up with wholly satisfactory answers. But he was on the button when he said that people want a greater say in their affairs; that much indus-

trial unrest stems from a sense of exclusion from the decision-making process. Frustration, too, he said, was the driving force for nationalism in Wales and Scotland, and for the Black Power movement.

The question is how to cure this condition. Good leadership at the top would go a long way. But there is really no alternative to a much greater involvement in affairs by the millions of average Britishers. Half empty churches and trade union halls, apathy about local and even national elections have become manifest in about the same proportion as the increase of hooliganism in anti-US demonstrations.

When things get in a mess it is not really a Labour mess, a Tory mess or a Red plot. It is everyone's fault. And everyone can be responsible for clearing things up where he or she lives or works.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

The week in INDIA

BOMBAY — A Garuda Indonesia Airlines Convair Coronado crashed near Nalla Sopara soon after taking off for Karachi. All 29 passengers and crew lost their lives. One villager died and several were injured following the explosion.

PATNA — About 100 people died in the heat wave sweeping Bihar. The maximum temperatures recorded in different districts of the State ranged between 45°C. and 48°C. (112°F. and 118°F.).

BANGALORE — A 28-member Ministry of Mysore headed by Mr Veerendra Patil, the second since the 1967 elections, was sworn in. It is bigger than the outgoing Nijalingappa Ministry of 22.

SHILLONG — Over 1500 people were rendered homeless by floods caused by the rain-swollen Brahmaputra in the Sadiya area in Upper Assam. People were evacuated from the flood-hit areas.

MADRAS — The State Government revised the rates of dearness allowance of its employees receiving pay upto Rs 500 so as to be on a par with those of Central Government staff. The increased rates will cost the State Government about Rs 3.6 crores a year.

RENIGUNTA — Thirteen people were killed and 57 injured when a goods train rammed into passenger coaches berthed at Renigunta Station, near Tirupati.

NEW DELHI — Union Home Minister Y. B. Chavan told the Steering Committee of the Princes' Concord that the Government had taken a "clear and firm" decision to abolish their privy purses and privileges and the next step would be to implement it soon.

NEW DELHI — Ticketless travel cost the Indian Railways Rs 10 crores a year, reported UNI. During 1967-68 the railway suffered a loss of over Rs 1.30 crores because of damages in accidents. Compensation of theft of booked consignments amounted to Rs 1.7 crores in the first six months of the year, according to the report.

AMRITSAR — A head constable was shot dead when two patrols of the Indian Border Security Force opened fire in darkness mistaking each other for smugglers.

AHMEDABAD — The Gujarat Government will open 100 "mini-textile mills" in the State to provide employment to workers of closed textile mills, announced Industries Minister Jashwant Mehta.

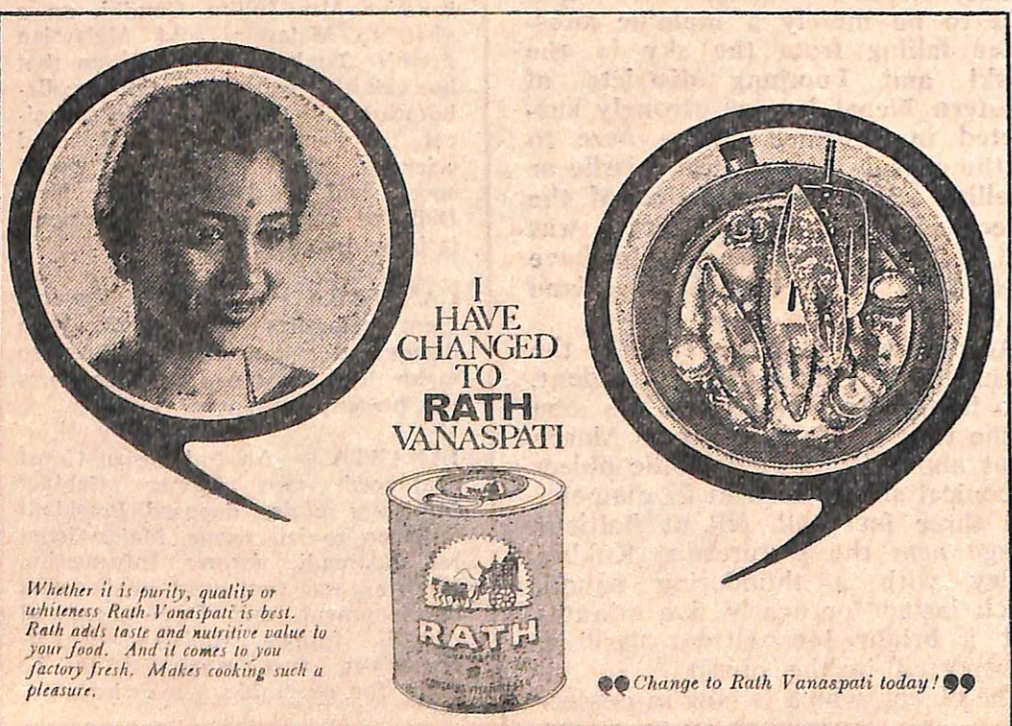


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There certainly is a need for a change in the quality of leadership being given. A change of leader in itself could be a deceptive reassurance, as seems to have been the case across the English Channel just now.

There is plenty of support for a "Wilson must go" movement. Mr Cecil King, publisher of *The Daily Mirror*, tried the frontal attack through the columns of his newspaper, though it led to his dismissal. There are reports that a triumvirate is really telling Mr Wilson what to do; Mr Richard Crossman, Mr Roy Jenkins and Mrs Barbara Castle.

People's revolution needed

There is, however, no obvious compelling alternative in the public's estimation, either in Mr Wilson's party or among the Opposition leadership. Also Mr Wilson has no intention whatsoever of resigning.

Something more profound than a "palace revolution" is needed. A people's revolution is needed, of the

kind where more and more people participate in doing what needs to be done.

The week elsewhere

EXPELLED FROM PARTY

PRAGUE—Antonin Novotny, former President of Czechoslovakia and six other top Party officials including a former Prime Minister were stripped of their membership in the Communist Party due to the role they are alleged to have played in the political mis-trials of 1950.

ECONOMIC DESPERATION

ADEN—Despite appeals through the Arab League, no Arab country has responded to South Yemen's urgent request for financial assistance. Delegations are touring West Germany, East Europe and the Soviet Union to try to negotiate loans and grants.

Great Britain turned down a request for a loan of £60 million. South Yemen has been subsisting on a £12 million grant Britain offered to it for six months after independence. This ended last week.

DEADLOCK CONTINUES

PARIS—Serious clashes occurred in many French cities between pro-Gaullist demonstrators and opponents of the present Government. The majority of the nine million workers on strike have refused to return to work. Draft agreements have been reached between the Government and the electricity and coal industries and the civil servants. Negotiations are deadlocked with transport workers. Television and radio men are holding out for guarantees of independence from Government control of their media. Radical student leaders have called for students and workers to take their struggle to the streets again. The question is whether law and order can be restored sufficiently in time to hold the general elections scheduled for June 23.

ELECTION VIOLENCE

ISTANBUL—Fourteen persons were killed and 30 injured in knife and gun battles that broke out during local elections.

WORLD BANK VISIT

WASHINGTON—The President of the World Bank, Robert McNamara, arrives shortly in Indonesia, the first Asian country he will visit since taking over as President of the Bank.

EMERGENCY BILL PASSED

BONN—The West German Parliament passed the Emergency Powers Bill. It empowers the Government in times of natural calamity or political emergency to conscript all men 18 and over into national service and women 18-55 for hospital service; to give an emergency Parliament of 33 members power to pass laws if other parliamentarians are incapacitated; to censor mails and tap telephones according to legal procedure in cases of national security. Even in extreme crisis troops are forbidden to interfere with industrial strikes staged for economic reasons, but can reinforce police in fighting armed insurrection.

Front's "mental estrangement"

FROM G. S. KARTHA IN TRIVANDRUM

KERALA'S ruling United Front, a heterogenous brood of political groups with different objectives and conflicting ideologies, has become a cockpit of political wrangles after fourteen months in office. The discord climaxed as the major partner, the Marxist Communist Party, started preparations for its "mass struggle" against the Central Government.

But the plain truth is that none of the partners in the United Front, except a handful of dissident SSP leaders who have their own axe to grind, is in a mood for any struggle against the Centre. The Right Communists, the Muslim League, and to some extent the Revolutionary Socialist Party, are not prepared to join a "suicidal struggle" which they consider is meant more for the Marxist Party's interests.

In the past there were complaints that the Marxists ignored the minimum programme of the Front and the decisions of the high-power Co-ordination Committee whenever they wanted to carry out their own policies. However, the recent rout of the United Front in the civic polls and the preparations by the Marxists to launch a struggle against the Centre "without first implementing many things which the State Government could have done" on the food problem, prompted the frustrated and disillusioned partners to take a firm stand against Marxist manoeuvres.

It has been said that the Government is purely a "Marxist show". Many Right Communist leaders are reported to have taken a vow to end "Marxist domination" at all costs.

Cause of disarray

Mr T. V. Thomas, veteran Right Communist leader and Minister for Industries, recently said that the United Front happened to be in disarray because there was a "mental estrangement" between parties and leaders. The most interesting and significant case of "mental estrangement" is that between Mr Thomas and his Marxist wife, Mrs Gouri Thomas, Food and Revenue Minister.

Although Mr Thomas and Mrs Gouri got married when Ministers of the first all-Communist Ministry

headed by Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad in 1957 and shared the same roof, the rift in the Communist Party pushing them into rival camps. Gouri chose the "more revolutionary" path of the Marxists, while Thomas remained a seasoned leader in the CPI.

The Marxist Party did not even allow Mrs Gouri Thomas, an ardent revolutionary, to stay with her "right revisionist" husband. They had to stay in adjacent bungalows, though connected by a corridor so they could share meals in peace at the same table. But even the practice of common meals was broken one day when the ideological fanaticism of his wife, or loss of temper, prompted Mr Thomas to close the doors of his bungalow for ever against his wife.

Mr Thomas and Mrs Gouri have been most devoted to their respective parties. Charges and counter-charges are hurled at each other from public platforms. Mr Thomas along with other Right Communist leaders accused Gouri of violating the directive given by the United Front's Co-ordination Committee regarding the method of assigning Government lands to the landless. The charge against her is that the bulk of lands assigned went to her partymen.

As the Minister for Food, also, she was the target of criticism by the Right Communists. Sources close to the Rightists said that Mr Thomas was quite uncompromising in his criticism of his wife.

Mr Thomas, whom Mr A. K. Gopalan, Kerala Marxist Party General Secretary, described as "the fifth column of the Congress" in the ruling party, is perhaps the strongest critic of the Marxists' policies and methods. Earlier the Marxists had launched a campaign against him for seeking collaboration agreements with Japanese industrialists to develop Kerala industrial projects. He was accused of being the author of an "anti-labour" industrial policy although the

policy was approved by the Cabinet. Mrs Gouri Thomas too admits there was mental estrangement between her and the Industries Minister. But when a reporter asked her if it was due to the incapacity of the Industries Minister, she quickly replied: "I consider him as a person of extraordinary ability."

The two Ministers are perhaps the best in Mr Namboodiripad's Cabinet as regards efficiency. Mr Thomas has built up a reputation of being fair and non-interfering in the affairs of his department, and in his plans to industrialise the State he put the interests of the people and of the State above party considerations.



Besides Gouri and Thomas, the other leader who has been kicking up a lot of dust and controversy is Mr A. K. Gopalan. A man of the masses, he is less shrewd, and less tactful, compared to the Chief Minister, Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad. He was the first to declare that if other partners in the United Front did not co-operate with the Marxists in the proposed anti-Centre struggle, "we will even quit Government". He repeated this at many public meetings in the course of his ten-day tour with Mr Namboodiripad, preparing the people for the proposed stir. But towards the last lap of their joint campaign, Mr Namboodiripad declared that the Marxists would remain in office anyway.

Now nobody knows what the Marxists will do. Those who had counted on the Marxists quitting the Government have become disappointed. Some had even thought in terms of an alternate government.

People are disillusioned

The basis of the Kerala coalition is blind anti-Congress feelings. There is no common commitment among the partners. The wrangles, mutual accusations, and self-interest of the leaders of the United Front have actually disillusioned vast sections of the people.

The first expression of the people's disapproval was the rout of the United Front in the recent Municipal elections. Yet the United Front's leaders still have time to emerge as statesmen if they set right their relations with the people as well as among themselves.



Mr T. V. Thomas

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Why throw an asset out of the window?

AFTER a rather hot 20-kilometre drive from Madras to meet Dr Chandran D. S. Devanesen, Principal of Madras Christian College, I arrived at the campus gates. I was struck at once by the freshness of the trees all around me.

How did you achieve all this?

"We have always had a professor of the College to whom we give the title curator. His special task has been to look after the college grounds. We believe that the students' environment is important."

When did the College move to this site?

"In 1937. The College had a long history before that, in the commercial heart of Madras City. In fact this year marks the centenary of the emergence of the first graduates from this College — a notable landmark."

You have students from all over South India, I notice—Kerala, Andhra and Mysore, as well as Madras State.

"And beyond! We have a great many from Malaysia, Ceylon, Fiji, East Africa, Nigeria, Guyana, Mauritius. The College also attracts Mizors and Nagas. We had two Tibetans last year. We have had a visiting Japanese student. Next year we expect to have 20 American students living on the campus for two months."

Is it a great asset to have students from all these countries?

"Education must be international. It is more imperative in the twentieth century than it was earlier, though throughout history a good college has attracted students from countries. There are no frontiers in the search for truth."

You mentioned students from North-East India.

"It is important that there should be some colleges in the country that are a reflection of the nation as a whole, where students from many regions come together. They learn together to see all Indians as Indians, and to develop a deep sense of being Indian."

Is the quality of the education getting better?

"The level of the good students has risen. They are more mature and better informed than twenty years ago. But they are now heavily outnumbered by the less mature. Of many students now it can be said: 'He is the first in his family to go to college!' It is good that so many

more families now expect to send their sons to college. But it calls for a lot of patience, and we are trying to discover ways of helping students who have a lot to make up."

Are many of your staff engaged in research projects?

"A high proportion. The numbers have gone up, because of the growth in grants from the University Grants Commission and from the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. The College itself has a fund for promoting research. We have two projects sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture."

Are the research projects of merely academic interests?

"The aphid project of our department of zoology is a study of a parasite which affects crops, particularly



cereals and rose plants. The research will certainly help the farmers. The chemistry department has been studying the behaviour of castor oil in a variety of processes. This may well extend its possible commercial uses."

You are yourself a historian. Your own main field of research has concerned the life of Mahatma Gandhi?

"Yes. My book 'The Making of the Mahatma' is in process of publication by the Chicago University Press."

"The book is mainly a study of how one great personality faced the struggles of his time. This should inspire us to face the struggles that confront us today."

Why is it that in South India there is so much concern to retain English?

"Education in South India has been mainly bilingual. English has long been the link language in the South. There is widespread recognition of its value, and a feeling that we have in it the asset of a language which gives access to the outside world, and to a wide spectrum of knowledge as no other language does. Also it is the *de facto* link language of India."

"The regional language will soon have to be more widely used as the language of the vast majority of the people of the State. But even at the



Dr D. S. Devanesen

level of the high school a familiarity with English will assist teaching. At the college level, English will be a necessity.

"Abroad, I have found that a knowledge of English is accepted as essential in college education — in Japan, in Indonesia, and in Russia."

"Many thinking South Indians are not against the gradual spread of Hindi. But the more compulsion there is, the more likely is it that there will be resistance."

I have heard it said that several question papers became known to candidates in some universities before the examinations.

"Such leakages have been extremely rare. It is now realised that the University is understaffed for adequate supervision, and there is now an increase of personnel."

Can ordinary members of the public help to check things of this sort?

"Yes! Until ordinary people protest promptly against wrong-doing, then we shall have unhappy acceptance of things as they are."

"In University education in India, obviously, we don't think everything is right. But we should make a concentrated effort to evaluate what is needed and to do it. This College has a practice of constant discussion between staff and students, seeking ways to improve the education given — and often with parents, and with former students."

"We need an honest facing of reality: our future progress is tied up with the retention of English. A language which is the *lingua franca* of the world, which we need, and which we are fortunate enough to have a good grasp of — should we throw such an asset out of the window?"

F. K.

Nijalingappa now regrets

BY R. M. LALA

AT the AICC meet in Delhi this week the 40 and 50-year-old "youth" of the Congress Party, known as the "young Turks", pointed a warning finger at the revolt of the youth in France. Similar events, they said might well happen in India. The aged Congress leadership was arraigned for seven hours on Monday for bringing the Party's affairs to the present pass.

Did it move the 65-year-old benign figure of S. Nijalingappa presiding over the session? Few things seem to disturb the composure of the Congress President, but behind that smiling, almost Buddha-like face of his, is a sensitive spirit. The smile is a cover-up for what goes on inside.

And a lot is going on inside him today.

Power went to Mrs Gandhi

I am reliably told that the Congress President feels that he has been used by Mrs Gandhi to break the power of Kamaraj within the Party, and his regret is that the power that Kamaraj lost as Congress President has not come to him but to Mrs Gandhi. She selected him to succeed Kamaraj, knowing that, as a leading Congressman from the South, Kamaraj would have to agree.

Mr Nijalingappa was most reluctant to relinquish his Chief Ministership of Mysore. He was summoned three times to Delhi by Mrs Gandhi to accept the highest Party post. Even so he held on to his Chief Ministership for almost six months simultaneously with the Congress Presidentship. I understand that he was first toying with the idea of having a successor to his Mysore office for only 12 months so that he could return to the Chief Ministership, but had finally to abandon the idea.

Nijalingappa's chance

Part of Mr Nijalingappa's frustration lies in the fact that he feels the people really close to Mrs Gandhi are some of the young "Leftists" and that the views of the old guard on foreign policy are not always attended to. For example, the old guard feel that some of our policies are too pro-Soviet.

Mr Nijalingappa commands an office with considerable power if he

dares to use it. He is one of the original five of "the syndicate" which has enthroned two Prime Ministers of India. How he uses his power for the maximum benefit of the nation still depends on him and his decision.

When I saw him a couple of years ago at the palatial Vidhan Soudha in Bangalore, the controversial Mahajan Commission had just been appointed to look into the Maharashtra-Mysore border dispute. There was no trace of fanaticism in Nijalingappa about the border areas. "We create problems by imagining them," he told me, "instead of tackling the real challenges that face us." At the same time he was allowing his people to let off steam by lying across railway lines to protest against the appointment of the Commission.

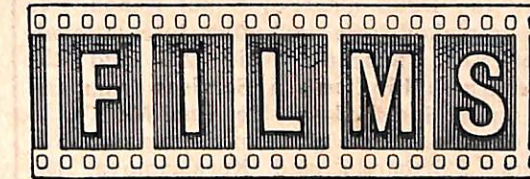
"Mysore," I then told him, "with her immense wealth of men and materials is not meant to be known as a state where men lay their heads on railway lines in protest, but a state where 'the mind is without fear and the head is held high...'" And as I said the words of Tagore, Nijalingappa repeated them with me, ending with the words, "In that haven of

freedom my father, let my country awake." He seemed moved by those lines.

"I have always held," he said, "that if the interests of my region or language militate against the interests of India, I will scrap them." He added, "One cannot break away suddenly from the thinking of the people. You have to swing them with you, win their confidence and then convert them."

Next step

Nijalingappa has a spacious heart. But his danger is that he wants to be all things to all men at all times. Those who knew him well as Chief Minister of Mysore say that he likes to say "Yes" to so many people that ultimately you never know what he will do. Others say that "what the last person has told him he generally does". He tends to please people and it is not surprising that he finds the process somewhat tiring. Could it be that his next step is to grow up in his own conviction and do what he knows is right, rather than what other people want?



"One Hundred and One Dalmatians"

METRO, BOMBAY

IN this cartoon comedy feature Walt Disney takes a dog's eye view of human society and leaves us wondering whether the dog society is not the more intelligent.

Pongo and Perdita are the proud parents of 15 spotty, floppy Dalmatian puppies.



They live a life of middle class comfort with their "pets" — Roger Radcliff, a dreamy composer, and his wife Anita. Villain of the piece is Anita's eccentric friend Cruella de Ville.

And here the melodrama begins. When Roger refuses to sell Cruella the pups for her "collection", she arranges to "dognap" them. Human efforts fail to locate the pups so Pongo and Perdita with tear-

jerking, parental concern enlist their canine friends.

Across the countryside, by means of "The Twilight Bark", word goes out to locate the pups. Pongo's and Perdita's chase leads them through the snow to Cruella's country hideout. There they rescue not only their own, but 84 more pups — 2 plus 15 plus 84 equals 101.

"Dalmatians" has suspense, pathos and comedy blended into a shrewd commentary on the life of a dog and his man. Animation and voices are brilliant.

"The Secret War of Harry Frigg"

COMING TO METRO, BOMBAY

UNIVERSAL's World War II comedy shows Private Harry Frigg (Paul Newman) a flop at everything except escaping from the army lock-up.

In a sumptuous villa in Italy, five captured allied Brigadiers are also proving themselves a flop — at escaping. True, there is not much to spur escape — the food and wine is good. In fact their commandant



CONTINUED ON PAGE 17

Aga Khan hockey back to its glory

Born in 1896 — the same year as the Modern Olympic Games — and still going strong, is the Aga Khan Hockey Tournament of Bombay, one of the most famous events in the Indian sporting calendar and main contributor to the country's world supremacy in the game for the past four decades.

Last weekend saw the completion of the 70th tournament (no competition in 1900, 1942 and 1954), when Mohun Bagan of Calcutta and Western Railway of Bombay came through to contest the final. Well-matched, they played a goal-each draw last Saturday. In the replay on Sunday the Railway team won deservedly by a solitary goal to win the trophy for Bombay for the first time in ten years.

The 1968 tournament was memorable for the uniformly high standard of play throughout and the consistently heavy spectator support. Forty teams, representing every hockey interest and region in the country, were invited. All acquitted themselves creditably regardless of the result. Despite the summer heat, playing conditions were ideal at the Bombay Gymkhana ground, and even the usually hypercritical old-timers agreed that the 1968 tournament had been on a par with some of the best.

All candidates for the national team to defend India's Olympic Championship in Mexico this year were on view. Outstanding were Western Railway's Balbir Singh and Mohun Bagan's Inam-ur-Rehman in the attack; and probable Olympic skipper Gurbux Singh and goalkeeper Mukherji (both of Mohun Bagan) in the defence. Bagan were unlucky not to have the services of Inam-ur-Rehman in the final, owing to a fractured finger in the quarter-final round.

With Balbir getting excellent support from his brother Gurbux and relation Puran, Western Railway had impressed as a formidable attacking team through the tournament. It was a spectacular goal by Balbir, reminiscent of his victory goal against Pakistan in the 1966 Asian Hockey final at Bangkok, that had saved the Railway in the first meeting against Beighton Cup winners Bagan. With Balbir, too, well marked in the replay, it was Gurbux who netted the winning goal on Sunday. Though overcome by an obviously superior team in the replay, Bagan's deep defenders Gurbux and Mukherji deserve high praise.



Balbir Singh

The unqualified success of the 1968 Aga Khan Tournament was mainly due to its return to its old site, the ground of the Bombay Gymkhana, the organisers of the competition.

For 40 years until 1957 the tournament had gone from strength to strength, contributing in a large measure to the domination of international hockey by Indian teams. Then the Bombay Hockey Association began its Gold Cup Tournament as a counter-attraction, and the Aga Khan got a raw deal in treatment. To help the BHA's dwindling funds the Aga Khan Tournament was shifted to the BHA stadium and was played as an auxiliary competition to the Gold Cup.

This year the Bombay Gymkhana decided to play the tournament on its own ground again. This prompted the BHA to make exorbitant demands as tournament fee and share of profit. Press criticism and public support helped the Gymkhana to get over the BHA hurdles and bring the tournament and Bombay hockey back to their glory.

Besides the standard of play and the mounting attendance, even the supervision of games seemed to improve at the Gymkhana ground; and the Madras umpire Mahomed Ghouse, who conducted the final with V. J. D'Cruz of Mysore, deserves special mention. This alert and "no-nonsense" official had the game and the players well in control.

Ceylonese visit

The Sheesh Mahal Cricket Tournament at Lucknow provided some interesting fare in spite of the sultry, uncricket weather. The presence of a foreign team, Ceylon Government Services, added zest to the proceedings. Prominent among the other 13 entrants were Mehra's (comprising top Delhi players), Gopal Kapoor's (a hand-picked side including internationals Jaisimha, Durrani, Abid Ali and the Amarnath brothers), a Services team and a strong Jamshedpur side, Rusi Modi's.

With only two good medium-pace bowlers, Sahabandu and Kegalgamuva, the Ceylon Services got the better of powerful Kapoor's on their way to meet Modi's in the final. Modi's, however, proved too strong for the visitors, winning by an innings with a day to spare (403 against Ceylon's 241 and 126).

In addition to the impressive and consistent bowling of the Ceylon team bowlers, centuries by Jaisimha (140 against Bank Club, Nagpur), A. Shukla (151 not out for Modi's vs. Gujarat's Krishna Nagar Club) and Robin Mukherji (108 for Modi's vs. Nagar Mahapalika of Allahabad) were the highlights. The best bowling feat was 7 for 45 in one innings vs. Ceylon for Mahapalika.

As if to return Ceylon's compliment in cricket, Delhi's Central Secretariat Club sent a hockey team to the island for the Silver Jubilee Tournament at Matale for the Chand Trophy. The Delhi side won the trophy, beating Matale Maroons in the final by two goals to one.

● **topscorer**

This India

LIGHT IN DARKNESS

FOR years a man lived in darkness. His family was in darkness and so was his community. He could see no light around him. His friends suggested he might marry. A wife is supposed to be the light of a home. He married. The darkness remained.

One day, he took a bucket and started to throw the darkness out of his home. He worked the whole night, but no effect. His wife saw him do this and ejaculated, "You fool!" She took some oil, cotton and made a lamp out of it. With a matchstick she lit the lamp. The darkness vanished and the house was filled with light.

This story was related by sixty-year-old Ramjilal, a Harijan from Delhi. "Similarly, for centuries we Harijans have remained in darkness. We did not know where to turn for a way out. Moral Re-Armament has brought a light into our life in a very short time," continued Ramjilal. He is a water carrier in the Delhi Municipal Corporation.

"Light Out of Darkness" is the name of a play that Ramjilal and his fourteen friends have written. They wrote it and produced it in three days. It doesn't have numerous sets, brilliant direction, intricate choreography or even a proper script. It is written out of their experiences. It is the reality of their lives presented on the stage. The play portrays a change that has come into their lives through Moral Re-Armament. Enemies of yesterday become friends of today. Champion drunkards and gamblers give up drink. Families become new and united. This is happening in the Harijan Colony in Delhi.

Last Friday they presented their play to a sophisticated audience of 500 in Bombay. It was the first time that most of these Harijans had been to Bombay and seen the sea, tall buildings, glittering shops. Diplomats, industrialists, trade union leaders, factory and dock workers, professors, students, housewives were for one and a half hours silent, gripped and stirred.

"Inspiring. If what you have found could be multiplied, you will see wonders being performed in India swiftly. I want to work with you," said a diplomat from a country which has been pouring aid to India in the last two decades.

These men are cleaners in homes, sweepers on the streets of Delhi, railway shunters, sewer men, drivers, peons. Many cannot read or write. They have not amassed wealth. Yet they have stirred the hearts of rich and poor, learned and unlettered. Their strength is that they are honest about themselves and believe that God can change any man.

Neerja Chowdhury

This was a Life

JAP DE BOER 1921—1968

LAST week's Garuda Indonesian Airlines crash outside Bombay killed an indomitable fighter for a new world order. Mr Jap de Boer of Holland was on his flight home after a year of trekking and travelling through Australia, New Zealand, Papua-New Guinea, the Philippines and Indonesia. He called this last year the best of his life.

Jap was a hard-headed Frieslander, born in the hamlet of Nieuwe Zijl, 47 years ago. He was reared in the tradition of class war. His father, founder of the Farm Workers' Union, had bitterly opposed the unjust ways of the big farmers.

Radical change occurred in the de Boer family when Jap's father found in Moral Re-Armament a surer way than class war. The impact of the new spirit in his family was so profound on the 14-year-old boy that he rose from a mediocre pupil at the trade school to become an outstanding architect.

German occupation and war brought misery. Jap had suffered much as a forced labourer in a concentration camp in Bremen, Germany. After the War he decided to work full time with Moral Re-Armament. His freedom from hate helped many in Germany to liberate themselves from the shackles of self-pity.

Frank Buchman's vision that the workers of the world could unite humanity, gripped Jap de Boer. He came to know trade union leaders and countless ordinary workers who trusted him as a friend and counsellor.

Jap de Boer played a significant part in bridging the gap between Holland and Indonesia. Together with two prominent Dutchmen he went to Indonesia's leaders and apologised to them for the stubbornness and arrogance of the Dutch.

The visit of "India Arise" last year to Europe, Jap had said, made Holland begin to think out beyond Europe again. One distinguished Papuan leader, Dirona Abe, hearing news of the aircrash commented, "He helped to put our country on its feet on the eve of independence."

Jap de Boer won people all over the world with his cheerful spirit and revolutionary dedication. He was a man at peace because he was a man who obeyed God.

S.C.

STRONG MEN NEEDED

ONE is inclined to accept with a grain of salt the Ceylonese lady's statement that "Asian women have more of a business and administrative quality than their Western counterparts", (Neerja Chowdhury on "Strong Men Needed", HIMMAT, May 17).

Asian women, in fact all women, realise all too well that their emancipation does not justify their admission to the harsh labours and absorbing occupations of men. Administrative work demands qualities of endurance, alertness and vigour which women do not possess in the same degree as men. Mere tact, subtlety and mental refinement are not sufficient qualifications. The feminine intellect is basically surcharged with emotion. And women are ruled more by the heart than by the head.

By and large, the Indian woman is faithful to the time-honoured occupations of child-rearing, husband-caring and home "administration". The unmarried woman, too, finds it difficult to take up jobs which go against her grain. Women have a much higher and a nobler role to play.

Miss Chowdhury is probably right in saying that men who "succumb to money, power and other kinds of blackmail", may do so to satisfy their desire to please women who are capable of capitalising on their charms. Indeed in woman's charm lies her strength and in man's strength lies his charm. India requires stronger men!

Rs 10 to: G. DAS GUPTA, Calcutta 16

MRS GANDHI'S TOUR

I read with interest your editorial "Long Overdue" (HIMMAT, May 24). Hearty Congratulations on the success of your "lone voice".

New Delhi's long neglect of South-East Asia and Australia was no surprise, being just one instance where the Government is supremely insensitive to the pulse of the moment. But the winds of change cause a pleasant flutter.

Mrs Gandhi has reportedly said in Singapore that India regarded Australia and New Zealand as Asian countries all along, but that they had a different view. Were this true, one is bound to ask Mrs. Gandhi, what positive action has the Government of India taken in furtherance of this view? The question is sure to prove embarrassing. Anyway, late realisation is better than none.

Rs 5 to: D. R. MOHAN RAJ, Hyderabad 27

FATHER FERRER

FR. FERRER has been accused of being anti-national, for helping the farmers feed the nation and themselves. Can the Government find one among its many million-

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Letters

aires who has done so much good for so many poor people without any profit motive? Can the Government as a body by itself boast of such achievements in such a short span of time? While the real anti-national elements — the Communists and communalists who are desperately trying to destroy India's democracy — go scot-free, selfless men like Fr. Ferrer are marked out as anti-national. What could be more anti-national than the non-payment of taxes? By sending away Fr. Ferrer the Government will show the world that all the talk about religious toleration and communal harmony in India is eyewash.

CHRISTIE M. JUAN, Secunderabad 25

STUDENT REVOLT

THE claims of the French students for proper educational facilities comes in the wake of similar demands by the students elsewhere. It looks as though the politics of protest among the younger generations is assuming a universally revolutionary tenor in which the students demand a better quality of life and a democratic participation in a society where decision-making is left to bureaucrats.

S. CHANDRASHEKARA, Bangalore 12

AT HOME WITH HIMMAT

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"Give me a dozen people who love God, their neighbour and their country, in the full meaning of the word," a great man once said, "and I will conquer the world."

After reading every page, I really feel more eager to do good for the Good God.

SISTER ERNESTA, Bilaspur PO, UP

FILMS—FROM PAGE 15

is a former restaurateur from Genoa, proud of his cuisine.

HQ wants the one-star generals back in action. The obvious solution — parachute a two-star general in to liven them up and stir the will to break out. Of course, he must be an expert at escaping. Harry Frigg! Who better? So, after some hurried promotion, "Major General" Frigg swallows his hostility towards rank and parachutes into Italy.

After a series of contrived sub-plots, in which neither actor, writer nor director seem to know the line dividing comedy from drama, the flabby generals acknowledge the superior wisdom of Frigg in spite of his true rank being revealed.

Academy Award winner Newman must have been desperate for a role. What a lot could have been done with all that Technicolor celluloid! Harmless but boring.

SCREENER

Charles de Gaulle

by Rajmohan Gandhi



BEFORE this is published France may go through fiercer and unexpected tempests.

Will there be civil war? Mitterand called de Gaulle's broadcast "the voice of dictatorship" and "an appeal for civil war". "The people will silence this voice," he declared.

Apparently assured support by military chiefs, President de Gaulle spoke over the radio in a fighting mood. In clipped sentences, delivered with vigour and authority, he dissolved the National Assembly, postponed the referendum, ordered fresh elections and held out a threat to cancel them if need be. And, scotching rumours that he would resign, he announced his resolve to keep, use and increase his power.

Will his show of strength bring order to disrupted France? Or will it prove to be a defiant gesture not capable of resisting the flood-tide of revolt? Is he wise in allowing the storm to become an issue between virtually one half of France and himself? Or indeed between one half of France and the other?

New dimension in leadership

De Gaulle may have won key ground in battle but it is not clear he has won the political war. A man who hates being worsted, and will fight to the last not to be, is an ideal leader of a united country at war with another. But is a bitterly divided country fortunate in being led by one who refuses to admit defeat or his mistakes?

France needs a firm hand. De Gaulle may provide it. France also needs a heart and a head that can unite opposing, demanding, hating elements. Can de Gaulle provide those?

De Gaulle does not have to be soft before anarchy. But he needs a new dimension in his leadership if he is to survive. French democracy, too, is in danger, but it is unfair to think that de Gaulle's decisions by themselves can settle its fate.

It is not de Gaulle's enemies who have betrayed him. His friends have let him down. Not by not supporting him. They have betrayed him by not being frank

with him. They have given him an adulation that is disastrous, and especially disastrous for the ablest of men. They have refused to tackle the great man's ego.

If he falls, the world will watch the conversion of some of his most ardent worshippers into detractors. It will be nothing new, merely history's pattern unfolding. But it will be painful for de Gaulle.



Charles de Gaulle

He is not unique in having a high sense of his value. But though we have no right to be shocked by his pride, we have the duty to be concerned.

Consider his latest broadcast to the nation. In the version published in *The Hindustan Times*, it consists of 23 sentences. Seven of the first ten of these sentences begin with "I".

Is a modern head of state entitled to speak thus to his nation? Is it politically shrewd of him to do so?

"I have taken my decisions," says de Gaulle. Fair enough. But what about the decisions of all the other Frenchmen and Frenchwomen? They matter too. They matter a great deal. De Gaulle did not offer them a clue on how they should come to their conclusions.

Hundreds of thousands of French people say they have decided. They want de Gaulle to quit. They say they will make him quit. They think that that will pave the way for a new France.

A nation is not righted so easily or cheaply. But de Gaulle did not give these angry men the

hope of something fundamentally different in France or her leadership. He warned them against their revolt, and vowed firm action. And he asked for energetic backing from his supporters.

Could he have done more? Certainly. Supposing he had said something like this:

"Frenchwomen, Frenchmen, have you made your decisions? What you decide is far more important than what I will do. And I don't mean your decisions on how you will vote in the elections, but on what you will do each day, all your life, for France. You will remake or unmake France. I can do neither.

"Many of you are angry. There are understandable reasons. But who is responsible for the mess? Me? Quite possibly. Me alone? Certainly not! A few capitalists, a few university professors, a few police officials? You can't seriously believe that a few selfish or greedy men could on their own make life impossible for the country. Aren't we all responsible?"

"We Frenchmen are at the crossroads. Either we will spend all our energies blaming others, or denying blame, or we will set a pattern of human relationships in college, factory and parliament that will be an inspiration to the world. Everyone must choose."

Too simple? On the contrary. An approach of this kind would produce profound political, social and economic results. It could be that France, and all Europe, is waiting for the simplicity of truth.

Presidents must preside

"Students," said de Gaulle in the broadcast, "are being prevented from studying, teachers from teaching, workers from working." Students must study, teachers must teach, workers must work. Otherwise a nation has no present or future. Students who want to abolish examinations, select and examine their teachers and decide admissions will make a flop of their lives and end their nation's life.

But presidents must preside. They must not run everything themselves, or think that they and the nation are one and the same.

FIND THE BALL Competition No 75



HOW TO PLAY

The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to mark a cross (not circle, arrow, etc) where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and coupon and send it to "Find the Ball" c/o HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1 before noon on Monday, June 17.

The winner will be announced in the following issue. You may not make more than Six Entries in any competition. N. B. only one cross may be marked on each picture. The Editor's decision is final.

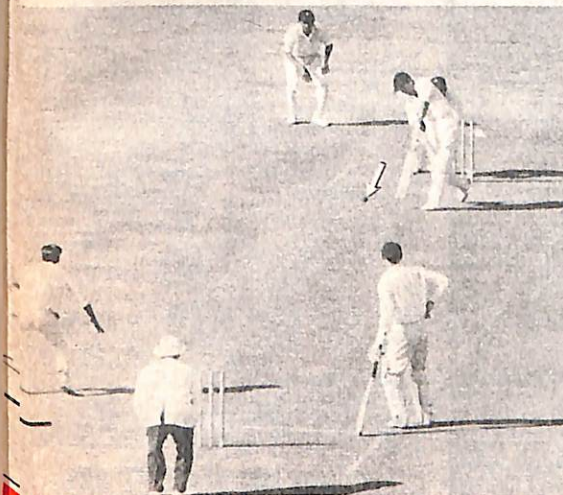
Nearest entry wins Rs. 25
On the ball wins the Jackpot*

*Each week half the prize of Rs. 50 will be awarded to the nearest entry. The other half will be carried forward to a "Jackpot" to be won by the first competitor who marks EXACTLY the centre of the ball. This Jackpot Prize will accumulate by Rs. 25 per week until it is won.

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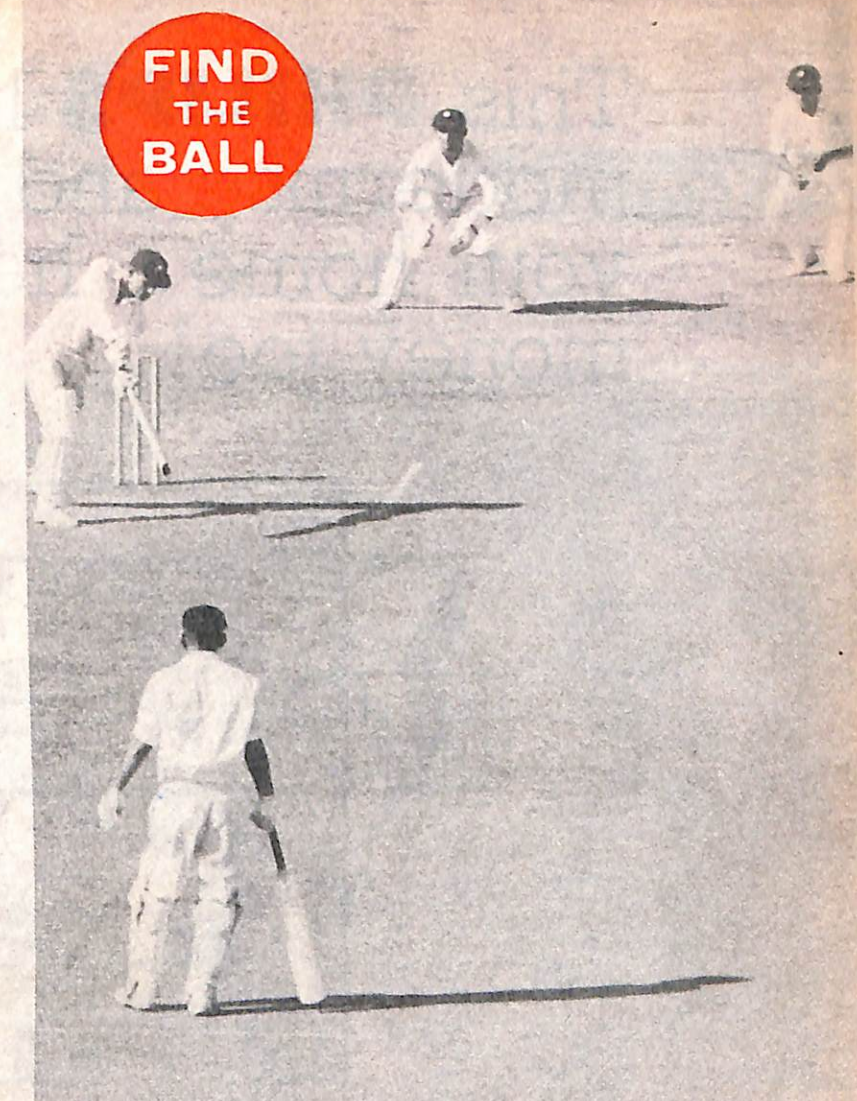


WINNER OF COMPETITION 73

Jackpot of Rs 125, goes to Laxman V. Sanakke, Union Mansion, Ground Floor, Room 13, Dr. Ambedkar Rd, Dadar, Bombay 14, who marked the ball exactly.

2nd Prize (2 Hira Luxury Tooth-brushes in Deluxe Containers) also goes to Laxman V. Sanakke, Union Mansion, Dr. Ambedkar Road, Bombay 14. (1mm from the ball).

Next week's Jackpot: Rs. 50



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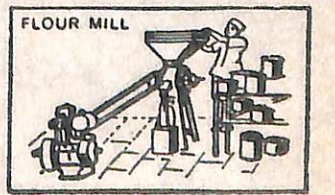
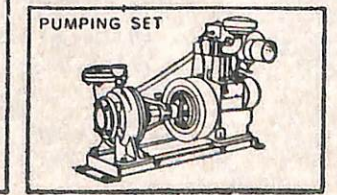
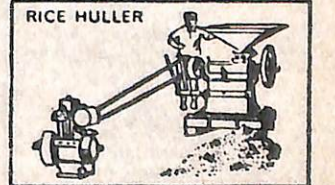
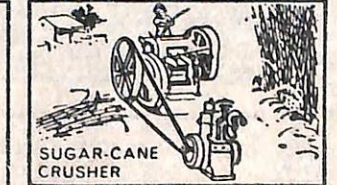
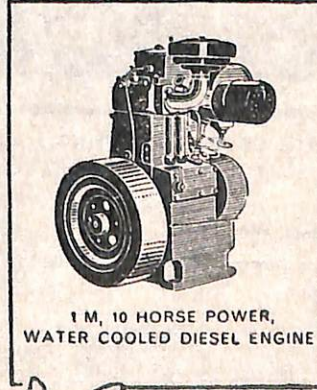


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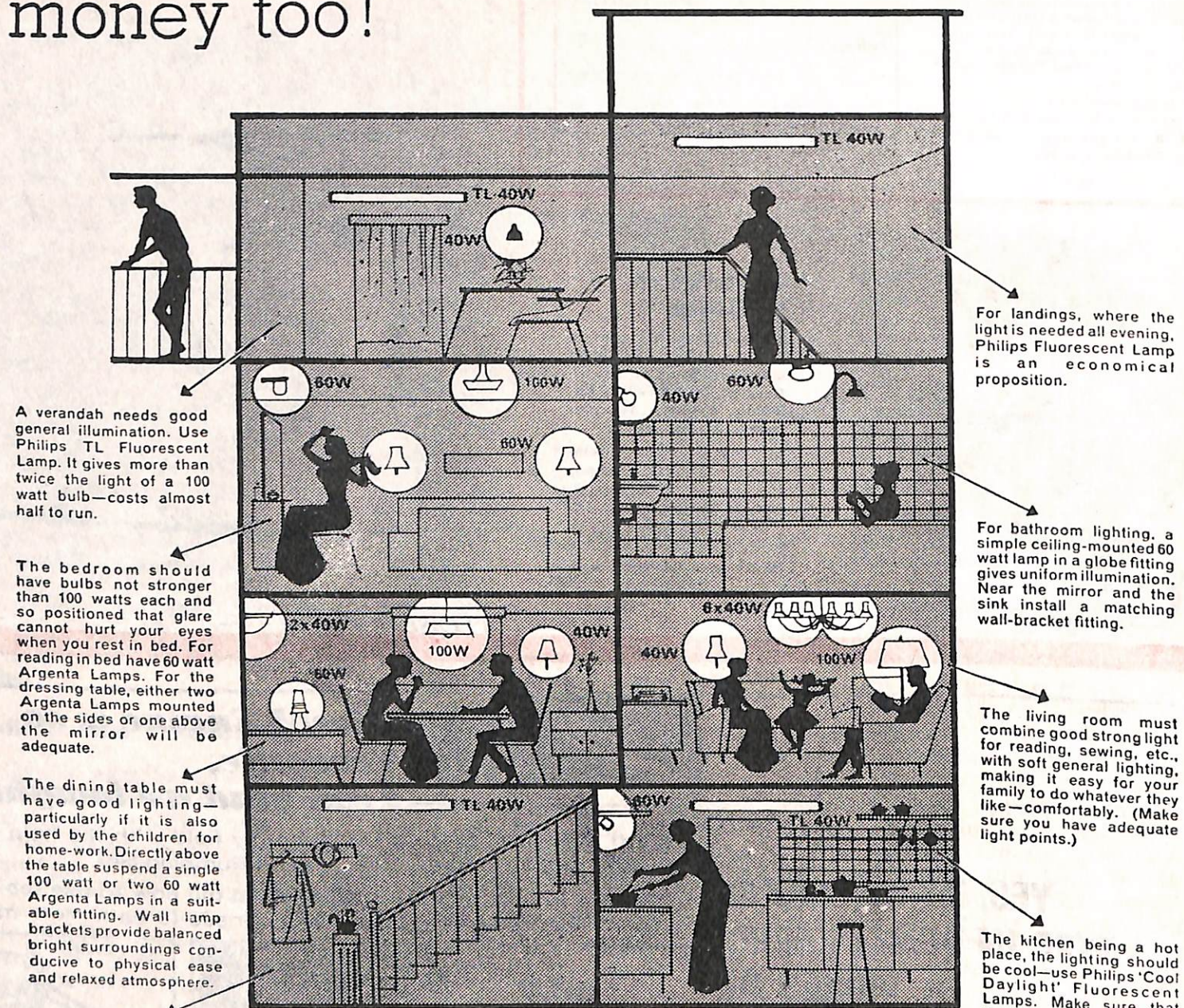
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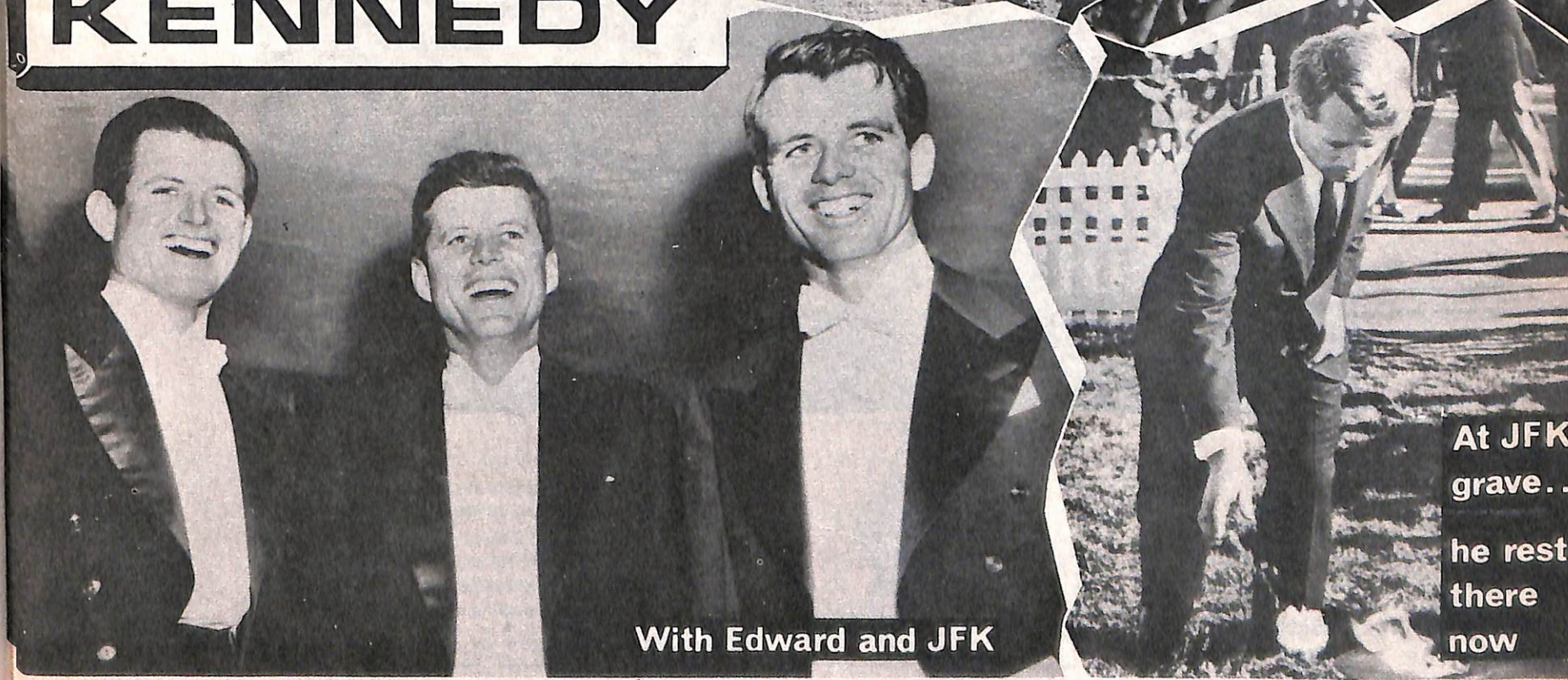
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ROBERT 1925-1968 KENNEDY

With his family

Campaigning



With Edward and JFK

At JFK's grave...

he rests there now

Rajmohan Gandhi in Geneva **BEHIND EUROPE'S CRISIS**