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VIETNAM

Will ceasefire

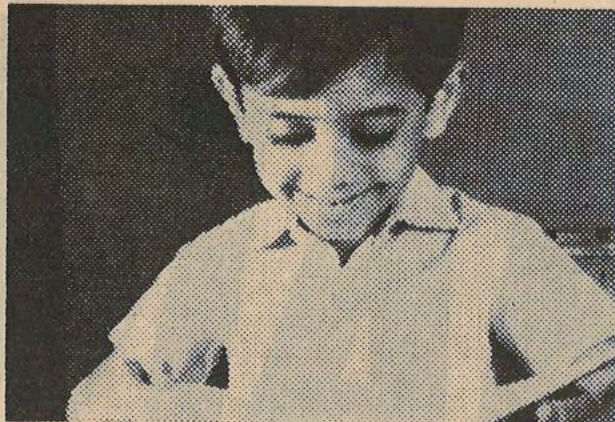
bring

peace



President Thieu

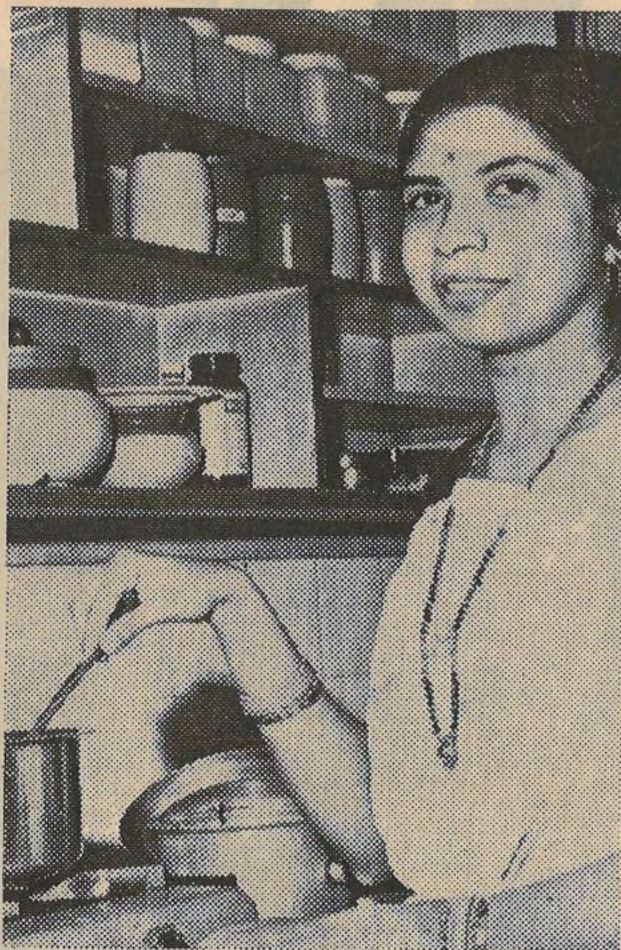
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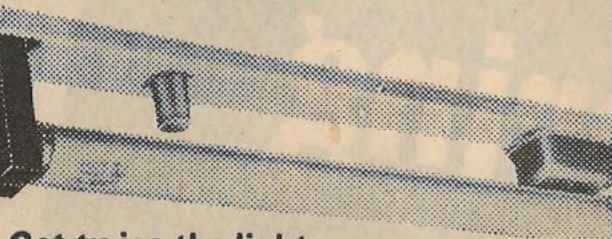


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EDITORIALS

Iran mediates

MRS GANDHI'S quiet diplomacy on Indo-Pak issues is in contrast to Mr Bhutto's flamboyant public announcements. Mr Bhutto disclosed that he had invited Mrs Gandhi for a summit to Pakistan, failing which for a goodwill visit. But Mrs Gandhi demurred.

The Indian Prime Minister was keen that after the delineation talks the conditions of the Simla Accord should be followed and that officials should meet to sort out other outstanding issues.

Last Friday Mrs Gandhi is reported to have written to the Pakistan President taking fresh initiative to break the deadlock. This letter was sent soon after the return to Delhi from Iran of Mr P. N. Haksar, former Principal Secretary to Mrs Gandhi. Mr Haksar was earlier the leader of the Indian officials' delegation at Simla and was on a confidential visit to Iran.

Mr Haksar went to Iran after a private visit to Pakistan by the Shah of Iran who spent three days with President Bhutto at his country home in Larkhana. Iranian papers report that the aim of the Shah's visit

was to speed up the recognition of Bangladesh and to use his (the Shah's) prestige with the Pakistan people in making Mr Bhutto's way easier. It is heartening to see that the Shah is taking initiative to bring about peace on the subcontinent.

Relations between Iran and India had cooled off because of the support of Iran to Pakistan before and during the Indo-Pak war. Some months after this war, at a press conference in London, the Shah of Iran explained that Iran's concern was to maintain the integrity of West Pakistan and it did not want that area to break up for obvious security reasons of his own country.

The Shah seems to be now convinced that India — who he feared would march into West Pakistan in the December war — is also keen that Pakistan stays as one unit. If Pakistan splits there is greater scope for big power involvement which will not serve the purposes of either Iran or India.

Britain could take a better line

THE British Home Secretary, Mr Robert Carr, has issued a warning to the Commonwealth Governments of East Africa that the United Kingdom will not again accept a mass influx of Asian UK passport holders. "Unacceptable strains and stresses" would be imposed on British society. Mr Carr, however, made it clear that the United Kingdom still fully accepted her obligations to her passport holders and planned to admit them "in a controlled and orderly manner" at the rate of 3000 special voucher holders per year from the East African nations.

Two considerations may have prompted Mr Carr's statement: the pressures on the British Government from local authorities who feel their resources and facilities cannot take another rapid immigrant influx; and secondly, the potentially difficult situation in Kenya. President Jomo Kenyatta has made clear his firm opposition to any enforced Asian exodus. But the same cannot be said for some of his Ministers who have been openly talking of the need of 20,000 Asians (around 50 per cent of the total) to leave Kenya this year. It is doubtless Mr Carr's hope that his Parliamentary statement will have a salutary moderating effect.

However understandable and right the British desire to avoid a further massive uncontrolled influx of immigrants is, the wisdom of making a categorical statement such as Mr Carr made must be questioned. At

the time of the Uganda exodus Mr Carr said that the British people had their obligations "and to those we will stick". What was right in October 1972 surely cannot now be wrong in 1973. The world as a whole responded to the stand the British people took at that time and many nations — Canada, Germany and Australia particularly — aided by inviting Uganda Asians to their nations. Whether they will do so again if the British Government refuses to accept overall responsibility for her passport holders, is unlikely.

If Mr Carr and his colleagues believe Kenya is going to oust the British Asians now is the time to enlist other nations to help. All this could be done secretly so that the fact that other nations have plans ready to take in refugees does not encourage Kenyan extremists to take hasty action against the Asians. Pressure could also be brought on Kenya to maintain her ideal of a multi-racial society. Britain and other nations could quietly, not in any threatening tone, make it clear that economic and trade sanctions would be speedily put in effect and aid cut off if the Kenyan Government began to discriminate against, persecute and expel the Asians.

The strength of freedom lies in international cohesion and worldwide moral force. The British Government should keep this in mind in formulating its policy to meet any East African crisis.

(Not) playing the game

WHAT does Yoga have in common with judo, karate, contract bridge, women's soccer and body building? They are all "socially and ideologically dangerous". The State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport of the USSR says so.

Women who play football display "harmful social tendencies". Soviet women footballers are warned that the game causes in them "unhealthy agitation".

Judo and karate come in the category of those forms of physical exercise that have "nothing in common with the Soviet system of physical education". Karate is

similar to Kung-fu developed in China about 5000 years ago. This may explain the Russians' hostility to it!

We Indians are a peace loving people with an aversion to excessive physical activity, so we can understand the outlawing of things like judo and karate and soccer (particularly women's soccer). With our socialistic leanings we can join in deploring a bourgeois card game like contract bridge.

But how can we be calm and philosophical when The State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport of the USSR outlaws Yoga on the grounds that it is "full of philosophical ideas that are idealistic and mythical"?

Briefly Speaking.....

Great historical transformations are always bought dearly, often after one has already thought that one got them at a bargain price.

J. BURCKHARDT, 1818-1897

Spreading the good news

"No news is good news" is soon to be a thing of the past with the BBC. The BBC will introduce on February 3 a news bulletin over Radio 3 called "The Positive World" which will not include news of kidnappings and bank raids.

"Daily bulletins tend to lay stress on bad news and miss the long range news of important developments for the benefit of everyone," said Mr Stephen Hearst, controller of Radio 3.

"For example there was recently a change in the Volvo production line, taking bored men off the conveyor belt and forming them into

teams to build a car each. This represents a change in life style for thousands of workers and could have profound significance for industry. But that sort of item would not be included in a normal news bulletin."

Birbal in Bombay wishes he could tune into Radio 3.

Use the PIN code

THE Post and Telegraphs (P and T) Department is needled because hardly anyone is using the PIN code numbers it has issued.

The PIN code was issued to make sorting quicker. Under the zonal system a sorter has to remember over 4000 names of post offices, sub-offices and branch offices to clear the mail. The size of the problem can be illustrated by the fact that the P and T Department handled 6457 million postal articles during 1970-71.

Very few people can even remember the PIN code of the delivery office of their area in spite of these numbers being marked on mail boxes and post offices. It is reported that there are very few buyers for booklets of PIN code numbers, which are worth only five paise each, particularly in Delhi.

Wouldn't it be cheaper, in the long run, for the P and T Department to give these away?

Cleaning a city

KEEPING Calcutta clean is no mean challenge. Even those who love Calcutta — Birbal is of their number — cannot deny that Calcutta needs to be cleaned up drastically. The Gandhi Peace Foundation and the Calcutta Tramways Company Undertaking have recently completed a 19-day clean-up campaign in Calcutta.

Speaking at a meeting called by these two organisations Mr S. P. Mitra, Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, made a telling point — Calcutta, originally designed for 600,000 citizens, has a population of over six million! With the arrival of the extra population the concern for cleanliness seems to have departed.

Birbal hopes that the 19-day campaign is just the beginning. What is needed is to instil in people a round-the-clock, round-the-calendar concern for cleanliness. And Calcutta is not the only city that needs it.

Getting a tower to tower

THE European press has spread the rumour that Dr Kissinger is soon to try his hand at solving a problem that has baffled the world's best brains for more than seven centuries — straightening the leaning Tower of Pisa.

The problem has taken on an urgent aspect as, in the past two years, the tower has doubled its rate of leaning to two and a half millimetres (one-tenth of an inch) annually. Unless someone does something soon the tower will no longer be the leaning tower but the lying tower.

The Italian press reports that some time back Kissinger sent a colonel on a top-secret mission to Pisa for a copy of the new three-volume report on the Tower's condition!

And why not? A man who can prop up the almost-collapsing Vietnam Peace Talks and see them through until peace is signed, should hardly have any difficulty in getting a tower to stand straight again.

Birbal

UPON MY WORD!

Find as many words as you can from the TEN letters given below. The words must have four letters or more and must use the letter in heavy type. At least one word must use ALL TEN letters. No proper nouns, plurals or non-English words allowed, nor variations of same verb (eg. tame, tames).

UPON MY WORD
PUZZLE NO. 14

You should find 14 words this week.

(Answer next week)

H O H
O R P A
R Y G

ANSWER TO PUZZLE NO. 13

Alas, also, anus, ascus, casual, class, consul, dossal, lass, lasso, locus, loss, nasal, salad, salon, sand, sandal, scad, scald, scandal, scold, scud, soda, sola, solan, sold, solus, soul, sound, SCANDALOUS.

Will ceasefire bring peace in Vietnam?

President Thieu walks on the razor's edge

by R. M. LALA

ON the midnight of Saturday/Sunday ceasefire in Vietnam officially came into force. There is



PRESIDENT THIEU:
dice loaded against him

little to toast in a ceasefire that has come after rivers of blood have flown and mountains of corpses accumu-

SO THEY SAY

If one is a progressive one is so in any language and if one is not, no language in the world is going to make a difference.

MRS INDIRA GANDHI

I am a Communist. According to Marxist-Leninist theory, so long as imperialism exists, there will be war.

LE DUC THO,
Chief North Vietnamese peace negotiator at Paris

The important thing was not to talk about peace but to get peace and to get the right kind of peace. This we have done ... we must recognise that ending the war is only the first step toward building the peace.

RICHARD NIXON

lated. Ceasefire is one thing but the peace to follow is another.

The peace agreement is a complicated document and the peace it envisages is a fragile one based on many factors. Policing the ceasefire, battling terrorism, holding elections and arriving at a final political solution, are giant hurdles to be crossed in the months ahead.

Between the draft agreement of October '72 and the final treaty of January '73 both Hanoi on one side and Washington-Saigon on the other claim that they have wrenched concessions. It is true that Hanoi has conceded strengthening of the International Control Force from 250 to 1160 and has acknowledged the existence of the Thieu Government. But Hanoi has not still acknowledged the existence of 140,000 North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam, and much less agreed to withdraw them.

No doubt Saigon has been pressed to sign the agreement and the US is so keen to get her prisoners of war back and get out of South Vietnam that it has put the utmost pressure on President Thieu to sign the terms. America has paid a heavy price for the longest war in her history. A time has to come when a nation has to wrestle with its own problems and for South Vietnam that time has come.

The more significant Articles of the agreement can be summarised as follows:

Article 5: Withdrawal of all US forces and equipment within 60 days.

Article 9: The political future of South Vietnam to be decided by free elections internationally supervised.

Article 15: "The reunification of Vietnam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means on the basis of discussions and agreements between North and South Vietnam, without coercion or annexation by either party, and without foreign interference."

This is a major clause that has missed public comment. The aim of Hanoi has always been the reunification of the North and the South and Hanoi's nationalist urge as much as

Communism has provided the impetus for their onward march.

Article 18: The formation of the International Control Commission from Canada, Hungary, Poland and Indonesia.

Article 20: An end to all military activities in Cambodia and Laos and withdrawal of foreign troops.

Article 21: The US pledges to heal the wounds of war and assist in the reconstruction of North Vietnam and the whole of Indo-China.

Within a few hours of the announcement of the ceasefire, President Thieu declared that it meant the beginning of "a new political war". He told his people that "the political future of South Vietnam will be decided by the South Vietnamese people through negotiations with the NLF after the ceasefire has been appropriately carried out."

Addressing 500 police officers of his nation he said that peace would be lasting if the following four conditions were met:

1. If the Communists respect the ceasefire.

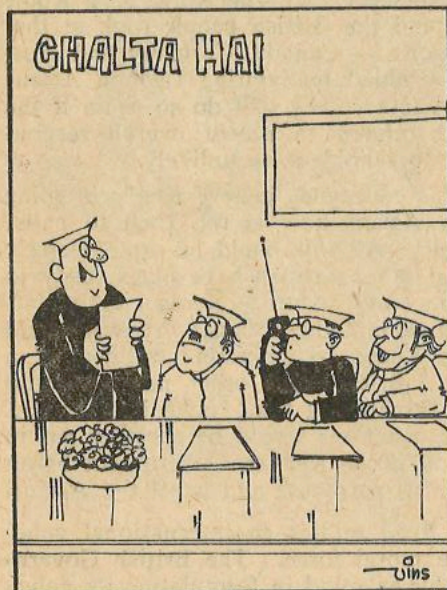
2. If the negotiations between the Saigon Government and the National Liberation Front are serious and fruitful.

3. If the Communists will allow the people in the area under their control to hold free elections.

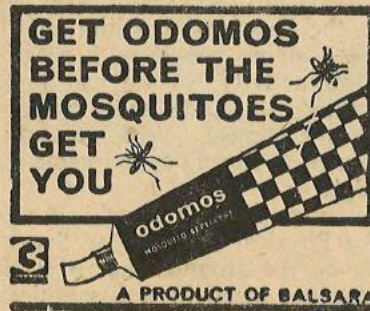
4. If the Communists respect the results of the elections. He told the police officers that they have to destroy the Communist underground after the ceasefire.

There is little doubt that it is President Thieu who is taking the major risk in the agreement and not Hanoi and the dice is loaded against him. He has to reckon with: (1) Concentration of North Vietnamese troops who control substantial areas of his country and are shown as "leopard spots" on the map of South Vietnam. An adviser to President Thieu is reported to have said, "There cannot be a free election while one single North Vietnamese soldier remains on our soil." Although the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



"Here is a brilliant idea to keep people's minds off the famine drought etc. Let's have continuous test matches."



VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT . . .

SAYS SHABASH to Acharya Vinoba Bhave for completing the first Chinese dictionary in Devnagari script and **CONCLUDES** that not everyone has the persistence to follow a fad to such a conclusion.

NOTES the formation of a combined opposition front called the "Orissa Progressive Party" and **WISHES** they would be "progressive" enough to look beyond toppling the present Orissa government.

THANKS Britain for extending tariff benefits to India for another four years and for her desire to help India adjust as Britain joins the enlarged EEC.

RIDES ALONG on the first petrol-less, battery-driven fibreglass car, developed by the College of Military Engineering, Poona, and **HOPES** this anti-pollution, smokeless automobile will soon be available on the market before our environment gets much worse.

IS ALARMED by Tamilnadu Chief Minister Karunanidhi's statement that he wants autonomy at any cost for his state and **POINTS OUT** that ultimately it may be his own people who will pay the price as a similar attitude in Andhra has shown.

STOPS SNEEZING with the news that the Moscow Institute of Virus Studies has developed a new vaccine to fight the flu, which can be dehydrated, turned into a powder and stored in that form for a year without losing its useful properties.

WAITS EXPECTANTLY for the green signal from the Planning Commission for a rapid transit railway system for Bombay and **CONSIDERS** the heavy cost of Rs 300 crores for such a project a worthwhile investment for the future.

IS AMUSED by the dictum of a visiting Professor of Medicine from University College Hospital, London that a little more philosophy and a little less of good food will greatly reduce the physical ills of the world and **SUGGESTS** that a little less of talking philosophy and a little more of living it out would be a still greater help.

VIETNAM — from page 5

ceasefire agreement does not call for removal of these troops, President Thieu may still make their withdrawal a precondition for political negotiations with the NLF. (2) The Vietcong cadre will come out to campaign in the elections. (3) In the promised elections the National Liberation Front will be solidly united and if the democratic forces are divided he will lose South Vietnam to the Communists. He will obviously be keen to prevent other non-Communist parties from rising in his country but the test will be whether he is capable of winning over those among the Buddhists and the intelligentsia who have not gone over to the Communists.

An Army coup is a possibility but not a probability. At the present moment, Thieu appears to be far more secure within South Vietnam than is apparent from outside.

Clare Hollingworth, Saigon correspondent of "The Daily Telegraph", reports from Saigon that "the mood here now is generally one of bitterness and pessimism in which few people believe that the peace will endure for more than a year or two at the most." She adds that there are some reasons for slight optimism that a peace treaty may eventually be negotiated. The Chinese Government wants the war to end and is doubtless putting pressure on the politburo in Hanoi.

"The Times of India" correspondent for Vietnam and South-East Asia, G. M. Telang, writes: "No one will have any illusions about peace returning to this war-ravaged land

merely because a ceasefire agreement is signed. In the main, the agreement will put an end, if all goes well, to military action by the North Vietnamese and the Americans. But this will not bring the unsettled civil war to an end. The main contestants are in fact far more heavily armed than they have ever been in the past."

To have within South Vietnam two armies, two administrations, two centres of control and three political forces operating will not make for an easy peace.

This writer's own reading of the situation is that, in the next 60 days, before the US leaves, Thieu will be on the offensive and will try to consolidate his position as best as possible. Hanoi may not want to complicate the process of US withdrawal. Once US withdrawal has been achieved, Hanoi's political and ideological offensive may come into full swing. President Thieu now says he depends on the strong Army. Whether he will seek to use it in a big way is to be seen. He is walking on a razor's edge and in his hands are the fortunes of his people.

Stop press

After the above article was written repeated violations of the ceasefire have been reported by both sides. The South Vietnamese Government accused the Communists of breaking the ceasefire over 500 times in the first 48 hours. North Vietnam claimed that both the South Vietnamese and the Americans were guilty of "brazenly" violating the ceasefire.

Vietnam as L. B. J. saw it

THE VANTAGE POINT — Perspectives of the Presidency (1963-69) by Lyndon Baines Johnson; Vikas; Rs 80.

THE book opens with a dramatic account of the cavalcade through Dallas, the ring of the shots that killed Kennedy, the rush to hospital, the dramatic swearing in of Johnson to the Presidency in Air Force one — the same plane which last week carried his body from Washington to Texas for the funeral.

The second chapter deals with his first momentous 30 days in office. The later story gives a ringside view of Johnson struggling with the Vietnam crisis — an agreement on which was signed soon after Johnson breathed his last.

Having been a legislator and senator for three decades, President Johnson had a wide experience of national affairs. At the same time, his predecessor had tried to "give the Vice-Presidency substance and made every effort to keep his Vice-President briefed and kept fully informed on all the vital and sensitive

BOOKS

issues of the day." Hence he was as fully equipped as any one person can be to assume the mantle of Presidency at a moment's notice.

Vietnam was to be President John-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

Chinese checkers or dominos?

by Christopher Mayor recently in South-East Asia

WHATEVER the timing and terms the contending powers may have sought as the basis for the ceasefire, the pressures on Washington to end the Vietnam war dictate the result. And the nearer a nation is to the fighting the more concerned its leaders are about the aftermath. This mood of apprehension about events after an American withdrawal only seems to abate as distance from the scene provides nations



SINGAPORE PREMIER LEE KUAN YEW:

neutralisation is no security

with the comforting belief that anything is better than the continued blood-letting on the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

These impressions were gained during a recent journey through several South East Asian countries, from Melbourne to Bombay.

As I left Australia a newspaper headline read: "Whitlam warns Nixon — Ministers told to shut up". The warning was that the Australian Government would publicly condemn the United States if the bombing of North Vietnam were resumed. The rebuke to Ministers was implied in the Prime Minister's statement that he, as Foreign Minister, would be the only Cabinet member henceforth to comment on foreign affairs. This followed public outbursts by three Ministers on the US bombing which accused Washington of "mass murder" and "thuggery".

Mr Whitlam told his press conference that he had made no comment on the resumed bombing, beyond a letter of protest to Mr Nixon, because "I wanted to keep a sense of proportion in the matter."

Mr Whitlam urges a total withdrawal of US forces from Asia and is unhappy about the prospect of a

sizable US presence remaining on in Thailand even after a ceasefire. In this, he seems to differ with the Thai Government whose decision has been made. In fact, while thousands in Australia, the United States and Europe may demonstrate against the continued presence of US forces, I was surprised to find the mood in Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand quite the opposite.

In a communique issued at the end of his eight-day visit to Thailand, Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew joined Thai Premier Thanom Kittikachorn in calling for a Vietnam settlement through withdrawal of "all foreign forces" in the area.

This is, of course, a diplomatic way of saying they wish US forces to stay until the North Vietnamese pull out from below the 17th parallel, a step which Hanoi does not wish to take and need not take under the ceasefire terms. The Singapore Prime Minister was rather more blunt in an interview he gave to the Bangkok "Nation".

"We cannot wish those problems away," Mr Lee said. "There is no magic wand we can wave like the neutralisation of this area which will bring us security."

"What we South East Asian nations should avoid is a crisis of will and confidence. At the same time we should be able to make the transition from a traditional society into a technological society without losing cultural values."

"To achieve this, we need a period of time and I think American presence in the area will give us that time."

Mr Lee pointed out that in both the Shanghai communique issued after Nixon's visit to China last February and in the nine-point Vietnam ceasefire agreement prematurely released by Hanoi last October, no references were made to Thailand when mention was made of US forces leaving Indo-China.

"This is not a matter of semantics," Mr Lee said. "The omissions are intentional. Both Russia and China understand Mr Nixon's problems. His problem is he does not want to allow South Vietnam to become a Communist nation under the hegemony of Hanoi. He is trying to negotiate a ceasefire which will be workable and if any (of the clauses) are blatantly infringed, he should be able to wield the striking power to halt it."

These factors, Mr Lee believes, will provide the time necessary for South East Asian nations to strengthen their will and self confidence.

The Thai Premier supports the Malaysian-initiated neutrality plan for the region "despite the continued presence of American troops (in Thailand) and irrespective of an Indo-China peace settlement".

"If these three countries — the United States, the Soviet Union and China — ever get together to guarantee our neutrality," he said, "we will have peace in the region." But again one comes back to this fact: such a three-power umbrella is so unlikely that the continuing presence of US troops on the Asian mainland will be welcomed by these nations.

Prime Minister Kittikachorn told the Singapore Premier, "If Thailand falls, the wave of aggression will bear down on other countries...right down through Singapore, Malaysia and Australia...and Mr Lee agreed."

Shades of John Foster Dulles and the domino theory? Perhaps. But it happens to be the current thinking of two important leaders on the Asian mainland.

Beyond the "inner kingdom"

Lee Kuan Yew's views are significant as he speaks for a disciplined and booming nation of three million overseas Chinese. The impact of a Communist victory in Indo-China will have a profound psychological impact on the millions of Chinese who live beyond the boundaries of the "inner kingdom".

One young Chinese student in Singapore, a graduate, told me with a fervour I had not expected. "I don't give a damn for Mao's ideology, but at last here is a Chinese leader who is able to stand up and tell the rest of the world to go to hell." His words climaxed an enunciation of all the crimes which he felt his people had suffered at the hand of the West and other nations, from the opium wars onward.

Some nation is going to have to show the world that peace and development do not have to wait until a nation has a large GNP, a peak-level technology or massive military and political power. The nations of South Asia will have to resolve the frictions amongst themselves, and enlist their citizens, whatever rank and race and religion, in great constructive purposes if they are to produce a stable region outside the shadow of any of the supper powers.

China and Japan come closer

ACCORDING to Chou En-lai, Japan's defence expenditure is small, compared with her Gross National Product! In addition to approving the US-Japan Defence Pact, this is what Chou told Takeo Kimura, Premier Tanaka's representative, who recently visited Peking.

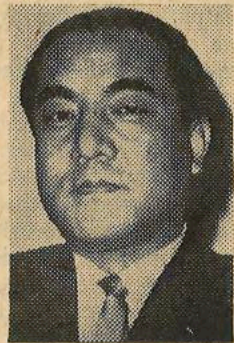
Additions to Japan's Self-Defence Forces (SDF) this year are reported to include a "Tartar" type 3850-ton destroyer containing surface-to-air missiles, two 1500-ton destroyers, five mine sweepers, 30 F-4 EJ Phantom fighters, 36 T-2 advanced jet trainers, and several multi-purpose helicopters.

The Chinese see Japan as an ally against Russia and keep reminding the Japanese about "our common enemy". Now that China is encouraging Japan, an increase in Japan's defence budget will not come as a surprise.

Even before the thaw began in China's relations with America and Japan, some liberal intellectuals of Japan predicted that China will be the political and cultural leader of the area while Japan maintained its economic authority and supremacy. Statements in Peking in late January gave an indication of the thinking of the leaders of China and Japan.

It happened during the visit of Japan's influential Minister of International Trade and Industry, Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone with some of Japan's most powerful industrialists.

At a banquet given in his honour, Mr Li Chiang (who was acting for Mr Pai Hsiang-kuo, the Minister of Industries who was away in Europe) said, "China and Japan can contribute to safeguarding peace in Asia and the world...as long as neither side seeks hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each maintains its opposition to any country or a group of countries who seek to establish hegemony."



NAKASONE: strengthen friendship

Mr Nakasone replied significantly, "...I've always held the belief that it is not only necessary but also indispensable to world peace and progress for the Japanese and Chinese — both having a great past and a brilliant future — to make concerted efforts on the firm foundation of equality and mutual benefits. The normalisation of ties between our two countries has provided the start for just such a relationship."

Rivalry in Korea's opposition

THE present squabbling among Opposition politicians in South Korea could mean that President Park Chung Hee's Democratic Republican Party (DRP) will increase their majority in the February elections.

The opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) has had trouble ever since the 1971 Presidential election. Their leader Kim Dae Jung's self-imposed exile in the United States was a great blow. Now the Party head, Yu Jin San has eliminated the rival leaders from the Party's 25-man Political Affairs Committee.

President Park, who was elected uncontested to a six year term only in December, has increased his powers under the new Constitution.

Under it the 2359 man quasi-legislative body, the National Conference of Unification (NCU), will elect one-third of the members of the 219-man National Assembly. The list which will then be submitted to the President, can be "accepted or rejected as a whole".

The rule for the February elections are stiff. Individual campaigning will not be allowed. Candidates are not allowed to go canvassing from house to house. All meetings will be sponsored by the Election Management Committee and candidates will be allowed to speak for a maximum of 30 minutes.

Independent candidates must give a deposit of US \$ 7500, which will be returned, minus expenses, if the candidate gets more than a third of the votes. Party candidates need deposit only US \$ 5000.

Drought in Mongolia

INDIA is not the only country to suffer from drought in Asia. Mongo-

lia's agriculture based economy was hit by a summer drought, depriving the newly planted wheat crop of much needed water.

Premier Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal told a meeting of the Party Central Committee recently that Russia would be "rendering our country aid, with commodity grain and seed for sowing". The grain crop is expected to be around 200,000 tons, about half the record harvest in 1971.

The Central Committee meeting also revealed that the livestock in Mongolia are being moved from drought-stricken areas to better pastures. The Committee pointed out that the low production of fodder was due to poor planning and that not enough care had been given to storage and consumption.

Mongolia has a land area of 604,250 square miles, where only 1.3 million people live. Grain is grown on less than 1800 square miles of land. Nearly 10 per cent of Mongolia's territory is forest land. Every year, about 1.6 million cubic metres of timber is cut, but replanting has not kept pace with the felling.

The drought has also brought forest fires in its wake. In the North Central province alone half a million acres of forest land and two million acres of pasture were reported to have been destroyed by fires.

Naxalites in Nepal

JHAPA, in Eastern Nepal, has been the scene of intense Maoist guerrilla activity recently, on the same style as the Indian "Naxalites". Nearly 30 people have so far been murdered and 100 extremists have been arrested by the police. Newspapers in Nepal feel that the Chinese are behind the violence. Drawing attention to former abortive attempts at internal subversion in Indonesia and Burma by pro-Peking elements, the daily "Nepal Times" warned the Government, in a full page editorial, to take strong action against the Naxalites, "who enjoy blessings in the Court of the Mandarin".

A commentator in the daily "Dainik Nepal" asks, "Has the dragon begun to show its teeth again?" The Naxalite activity has occurred only a few weeks after Nepal and China signed a friendship treaty.

The Nepal Government, very concerned about the violent incidents, has ordered a judicial probe to discover who is responsible for them.

Iran's ten years of royal revolution

BY A CORRESPONDENT RECENTLY IN TEHRAN

THIS last week towns throughout Iran have been decked in flags, and there have been processions and mayoral speeches, to mark the 10th anniversary of the "Revolution of Shah and People".

Basic to this so-called "White Revolution" is land reform. Twenty years ago most of Iran's villages and lands were owned by a feudal aristocracy who dominated the Majlis, (Parliament) of the day. The Shah set an example by distributing his own lands to the peasants in the early fifties. It was not until the early sixties



EMPRESS FARAH: against flattery

that he gained the legislation and the power to compel others to do the same, on a basis of compensation. By September 1963, 8042 villages had been sold to 243,000 peasants, and 2981 co-operatives established with a capital representing 90 rupees per individual member.

A few years later the process was complete throughout the country.

Monarchs are perhaps, by definition, lonely. Twenty years ago there can have been few more lonely than Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, heir to the ancestral title of King of Kings. Son of a banished father, he had himself suffered brief banishment in the wake of the Abadan Crisis of 1951. At that time nationalisation by the Majlis of the British-owned oil interests in the South had led to anarchy and economic bankruptcy. The Tudeh (Communist) Party was openly backed by the Soviet Union which shares a lengthy frontier with Iran. As well as the enmity of the extreme left, the Shah faced the hatred of the feudal right over his proposed land reforms.

Soon after his return to the throne, the Shah said to a visiting statesman, "Either we accept a revolution by consent from within, or we shall have to accept a revolution by force from outside."

The next 10 years were not easy

for the Shah as he gradually asserted his authority. In January 1963 he felt strong enough to announce his 13-point revolution, which calls for a complete programme of social reform. In May 1972, at the fiftieth anniversary of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva, the Shah spoke of the fruits and lessons of Iran's revolution, and his concept of the moral and spiritual dignity of the individual. An East European delegate remarked, "What a pity he should have given that speech, and not one of us Socialists."

Perhaps the most spectacular success has been in education. In 1962 there were only 7000 village primary schools in Iran. By 1972 there were 22,000. This has been made possible by 92,000 national servicemen conscripted for two years each into a Army of Learning. On enlistment they receive six months training, part military, part academic, and then they are sent out to the villages for 18 months to teach children and also to run adult literacy classes. The village has to build the school and the Government pays the teacher. The going is hard, but on completion of service 50 per cent of the men and nearly 100 per cent of the women have decided to stay on as regular teachers.

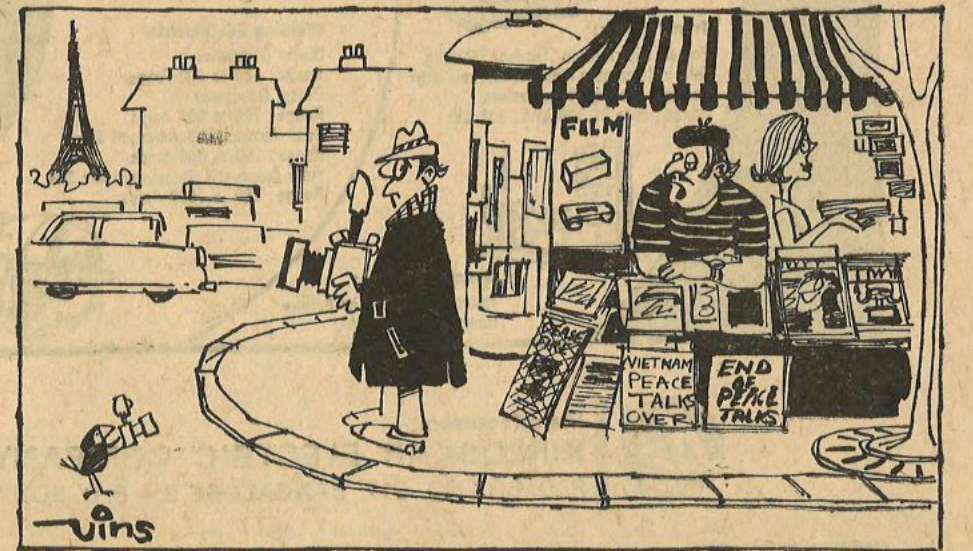
The revolution has been aided by the enormous rise in oil revenues. For the year 1971-72 the foreign Consortium, which is only part of

the oil operation, paid Iran 745 million pounds. Such sums, increasing annually, bid fair to realise the Shah's aim of making his country the most developed economically between Japan and Europe, with a per capita income target of nearly £400 for his 30 million subjects.

The Shah has proclaimed "The Great Civilisation" as the aim of the next 10 years of the revolution. The question is how wide will be the interpretation of this aim. Iran with her wealth, energy and culture might respond to a challenge to feed, clothe, house and educate the whole of Asia, starting perhaps with the devastated areas of Vietnam.

Such a challenge would be an antidote to the corruption which some Iranians consider a greater menace than their external foes. A Beirut salesman said, "We Lebanese are corrupt, but some people in Iran demand a 30 per cent personal cut on a deal". European businessmen are involved too. One importer admitted privately that he pays £100 to an official to get his cargo cleared quickly. He said, "That's business." If that really is business, then Iran with her mounting student rebellion and urban guerrilla threat may succumb in the seventies to the kind of violent revolution that China underwent in 1948.

The Shah is felt to be free of personal corruption, but he needs help to ensure the same in those around him. His greatest ally may be his Queen, Empress Farah has repeatedly spoken out against the flattery foisted on the Royal Family, which tends to rob the Shah of the common touch with his country. Hers may be the important contribution which bridges the gap between King and people and helps fulfil the aims of the White Revolution.



"I hope some more peace talks start. My sale of films has gone down considerably."

BEST WORLD PRESS

Ceasefire in Vietnam

No one should need be warned, after experience with many wars, that an armistice does not necessarily mean a peace—regardless of what machinery may be set up to insure it. States and ideologies can always find reasons why the codes that are supposed to regulate individual human relationships—good faith, abstention from cruelty, respect for the life and the opinions of others—can be broken in some allegedly higher interest.

Notwithstanding all such caveats, however, the agreement to stop the shooting in Vietnam is important because of the reasons that lie behind it as much as for the thing itself.

The ceasefire, if no sure cure for the troubles of Vietnam, and of those who have mingled their fates with it, is a great event. Few can be found to cheer the results of a generation of fighting in Southeast Asia, but there are many, many to derive comfort from a touch of belated sanity in a world that possesses all too little of that commodity.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, Paris

The Vietnam agreement announced by President Nixon after more than four years of false starts and disappointed hopes could mark a momentous turning point for the United States, for Southeast Asia and for the world. If it does not guarantee peace, this historic pact at least provides the framework and opportunity for a new era of compromise and conciliation in Vietnam and elsewhere.

For the United States, the agreement signals the end of a nightmare, the lifting of a staggering burden from the nation's resources, energies and conscience.

This is not an occasion for wild rejoicing. As one Vietnamese neutralist observed when the imminence of peace was first suggested: "After 30 years of sacrifice and suffering, of rivers of blood and mountains of corpses, there is really nothing to toast." It is, nevertheless, a time for humble thanks, for cautious hope, for the rededication of all mankind to the principles of peaceful settlement of disputes between men and nations.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

It is idle to assume that the guns will be completely silenced in South Vietnam with the formal conclusion of the ceasefire agreement. The political atmosphere there has been so vitiated that sporadic fighting cannot be ruled out entirely. Any

such violence can be prevented from degenerating into a war only if General Thieu is left in no doubt that it is no part of the American commitment to bale him out every time he feels shaky.

THE TIMES OF INDIA, Bombay

We greet the ceasefire not with joy but relief. The memory of what has gone before is too terrible for rejoicing.

THE DAILY MAIL, London

The hour has come when the guns will at last be muted across this Indo-Chinese peninsula whose decolonisation offers an example of the heaviest sacrifices and tears ever paid by the free peoples of Asia or Africa.

LE FIGARO, Paris

If the Washington-Hanoi accord on a ceasefire initialled on Wednesday morning in Paris consecrates the American disengagement and serves the cause of peace, it also leaves face to face North and South Vietnam whose co-existence appears precarious.

COMBAT, Paris

President Bourguiba's comeback

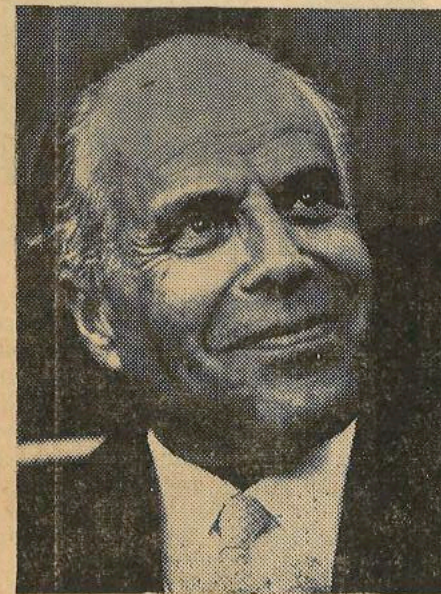
BY A NORTH AFRICAN CORRESPONDENT

ONE of the positive new factors on the North African and Arab scene is the return to health and vigour of President Bourguiba of Tunisia. For three years he has been dogged by illness and was being counted out by the cognoscenti. Now he is back on the international stage with his wit and wisdom unimpaired.

His latest guest has been the revolutionary Colonel Gaddafi, President of Libya, Tunisia's eastern neighbour. Gaddafi is just over 30. Bourguiba is 69. Gaddafi breathes fire and fury

Bourguiba as its head — though how this would fit with the other union between Egypt and Libya which is supposed to happen by next September and which is being laboriously prepared in Cairo was never explained.

Gaddafi was seeking opportunities to rouse the Tunisian masses with his call for Arab unity from the Atlantic to the Gulf. The Tunisian Government was polite but cautious about this idea. Agreement was finally reached that Gaddafi should address



PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA OF TUNISIA: profundity and experience



COLONEL GADDAFI OF LIBYA: youthful fire and idealism

against every enemy or imagined enemy of the Arab cause. Bourguiba has spent a lifetime struggling for his country's independence. He had already been imprisoned by the French before Gaddafi was born.

Bourguiba's philosophy has been to make progress by stages, using every point gained to gain another. As a result Tunisia won independence without the blood-bath through which Algeria passed and today France is Tunisia's closest ally. Bourguiba counts his reception by President Pompidou with full honours in Paris last summer as a high-point of his career.

Libya is so oil-rich that she has difficulty in using all her money. Tunisia is poor and depends on international aid and tourism to maintain an economic balance. During his visit Gaddafi suddenly proposed a union between Libya and Tunisia with

an invited audience of 2000 in Tunis largest cinema. He spoke for 100 minutes but half way through the proceedings President Bourguiba suddenly appeared in the cinema. He had been following the Colonel's speech by radio in the Presidential Palace in Carthage, 10 miles from Tunis, and suddenly decided that he would drive straight to the cinema to reply to Gaddafi's speech.

When the Colonel ended, Bourguiba took over the microphone and spoke for 45 minutes without any notes. He traced his own lifelong struggle and what he had learned about the secret of creating unity. Arab unity, he said, depended on "a transformation of people's thinking and living", not just on paper plans. It was a work that might take decades or even more but there was no other way. He corrected Gaddafi's assertion that the frontiers between Tunisia and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

The week in INDIA

SRINAGAR — In spite of serious setbacks due to the collapse of the newly erected TV tower, Srinagar's television station was formally commissioned on Republic Day.

CHANDIGARH — The Haryana Chief Minister, Mr Bansi Lal, announced recently that with the help of the Central Government his state would set up another thermal plant in six months which would supply adequate power needed for tube wells.

JODHPUR — Almost the whole of Jodhpur district is suffering from one of the worst famines in living memory where out of a population of 779,000 as many as 775,000 are officially stated to be hit by famine conditions.

NEW DELHI — The Union Government's tax collections in the first eight months of the current financial year (1972-73) total about Rs 426 crores more than the collections for the corresponding period of the previous financial year.

INDORE — The first Indian-made MiG-21 M aircraft will be delivered to the Indian Air Force next month, according to the Union Minister for Defence Production, Mr V. C. Shukla.


BOMBAY — The latest statistics show that as many as 20.58 lakh people were being employed on the 10,747 scarcity relief works in 25 districts of Maharashtra.

— The General Manager of the Bombay Electric Supply and Transport Undertaking (BEST) has urged the Bombay Municipal Corporation to take over from BEST the Bombay Electric Supply Company, at the earliest possible date, in the interests of the citizens.

POONA — The new Southern Command Chief, Lt.-Gen Sartaj Singh drove in India's first petrolless, battery-driven fibre-glass car developed recently by the College of Military Engineering.

BANGALORE — The Mysore Government has decided to purchase the 360-hectare Rayanakare dairy farm in Mysore, owned by the former Maharajah, Mr Jayachamraja Wadeyar, at a price of Rs 13.5 lakhs and they hope to develop it into a cattle breeding centre.

HYDERABAD — Arsonists continued their activities in Andhra and mobs burnt railway stations and public property in several centres.



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Creative world statesmanship

The Hon Kim E. Beazley, MP

THIS week HIMMAT presents the keynote address of the Honourable Mr Kim E. Beazley, MP, Australia's Education Minister, to the Moral Re-Armament Conference, "New Role for Asia", at Asia Plateau, Panchgani.

Mr Beazley has been in the Australian Parliament since 1949. The main morning paper of Melbourne "The Age" has begun its series on the new Australian Cabinet, entitled "The New Centurions", with an interview with Mr Kim Beazley. The following extracts from it will interest readers.

Education gets a realistic idealist

TALK to Kim Beazley for an hour, holding the conversation to education, and he cites George Bernard Shaw, Stalin and Christ.

He quotes with fluency and verve. Restless, slightly stooped over a long-bow courtly body, he completes statements with a flourish, looks intently into space for the next question, then answers it with hardly a pause. He's a man with some mission.

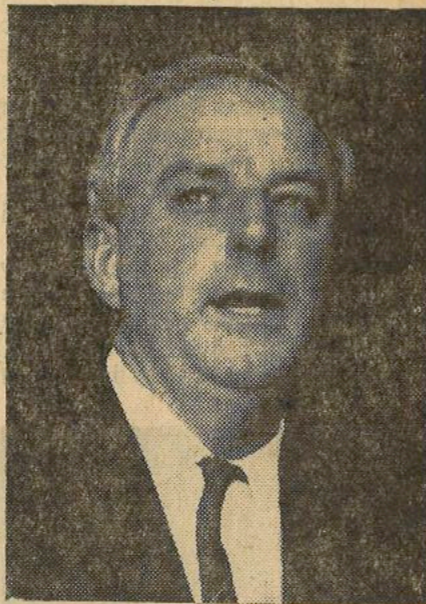
As the Labor Party's first Federal Minister for Education, he has taken office with the most comprehensive list of education promises put to the country: nation-wide pre-schooling, Federal rather than State funding of higher education, larger grants to all schools on a priority basis.

Mr Beazley is 56, has been in Opposition for 23 years, and is a State

school boy — Perth Modren School, Claremont Teachers' College, University of WA (Western Australia). He is confident of understanding the State sector better than previous Ministers who sent their children to private schools.

He is, in fact, the moderate Labor man. Once a university tutor, and a teacher union official, he belongs very much to the parliamentary wing of his party.

An Anglican, a non-smoking, teetotaler father of three, Mr Beazley still declares his support for the Moral Re-Armament Association, though he knows chunky moral backbones are often thought to handicap the seventies' Ministers for Education. "For me, MRA is a discipline of the conscience ... not a doctrine I run round putting on people," he says.



MR KIM E. BEAZLEY:
man with a mission

The mission he does publicly proclaim is Australian action as "a force for good" in international education. He advocates a thousand-strong teacher task-force, financed and qualified by the Federal Government, to work in depressed Australian areas, then on to Papua and New Guinea. It could be the vanguard of professionals working in the rest of South-East Asia.

THE purpose of this Conference is to create a climate of sanity in the world. A climate of sanity is basic to solving the problems of poverty, hunger, illiteracy and war. That form of problem solving is creative world statesmanship.

Our nations have great dreams, yet some nations live near to disaster. The notable historian, Arnold Toynbee, has written:

"Our age will be remembered not for its horrifying crimes or its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which mankind dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilisation available to the whole human race."

While our age has this aim of making civilisation available, it is well to remember that there have been horrifying crimes almost as a normal technique of foreign policy in international affairs in this twentieth century—and sometimes as a technique of home policy.

In a world which has become noteworthy for disastrous objectives pursued with the utmost ruthlessness, Moral Re-Armament aims to put men in touch with the one source of statesmanship and grace. It is the ultimate in realism for it suggests a simple experiment that anybody may try — the experiment of listening to God, of testing the thoughts which come against the absolute moral standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love and carrying out those which meet

the standards in practical action.

It is not a question of applying these standards to others, but of the arrogance-free moral authority which comes if they are applied in their absolute quality to oneself.

No man has the authority to bulldoze any other into a feeling of need. Moral Re-Armament establishes a discipline, which, if followed, enables people to care, and to avoid spiritually killing other people with judgment or disapproval. It involves the recognition that the only true security is God's power working through people who obey Him, and it involves learning to move ideologically for people's touch with God.

The late Dr Frank Buchman said that:

"Cabinets to rule well must change people" and he quoted with approval the comment that "The future lies in the hands of the men of action who give their lives to realize concretely the creative thoughts they receive from the living God."

The roots of violence lie in impurity, and violence is sustained by untruth.

Solzhenitsyn wrote in the statement in which he accepted the Nobel Prize —

"Violence finds its only justification in falsehood, falsehood its only support in violence. Any man who has once acclaimed violence as his method must inexorably choose falsehood as his principle."

I think that some such insight underlay Peter Howard's statement that it is time we stopped revolting against things that are wrong and began to create a revolution that will put things right.

Behind the neural paths which are traced in the brain when we think is the entity, the inmost core of the personality, which has decided to think.

I suspect that this entity, which used to be called the spirit, has no colour, no race, and no nationality. It has been the wisdom of the ages that this entity is designed for eternity, not time.

The thoughts of God, given right of way in the life of man, bring into the innermost motives of man the virtue of mercy, and with it a cure for hatred that can turn the tide of history.

The diplomat and statesman, Mohammed Masmoudi, said some years ago about his country, "But for Moral Re-Armament there would be war without mercy with the French."

Mercy is the leading characteristic of a true civilisation. I saw Moral Re-Armament bring the quality of mercy into the affairs of France's relations with Morocco and Tunis and into the affairs of Cyprus. I saw it bring the quality of reconciliation, the basis of mercy, into the relations between France and Germany in the time of Schuman and Adenauer.

In his most recent essay Toynbee has warned us:

"We can now see that the word 'civilisation' has been changing its meaning since it was first coined — and it was coined in the 18th Century, before the industrial revolution.

"Originally the word stood for social and ethical advance, and this is its proper meaning; but it has now come to stand for technological advance, with the tacit immoral understanding that every technological means at man's disposal may be used by man legitimately to impose his will, regardless of the moral character of his objective."

Toynbee fears what he calls "technological victory" if it is associated with what he calls "moral defeat".

True role of labour

Thirty-four years ago leaders of British Labour wrote in a Labour paper, "The Daily Herald",

"Labour in all countries, if true to its tradition of placing human and spiritual values before material things, can build bridges over national barriers and play a decisive part in the reconciliation of nations. It can make such a contribution to world conditions that the voice of faction and self interest can be effectively dealt with, fear will go and God's great plan for mankind will be revealed and find expression."

That is still true today.

It is the role of the world socialist movement to become the vehicle of transformation of world purposes towards peace, intelligent social change, and a new reverence for the human personality based upon the fact that that personality can be transformed to a great compassion by the inspiration of God.

Frank Buchman once commented —

"British Labour was cradled in a spiritual awakening. Who can measure the far-reaching effects in social and economic policy of such an awakening?"

Speaking as a socialist who has ministerial responsibility for education, I have come to believe that the function of education is to create new motives in men so that they can fashion a new civilisation. If the

civilisation is to be authentic the motives must be valid and straight. Education is not education unless it leads to an utter intellectual honesty which will face the crooked motives in ourselves, get rid of them, make restitution for their damage and move on to constructive living.

Opposition's function

I have spent 23 years in opposition, from 1949 to 1972, and I have come to believe that this question of motive is the key to social advance.

The true function of an opposition is to out-think the Government at the point of its successes. Only then can alternative competitive policies be framed and from the competition of genuine ideas social advance can take place.

But if my motive is simply power, I will look for ways to be destructive, to eliminate those who stand in the way by defamation.

Defamation in politics is the certain sign of a motive to struggle for power.

Dedication is the sign of the presence of a conviction that there exist ideas valid to advance the dignity and wellbeing of others, and an adherence to those ideas.

The guidance of God and absolute moral standards are the roots of genuine dedication. It has been well said that:

"A democracy is not static. It is dynamic and always in process of change, because it has a goal which is always far ahead of us, namely the development of human beings into individuals of high moral worth."

I need Moral Re-Armament because I need to learn to care. I need to learn to care passionately for the needs of men and women for work, for food, for health, for a God-given birthright of dignity. "No heart that is pure lacks passion." I need purity, not as an ornament, but as the basis of clarity. If I live for self-gratification I will be blind to the needs of others. This is plain experience, not theory.

This Panchgani conference is to be a source of clear thinking for India, and India's foreign policy can be a source of mercy for the world. India can speak truth to power, and compassion to need. It has done so, decisively, within the last 15 months. It is necessary to answer tyranny, but it requires greater compassion to answer disintegration, chaos, anarchy and dictatorship. The challenges being presented to India are immense. Panchgani can create a new type of public opinion — a public opinion of increasing sensitivity to need and wrong. It can create a leadership. The source of authority for leadership is a daily experience of realising concretely the creative thoughts men receive from the living God.

Make peace permanent

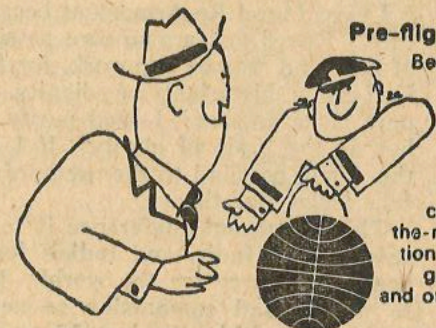
Panchgani means to me personally being stopped in my tracks and coming back to an experience. "Modern man will seldom accept God on any authority. He wants to find God by experience," commented the late Roger Hicks. This is the vital experience of Panchgani.

Finally there is the time. Peace in one sense will come to Vietnam. This is an opportunity. Panchgani's function is to give the clarity which will make peace permanent. Any force that goes from here will have that tendency. This is a centre of statesmanship of the highest order. That is its world significance. India a partner to all nations, a force for a profound wisdom and sanity in world affairs—that is her destiny. Panchgani is part of that destiny.

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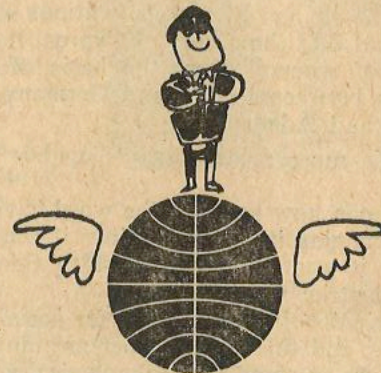
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Will there be mid-term elections?

From R. L. Patnaik in Bhubaneswar

THE question of mid-term elections is in the minds of political observers ever since the Congress party came into power in Orissa. This is because the picture of political stability is often threatened by power politics. Toppling ministries, defections, accusations and counter-accusations have become the order of the day. Mrs Satpathy's Ministry which once gave some hope of stability is now in a state of disarray.

Congress came into power with the merger of the Utkal Congress and the PSP and with the support of the CPI. It was commanding 97 seats in a house of 140. Now it has been reduced to 80 with the dissection of the



MRS NANDINI SATPATHY: confident in spite of growing opposition

and they are susceptible to defections. Utkal Congress and the resignation of some Congress members.

Apart from this, the unprecedented rise in prices and unemployment has eroded the people's faith in any Government and developed a kind of apathy for political developments in the state. Viewing the situation from these angles one can say that Mrs Satpathy's Ministry may fall at any time giving way to the Grand Alliance, if not a mid-term election. The allied Opposition leaders are already preparing the ground for an alternative Government. They have formed an United Front inside the Assembly. And speculations are rife that the Chief Minister may advise the Governor to dissolve the Assembly and carry on with a caretaker Government till the next elections. It is also reported that the BCC Chief, Mr Braja Mohan Mohanty, has threatened mid-term elections. However, the Chief Minister, Mrs Nandini Satpathy, has categori-

ally denied such a report and firmly ruled out the need for a mid-term election asserting that her Ministry enjoys an absolute majority. But it cannot be said with certainty that the Opposition leaders can call back their supporters from the Congress party. Since the revival of the Utkal Congress and Dr Mahtab's resignation, it is widely propagated that Mr Nitamoni Routray, the former Utkal Congress Minister (now Minister of Industry, Supply and Law in Mrs Satpathy's Ministry), would rejoin the Opposition. This, however, seems remote as Mr Routray has all along been busy attending his ailing wife hospitalised in Bombay. Much depends on whether he quits the Congress. Further, the prospects of stability will improve with the expansion of the Cabinet, which the Chief Minister has indicated. This expansion would absorb about 20 more members in the ranks of Ministers and Deputy Ministers. Congress is also gaining in strength with defections from Swatantra. Recently one Swatantra legislator joined the Congress raising the Congress membership to 80. Judging from these points one can say that there may not be a mid-term election and that things will settle down.

and they are susceptible to defections.

Utkal Congress and the resignation of some Congress members.

Congress is not in a comfortable position as the Opposition leaders may be able to bring many of their former colleagues out of the Congress. Already there are signs of depletion in the Congress with the Opposition gaining ground. The resignation of Dr Hare Krishna Mahtab along with his four colleagues from the Congress is another point in favour of the Opposition. It is already strong with Mr Biju Patnaik, Utkal Congress leader, and Mr R. N. Singh Deo, Swatantra leader, who exert much influence and are experienced in the political arena of Orissa. Their alliance is not a healthy sign for the Congress party.

Moreover many members of the Congress party are a disgruntled lot. They want a position of power. Mrs Satpathy's seven member Cabinet has not achieved their aspirations



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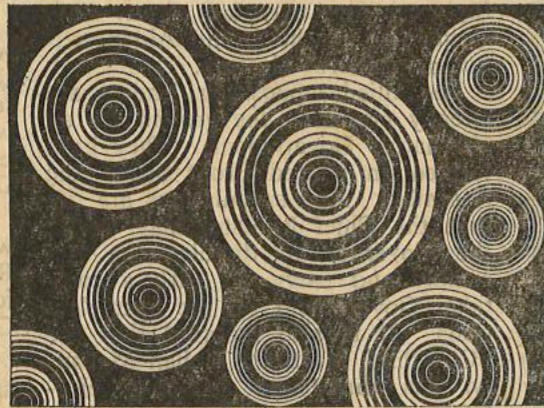
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Asia Plateau, Panchgani :

Japanese offers help to Vietnams

COMMENTING on the ceasefire in Vietnam, a senior Japanese politician described two tasks facing both Vietnams in which Japan would like to assist—"curing suffering and helping in the reconstruction of the nations".

Mr Yasuo Otsubo, fifteen years in the Japanese Diet, told the gathering of 250 delegates from 24 nations at the Moral Re-Armament Centre in Panchgani, Maharashtra, "We have techniques, skills and funds. We would like to repay our debt to the world by using these resources to help the people of Indo-China rebuild their nations."

"We Japanese have made many mistakes and the world has suffered, especially in World War II. After that war, we have become prosperous with the help of the world," he said.

Mr Otsubo, who was attending the MRA Conference "New Role for Asia" with seven other Japanese, declared that with the spirit of MRA such an aim could be achieved.

Other Japanese delegates included Miss Takako Sakaki, a Socialist Member of the Saitama Prefecture Assembly; Mrs Fujiko Hongo, Presi-

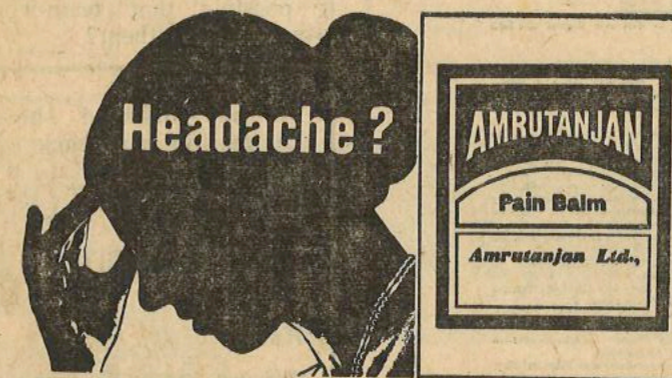


The Japanese delegation to the MRA conference :
(From left to right) Mr Fusaichi Yamazaki, Mr Yasuo Otsubo and Miss Takako Sakaki.

dent of the Labour Institute of Japan; Mr Yoshikatsu Fukuda, a union leader from Ishikawajima Harima Heavy Industries, and Mr Fusaichi Yamazaki, the President of

an English Language Training Centre.

Mr Yamazaki, who spent one and a half years on a construction project in Pakistan and has travelled widely in Asia, said, "Through my experience in this continent I have realised that if Japan accepts the spirit of MRA she can serve and contribute towards the needs of Asia. Otherwise Japan will spoil the world. Without the spirit of MRA, Japan has no future."



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Closing date February 9

** Politicians should retire at
60

Closing date February 23

son's "Achilles' Heel". A major portion of the book is devoted to the problems he faced and the decisions he had to take during recurring Vietnam crises. He is at pains to enumerate the reasons and the circumstances which left him with no alternative except to take the military actions towards North Vietnam which he did. Throughout his five years term from 1963 to 1969, President Johnson tried his best to induce the North Vietnamese government to come to the negotiating table but it was only towards the closing days of the Presidency that he succeeded. The Paris talks did begin at last but only after persistent efforts made by him. President Johnson wishes to drive home the point that America's role in Vietnam is not an isolated instance of obduracy but a necessity for the future security of South-East Asia. Johnson was proved to be the great legislator of the American people. His six years of office was a hectic period of legislative activity. Over 200 new laws came into exist-

ence; the most important being the four Civil Rights Bills and the Bill for the Medical Care of the old and infirm. It took much of President Johnson's time and energy to get these controversial legislations through the Senate and the Congress. "The Vantage Point" gives a revealing insight into a President's role in shaping his country's destiny. In spite of all the prestige and status which the position means, it is not "roses, roses all the way" for the incumbent. It is a gruelling 24 hour job, involving great responsibilities. For so much rests on the thinking and decisions of one man.

The book ends with the former President arriving at his ranch home, the truck piling his bags outside his door and leaving. His wife looks at him and smiles. Lyndon B. Johnson, till a few hours back holder of the most powerful office in the world, becomes his own porter. It all begins with a bang and ends with a whimper. A moving account, well written. Savitri Bajaj

Libya had been artificially created by French colonialists and argued that Tunisia had had an identity of her own since Carthaginian times. He also pointed out that Libya really owed her independence to the heroic efforts of the British Eighth Army in World War II. He challenged the wisdom of the Arabs launching a military attack on Israel and also Gaddafi's idea of defying America and Britain by financing the Black Moslems and the IRA. He said he shared completely Gaddafi's vision of Arab unity but the way to achieve this was by change in the Arab ranks, particularly by overcoming Arab backwardness in technological and other domains.

The atmosphere in the cinema was electric. Some people expected Gaddafi to walk out but he did not. Next day he told the press that Bourguiba obviously had much more experience than he had, that it was wise to respect age and that he would try to benefit from the "positive elements" in Bourguiba's experience.

Before Gaddafi left, both sides signed a communicative providing for a network of committees to study the possibilities of Tunisian-Libyan economic co-operation in different fields. The Tunisian Prime Minister will be visiting Tripoli later this month.

What will happen next? The Arab cause needs Gaddafi's youthful fire and idealism. It also needs Bourguiba's profundity and experience. Is it possible that team-work could grow between them?

Letters

HOW STUDENTS TACKLED TROUBLE MAKERS

I endorse the view expressed by Mr Badran and Mr Sasan, in the letter entitled "Student majority must unite", (HIMMAT January 19, 1973), that only a handful of students are interested in dirty politics and that they not only spoil their own careers but influence others.

Recently there was such a situation in the National Institute of Social Sciences, Bangalore. A handful of students with vested interests were coaxed by a few outside politicians, including a former dismissed principal of the same institution. They went on a strike against the Management and their faculty members. They even went to the extent of squatting at the doors of the Institute, day and night, barring the legitimate entry of the faculty members and the students.

Then the students really interested in their studies determined to unite themselves and eventually put up a grand show and the squatters were forced to vacate the place.

This instance goes to prove that if the good students, who are really interested in their studies, unite for a noble and constructive cause, they can keep at bay the others who are exploiters, influenced and instigated by vested interests,

PRAKASH CHANDRA, Bangalore
5600017

ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

WHAT is Social Justice? Mr J. Selviraj (HIMMAT January 19, 1973) is correct when he laments that he has not found

any precise meaning in any book or by any author. Various people view it from different angles and derive numerous conclusions.

Social Justice means "equitable" distribution of resources among all the members of a nation and equal opportunity for all. And again what does "equitable" distribution mean? Does it indicate that the national cake will be shared by all irrespective of the quality of the citizens? Certainly not. "Equitable" distribution and "equal" opportunity can be clarified, taking into account, of course, the ability, need and quality of the member, which distinguishes Socialism from Communism. The guiding principle of Socialism is from each according to his ability, to each according to his work and that of Communism is from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.

In India there is neither Socialism nor Communism. If we have ability there is no opportunity because of a lack of jobs. Wages are not in proportion to our work and needs. The national income has already been doubled. But still a major part of our population is struggling for bare necessities. So, we have "growth" without "Social Justice".

SUBRATO SEN GUPTA, Tezpur 784001

World Understanding Day

ON February 3, the Interact Club of Don Bosco High School, Matunga, Bombay is celebrating World Understanding Day. A special programme is set in the evening between 5.30 to 7.30 pm in Don Bosco School Hall, to honour the students of foreign nationalities residing in the city.

Moral Re-Armament will contribute items to the evening's programme.

This was a Life

LESTER PEARSON 1897-1972

"GENTLEMEN, a more dynamic Prime Minister in the present circumstances could dynamite the country," said Prime Minister Pearson answering critics who derided him as a softie, in dealing with the separatist French-speaking Quebecois, and called for "a more dynamic leader".

He had distinguished himself as a career diplomatist and was awarded the Nobel peace prize for his efforts to solve the Suez crisis of 1956. He disliked the rough and tumble of domestic politics and entered it much against his personal wishes. But he fought his way through and rose meteorically to become the Prime Minister of Canada from 1963 to 1968.

Lester Bowles Pearson was born on April 23, 1897 in Toronto, the son of a Methodist clergyman. He later described his early life as "rich in everything but money".

He graduated from Toronto University in history and continued his studies at Oxford. He was persuaded to join Canada's diplomatic service and gained top marks in the entry examination.

He felt quite at home at international conference-tables. His genial bonhomie and gift for friendship won the affectionate admiration of many.

Pearson was one of the senior advisers at the San Francisco Conference that drew up the UN Charter. He was President of the seventh session of the UN General Assembly. He was also elected Chairman of the NATO Council in 1952.

The climax to his diplomatic career came in 1956 after Israel, with the support of Britain and France, attacked Egypt and the Suez Canal. It was chiefly through the efforts of Pearson that a UN emergency force was sent to keep peace on the Gaza strip.

The diplomat began his political career when he accepted the post of the Secretary of State for External Affairs at the request of Prime Minister Louis St Laurent. He was chosen leader of the Liberal party when St Laurent died in 1958.

Mr Pearson headed a minority Government. His tenure of office was marked by the national welfare schemes he started and improved upon. He brought in a national pension plan and a family assistance programme. He laid the foundation for the free medical service.

He regarded as his greatest achievement the adoption of Canada's first distinctive national flag.

F.M.

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HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS ISSUE

1. You speak to her (Mr. D. P. Dhar speaking to Smt. Indira Gandhi).
2. Who says our economists are alive
3. Bombay has all importers & exporters.
- 3A. Landlords burn alive, tenants enjoy till eternity.
4. Baby is born—stab him—again revive him—MONOPOLISTS.
5. Where is the money gone?
6. Architects, Builders, Contractors & Estate Agents speak to you.
7. Previous Builders' fate!
8. What is hoarding?
9. Builders' costs rising—buyers' demand diminishing—Projects completed during 1971/72, under construction, and those abandoned, in photographs over 1000, including WHO IS WHO. Market prices/our valuations, and the projects yet to grow, where landlords under compulsion disposed of their properties to tenants—all in photographs including the entire index in the ownership market, rates, rents and trends and our valuation.
10. Projects under halt—Restrictions—Civil Aviation.
11. Law abiders—Law breakers—Civil Aviation. Advance ahead, says Naik.
12. Learn to earn 15%—Banks and Branches expansion & our study on rise of price and their remedies.
13. Black money multiplies black money
14. Only an intelligent man can catch a thief—Inspector/T.T.O's salaries grades.
15. Results of auction BMC/Income-tax—our thoughts.
16. Unless pattern of taxation changes no solution to housing—where there is a will there is a way. Why waste public funds on elections & why not change the pattern of taxation?
17. You must know how you stand with the builders—why market on peak & the cost rising—A study on formation of Private Limited companies by the builders.
18. Cut-piece Market—cut into pieces—our thoughts from Mr. D. P. Dhar's study.
19. Building laws must change, there's limit to suffering and negligence.
20. An ideal hospital for city (Jaslok) Sights—accidents—stabbing—A close look at.
21. Hang me or hang one solicitor—MORAL CHARACTER.
22. Latest judgements from Courts/Income-tax Tribunals—a study on housing.
23. Nares Reporting manipulations in Film industry. Income-tax assessors/defaulters—A compilation update.
24. Insolvents declared during the past years.
25. Meet together.
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Washing away the hates

by Rajmohan Gandhi

FRAGILE as it is, the peace that has descended on Vietnam is something to thank God for.

America has signed the agreement. The Soviet Union has welcomed it. China has done likewise. There is hardly a world issue on which these three powers agree. But they have come together, at last, for peace in Vietnam.

The pain of Vietnam finally proved unbearable for the different contending sides, and each side yielded some of its political objectives. Simple humanity overcame prestige and political and dogmatic intransigence.

We are informed that relief rather than jubilation marks the Vietnam scene. Fair enough, but relief is an immensely gratifying feeling after 20 years of violence and war. That it will last and not be shattered is the hope and prayer of millions in both Vietnams and of citizens of all countries.

Will it last? One does not know. One notes the reports of fighting and shooting after the ceasefire. Yet one should also note the separate pledges of Hanoi and Saigon and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government to adhere to the agreement. Hanoi said, "Today, the 28th of January, the war completely ends in both zones of our country". President Thieu of South Vietnam said, "At least it is an end of destruction and death". The PRG promised, "to protect peace and improve the livelihood and prosperity of South Vietnam". Vietnam's neighbours, Cambodia and Laos, hope that peace will extend to them. President Lon Nol of Cambodia has declared that he was ordering his forces to "suspend their offensive operations" against the North Vietnamese on Cambodian soil. He has urged Cambodian guerrillas to lay down their arms and has promised them all rights including freedom of opinion.

Prince Souvanna Phouma, Premier of Laos, arrived in New Delhi on the day the agreement was signed. There he expressed his hope that "a general and complete ceasefire" would be extended "in the coming days to all operational areas situated in our territory".

At a banquet given by her in honour of Prince Souvanna Phouma, Mrs Gandhi said, "One could hardly meet a more gentle people than the Laotians who are still guided by the spirit of the Buddha. And yet for the last several years your beautiful land and peaceful people have been subjected to the ravages of a destructive war."

"With Europe moving towards a detente," she added, "it seems tragic that our great continent, so rich in history, tradition and culture, yet so steeped in poverty, should be the arena of conflicts".

A peace in Vietnam that lasts and spreads to Cambodia and Laos is an exceedingly tall order. Yet it is possible that the region now is in a mood to meet it. It is true that in South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia there are apprehensions about North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops. It is equally true that Hanoi has expressed doubts about Saigon's willingness to implement the agreement strictly. Yet the compulsions of a war-ravaged, war-tired society may oblige the antagonists to tolerate peace. Now that the Americans are leaving the scene, will the Vietnamese and the Viet Cong have strong political reasons for guerrilla activity? Will they get popular support for such activity? Will they not also want to savour the rest that peace can bring? Was there an unwritten agreement in Paris that North Vietnamese soldiers would return to their territory?

It always was and still will be an error to divide the people of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia into leftists and rightists, or into pro-Americans, pro-Russians and pro-Chinese. The people of the region have had deep divisions. For these divisions they have paid dearly. However, it is possible that the love of country of the Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians will now assert itself and will transcend the barriers that divide them from one another. We may witness a revival of the essential Vietnamese patriotism, and the essential patriotism that exists in the hearts of the Laotians and the Cambodians.

Indo-China's devastated economy calls for a national feeling in each of the three countries, not for a confrontation between "leftists" and "rightists". And these Buddhist lands may yet surprise the world with a demonstration of reconciliation and mutual forgiveness.

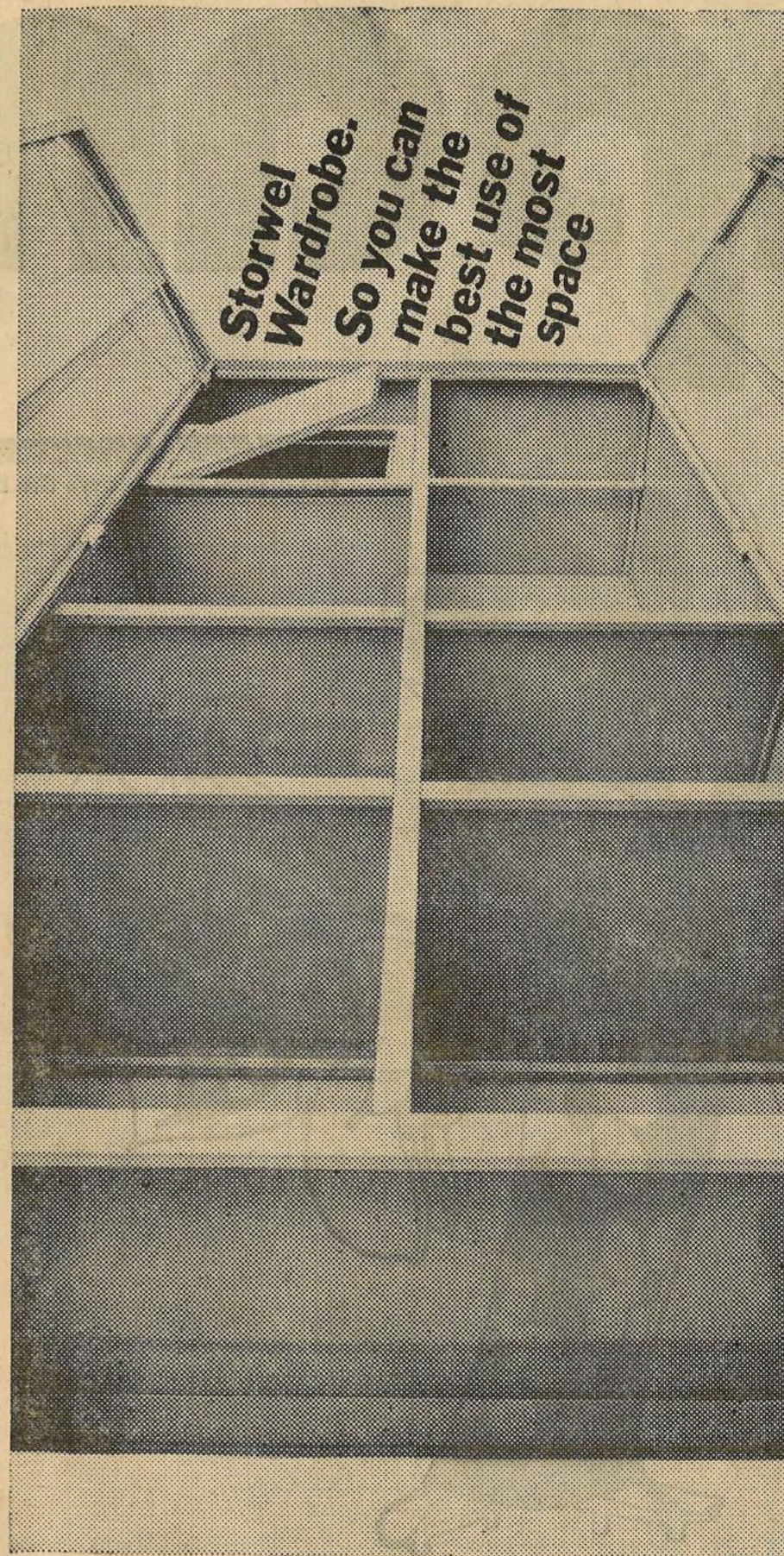
Those who should have worked together became rivals and enemies. Hate took love's place. It would probably take a miracle for love to be restored, but are miracles strictly unavailable?

Many men in Saigon placed their faith in America. America relied on economic power and fire power. Hanoi hoped for great things from Moscow and Peking. The gods failed. But God will not fail, and those in Indo-China who trust Him may see a profound and favourable change in the climate around them.

The region has produced sensitive and courageous personalities. Prince Souvanna Phouma, whom this writer had the chance to meet in New Delhi, is certainly one of them. He cares for his people. From his suite on the second floor of Rashtrapati Bhavan he heard singing and rejoicing outside. He had been told that Indian soldiers and guards were singing together with their families. "They are happy," the Prince from Laos said. Then he was silent for a while. "Many in my country are without limbs," he resumed "Some have no hands, others have lost their legs. Laos needs the prayers of others". Prince Souvanna Phouma welcomes prayers; he is also looking for fresh ways and initiatives to bring reconciliation to all the people of Laos.

His half-brother, Prince Souphanouvong, leads the Pathet Lao. Another royal figure of Indo-China, Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia heads a Government in exile in Peking. The gulf between his Government and President Lon Nol's Government in Phnom Penh grieves the people of Cambodia.

Will a wave of reconciliation wash away the hurts and hates of Indo-China? Will Indo-China be concerned with what is right for the future rather than with who was right or wrong in the past?



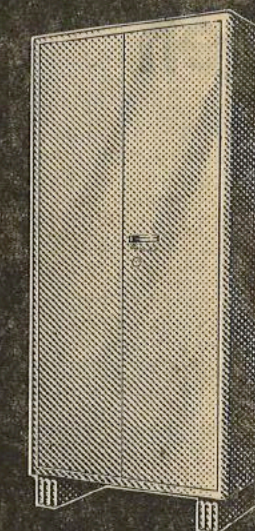
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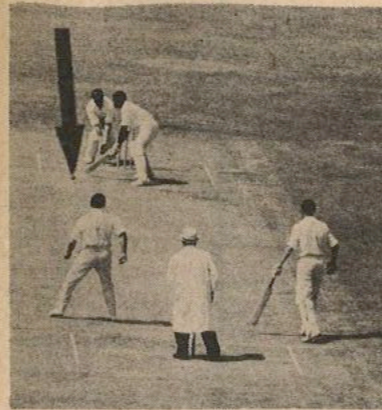
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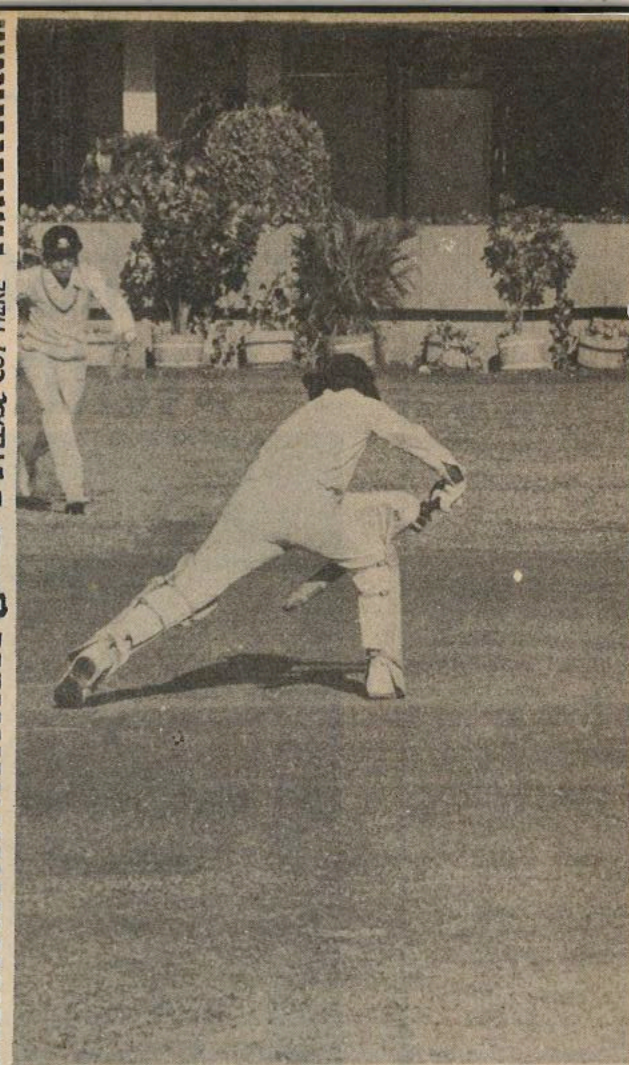
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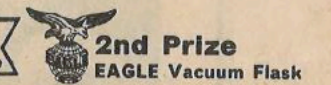


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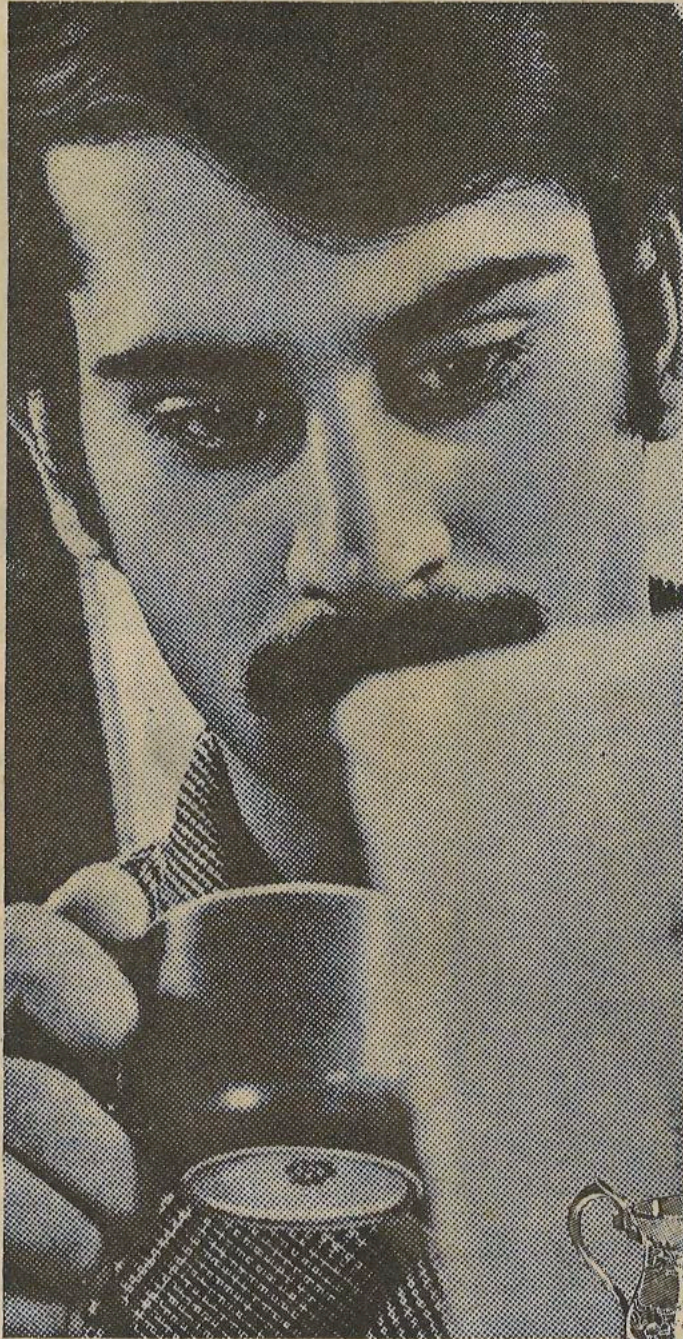
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