

All eyes on India

WHILE the turbulent giant that is India rests after the elections, its neighbour East Pakistan is in flames and Ceylon faces an insurgency by Che Guevara terrorists. The cities of East Pakistan are being bombed by the Pakistan Air Force while the Ceylon Air Force is bombing buildings where terrorists have gathered with arms and ammunition. One has to be grateful that India with its many problems has not gone to such lengths.

We may not realise it but the disturbances around India are focusing the attention of the world on us. Will India be a stabilising force in South Asia and will it bring peace and stability to the areas around it? Whether India will be stable or not depends substantially on whether Mrs Gandhi's war against poverty within a democratic framework succeeds or not. The impression one gets from New Delhi is that she is settling down to tone up the administration and to initiate fresh legislation.

Mrs Gandhi's prime problem is unemployment. She will need the co-operation of industrialists to provide employment and the employers will need Mrs Gandhi and a strong Centre to create conditions of law and order without which industry and trade cannot flourish. Industrialists who at their annual meetings of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry invariably clashed with the Prime Minister and the Government's industrial policies, have decided to declare

a truce and have called upon their members for a "social motivation beyond profits". This is a commendable move.

To prevent youth from taking to the path of violence, HIMMAT understands that the new Minister for Education, Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray, has interesting schemes that he will shortly make public.

There is reason to believe that the new Government is keen to deal with some of the outstanding problems including those of India's North-East. In the hills of Assam trouble was foreseen three years ago, but thanks to the statesmanship of Mrs Gandhi, Mr Chavan and the leaders of the Plains and the Hill peoples, an orderly process gave birth to Meghalaya. Today the borders of Meghalaya skirt a very large area of East Pakistan. With the eruption of East Bengal it could have been India's Achilles' heel. Instead it is an anchor for India. A new wind is also meant to blow over Mizo Hills, Nagaland and West Bengal in the coming months.

It is in the interest of the super-powers and the western nations to give every assistance possible for the Indian democratic experiment to succeed.

The responsibility for creating a stable and progressive India is a challenge for us all. The world expects it not only for India's sake but for that of her neighbours whose present sufferings cause anguish to the entire world.

Calley court martial

THE COURT MARTIAL of William Calley emblazons the strength and weakness of America to the world. America's strength is that at the height of a bloody war, officers and sergeants accused of atrocities are brought to public trial. Would Pakistan do this? Would Israel or Egypt or any other nation engaged in a life and death struggle?

The weakness of America is shown by the killings themselves and by the shout that has risen in the country against the life sentence given Calley by the military court. Leaving aside the pros and cons of the Calley verdict the turmoil into which it has thrown a nation of 200 million people is most disturbing.

If America could now steady herself, ensure that justice is done in the case of the My Lai killings and then go on to face what is missing in her conduct of the Vietnam operations—she could rise a stronger nation. Something is missing in America—a venture to safeguard Vietnam's liberty has become an operation

which apparently has scant respect for Vietnamese lives and is dehumanising young Americans.

But the overriding weakness of America was her confident entry into a war, relying on armed strength alone, against forces who not only had armed power but were also sustained by an ideological passion. That passion did not die with Ho Chi Minh. It is alive in Indochina, and in the Middle East, Latin America, Africa and Europe. America herself is in need of an alternative ideology and once Americans realise this and move towards it, affairs inside their country and their affairs overseas could take a radical turn for the better.

Imprinted on the American dollar is the expression: "In God we trust". Every Sunday millions pray, "Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." Made real in the gritty details of political and social life these could turn America from being, as one general put it, "a dead knight in armour" into a friend and comrade alive to the nations of the world.

Refreshing

AT A TIME when holding on to office seems a major preoccupation with many, the reasons behind the resignation of Swatantra President Minoo Masani are refreshing. While others are busy finding scapegoats he has squarely taken the blame for his party's failure.

In his letter of resignation to party colleagues he says, "It is a sound principle when a disaster overtakes a country, army or organisation, the man at the helm of affairs should take responsibility for the debacle and

hand over office to someone who may bring fresh ideas to the task." One wonders how many willing feet will follow in his steps. The fact that he has not resigned his party membership is indicative of his desire to work for his beliefs.

Mrs Gandhi's ambitious plans to solve India's manifold problems may come nearer to success with the help of able men like Masani and some others in the opposition.

Briefly Speaking.....

The wise man does at once what the fool does finally.

BALTASAR GRACIAN, 1601-1658

Solar heater

KUDOS to the Central Building Research Institute, Roorkee, who have developed a solar water heater. With a capacity of 600 litres, it can heat water up to 55°C in the afternoons and 48-50°C in the mornings during winter.

We hope it will be on the market soon.

Changing his mind

MR RAJESH JADEJA has usurped what is universally accepted as a lady's privilege—the right to change one's mind. He is an expert at crossing floors, having changed sides seven times. Men of his ilk first caused the collapse of the Hitendra Desai

Ministry (a Congress (O) government in Gujarat) by mass defection and then set it on its feet again by defecting back. Mr Rajesh Jadeja however only defected to the Old Congress for a day. He is now a member of the New Congress; how long he will remain one is anyone's guess.

Hope for cancer patients

A JAPANESE medical scientist claims to have isolated and extracted a toxic material in cancer cells which feeds on healthy cells and helps the spread of the disease. Dr Hajimu Katsuta of the Institute of Medical Sciences at the University of Tokyo, has been able to film the process with a slow speed microscopic camera.

The untiring and unremitting efforts of men like Dr Katsuta may one day make the horror of cancer a thing of the past.

Cricket and apartheid

APARTHEID is being challenged in South Africa, and appropriately enough by sportsmen. The event that triggered off the protest is the announcement of the all-white cricket team to tour Australia later this year. The announcement was made at the end of a government-sponsored cricket match. Many of the players, some chosen for the Australian tour, walked off the field. The Sports Minister, who differs from the official policy in this regard, boycotted the match in protest.

A poll conducted by one of the leading English papers of the country, has revealed that 94½ per cent of all available League cricketers in South Africa favour multi-racial cricket.

In Australia, where the team is to tour, rumblings against apartheid are daily getting louder. The South African Government would do well to pay heed.

Far reaching

HIMMAT publications travel far and wide, now to the ancient land of Sadi and Hafiz — Iran.

Dr F. Parsay, Minister of Education for Iran, last week received copies of "Vibha and the Tiger" and "The Talking Mango" published by HIMMAT, presented by the authoress, Miss Anasuya Paithankar. Dr Parsay was receiving the MRA international force with the musical revue "Anything to Declare?" which is now in Iran, officially invited by a committee

headed by the Deputy Minister of Education. The latest HIMMAT publication "Student power—new style" is also selling fast. A copy of this was also presented to the Minister.

New trend in Germany

CHANCELLOR Willy Brandt's Social Democrat Government is changing its attitude about legislation on pornography. "Die Welt", leading national daily paper, wrote, "Quietly the Social-Democrats have reversed themselves completely concerning the legislation on pornography. Their aim is to build an effective law against the spread of pornography." The paper, normally no friend of the Socialists, also wrote that this turn-about was more than just tactics in the face of strong protests from the churches. Equally, the legislation on divorce, which was to be drastically liberalised, has been kept intact or sharpened instead.

This may be the start of a new and welcome trend in Western Europe.

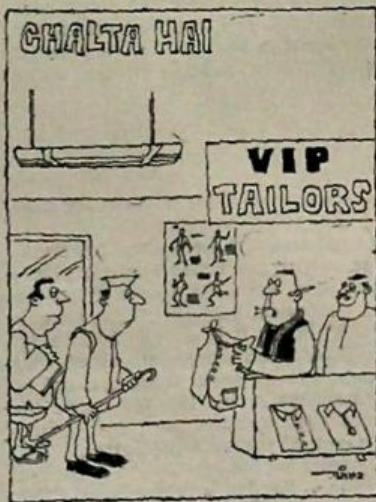
Shoe-shine generosity

SOME 40,000 Danish and Norwegian students, aged 14 to 18 years, have been shining shoes, picking apples, washing windows and cars, wrapping parcels in shops and scaling and cleaning the domes of historical buildings. They have donated the \$100,000 they have earned in this way towards a pilot programme in functional literacy for Zambia. The programme will concentrate on teaching the basic rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic to 3000 farmers and their families in addition to giving training on how the quality and quantity of crops can be increased.

The students chose this project from a list of seven projects prepared by UNESCO, and have been involved in it since 1969.

Hats off to their vision and sacrifice.

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A Canadian journalist looks at East Pakistan and writes:

Can Islam's statesmen rescue Islamabad?

A MAN once looked at the unbroken line of Islamic nations stretching from Morocco on the Atlantic to Indonesia on the Pacific, and called it "a girder of unity for all civilisation".

At the geographic centre of this cordon, the Arab-Israeli conflict has turned this girder in upon itself. It has robbed it so far of the role its faith and heritage destined it to play among the emerging nations and between the power blocs. Sane men everywhere look to the day when Arab lands are restored to their rightful owners and Israelis live behind their borders secure in the friendship and respect of their neighbours.

Insanity

But the last month has given birth to another area of conflict which has all the potential and more of the Arab-Israeli dispute to cause grief to the Islamic states and the world at large. In this conflict Muslim spills the blood of Muslim because small men have sabotaged an attempt to create a fair political partnership.

It is foolishness to say that Bengali and Punjabi or Pathan, because their language and culture differ, could not live together as brothers within one nation. Most nations of the world defy this kind of logic — above all India. Everywhere men are attempting to seek broader political and economic relationships with those who do not share their cultural past. To rejoice at the breakdown of this attempt anywhere is shortsighted. And to rejoice when it happens in a neighbouring land is insanity.

Choice of millions

But breakdown there has been and what ballots had decided, bullets are seeking to annul. Millions of people made their choice before the eyes of the world in favour, not only of a man, but of a specific programme. Now tanks and planes and crack infantry regiments are being used to countermand that choice.

But the tanks and planes will not decide the issue and the men who man them know it.

The Government of General Yahya

By
ANTHONY REYNOLDS

Khan claims that what is taking place within East Pakistan is an internal matter. By the same criteria, Hitler, had he not been at war with the world, could have claimed that the extermination of the Jews was also an internal matter.

In human and moral terms the oppression of any people engages the concern of all. And Muslims across the world must feel this all the more intensely. Theirs must be mixed feelings—pain at the breakdown and humiliation of an Islamic state — agony that men who once prayed together should now resort to butchering each other.

The Soviet Union followed private pressure with public condemnation. The United States and the World Bank who supplied Pakistan most of the funds required for her development have threatened financial boycott unless the army is withdrawn. These threats may alter calculations but they are unlikely to change the mind of the oppressors.

Face truth

The nations best suited to reach the minds of the men in Islamabad are the lands of the Islamic girder, and Iran, Turkey, Malaysia and Indonesia in particular.

It is hard to be straight with a friend and an ally. It is hardest of all when that friend knows he has taken the wrong course yet seeks by bluster and brutality to prove to himself and all others that he is right. Men who talk straight at that time may be hated for their words then but be blessed in the future for having forestalled a far greater tragedy.

If there is to be a way out of a long war of attrition leading to untold human suffering, someone must help powerful men in West Pakistan to face truth, at whatever cost to themselves. The truth appears to be that for 23 years Bengalis have not been trusted to share power equally with their western countrymen and that neither their economic needs nor

their cultural values have been paid the attention and respect due to them.

The men whose statesmanship decided to return Pakistan to a democratically elected government, unwittingly gave their country an opportunity to restore for the imbalance of the past. They presented the 75 million people of East Bengal their first chance at fullest participation in nationhood. By a monumental blunder small men were allowed to throw this chance away.

Only man

No one knows whether Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is a big enough man to lead his people back to a relationship with West Pakistan after the carnage of the last few weeks. But he is the only man on the scene who could do it. He has suffered unjustly and intensely before and still came out ready to build a partnership with those who had wronged him. No one knows whether Yahya Khan or some men around him are big enough to

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

SO THEY SAY

I felt happy on going out and I feel equally happy on coming in again.

HITENDRA DESAI,
Chief Minister of Gujarat.

An increasing number of countries are becoming deeply concerned about inflation. Britain is one of them.

SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME,
British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary

While we are engaged in a national effort to safeguard our integrity, the Indian attitude is causing us concern.

GENERAL YAHYA KHAN,
President of Pakistan

The burden of man's inhumanity to man is one that all men should share and bear.

FRANK MORAES,
Chief Editor "The Indian Express"

admit the scale of their blunder and to restore to Mujibur and his people for the crimes committed against them. But the Muslim statesmen who appear on HIMMAT's cover this week are the best men to attempt to find this out and to do everything in their power to encourage both men towards such a course of action.

Permanent cripple

If through lack of imagination or failure of nerve they take refuge behind some limited concept of responsibility, then they condemn Pakistan to be forever a cripple. Tanks and planes and troops may hold out in certain cities and bases in East Bengal, but the country will never again be wholly governed from Islamabad by force. The holding operation will drain West Pakistan's already scanty resources. The jute and tea which gave Pakistan most of its foreign exchange will dry up to a trickle. Foreign aid will no longer be forthcoming. It will not be long before the price of occupation becomes too great for Islamabad to bear.

But the real danger lies in another direction. Mujibur championed a wave of Bengali nationalism. His was a popular party, not a conspiratorial one. His colleagues were public figures, easily accessible. Most of them, it is reported, have been rounded up by the West Pakistani army.

An alternate leadership does exist in East Bengal. Men who train by Mao's manuals have prepared for a long time for the day when they can launch a "people's war". The condi-

tions imposed on the country by Yahya Khan's army are ideal for this type of conflict. "The Times of India" reports that a professor from Calcutta University, Nayan R. Chanda, who visited Jessore said, "The war seems to have provided them (the Maoists) the golden opportunity to capture the military leadership and carry forward their social revolution in the countryside." He said that in Jessore, Maoist students had taken control of almost all the schools. One of them told him, "We knew that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun and have been preparing accordingly." Peter Hazelhurst of "The Times" of London reports that numbers of Naxalites have crossed over into East Pakistan from West Bengal.

Initiative

China has backed Yahya Khan. It pays her to do so. A protracted war in the countryside of East Bengal will mean that the moderate leadership of the Awami League will be liquidated. Power will pass to the disciples of Mao who have far more staying power in their humid, river-crossed land than the men of Punjab or the Northwest Frontier. China's aim, a client state on the Bay of Bengal, would be within reach, and her revolution well launched on the subcontinent.

Someone needs to rescue Pakistan from the fatal contradiction she has fallen into. India may be able to do much to relieve human suffering. But politically the initiative lies in the hands of her Islamic neighbours.

VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT...

COLLECTS a fund of support for Congress (R) President Sanjivayya who has asked for complete accounts of election money gathered and spent by ministers and party-men.

RATTLES with delight to learn that a bone-bank—the first of its kind—has been opened in Goa.

GENERATES enthusiasm for the Jawahar Sagar Dam, first unit of the Rajasthan atomic plant, because of which Rajasthan will touch a new high in electricity.

SPREADS its wings to welcome the first Jumbo jet, named "Emperor Asoka", at Santa Cruz Airport on April 18.

TASTES the success of the Punjab Agricultural University which recently broke its record of honey production by importing European queen honey bees.

GASPS to learn that a 75-volume Oriya encyclopedia is being compiled by one man.

SMILES at the fortune of the seller of lottery tickets who contributed a ticket towards donations for Bangla Desh. It won a prize of Rs 5000.

IS RESTLESS that 700,000 people in Ceylon are reported to be workless, of which 18,000 are students with at least eight years' education.

IS HEARTWARMED to know that US medical researchers have devised a computer system allowing doctors to view any desired part of a diseased heart in action, on a three-dimensional television-type screen.

FETES Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Karunanidhi who has been adjudged the best Tamil writer of the year by the Tamil Writers' Association.

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Peking's political weapon in India

PENETRATING, intelligently and well written, Mr Mohan Ram's new book, "Maoism in India" is a refreshing contrast to the pedestrian, academic studies of aspects of contemporary Indian politics one usually encounters at bookstalls. The author combines a scholarly background with a simple journalistic style of writing — he is the correspondent of the "Madras Mail" in New Delhi — and practical, first-hand knowledge of the subject he writes about.

What he calls Maoism is commonly known in this country as Naxalism, from the 270-square-mile strip of rural territory in West Bengal which was chosen for a field trial of Peking's strategy of effecting social and political change through peasant power.

When the Indian Communist Party split in 1966, a split in which Peking apparently had a big hand, the Chinese Communists expected the Marxists to go along with them and function as their political instrument. India, a role the parent CPI played for Moscow under the leadership of Mr S. A. Dange. But, much to Peking's anger, the Marxist leaders allowed themselves to be lured into forming a leftist united front government with the "running dogs" of Moscow and other "reformist" groups and soiled their revolutionary image forever.

Another split followed, the true revolutionaries devoted to the precepts and practice of Mao Tse-tung spurning the "renegades" and "traitors" and forming the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Soon after, came the upsurge in Naxalbari. But here too the plans of Peking went awry. The new movement split into several groups, fighting one another as bitterly as they fought the Marxists, the Moscow Communists and the "class enemies" and the Western "imperialists".

Deviating from the Mao line of guerrilla war based on a disciplined peasant movement, the Naxalites and similar groups embarked on terrorist adventures without solid support in the countryside, which ended in serious reverses. Unable to create a peasant base, the Naxalites shifted their "annihilation" campaign from the West Bengal countryside in May 1969 to the "asphalt jungle of Calcutta".

In Calcutta, the major aim of the Naxalites was to annihilate the Marxists in their industrial stronghold. In this attempt, they have signally failed as the results of the recent gene-

ral election in the states show. The Naxalites have moved a long way in two years, from their original intention of being the banner-bearers of the Indian revolution to bands of desperadoes murdering the objects of their hate.

The Naxalite line of annihilating the "class foe" physically, advocated by the movement's chief theoretician, Mr Charu Mazumdar, was no more successful in Srikakulam — designated "India's Yenan" by its promoters — where there occurred an uprising among the backward Girijans. Despite bold assertions by Mazumdar that "Srikakulam can never be crushed" and "all the reactionary forces will be burned to ashes in the flames, kindled by the masses", the peasant support for it evaporated rapidly and by January 1970 it was all but dead.

By the middle of 1970, "India's Yenan-to-be of Mazumdar's dreams had been broken up." But the reverses in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh are not the end of Maoism in India, the writer concludes. "If the Maoist movement discovers its idiom of revolution and organises the large, growing rural proletariat which cannot be absorbed in industry through capitalist development, a critical

confrontation will develop. India will witness a rash of agrarian agitations in scattered pockets and if the Maoists give these movements political direction, co-ordinate and link them up, the movement would grow into a mass peasant upsurge with a countrywide spread."

But there are powerful political forces working in the opposite direction, says Mohan Ram. India is the "most striking focal point of the super-power detente. Whatever their conflicts and contradictions elsewhere, United States and Soviet interests converge to foreclose a Maoist revolution in India."

"Both the super-powers have a vested interest in India's stability, its parliamentary system, and its viability as a strategic Asian power to ensure continued confrontation with China." These aims have been greatly strengthened by the outcome of the elections and the emergence of Prime Minister Gandhi as the focal point of national unity and political stability.

These super-powers appear to realise that the elections have brought a five-year reprieve to the existing political set-up in India, and its survival depends as much on their efforts as those of the Congress Government. If they fail to help Government provide the basic economic and social solutions the current situation demands, the explosive forces building up in the countryside will provide "vast potential for a Maoist revolution".



"At this rate we'll have to insulate the walls of the Parliament."

Super-powers pressurise Yahya

FORTUNES continued to fluctuate in the bitter battle for the liberation of Bangla Desh. In the absence of on-the-spot reports, much speculation goes into the assessment of the exact position. The fact remains, however, that the armed might of the West Pakistani army and air force is ensuring the decimation of thousands of unarmed civilians, and the complete breakdown of the economy.

The mystery surrounding Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's whereabouts deepened with the release in Islamabad of his photograph flanked by two army officers. The authorities stated that it was taken at Karachi airport and that the Sheikh was in Government custody. Awami League sources, however, described it as a fake.

Official circles in the United States expressed grave concern at the use of American weapons by the West Pakistani troops. Along with the World Bank, the USA threatened to stop all economic assistance unless the armed action was called off forthwith. The foreign exchange reserves have dwindled considerably and with repayment of loans scheduled for June 30, Pakistan is faced with the prospect of bankruptcy.

China came out openly in support of President Yahya Khan for the first time since hostilities commenced. The "People's Daily" said Russia and the United States were "working in

close co-ordination with Indian reactionaries to interfere crudely in the internal affairs of Pakistan". Without specifying what action she proposed to take if Russia and the USA continued to pressurise President Yahya, she nevertheless warned the two super-powers to mind their own business.

Hussein's appeal rebuffed

KING HUSSEIN's Government accused the other Arab countries of encouraging the Palestinian guerrillas in their armed conflict with the Jordanian forces. "The present Arab stand toward Jordan and the fighting in the country is only an encouragement to destructive elements." There was no intention to liquidate the Palestinians, as had been charged by some senior Arab leaders.

The King called for an Arab summit to discuss the crisis in his country but met with a chilly response. Less than six Arab heads of state entertained the idea. In turn, his Foreign Ministry declined the invitation to an Arab world meeting in Cairo to discuss general policy.

Meanwhile heavy fighting continued in the northern districts of Jordan. The guerrillas blew up installations on the East Ghor Canal which is the source of water for the Jordan valley. Government sources accused the guerrillas of using Syrian territory to launch their attacks on villages. They also stated that 200 guerrillas

armed with rockets and mortars had made an all-out attack on Government troops near Jorash and Ajlun.

The guerrilla leadership appeared in some disarray by the issuing of conflicting statements. Mr Abu Iyad, member of the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Front, declared that in response to the Government's appeal, regular guerrillas and their heavy weapons were being withdrawn from in and around Amman. (King Hussein had earlier declared that unless they were withdrawn "the results will be cruel".) Yassir Arafat denied, in Syria, that any such agreement to withdraw the artillery had been reached.

Nixon explains

THE SENTENCE imposed on 1st Lt. Callaghan for his part in the My Lai affair sharply divided American public opinion and once again brought to the forefront the various issues involved in US action in Vietnam. While one section attempted to make out that the officer had been made a scapegoat, and would have everybody down from General Westmoreland responsible for the bloody massacre, others felt that the sentence was justified.

In an effort to clear the air of "misunderstandings" of the situation in Vietnam and his policies, President Nixon addressed the nation on television. The salient feature of his address was his insistence on the success of Vietnamisation and the increase in troop withdrawals.

Since President Nixon took office, more than 265,000 Americans had been withdrawn. This worked out roughly to half the number of men who were there in January 1969. Between May and December this year 100,000 troops would be brought back home. "The American involvement in Vietnam is coming to an end," he declared.

In an impassioned defence of his policy thus far, the President declared: "In my campaign for the Presidency, I pledged to end American involvement in the war. You should hold me accountable if I fail."

Turmoil in Ceylon

THE Ceylonese armed forces and police fought pitched battles with the underground "Che Guevara" movement members. Small police outposts in the countryside were abandoned under insurgent attacks and the officers fled to bigger encampments.

The bloodiest fighting took place in the districts of Galle, Matara, and Hambantota which were placed under complete army control. Unconfirmed reports said that the death toll among the insurgents ran into thousands.

The Prime Minister, Mrs S. Bandaranaike, appealed "as a mother" to parents to stop their children from joining the underground movement. She said the gunning and bombing only added to human suffering. She repeated her earlier statement that if anyone desired to get rid of her Government, they should do so at elections and not by totting guns.



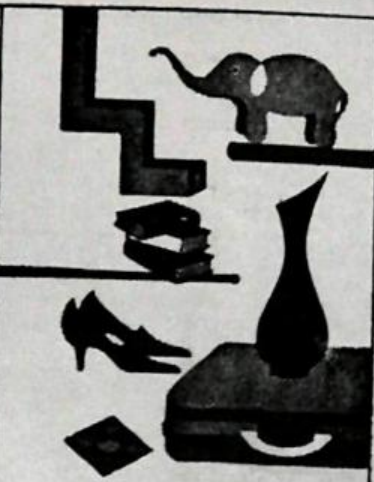
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Ceylon's cauldron boils

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE CEYLONESE cauldron is now boiling. Last weekend a 24-hour curfew was ordered throughout the island as the security forces grappled with the insurgents.

The Che Guevarist extremists of Ceylon have long been spoiling for a fight. Months back in villages and jungles news leaked out of bomb arsenals hidden in huts. On March



MRS BANDARANAIKE FACES CRISIS: appeals to youth to break with violence

16 the Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, declared a state of emergency. She warned parents to wean away their children from the wrong path of violence, saying that they will spoil the interests of youth if public buildings and universities were sabotaged. At the two day session of Parliament at the end of March there were more police present than MPs.

The Government has cracked down on the insurgents with armoured cars, bren-gun carriers, Air Force planes, helicopters and bombs. The insurgents had captured a number of police stations and Government buildings. More than 100 terrorists are reported to have been killed. Colombo city is free of fighting at the moment and the underground movement

seems to be rural-based. While the Government should act firmly it should avoid the danger of over-reacting. This will be playing into the hands of the terrorists because they will stand to gain from Government reprisals, especially bombing raids, which may affect those who are innocent.

The Guevarists initially were dismissed as a bunch of young romanticists playing at revolution and imitating their Cuban hero. Their leader, Rohan Wijeweera, was for several years educated at Moscow's Patrice Lumumba University before returning to Ceylon. The "People's Liberation Front" is now supposed to be 20,000 strong, composed of cadres who make no bones of their aim to capture power through the methods preached and practised by Che Guevara. The security forces had earlier seized documents, including a master plan for creating terror and disorder in the country. They had also found clues to many ammunition dumps set up in remote and inaccessible areas.

Unemployment has grown to dangerous levels especially among the educated. Ceylon has one of the highest literacy rates in Asia (72 per cent according to the 1963 census). The figure of the unemployed has risen to 700,000 which is 22 per cent of the total available labour force.

New elite

"The unemployed graduate" is growing into a distinct elite of radical political leadership," wrote a Ceylonese journalist, Denzil Peiris. This emerging elite of the disenchanted are mainly youths from families owning not more than an acre of land, who have passed through university. The rural unemployed graduate is aware of his strength. "In the May events in Paris," one of them said, "the French students learnt one lesson—that they had to establish a connection and build up a base among the workers. We don't need to learn that lesson. We are from the peasants and workers... The underprivileged need an intelligentsia to direct their grievances."

The Government while tackling the insurgents as a law and order problem has also to tackle the socio-economic issues which give rise to them.

The week in ASIA

BAGHDAD — Negotiations were completed for a loan of Rs 168 crores from the Soviet Union to Iraq for economic development.

COMILLA — The Bangla Desh freedom fighters were reported to have seized five ships carrying arms, ammunition and supplies from West Pakistan for army personnel.

JERUSALEM — More pilgrims than ever since the 1967 war, retraced the steps of Jesus Christ on Good Friday. This was also the first Good Friday without any shooting incidents on the Arab-Israeli border.

SAIGON — The South Vietnamese President, Mr Nguyen Van Thieu, ordered a total halt of the ground operations by his troops in Laos. Over 20,000 soldiers had taken part in Operation Lam Son 719.

AMMAN — Even as clashes between the Palestinian guerrillas and the Jordanian army continued, serious differences were reported among the guerrilla leaders. Mr Yassir Arafat and Mr Abu Iyad, a member of the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, made conflicting policy statements.

BEIRUT — Israeli troops were reported to have intruded into the villages of Zahira and Meis-el-Jabal and blown up some houses. The human toll was not known.

VIENTIANE — The North Vietnamese forces began reinforcing their positions around the royal Laotian capital of Luang Prabang. They have moved in a heavy concentration of anti-aircraft machine-guns.

BANGKOK — Thai Air Force jets carried out bombing operations against Meo tribesmen who are defending their opium fields against a Government project to build a road near the Burmese border.

SINGAPORE — A five nation "little NATO" is to be formed for the defence of Singapore and Malaysia, Britain, Australia and New Zealand will be the other partners in the treaty.

RANGOON — The privately-owned "Rangoon Daily" has said, "War in Pakistan is a threat to peace in South Asia. Although the religion of the people in the two separate parts is common, their race and traditions are different."

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Bombay 34

Insecure Germans

Berlin has become the key to better east-west relations in Europe. It represents a piece of unsettled business left over from the Second World War and until it is settled it is useless to pretend that Europe is safe. As long as Herr Ulbricht can interfere whenever he likes with traffic between Western Germany and West Berlin there can be no real security for the two million or so inhabitants of the western sectors. As long as military force remains the only guarantee of the city's life-lines to the west any talk of disarmament or troop withdrawals is bound to be somewhat academic. For that reason there can be no worthwhile conference on European security while the Berlin problem is unregulated.

THE TIMES, London

Moscow Congress

It is always difficult to predict the international weather from speeches made at gatherings such as the Soviet Communist Congress.

This is the case with the 24th Congress in Moscow. The whole could be depicted heraldically by the eagle on the great seal of the United States, with arrows in one claw and olive branches in the other — a fair symbol of a strong state, but little use in charting the immediate future.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, Paris

Chinese strategy

China has disgraced itself and greatly embarrassed its supporters, specially in south and south-east Asia, by its cynical attitude. But its two statements in the form of a Hsinhua report and a protest note to India cannot by themselves justify the conclusion that it has decided to extend whole-hearted support to the military junta in its criminal adventure in Bangla Desh...the West Pakistanis may be grateful to Peking even for its highly indirect and muted support. It suits the Chinese strategy to plunge the whole subcontinent into confusion and Peking may well encourage Islamabad to provoke a direct confrontation with India. As in 1965 it

may even lead the West Pakistan junta into believing that it will activate the Himalayan border at the appropriate time. But if they do so the Chinese will be only using Islamabad to advance their own interests.

THE TIMES OF INDIA, Bombay

Calley verdict

All America feels concerned by the verdict. And this is also true abroad, where everyone feels that he, also, was one day involved in some My Lai. In the final analysis, the verdict is the condemnation of war itself, of that war which no longer makes any difference between combatants and non-combatants, and which blindly causes the worst hecatombs. My Lai might at best become the beginning of a reflection capable of preventing the recurrence of such massacres.

LA CROIX, Paris

Palestinian resistance

The simple fact is that Jordanian rulers cannot accept the establishment of a Palestinian resistance inside Jordan and give it the military and political freedom to confront Israel.

The resistance must either dissolve itself inside Jordan or look for a practical solution. The practical solution cannot depend on Arab meetings, decisions or words. A solution cannot be reached except from inside Jordan, where the destiny of the rulers and the resistance can be defined.

AKHBAR al YOM, Cairo



"Water torture"

courtesy THE AUSTRALIAN

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Last chance in Northern Ireland?

FROM GORDON WISE IN LONDON

"APRES MOI, Maudling," was the London "Evening Standard" correspondent's verdict on the election in Belfast of Mr Brian Faulkner, the new Prime Minister of Northern Ireland.

If Faulkner fails in this cockpit of Protestant-Catholic conflict, almost the inevitable resort will be rule from Westminster — personified by the Home Secretary, Mr Reginald Maudling.

Mr Faulkner's predecessor, Major Chichester-Clark, was an amiable, honourable, decent man with no particular ambition or brilliance but guided by a strong sense of duty. He was worn down by the pressures behind him and in front of him.

The brutal murder by extremists of three young British soldiers set fire to the fuse which caused the explosion of discontent within the ruling Unionist Party in Northern Ireland. It was this that finally made Chichester-Clark's position intolerable.

Brian Faulkner may have the toughness expected by the Orangemen (militant Protestant organisation) and if he continues the reforming zeal he showed in his last Cabinet post, he might possibly be able to win the respect of the Catholics. He is known as a cruel, hard, decisive man, who keeps his own counsel, but according to a Belfast-based journalist, "He knows every trick of political survival. He is an opportunist and a realist. He may not exude much personal warmth, but if anyone can salvage anything from the political shambles he is taking over, Faulkner is the man."

Reforms demanded

A hot issue in the current political scene in Northern Ireland is the question of whether or not to intern illegal Irish Republican Army (IRA) men without trial. This has been rejected both by Faulkner and by Westminster. It would be a last resort because it would certainly drive the Catholics to rioting in the streets.

The reforms which the Catholics deserve are all there on paper now. Two Prime Ministers have been moving them forward and have both been swept aside. Now the question is not only whether Faulkner has the will to rule, but whether Northern Ireland has the collective will to make these changes on paper come into practice.

The Prime Minister's determination to win through is demonstrated by his surprise appointment to the key portfolio of Minister of Community Relations of a man who is not a mem-

ber of his party nor even at the moment a Member of Parliament, but who is respected as a reformer. Announcing the appointment of Mr David Bleakley as Minister, Mr Faulkner said, "I have done this because at this difficult moment for the country the needs of Northern Ireland must override other considerations."

One of the causes of unrest and violence in Northern Ireland is the massive unemployment. Trouble begets trouble — financially industry needed help before the political disturbances, and now of course industry is reluctant to expand because of the disturbances.

Law and order

Waiting in the wings is the hard-liner of the Unionist Party, Mr William Craig. He was soundly beaten by Faulkner in the vote for the leadership and has made threatening noises since, but he said, "I will support Mr Faulkner as long as he pursues the right policies, the policies the country needs. But if he follows the policies of Major Chichester-Clark's administration, I will not hesitate to fight him. He would be unwise to ignore us (the Right-wingers), as we represent the majority of the grass-roots members throughout the country."

Faulkner's first policy speech named the question of law and order as being his immediate concern — "the kernel of our immediate problems". "What we need on this front are not new principles but practical results on the ground, in the elimination not only of terrorism and sabotage, but of riots and disorder," he said.

He promised that there would be no harsh measures and that "no law-abiding citizen will have anything whatsoever to fear from my administration".

The ending of violence is largely the responsibility of the British Army. There has been pressure from the right to rearm the police but this has been rejected by Faulkner.

Northern Ireland has a breathing space. Whether it is more than that does not depend on Faulkner alone. If ever there were a time for good people to take a stand for the survival of all they cherish, that time has arrived in Northern Ireland.

The week in INDIA

RAMANATHAPURAM — The Deputy Manager of the Shipping Corporation of India stated that ferry services to Ceylon had been stopped till normalcy returns to the island. The "Irwin" had to return from Talaimannar as there was no one there manning the docks.

MYSORE — The state unit of the New Congress was directed by the party High Command not to form a Ministry. This followed the demand of some sections that a government formed with the aid of defectors should not be permitted.

NEW DELHI — Senior Old Congress leader Mrs Tarkeshwari Sinha regained consciousness in the Safdarjung Hospital after lying for several days in a coma following a reported overdose of sleeping pills.

BOMBAY — The Assistant High Commissioner for Pakistan received instructions to prepare to return home. This office had been set up only a year ago. Political circles interpreted this as a prelude to severance of diplomatic ties between the two countries.

NEW DELHI — Dr K. R. Jagdish successfully carried out an "open heart operation" on Manjeet Kaur, 10-year-old daughter of a labourer. The girl was later "completely fit to move about".

GORAKHPUR — The Fertilizer Factory here had to shut due to non-availability of naphtha because of a railway strike. The Barauni Refinery used to supply it with 20 tons of naphtha daily.

DIMAPUR — The police recovered detonators, gelatine sticks, fuse wires and live cartridges from a house here, about 74 kilometres from Kohima, the capital of Nagaland.

NEW DELHI — The King of Bhutan, Druk Gyalpo, arrived on a state visit. He expressed his country's gratitude for the economic and other assistance that India was giving and called for further strengthening of ties between the two countries.

NEW DELHI — The Chairman of the Burmese Revolutionary Council, General Ne Win, was on a brief visit to the capital on his way home from Britain where he had gone for medical treatment.

INDIA was a late starter in the industrial rat-race. Yet development in that direction has been sufficient now to poison air and water at least in the larger cities. Most Indian cities, moreover, either do not have an adequate sewage system or have an open-nullah network. The system in either case is hazardous.

Because of climatic conditions and dietary habits "a person here needs 1½ times more air and twice as much water as in the West," says Dr S. J. Arceivala, Director of the Central Public Health Engineering Research Institute (CPHERI).

Haphazard growth of industries, especially in Bombay, Calcutta and Kanpur, has led to factories, workshops and textile mills nestling cheek-by-jowl with residential areas. In Bombay, for instance, Lalbaug, Parel, Dadar and parts of Worli have the heaviest concentration of textile mills and workers' residential colonies. Unplanned growth has led to other plants crowding into the already saturated areas. No real consideration has been given to (a) the proper disposal of industrial and domestic waste; (b) the health of workers by

Pollution the cities

to those recorded in Chicago and New York.

The head of the Air Pollution and Industrial Hygiene Division of CIPHERI, Mr J. M. Dave, says, "It is true that vehicular traffic in our cities is not so high compared to that in most western cities. But that is made up by the older age and poorer engine

by KISHOR VAIDYA

performance of most of our cars. Exhaust gases of some of them have been found to contain carbon monoxide at rates as high as 5.5 to 10 per cent. In the United States, the legal limit for new cars has been fixed at 1.5 per cent."

Bombay has good breezes through-

study. On a comparison of Bombay and Calcutta, he feels the gross pollution of the latter is attributable among other causes, to the wide use of coal and wood for fuel. During the monsoons, moreover, Bombay has very strong winds which remove polluting gases below a height of 30,000 feet, keeping the air relatively clean.

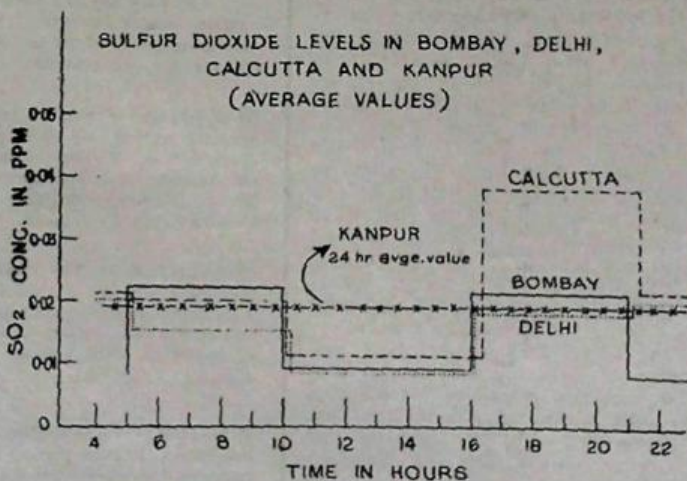
Delhi and Kanpur samples were found to have a very high content of particulates, i.e. dust. In winter there are frequent temperature inversions. Consequently pollutants are trapped.

Kanpur is possibly North India's most industrialised city. A number of chemical and pharmaceutical factories are located there. There are 10 textile mills, 50 tanneries, 100 lumber mills, two jute mills. It stands on the trunk expressway linking Calcutta with the north and thus bears the brunt of smoke and poisonous gases left by the thousands of vehicles plying the route. Moreover, an estimated one million tons of coal are consumed as fuel in the city annually. With dry extremes of heat and cold, fogs are frequent in the mornings and evenings.

Although figures of casualties directly related to pollution have not yet been compiled the number must be high.

The Employees State Insurance Scheme provides workers with facilities for medical treatment, often accompanied by cash benefits. Yet adequate measures to safeguard against indoor pollution do not appear in the Factories Act, 1948. Section 11 of the Act says: "Effective and suitable provision has to be made in every factory for securing and maintaining in every work room adequate ventilation by the circulation of fresh air and such a temperature as will secure to workers there any reasonable conditions of comfort and prevent injury to health."

This is too broad and vague a provision since health hazards differ in different industries. For instance, textile mills need one kind of internal anti-pollution measure, the sugar industry another, chemicals a third and so on. Without legal sanctions the provision of a clean environment in factory premises depends entirely on the goodwill of the owners.



providing an adequate flow of fresh air within the working areas; (c) an adequate supply of clean water to the blocks of one-room tenements and proper sewerage for the workers' colonies; (d) the dispersal of soot and smoke from industries.

Between April 1968 and March 1969 CIPHERI carried out air quality surveys in Delhi, Kanpur, Calcutta and Bombay. Calcutta was found to be the most polluted of the four cities. It is 14 miles inland and gets low velocity breezes and frequent temperature inversions. The carbon monoxide contents during heavy traffic were found to be very high, equal

out the year. Nevertheless the air in the Chembur-Trombay area was found to be seriously polluted. The Atomic Research Centre, a plant of the Fertilizer Corporation of India, oil refineries and various other industries are located in that area. The pollution caused by the first two has been the subject of discussion in the state assembly and even in Parliament. Some political parties have threatened to launch agitations.

The officer in charge of the Bombay centre of CIPHERI, however, feels that it is too early to blame categorically these establishments. Sufficient data will be available only after a two-year

Threatens India's



EARLY MORNING IN BOMBAY:
but sea winds save the city from the worst pollution hazards

Maharashtra is the first — and at present the only — state in India that is considering legal curbs on pollution. Addressing a symposium arranged by the Society for Clean Environment (SOCLEEN), Maharashtra's Minister for Public Health, Dr Rafiq Zakaria, said, "There will have to be laws to control pollution as for many other social evils. The central and state governments, local and municipal authorities will have to pool their efforts and resources to combat this gigantic problem. But, with all this, little is likely to be achieved without the active and constructive participation of a knowledgeable and vigilant community." Unfortunately, the common man has been too preoccupied with securing the more immediate necessities of life to concern himself about the environment.

India suffers from a peculiar malaise, in cities and villages alike — the disposal of human waste. Not only is this unaesthetic, it is a health hazard, converting the air into a carrier of disease. One has only to walk the pavements in the heart of Bombay to realise the extent of the problem. Attitudes towards this practice need to change, urgently.

If the air we breathe in is contaminated, the water we drink is worse still — inadequate and unwholesome. Only 1200 of the country's 2450 towns and cities enjoy some semblance of a modern water supply. Bombay's

water requirement is 350 million gallons daily. The city receives only 210 million gallons out of which 40 million are wasted. Industries grab their requirement of 100 million, while the humans get the rest.

Villages have to depend entirely on ponds, lakes and rivers. When there is a drought — a common occurrence in Rajasthan and Bihar — theirs is a sorry plight. A survey of a number of rivers shows that there has been a progressive deterioration of the water quality. Imagine what villagers between Delhi and Agra must be consuming when an eminent scientist says, "Agra may well be drinking Delhi's sewage."

In 1956 Delhi had a hepatitis epi-

demic. It was the result of mixing drainage with the Jamuna waters in the proximity of the water-works at Wazirabad. "In cities when water supply fails, people raise a hue and cry. But not many are concerned where the waste water goes," says Dr Arceivala.

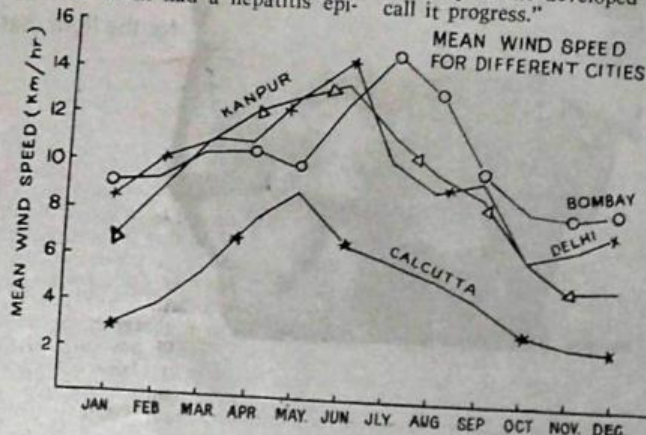
Scientific disposal of sewage is possibly the least attended to problem in our civic life. Yet it can be converted into good healthy irrigation water after treatment, having all the merits of a fertiliser — potash, phosphorus, nitrogen. As things are today, waste and sewage water are breeding grounds for fatal diseases and the people pay with their health.

The people of Bihar will remember the year 1968, for in March of that year the Ganges literally caught fire. Petroleum waste from an oil works had polluted the water. Citizens went without water for a week.

Bombay's industries are gradually polluting the Indian Ocean. Today it is near the shore; later it may spread. What havoc that will create with marine life — a good source of income at the moment — can be imagined. Juhu and Madh beaches, Bombay's favourites, may soon be unsafe because of pollution.

Air, water and food are man's three requirements for sustenance. Some months ago HIMMAT investigated the extent to which food is being poisoned and revealed a frightening picture. Now we are landed with the prospect of the other basic necessities being slowly poisoned also. Unless administration and people alike wake up to the task of curbing deliberate pollution we may be on the way to self-decimation.

Professor Galbraith sums it up: "My guess is that the greatest desire of the third world is to have the same traffic jams and the same air pollution and the same environment disharmony as the developed world and call it progress."



Philips tell how you can save your eyes with the right light

Ravi loved reading at night.
He'd read on the dining table, in the
verandah. He'd read anywhere.

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dangerous for the eyes when reading.

Months passed. Then one night,
Ravi went to bed with a splitting
headache. He spent a restless,
fitful night. That's how it usually
starts. Soon eye strain sets in.
Fatigue. More headaches, reduced work.
And finally glasses. Poor Ravi.



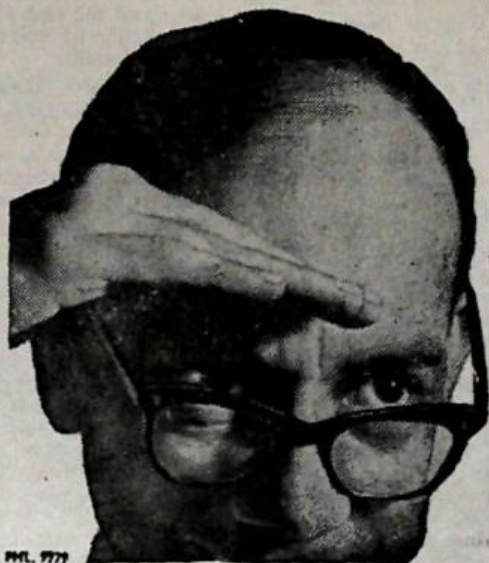
Bad lighting produces strain on the
eyes and the nervous system,
leading to headaches, fatigue, and
reduced efficiency.

The right amount of light depends
on three things. **Age.** The older you are
the more light you need. Say, if the figure
1 represented the amount of light you
needed as a child of 10; at 20 years it is 1½;
at 30 it is 2; at 40 it is 3, at 50 it is 6; and
so on. **Distance.** The greater the distance
between the light source and user,
the higher should be the wattage used.
Nature of work. Increase the wattage if
the work involves fine details, or detection of
colour, as in cooking, reading, sewing.

Another important point: your
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begins only after nights and
nights of working under such light.
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UTTAR PRADESH

Tripathi makes the gaddi

FROM S. K. RAU IN LUCKNOW

LIKE Anthony Eden of Britain, Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi of Uttar Pradesh waited for nearly a decade and half to adorn the chief minister's gaddi. Thrice the prize slipped out of his hands but the Indira avalanche simply lifted him to the chair.

A devotee of goddess Vindhya-vasani and a believer in the Shakti cult, Pandit Tripathi is well versed in Sanskrit but lacks an analytical mind. He is more interested in ritual than in philosophy. He spends three hours daily at pooja. Once an irate visitor flared up and said, "If ministers spend three hours daily in pooja, how can state work progress?"

Like two predecessors in office, Dr Sampurnanand and Mr T. N. Singh, Tripathi has a journalist's background. He was an associate editor of "Aaj", a Hindi daily of Varanasi. It is still the foremost daily of UP with the largest circulation.

It is nearly a quarter of a century since he left active journalism. He has to his credit nearly a dozen books and was President of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. But politics have eclipsed his literary activities.

He was at one stage closely associated with Mr Chandra Bhanu Gupta, the strong-man of the UP Congress, but slowly drifted away from him after Mr Gupta's debacle in the 1967 election and temporary eclipse. He then became a trusted lieutenant of Dr Sampurnanand.

The anti-Gupta people in the UP Congress flocked to Tripathi and created a new image for him as a group leader. Thus was born the Kamalapati group in the UP Congress. Since then it has been a see-saw battle in UP politics.

Those who were both anti-Gupta and anti-Tripathi came together and ultimately formed the hard core for the emergence of the Bharatiya Kranti Dal led by Chaudhry Charan Singh who defected from the Congress.

Now that most of the Gupta people have boarded the bandwagon of the Indira Congress, it can be said that the New Congress in UP under the leadership of Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi is free from groupism for the time being.

This party now has among its members talukdars, erstwhile rulers and money-bags who only till yesterday were denounced as capitalists and their stooges. In India socialism has

such a magic spell that the moment you put on the socialist cloak all your sins are washed away in the same way as people have a dip in the sacred Triveni in Allahabad.

What are these socialist policies? Nationalisation of the sugar mills, reduction in the land ceiling and the imposition of a ceiling on urban property.

Whether socialism is going to come or not with the new regime, one redeeming feature is that there is no



CHIEF MINISTER TRIPATHI: wins office on the fourth attempt

danger of a mid-term poll so long as Pandit Tripathi is at the helm of affairs.

TAMIL NADU

Kamaraj faces new crisis

FROM K. S. RAMANUJAM IN MADRAS

ALL eyes are now turned towards Mr Kamaraj. The man responsible for the election of two Prime Ministers is facing the gravest political crisis of his career. The only MP to be elected from Congress (O) in Tamil Nadu is Kamaraj himself.

Will he now be able to stem the tide of the rank and file in his own party in Tamil Nadu wanting to merge with the Ruling Congress? Or will he be able to provide the necessary, urgently called for revised guidelines for a complete reconstruction and even re-orientation of his party's role and structure to function effectively as the main opposition in Tamil Nadu?

Warning to DMK

Whatever is applicable to all other Congress leaders all over the country who have opposed Mrs Gandhi may only partly apply to Mr Kamaraj, for he provided the main democratic opposition to the ruling DMK here whereas it was the combination of many all-India parties who opposed Mrs Gandhi in the Lok Sabha mid-term elections. It is because of his hard work, infinite patience and self-confidence that nearly 5.9 million votes were secured by the Democratic Front as against 7.6 million votes for the DMK-led progressive front. He made the ruling DMK realise, more surely than ever before, that

they have to be on guard to continue to enjoy the overwhelming confidence of the electorate.

He is programmed to tour the districts of Tamil Nadu intensively during April and May to assess for himself whether he continues to enjoy the absolute confidence of his own partymen. He strongly feels that the mid-term election was very much of a stage-managed show by the ruling party who had manipulated the electoral lists to their advantage. He is, therefore, anxious to work to bring about certain norms and practices whereby the integrity of the ballot-box will not be in doubt in future elections.

Whatever his individual position in or through contribution to the politics of Tamil Nadu, it is clear he cannot function as he had during the poll campaign. The DMK Ministry, as well as the DMK Party are more deeply entrenched throughout Tamil Nadu as a result of the big success in the mid-term elections and the pressure on Kamaraj and his supporters will now increase from the Ruling Congress.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

TAMIL NADU—FROM PAGE 15

Rather uncharitably Mr C. Subramaniam has declared that the Ruling Congress must work for the complete liquidation of Congress (O) under Kamaraj in Tamil Nadu. Many close allies of Mr Kamaraj, who have stood by him all along, are now sending feelers to the Ruling Congress that they would like to shift. Many who have stood by Mr Kamaraj until now seem to feel that the only way an organised opposition can grow in Tamil Nadu is through the strengthening of the Ruling Congress.

New grouping suggested

Mr C. Rajagopalachari and Mr K. Santhanam, who both have a background of over half a century of public life to their credit, have however suggested that no time should be lost in organising a "Democratic Party of India", collecting under one banner all forces desiring to play an effective role in the public life of the country. To start with, they feel, this party could draw up plans to organise village level, taluk level branches and thus build up a well-knit organisational structure and bring in younger elements in its construction. This, they feel, should not be an altogether difficult task for Mr Kamaraj since it was clear from the panchayat elections held nine months ago in Tamil Nadu that Congress (O) had a strong

base at the village level. According to them, what is now required is patient reconstruction of the weakened structure under an altogether different banner since the mid-term poll verdict entitles Mrs Gandhi's party to inherit the name Indian National Congress.

In this context it is gratifying that Chief Minister Karunanidhi made the following statement while presenting the interim budget after the recent poll verdict. "An administration is run for those who have voted for the ruling party as well as for those who have not. I would define a good administration



K. KAMARAJ:
test of strength

as one which gives a sense of belonging to all people, irrespective of how they voted. This Government welcomes the free and fair expression of all points of view and would respect the right to democratic dissent and constructive criticism both within and outside the House."

The Governor of Tamil Nadu, in his address to the joint session of the State Legislature after the mid-term election, said: "I am confident that you, the newly elected members of the Legislature, will respond fully to the confidence that has been reposed in you by the electorate and, at the same time, respect the genuine sentiments of constructive criticism given expression to during and after the electoral dialogue. While the relative proportion of members on the side of the Government and those in Opposition has changed in the present Legislature, this Government will fully respect the sentiments of the Opposition...It is by such mutual respect that a society builds up the traditions of democracy."

THIS INDIA

RUMINATIONS ON SELFISHNESS

SOMETIMES I think we are fortunate that for most, life is a struggle in India. Without struggle, the spirit of a country goes dead.

We are launching an all-out effort to remove poverty. Could our leaders launch an equally militant war to remove the causes of poverty, so that the cure touches the root instead of just skimming the surface?

Is it just the selfishness of a few who have amassed wealth, exploited workers, considered them as numericals and not human beings? Or is it attitudes inherent in all of us that are responsible for our poverty? I can't claim to have all the reasons lined up, but here are some ruminations.

Selfishness, as has often been pointed out, is not the monopoly of the rich. Of course it is always easier to be for the underdog. The poor worker can equally exploit his wife or some-one junior. He can waste his wages on indulgence—on drink, gambling—just as a rich man might. The challenge to change is valid for both the rich and the poor.

If our people decide to have initiative and daring, part of the problem of unemployment would cease to exist. Talking to some of the leading industrialists, I discovered that most of them began from scratch and lived for many years in crowded one-room establishments.

I never cease to marvel when I go to

Punjab and Haryana, how those people have, in spite of wars, floods, locusts, turned their wheat deficit areas into surplus ones through sheer grit and determination.

Young men and women, so status conscious, are choosy about the kind of jobs they will or will not do. A Bombay industrialist told me about an educated young man who came to his office in search of a job. His opening sentence was, "I am ready to do any kind of work, even to sweep floors." Seeing his willing spirit, the industrialist engaged him. The young man worked so wholeheartedly and diligently that after a few months the industrialist wanted to give him a raise.

All the school-leaving boys and girls need to ask themselves, "What career should I take up which would be helpful to the needs of the country at this juncture?"

To cut the other person down is almost a national hobby. If someone excels in something, rather than rejoicing about it, we have a fling at the man. If someone decides to end blackmarketing practices and be honest, we are all sceptical. "Let us see how long he is going to last," we tell each other. And when he doesn't we gleefully nod, "I told you so." If we had tried to help the fellow live up to his decision, he might have made the grade. Any new idea or effort can so easily be squashed at the outset.

Heerja Casarthy

JUST OUT ... new pamphlet



College students help resolve a nine-month-old dispute in Standard Motors, Madras, involving 1700 workers. How did they do it? Here is their dramatic story told in their own words.

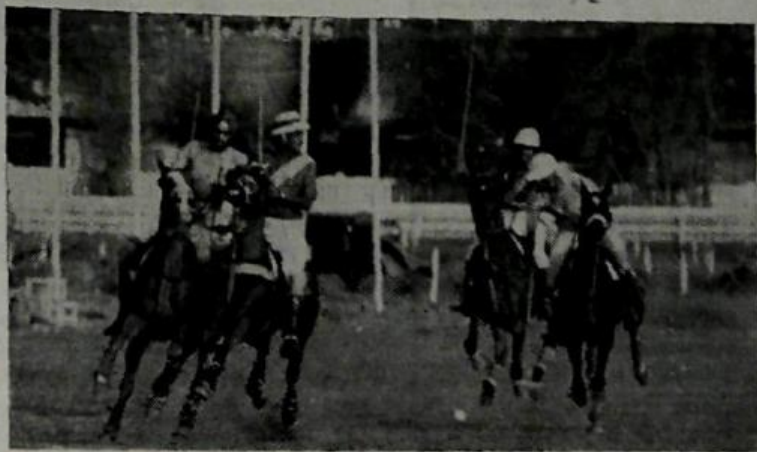
Price Re 1 plus postage 15p
Send Rs 1.15 in postage stamps to HIMMAT, 501 Arun Chambers, Tardeo Rd., Bombay 34.

Maharajas, generals and horse-flesh

BOMBAY'S Mahalaxmi race-course is as picturesque a spot as one can find anywhere. On its western flank stretches the Arabian Sea; to the north and south sit the Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Stadium and the Willingdon Golf Club respectively; and to the east stand the tangible evidence of Bombay's industry—chimney stacks. During the racing season, lakhs of rupees are won and lost here.

For a brief period of 10 days memories were revived here of an era of princely Oriental splendour when from March 31 to April 10 the Amateur Riders' Club of Bombay conducted its 29th Annual Mounted Sports Competition. One of the sports attracting the widest interest was the Western India Polo Championship for the Gwalior Gold Cup.

Polo has a long history in India. There are records of its being played in the mountains of Gilgit and Manipur hundreds of years ago. The earliest known effort to organise polo as it is today was that of a British cavalry regiment in 1870. The post-World War I period saw the emergence of international rules for the game and their acceptance in all countries which play it—Argentina, Italy, Spain, US, India, Pakistan, Bri-



Action in the final of the Western India Polo Championship. Lt-Col. Kishen Singh (second from left) "rides off" an opponent to clear the way for a team-mate (rear).

tain and Australia.

After ice-hockey, polo is the fastest stick and ball game. Its basic equipment—horses—are an expensive commodity; today in the Army it is a standard joke that the maintenance of a pony or a mule is more than the captain's salary. The players are equipped with a long stick with a head 10 inches wide with which they hit a ball at the goals on a 300-yard-long field. It requires, nevertheless, expert horsemanship and co-ordination of hand and mind because it is not easy to hit a 3½-inch ball while charging around on a steed at 22 to 25 miles an hour.

Because of the expense involved, in India the game found patronage only among the princes and the Army. The chief patrons were the states of Alwar, Bhopal, Patiala, Gwalior, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Hyderabad. The cavalry regiments of the British and Indian Armies also were prominent participants. Today royal patronage is virtually dead and polo is dependent exclusively on the Army and amateur clubs which are few and with restricted membership.

Indians have held a high position in the polo world. In 1933 the Jaipur

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

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POLO—FROM PAGE 17

Maharaja's team won all the open tournaments in the United Kingdom. In 1957 India, for the first time, entered a team in the World Championships held in Deauville in France and beat all comers to win the title. Our team comprised the Maharaja of Jaipur, Rao Raja Hanut Singh, Kumar Bijay Singh and then Captain Thakur Kishen Singh.

In spite of its association with aristocracy, on the field it is a leveler of rank. Corporals and sergeants play with and against rajahs and generals, as do cadets of the National Defence Academy and the Indian Military Academy. In the recent tournament for instance, NDA Khadakvasla entered "A" and "B" teams and the Commandant of this fine institution, Maj-General Somi Gupta played on the "B" team with cadets 25 years his junior.

The National Defence Academy "A" team, with Major B. S. Suhag

Polo-playing Colonel's views

IN THE 90° heat of a Bombay afternoon the Colonel was discussing polo ponies and the game with junior team-mates. The look in his eyes betrayed his uneasiness at having his two feet on the ground rather than astride a horse.

At 47, Lt-Col. Thakur Kishen Singh carries his years lightly. And so he must, for equestrian games are not for heavyweights. Balding, soft-spoken, quick to smile and dressed in sports shirt and slacks, he talks about the game to which he is wedded and from which no decree could divorce him.

The Colonel has been in polo for over 20 years. Hailing from Jaipur his formative polo years were spent under the expert guidance of Rao Raja Hanut Singh—Grand Old Man of Indian Polo — and "the greatest player India has produced".

Col. Kishen was a member of the Indian team which won the World Championship at its first attempt.

How does India rate today in world polo? The Colonel, who has played in England, France, Spain, Italy and Kenya and has matched skills with the best, feels we stand fourth behind Argentina, USA and Mexico in that order.

His most precious moments: playing against Roberto Cavanna, the ten goal handicap player from Argentina and possibly the greatest ever in the world; the World Championship win; the match against Pakistan when "we

(international), Lt. Commander and Cadets Shekhon and More, won the beautiful Gwalior Gold Cup with seven goals to five over 61 Cavalry. They held at bay Lt-Colonel Kishen Singh—a virtual tiger on a polo field.

However, a more thrilling event was an exhibition match on the first day with four internationals participating. Majors Bijly and V. P. Singh gave a superb display of horsemanship and ball control and through their services their side won a runaway victory of seven goals to two.

Nevertheless, Lt-Colonel Kishen Singh, who was on the losing side, was equally impressive. "Riding off in polo means a player can virtually physically nudge out man and horse while on the gallop, chasing the ball. How such a tactic can be countered was exhibited by the Colonel when in one dash the player trying to ride him off nearly came a cropper while the old soldier retained control of the ball. It was horsemanship at its best.



Lt. Col. Kishen Singh

were four down and scored five goals in the last chukker to come out on top. It was fabulous."

And what goes into the making of a good polo player? "Basically horsemanship, games sense, eye for the ball, guts. Keeping a hold on the horse, the opponent at bay and the ball on the move does require skill and co-ordination."

Of the future of the game in India Lt-Col. Kishen Singh says: "If our chaps can get practice with good opposition there is no reason why we should not continue to do well and even improve our record."

K. K.

Across Siberia by train

IN THE SPRING sunshine of mid-May the Russian ship "Khabarovsk" sailed into Nadhodka Harbour, a few miles north of Vladivostok. My friend and I had decided to make the seven day, 4000 mile journey to Moscow on the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Fifty-six hours before, we had left Japan, gay streamers everywhere. In contrast, a sprinkling of sailors, school children and friends of the crew gave us a rather quiet welcome. "Would we like to have a bus tour of the town?" asked our Intourist guide. She was a pleasant young married woman who spoke good English. Similarly, there was a Japanese guide for the many Japanese travellers.

On the train we found a very clean four-berthed compartment. The beds had white embroidered covers and down pillows and there were white curtains and a tablecloth also. We enjoyed supper in the dining car — smoked salmon, hamburgers, tea or coffee. This special tourist train travelled overnight to the industrial city of Khabarovsk (population one million), where we changed to the train coming from Vladivostok. Guides were available here if tourists wanted to spend a few days, also at Irkutsk and Novosibirsk, another city of one million, a centre of scientific research — new, clean, humming with traffic. We had chosen to disembark at Irkutsk about mid-way across, a fascinating old city of nearly half a million founded by the Cossacks in 1661, a stopping place on the old silk route, and within a day's motoring distance of Lake Baikal. This lake, which has 300 rivers running into it and only one running out, is the purest, deepest and one of the largest lakes in the world. There are unusual fish and animals, such as a fish whose flesh melts in the sun, and freshwater seals.

People

But it was the people who interested us most. Soldiers were everywhere — by the trainload, many quite young boys, travelling with us, alone or with their families. The best dressed men were the officers. For women, nylon raincoats and scarves tied under the chin was almost universal attire.

Children were more brightly clad and looked well cared for. They, of course, were the first to approach us,

shyly peeping around the door. Soon we were exchanging small gifts. Their parents gave us a dried fish and a plate of mushrooms.

Our female guard placed a jar of wild rhododendrons on our table. The gentleman from Leningrad next door wanted to know how old we were! Tamara, a plump economist, could beat us all at draughts. There was an air of friendly curiosity as we showed family photographs and maps.

The "Pravda" reporter who spoke four languages talked to each of us. Perhaps it was he who arranged for the English propaganda tape recording, which was sandwiched between the light music. Each compartment had its own speaker.

We were out of touch with the world except for the occasional English translation of the "Moscow Times".

Lifeline

We never tired of looking out of the window. Great forests of larch and silver birch were bursting into spring. Beautiful little wild flowers lined the track beside marshes or clinging on to rocky ledges. Endless stretches of rich black farmland with people working together or women singly planting potatoes and carrying water in buckets to their small wooden houses, ice lying beside the great rivers still melting after eight months of winter. There were no fences, no tar-sealed roads except near cities. This train was the life-line that had opened up land rich in minerals, timber, furs, and hydro-electric power, and farmlands ready to respond to the brief summer season.

On the latter part of our journey, at each station, members of the Komsomol (Young Communists 14-28 years old) boarded the train. In the dining car they sang hearty songs, drank milk in large quantities, talked and laughed together. They seemed a strong and vital group, obviously favoured and respected. They were on their way to a World Conference of Young Communists in Moscow. Did we, in our democracies, train comparatively such leaders for tomorrow, I wondered.

Moscow Station! The little waitress Galina kissed us goodbye. Though knowing only a dozen Russian words, we felt we had shared briefly the goodwill and humour of the ordinary Soviet traveller.

Yet can a visitor to the USSR really penetrate the Iron Curtain of thought when the sole interpreter is the carefully trained Intourist guide?

"How do you speak such good English?" I asked. "We learn to speak from records." "Could you go to England to study English?" "I believe it is possible, but I am not interested." "Does a mother with a young baby have to go to work?" "I have a young baby, and I go to work because I want to be useful."

No key

As I noticed many people had several gold teeth, and even a complete set of stainless steel, I asked, "Do you have to pay the dentist?" "No, you do not pay, but if you want a gold or stainless steel tooth you must pay for it." Only once a young guide asked me a deeper question. "Is it true that young people do not go to Church in other countries?" (We were told one per cent of the Soviet population belonged to an active church.)

Questions asked, questions answered; information given, but no key to unlock the inner chambers of an ordinary Soviet citizen's thoughts and feelings on important issues. With more and more travellers entering the country, the chance for interchange of ideas may perhaps slowly be established.

by Mrs Ray Brodie

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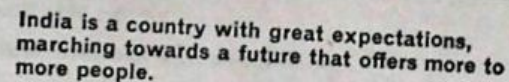
* India needs a committed bureaucracy.

Closing date: April 23

** Without cartoonists, politics would be indigestible.

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HIMMAT, April 16, 1971

TEACHERS TOO

My sympathy is with the teachers of Bombay University who suffer from some genuine grievances. But may I draw their attention to the low standard of education in our country which has led to frustration among those students who are genuinely searching for knowledge.

As a university student I feel that teachers are responsible to some extent for the deteriorating standards of education prevailing in our country. Many of them are not interested in teaching and maintain bad relations with the students. I have come across a university professor who is drawing thousands of rupees, but teaches nothing to his students. The students are afraid of complaining against him as they fear that he may deliberately fail them in the examinations.

I have come to the conclusion that this type of education leads nowhere.

Rs 10 to: R. N. HEGDE, Dharwar 3

DEFECTORS

HERE is a practicable solution to check increasing defections in the country. Defectors seem to defect mainly to the Congress (R) in the present circumstances, if they wish to secure some advantages, political or otherwise. To check defections the Congress (R) should prescribe a date before which all those interested in joining the party must apply for admission. The Congress (R) can filter those it wishes to keep out and then categorically announce that no more defectors will be absorbed. This will dissipate the propensity of the legislators to defect.

Rs 5 to: B. SWAMINATHAN, Madras 14

ROLE OF PRESS

I AM dismayed with the failure of the press in coming to grips with world problems so that answers could be found to them.

The press, by presenting the facts of the dispute, can let the people know what is happening. It can bridge the gap between the workers and the men in authority, as it is an impeccable form of communication among the masses.

B. B. SESHADRI, Salem 11

BEWARE

WHILE all other national parties have been humbled at the hands of Mrs Gandhi's party, the Communists alone have maintained their strength without being diminished.

We must be aware of their conviction of coming to power through constitutional means and later wrecking the Constitution or modifying it on reaching the top by using a ladder and later to break that same ladder in order to prevent others from coming up.

R. S. SATISH BABU, Madras 2

THE CALLEY CASE

AMERICAN justice took its course on March 31. Lt. William Calley was convicted by a unanimous jury to life imprisonment with hard labour, for the murder of at least 22 South Vietnamese

civilians at My Lai 3 years ago.

While conceding to a "nation-wide protest" President Nixon wants to review the case. The argument is that Lt. Calley was acting under orders and therefore is not guilty. But is it not the same crime for which so many Nazis and Japanese were convicted after the Second World War?

One cannot understand people trying to interfere in the course of justice. Is there a different morality and different criteria for trying war criminals of different wars?

VIJITHA YAPA, Port Moresby

INDIA'S DUTY

BEFORE others take the lead India should come forward boldly and give full-fledged recognition to Bangla Desh and send medical relief teams with food and supplies to the suffering nation fighting for survival.

India should boldly champion the cause of Bangla Desh in the United Nations and save it in time from being another Biafra.

It is shocking that the entire world is gloating over the newspaper headlines without taking any positive action. How heavy a price should the people of Bangla Desh pay for their freedom?

K. V. SATYAMURTY, Bombay 4

Letters

DIGNITY LACKING

I AM a junior lecturer serving a well-reputed college. To experiment with the dignity of labour in this country, I decided to start a circulating library of magazines. Just as any other newspaper boy I moved from door to door convincing people that they would benefit by reading twenty monthlies and weeklies for only four rupees to be paid at the end of the month. I found it impossible to collect my dues when the time came. If our people do not have dignity how can labour have it?

S. CHANDRA MOHAN, Madurai 20

SAVE MPs' ENERGY

WHY take the trouble of convoking Parliament sessions? Any Bill — be it a Supreme Court Suppression Bill, Constitution Recast Bill, or any other Bill — can safely be considered passed even without Parliamentary procedure. Thus time, energy and money would be saved which could be directed to implementing socialism.

TOM D'SOUZA, Mangalore 2

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The role of the defeated

by Rajmohan Gandhi



INDIANS HAVE mastered many skills. We fly Jumbo jets and launch missiles. Our farmers summon rich crops out of dry land. Our industrial products go out to the world.

While our people tolerate certain things that should not be tolerated, they also have a resourcefulness that enables small salaries, tiny rooms or old automobiles to serve better than they should. We have fatalism, a willingness merely to exist until we die, and this is to be hated. Yet we also have — many of us — the ability to defeat circumstances.

Our recent elections were not wholly free of violence or vote-buying. Yet the scale on which they were conducted once again impressed the world. Democracy in India, with its legislatures, courts of law and independent newspapers, cannot any longer be regarded as either temporary or alien. It seems to have become an essential part of the country's life, as authentically Indian as the mango, or idli, or the dust and heat of a North Indian summer.

What is missing

Yet we have neglected a crucial art. Our progress is incomplete, and rests precariously, because of this neglect.

What is the overlooked art? That of developing others, of training those around us.

I was driven to this reflection when thinking of some political figures defeated in the recent elections. These men, naturally, are dejected and depressed. While accepting the fact of defeat, they have not recovered fully from its shock. There is a perfectly human yet risky tendency to blame one's party colleagues, or parties other than one's own, for political and tactical blunders. Some, again not surprisingly, seek solace in theories of large-scale electoral fraud.

What these politicians are not attempting is the training of new men who could become future leaders. The value of an alert and healthy opposition is recognised by all.

How can a strong and construc-

tive opposition force be brought into being? Clear political and economic aims are, of course, needed, but even more important may be the work of developing men. It is here that the undoubted talents of several of the country's opposition leaders can be of the greatest help. What Mr A. himself achieves or fails to achieve can be significant; but if Mr A. trains Messrs B., C. and others his will be a gift beyond value.

Fragile element

All seem to agree that teamwork is lacking, that it is the human factor which messes up a good plan, sometimes transforming political victory into defeat. Yet few take the logical next step of strengthening this fragile and undependable element. If some of the country's unseated politicians address themselves to this task they will fill a major need. This could be their most important role. It is needless to add that those in power and others who may not have tasted defeat also ought to help in this direction.

The country has far too many one-man shows. Business, colleges, institutions and organisations of every variety, teams in sport, student bodies and political parties are all afflicted.

An experienced political figure, who became as influential and is as honest as anyone in Indian politics, said to me a few days ago, "I have depended on my intellect and organising skill, but something has been missing." What is this something? Is it linked with this matter of making one's colleagues effective?

New preoccupation

My own belief is that there is a connection. To possess integrity is not enough. To be industrious is insufficient. To be eloquent does not yet satisfy the requirement. One needs to be successful in building a team. And let it be repeated that this is so in all fields, political, educational — and spiritual. Selfless men are still full of self unless they are deliberately making the

training of other men their preoccupation.

This training, needless to say, cannot be imparted from a height, or from a distance. Those who refuse to come down to a level where "we are all the same underneath" can, if they have drive and are dedicated, enlist a crowd of followers. Such a crowd, however, will not throw up leaders and fighters. Those who stay aloof can be admired, and often are. They are also nearly always disliked.

The methods traditionally associated with the schoolmaster or the scoutmaster do not succeed. Shoving and pushing people, always telling them what to do, and steering them along desired channels are practices that ensure failure.

Men become experts in making bigger and better buildings, dams, even plants, hens and cows. They can become adept also in making men around them taller in character and more creative.

When things go well

We all have our egos. Each of us has his level of vanity. When progress takes place in the work we are engaged in, we are tempted to recall the part we played. To our eyes it assumes the features of the decisive part.

"When things go well," said Peter Howard, the British journalist, playwright and fighter for Moral Re-Armament, "think of the people you should give credit to. When they go badly, take the blame yourself, instantly."

"He that falls in love with himself will have no rivals," said Benjamin Franklin. "When a man is wrapped up in himself, he makes a pretty small package," said John Ruskin.

Two steps are required. One, an inner resolve that "making the other man great" becomes our chief aim. Two, an understanding of the truth contained in the following stricture: "Most of the time God works independently of you, occasionally through you, never because of you, always in spite of you."

Training others to work better than us can become our habit, our character, our destiny.



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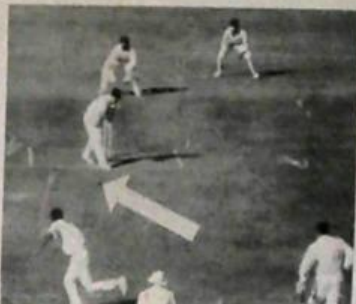
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K-162A - 23 ton - 18y³ with rear door



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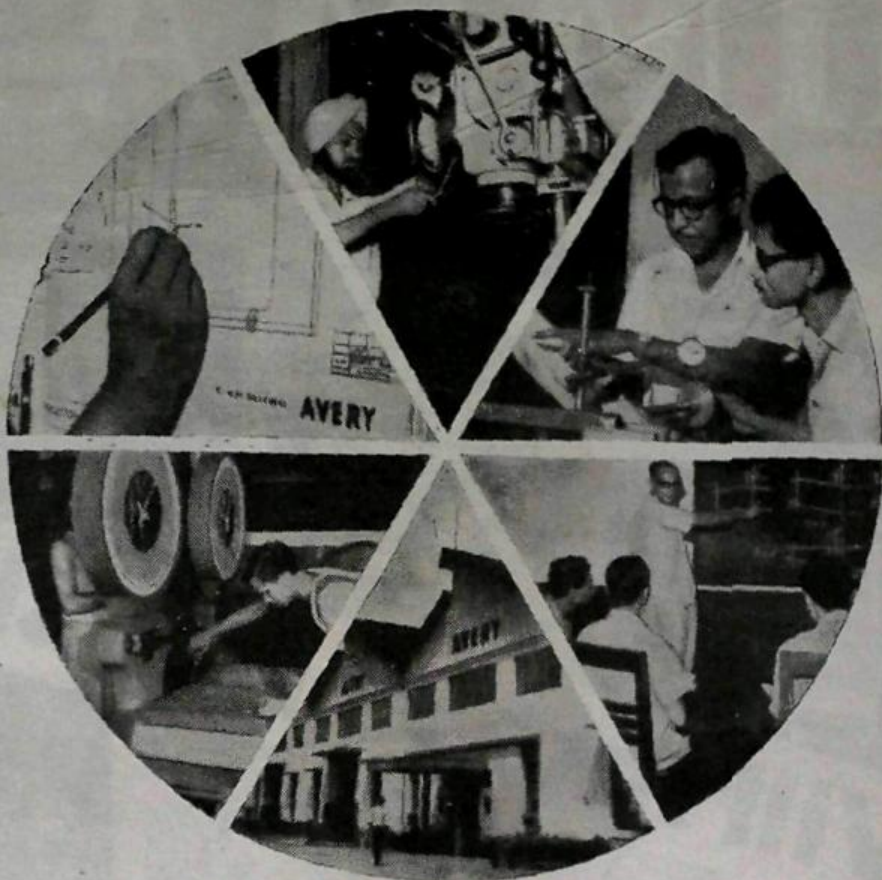
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