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Asia's new voice

FRIDAY JUNE 9 1967

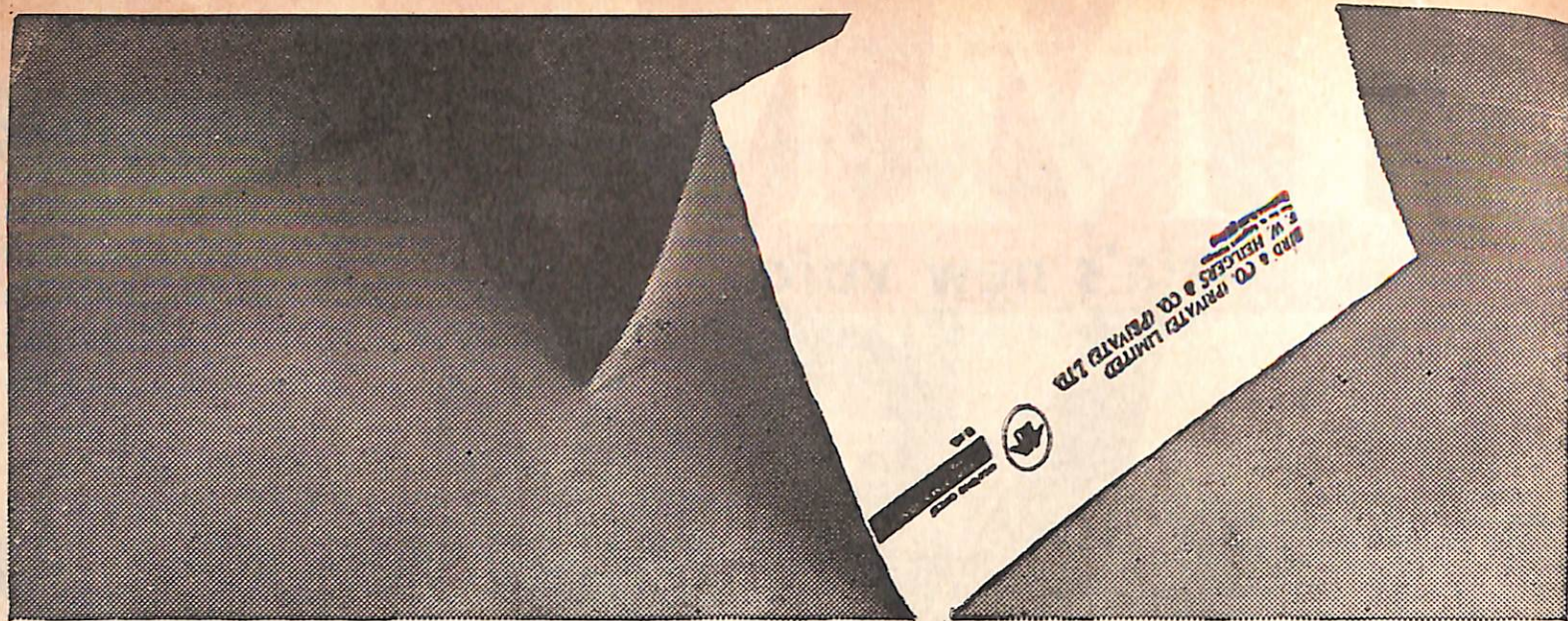
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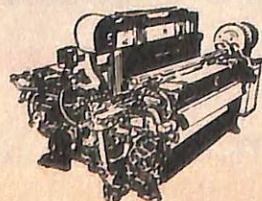
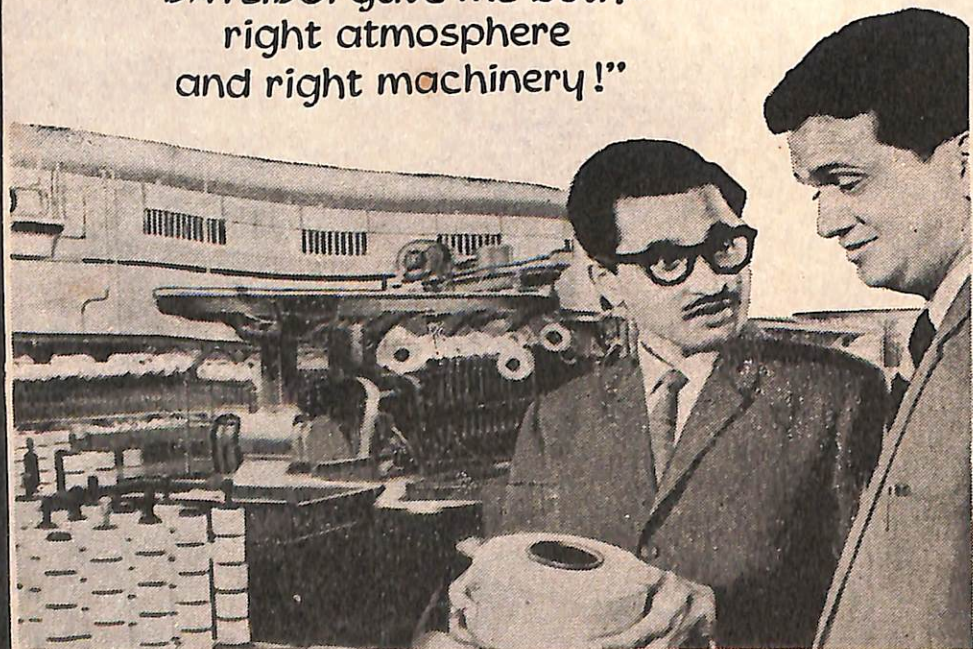
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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

BOMBAY FRIDAY JUNE 9 1967

Was India's policy correct?

TRUE FRIENDSHIP for the Arab people would have lain in using our influence with the UAR to prevent a conflagration, and not in cheering on acts like blockading the Gulf of Aqaba which precipitated the present war where Arab and Jewish blood is being shed. It sounds odd now to hear External Affairs Minister Chagla plead for peace.

Kashmir and support for it has coloured India's foreign policy for 20 years and the main reason for India's going overboard for the Arab cause was guided by the desire to win their support on Kashmir. President Nasser was neutral in the conflict between India and Pakistan and India and China. At the same time he remained our friend. This was the attitude India should have adopted towards the Arab-Israeli confrontation. Instead, to score on Arab good-will, Mr Chagla sold India's and the Arab's own long-term interests down the Nile and buried India's policy of non-alignment in the sands of the Sinai Desert. In return, he has collected chits of good conduct from the Foreign Ministers of Iraq, Syria and the representative of President Nasser.

It may have been right for India to have supported Mr Nasser's moves to prevent a threatened attack on Syria. It was wrong for India to heartily approve of the withdrawal of UNEF from Gaza. It was wrong for us to affirm Egypt's right to control the Straits of Tiran, because it was an offensive move on the part of Nasser.

It is questionable whether Mr Chagla's policy was in India's own long-term interests, which is to keep the Suez Canal open. Through this narrow strip of water, 650 ships brought food, oil and other essentials to India's shores last year. The disruption of Suez in the event of war would mean delay in food ships when Bihar is starving. Ships from the West will take at least ten days longer to reach India's shores. Extra freight costs for two million tons of grain are estimated at Rs 1 crore to be paid in foreign exchange. Our exports too will be higher priced and suffer in the world's markets.

Who will bear this? One estimate states that

India's costs in the Five Year Plan could rise by as much as 40 per cent in event of the Suez Canal being blocked.

President Nasser might have heeded India had we cautioned him. It might have encouraged the US to use more firmly its own influence to restrain Israel.

The responsibility for this policy is to be shared by the Prime Minister who has gone along with it. When the policy came under some fire at the Congress Parliamentary meeting the Prime Minister rose to say that "India recognises Israel's right to existence". If so, it is pertinent to ask what her Government did about it. Did the Indian Ambassador even privately urge caution and an end to the verbal attacks to obliterate Israel? Mr Chagla has tried to use the Arabs, not necessarily helped them. If there is anyone he has helped—wittingly or unwittingly—it is Soviet policy in West Asia.

It is not too late for India to use her good offices to create peace in West Asia.

Big powers in West Asia

NOW WAR in West Asia has started it can be expected that the hot line from Washington to Moscow will hum. In Cairo and Tel Aviv, it is possible that the world's two most powerful nations may press their proteges to stop fighting. If President de Gaulle's proposition of a Big Four meeting on West Asia is not implemented, there should be at least some agreement arrived at through the Security Council.

Neither the Soviet Union nor the United States would want to hurl atom bombs at each other in West Asia. America wants to preserve Israel and prevent fighting before it involves vital oil interests and maritime communications. Russia has achieved her immediate goal and established her presence both in the Mediterranean and in the Arab world.

The US has wisely remained neutral "in thought, word and deed" as its spokesman claims, making the way easier for a peaceful settlement. The Security Council will no doubt call for a cease-fire and a UN peace-keeping force, until a more permanent arrangement is worked out.

Differences on the Gulf of Aqaba are not insurmountable and pride need not stand in the way of Egypt or Israel. More than the Arab nations and Israel will suffer from this conflict. Peace is imperative in West Asia.

Briefly speaking...

Bombay not bundh?

WILL BOMBAY BUNDH? Opposition parties in Bombay have threatened to paralyse the business metropolis on June 14. It would involve, according to Prof P. J. Shroff, a loss of Rs 4½ crores (£2,250,000) to the national economy.

Birbal understands that the Opposition parties are quite ready to call it off provided a compromise can be arrived at between the Government and them on the price of milk. The other issues are not immediately of importance.

Road to Timbuctoo

INDIA KNOWS LITTLE of Africa, her greatness and history. HIMMAT searched for an African writer to

cover the lives of three great men of Africa. David Gachago of Kenya did research on the three African lives, one of which was published last week on Aggrey, the great educator. This week we publish his piece on Askia Mohammed I, Emperor of Sudan. Next week we will publish his piece on Khama, the great Christian chief.

One interesting fact he brings out this week is that in Timbuctoo, which is in English the synonym of a remote place, a university was established in the sixteenth century, much before most of Europe's universities.

Left and the Right

HIMMAT readers are a lively lot. They send letters, articles — brief and not so brief — suggestions and even poems. One enterprising reader, Gordon Sheeran of Madras, sent us a piece on the origin of the words the "right" and the "left" in politics. This is what he says:

ONE often hears the terms Left and Right in political conversations. But very few know how the term Left came to be associated with radicals and Right with conservatives.

It all goes back to days when the stage in France was set for revolution because of absolutism and "divine right" monarchy. The French King Louis XV, as a compromise measure, summoned the Estates General (French Parliament) which had not met for 175 years.

During its deliberations the King was seated in the centre. The clergy and the nobles, who were the privileged classes, were seated to the right of the King.

The people demanding liberty, equality and fraternity were seated as radical, because they wanted sweeping changes in the economic, social and political fields. So from that time the radicals were termed Leftists and the conservatives Rightists which surely they were.

The Leftists at that time were not like the Leftists of today. They wanted certain fundamental rights such as liberty, equality and fraternity, which of course is the

Eloquence flourished most in Rome when public affairs were in the worst condition.

MONTAIGNE, 1533-1592

desire of every man. So by our contemporary political definitions, the Leftist of that time was a true Democrat.

Well done!

THE CHAIRMAN of the Punjab Legislative Council, Mr Khanna, has had enough of crossing floors. He wants the turncoats to stand for re-election and has urged the Speaker of the Punjab Assembly to appoint a committee to consider a code of conduct for MLAs. He says with great feeling that on the occasion of a recent no-confidence motion against the United Front, "legislators were sold like cattle". He said that instances happened even outside his Chamber which had distressed and pained him. When Irrigation Minister Lachman Singh Gill tried to interrupt him, Mr Khanna thundered, "You did everything in the open but if I were in your position I would have hanged myself rather than be a part of all that happened."

Well done, Mr Khanna. Keep up your fight.

Music supplement

THE MUSICAL PRODUCTION "India Arise" has played through the length and breadth of India, from Chandigarh in the north to Kerala in the south. It has been received with enthusiasm and applause in Lebanon, Syria, Cyprus, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, France and now Britain.

To meet the growing demand for its songs which thousands want to sing and play, HIMMAT will produce a 12-page supplement of its songs and music free for all its readers. It will be in the issue of June 30. Book your copy now. Copies on finer quality paper are available at Rs 2.25 per copy—including postage.

Birbal

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Will Congress and Ajoy get together?

by **ANTENNA**

LAST WEEK in a surprise move West Bengal's Congress boss Atulya Ghosh, his friend the former Chief Minister Dr P. C. Sen and all other members of the Congress Executive resigned "voluntarily". Only the President, Mr Karim, remains in office.

Political speculation is rife that this unusual move of Atulya Ghosh was a preparation by the Congress to break the United Front coalition and attract the Congress dissidents now in the Bangla Congress. The United Front in the Bengal Assembly has 151 seats while the National Congress has 127 and 25 crossing the floor could swing the balance. The Bangla Congress of Chief Minister Ajoy Mukerjee has 34 seats.



Atulya Ghosh

Two facts clearly emerge from the Bengal scene. Atulya's leadership is seriously questioned after the debacle of the Party and of himself at the polls. Secondly, the ruling United Front is no longer united, whatever its leaders claim.

Atulya's exit

The *Statesman* reveals the following facts:

The resignations are the result of an agreed formula arrived at between members of a ginger group which has agitated for a thorough overhaul of the party machinery on the one hand, and Mr Atulya Ghosh and company on the other hand. The first are the "pro-changers" and the second may be termed the "no-changers".

Talks for a change in leadership started immediately after elections and former Congress Chief Minister P. C. Sen was not against a change.

The situation took a new turn when demonstrations were organised in front of Congress Bhavan and Congressmen from outside Calcutta marched in procession demanding a change in leadership. Posters and pamphlets calling for Mr Ghosh's removal were widely distributed.

Mrs Indira Gandhi came to know of this and it was rumoured that she was prepared to scrap the existing Congress Executive and appoint an

ad hoc committee. This considerably weakened the hands of Mr Atulya Ghosh. He expected to get at least 50 per cent of his own men back into the Executive but his position was so shaken that the pro-changers got 75 per cent of their men nominated for the 29 seats. Unless there is a change in the agreement between Atulya and the pro-changers, this arrangement will stand. So says the *Statesman*.

The implications of a new Congress leadership coming to power in Bengal may be widespread if it can attract certain elements not politically opposed to the Party but who, sick of the patronage and other methods of the Atulya era would not come near to it.

The immediate question is will Ajoy Mukherjee break with the United Front and line up with the new-look Congress?

Ajoy unlikely to cross

Two facts emerge:
(1) A decision on *gheraos* and lawlessness in Bengal will have to be taken and something or someone will have to give way in the United Front. It may be that Labour Minister, Subodh Mukherjee may have to go or Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee.
(2) Ajoy Mukherjee is a man of integrity. It is highly unlikely he will cross the floor and emerge as Chief Minister of a different government. He has declared that he is unaffected by the moves of the Congress, though it is quite likely that some of his party members may be affected by it. But there is not likely to be any immediate swing from the Bangla to the National Congress.

On your toes

OUTLAW "GHERAOS"

THE CRISIS facing coalition governments is coming to the boil, especially in turbulent West Bengal.

It is not surprising that a government which has virtually condoned the lawlessness of "gheraos" should be so quickly hoisted with its own petard in the recent lawlessness in Naxalbari where ten people were killed, in Howrah where citizens turned on police and in Central Calcutta where four were killed and 50 injured in communal clashes.

The acute divergence of views within the United Front Ministry on how to deal with the violence has brought the crisis to a head.

In Naxalbari, the trouble took the shape of what some described as a "Telengana style" uprising between landless peasants and landlords and police. Reliable reports confirm that the violence was incited by Left extremists including a "Committee to Resist Revisionism Within the Party" which, true to its name, is identified with the "Chinese" line.

Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee quickly had to reassure Naxalbari farmers that his Government would not tolerate any breach of law and

order. On the other hand, Left-Communist Minister for Land Revenue, Mr Harekrishna Korna, admitted differences with Mr Mukherjee over the handling of the affair. His sympathies clearly lay with the peasants. Deputy Chief Minister and prominent Left-Communist Jyoti Basu was quick to plead unity in Government ranks "in spite of some differences".

In the wake of these storms came the sudden en masse resignation of the West Bengal Congress Committee Executive, including Atulya Ghosh and P. C. Sen.

Bangla leader and Chief Minister Mukherjee has no ideological differences with Congress, it is true. His quarrel was with the ruthless bossism of Atulya Ghosh and his henchmen. But their resignation is hardly likely to tempt him to throw in his hand, mixed though the cards may be.

Ajoy and Jyoti are sincere. Their team still enjoys greater support than the previous Ministry. But to keep it and fulfil their pledges to the people they must unite quickly on how to preserve law and order.

It will hinge upon the speed with which they outlaw "gheraos".

Freebooter

CHALTA HAI...



"I am getting fit to meet the students after the holidays."

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VERDICT!

This week **HIMMAT**

IS APPALLED at the Rs 13 crores loss by Durgapur steel plant due to wilful neglect of, and resulting damage to equipment and **WANTS TO KNOW** what action has been taken against those responsible.

GIVES a cheer for Nagpur University's introducing a course in "moral education" and **OPINES** that one professor or student practising absolute moral standards could be more effective than 100 students taking exams in morality.

AWARDS zero marks to Calcutta University's Controller of Examinations for postponing a BA exam because students protested questions were "tough".

SHEDS no tears over 103 Madhya Pradesh Congressmen expelled by the Party for opposing Congress election candidates following the rejection of their own application for Congress tickets.

DEPLORES the reported 30 per cent increase in living costs in the last 6 months and **DEMANDS** that the Government take consistent action to reduce prices, instead of calling on everyone else to do it while putting up the price of its own services, like rail travel.

WONDERS what happened to the the UP Government clerk who ordered a Deputy Minister, on an unexpected visit, to "get out of the office".

REGRETS the two air crashes involving British tourists in the last week and **WONDERS** if the British Government is considering an enquiry into the operation of charter air companies in the United Kingdom.

MARVELS at the dexterity of Mr Tarakeshwari Sinha, MP, wanting more food on the one hand and attacking the Union Government for extending deadline for US private enterprise to set up fertiliser plants.

ECONOMIC COMMENTARY

Budget and inflation

THE CHAMPIONS of a balanced budget are all praise for Finance Minister Morarji Desai. The technique of mild deficit employed in the beginning as a stimulant to the economy worked of late as an intoxicant to inflation. Hence the hue and cry for a balanced budget.

A balanced budget is one of many ways to curb reckless inflation. To that extent it is welcome. But along with the budgetary deficit there are also other factors that feed inflation. These factors are: revenue expenditure of the Government, of which administrative expenditure forms a large chunk, and public debts policy.

During the last 15 years the revenue expenditure has jumped from Rs 351.46 crores in 1950-51 to Rs 2,686.06 crores in 1967-68 (budget estimates). Administrative expenditure doubled during the decade preceding 1966-67. It must have increased further since the total debt of the Indian Government has increased from Rs 2,865 crores in 1951 to Rs 12,396 crores in 1967—a jump of over 400 per cent. Besides, the additional excise duties of Rs 115 crores together with Mr Punacha's draft of Rs 38 crores is in itself a big inflationary factor.

When a jar has developed a number of leaks, plugging just one of them might give a mental satisfaction of having done something. It does not work beyond that.

An overdue rapport

MR C. S. JHA, the Foreign Secretary, could not have done better than calling upon the commercial attaches to establish rapport with the business community, both at home and abroad. Addressing the first batch of the 20 trainee officers of the Indian Foreign Service, Mr. Jha spoke of the "overwhelming importance" the Government attached to the integration of its foreign policy with the commercial and economic programmes.

In fact, the need for the integration of foreign policy with the country's economic needs is always present everywhere. In a developing economy, it is still more pressing. The foreign policy of India has so far

run more on idealistic lines rather than on pragmatic lines.

The need of the rapport has at last been recognised. Mr Jha asked the IFS men to be half businessmen and half government men. That may not be necessary. Once our policies are set on the right track, we would not feel the dearth of marketing experts and financial wizards. We have many of them both in the private and the public sectors.

Equally important as the rapport is the need for the IFS men to rise even above the Government. For, an elected Government in a democracy has often gaudy political colours of the party in power while the administrative machinery has to look after the welfare of the entire nation.

End of the dreary '60s

IS THE END of the dreary sixties anywhere in sight? Yes, according to Mr John P. Lewis, Director of the US Agency for International Development. The present gloom over the Indian economy is so pervasive that there would be few in India to share Dr Lewis' confidence.

Delivering the inaugural John F. Kennedy memorial lecture in Bombay recently, Mr Lewis said that he distinctly saw a two-way process of learning. On the one hand the donors of foreign aid had been learning more about the techniques of rendering external assistance efficiently. On the other, the Indian Government was learning that development was more than a game of numbers.

Development meant the launching of a string of incentives that could mobilise a broad, diverse array of organisations and energies to the task of development. How true? Because in the ultimate analysis, the physical achievement of targets is nothing else but a concrete transformation of the energies and efforts expended in achieving them. There would be nothing more desirable than such a two-way learning working in India's favour.

However, we in India are known for unlearning as quickly. Even a single good monsoon might lead us to slide back into the old dogmas.

M.S.D.

Opposition must create national political alternative

MR JYOTI BASU, left Communist leader and Finance Minister of West Bengal, has revealed misappropriation of funds allocated to relief to the tune of many crores of rupees by the Congress bosses of Panchayats and District Administration in West Bengal in the pre-election set-up. Not only is the scale of misappropriation shocking in itself. The fact that apparently civil servants and the Accountant General's office, strictly circumscribed by rules in the matter of grant of funds, should have, out of fear of victimisation by the bosses or for personal gains, allowed themselves to be a party to this large scale swindling of Public Funds is the most damning commentary on the state of public morality under Congress rule.

Similar revelations have now been made by the right Communist Minister of Revenue in Bihar. The long monopoly of political power by the Congress Party had enabled it to treat Government funds and public property as their private fief.

Sadly, the high-thinking civil servants, who talk glibly about the sins of the politicians, have been a party to this conspiracy against the common man. It is true that there are honourable exceptions both in the Congress Party and in the Adminis-

SAY THAT AGAIN...

India's problem today is not economic; it's not Bihar; it's not Pakistan or China. India's problem is apathy.

N. K. SOMANI, MP

I differ from the Communists in several ways. Firstly, I believe in God, while they do not. And it is possible I differ from them on democracy.

PRESIDENT NYERERE OF TANZANIA

...We shall continue to produce graduates who are even more illiterate than at present.

V. V. JOHN

tration—sincere men who have been silent spectators of the gigantic swindle of the nation by the Congress Party. But they lacked the courage to protest; they thought that the Congress monopoly of power was permanent, consoling themselves that such monstrous misrule was normal to democracy.

From the hindsight of post-election perspective, one can now see that whatever the other failings of those who broke away from the Congress, they at least had the courage to face the prospect of the political wilderness. Leaders like Mr C. Rajagopalachari and Masani, Harekrushna Mahtab and Ajoy Mukherjee, who, against tremendous odds forged out of the desperation of hopelessness a spectrum of political alternatives for the country, are the unsung heroes of the revolution which has transformed the Indian political scene.

Cannot make a break

They realised long before the Indian intelligentsia or the masses, the profound inroads of corruption into the Congress Party and the futility of attempting to do anything about it from inside. They realised—that is only now becoming clear—that the Congress Party does not have the internal moral strength to break with this shameful legacy and start afresh.

There is nothing in the theorising or actions of the Congress Party after the elections to show that they are aware of the real malady of the Party. Still less is there any indication that they will deal firmly with the party bosses who had carved large kingdoms out of this fair land for the private benefit of themselves and their faithfuls. Maybe, as one cynical Congressman quipped, "If we removed all the corrupt Congressmen, there would be no Party left." Maybe, as another, knowledgeable Congressman pointed out, "The corrupt men are able; they have become indispensable."

But the above statements are only

Under the Lens

by R. VAITHESWARAN



half truths. Any Party, even if numerically small, would be a source of hope if it permitted only dedicated and incorruptible men. The able men, who have preferred to stay out because only the corruptible yes-men or the unprotesting silent were allowed to stay in, will flock to a clean party with clear aims that offers chances of service.

Is the present Congress leadership able and willing to take such a big risk? All the indications are that they are not. They have preferred to run away from the truth to the delusions of familiar slogans, only dimly understood.

It is true that the opposition parties work together only in a precariously balanced unity and that as yet any viable national alternative to the Congress is not in sight. But that is no reason to support a Congress Party that refuses to help itself. It is on the other hand a strong reason for politicians of the Opposition to work out agreed minimum programmes which could be the basis of stable coalitions. While united front governments undoubtedly have many difficulties in keeping together despite the conflicts between extreme right and left, their continued existence is a tribute to the good sense and adjustability of the Opposition parties.

Unity is logical

It is not possible to say how long the marriage between left and right in some of these governments will last. The longer they survive the better. The habit of unity has its own logic as well as the habit of division. Moreover, it is the duty of the constituent parties of the united front governments to examine afresh what unites them and whether their unity cannot be more lasting. In doing it, they would render inestimable service to Indian democracy. The question "After the Congress, what?" can and must be positively answered by the parties of the opposition.

Israel—the twice Promised Land

BY HARRY ALMOND IN BEIRUT

THE PROBLEM of Palestine has smouldered since World War I. It erupted in 1948 when Arab-Zionist fighting broke out over the creation of the State of Israel. It burst into flames in 1956 when Israel, France and Britain invaded the UAR. Today the situation has again exploded.

Israel says the Tiran Straits are international waters and that she will not accept the blockade. She has the support of the USA and Britain. Russia sides with the Arabs. Israel's claim is based on right of access to the port of Eilat at the head of the Gulf near the Jordanian port of Aqaba.

However, since Eilat was seized by military action on March 10, 1949 in violation both of Israel's participation in the Armistice agreement of February 24, 1949, and of the Truce Agreement with Israel signed on July 15, 1948, her argument is on doubtful legal ground.

Hasty judgements and emotionally charged opinions complicate the already intricate Palestine question. It is clear however that much sanity could be restored by the implementation of the UN Resolutions of record and of the Truce and Armistice agreements signed by all parties. These resolutions could restore the fabric of security in the area if put into effect. They represent the sober conclusions of the UN General Assembly in regard to a problem that has been growing since the turn of the century.

For hundreds of years Palestine was an Arab province dominated by the Ottoman Turks. The British promised independence to the Arabs in return for their co-operation in fighting against the Turks in World War I. The exact area included in the proposed Arab state was left most unfortunately vague in the text of the "MacMahon Correspondence" of 1915-16. However, the Arabs gave their co-operation and the Turks were defeated.

Political Zionism really began in the late 19th century under the lead of a Viennese Jew named Theodor Herzl. It took a leap forward in November 1917 when the British Government issued the oft-quoted Balfour Declaration, whose entire text follows:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

It should be noted that the "existing non-Jewish communities" referred to in the Declaration then constituted over 90 per cent of the population. The exact phrasing of the Balfour Declaration was retained in the text of the Mandate for Palestine, July 24, 1922.

Swelling population

Still further complicating matters was the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1915 between Britain and France. This secret accord envisaged an international regime for Palestine and laid out spheres of influence for the two countries in the lands then under the Ottoman Turks. Thus Palestine has been called with grim humour the "twice Promised Land".

As the persecution of the Jewish people by Nazi Germany mounted during World War II, Jewish immigration swelled to a degree that alarmed Arab Palestinians. The Jewish portion of the population of Palestine in 1939 amounted to about 30 per cent.

Tension continued to rise. Inevitable clashes occurred. On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly adopted a Resolution for the Partition of Palestine. It lacked teeth, however, and the situation deteriorated. Britain announced the termination of its Mandate on May 15, 1958. British forces in fact evacuated the country by that date, whereupon the State of Israel declared its independence. This was immediately recognised by the major powers,

The Arab states reacted quickly and invaded Israel. In eight months of fighting Egypt was defeated and Jordan occupied a bulge including Old Jerusalem on the West Bank of the Jordan River. One million Arabs fled their homes and farms and businesses. The refugee camps which were established by UNRWA as "temporary" measures continue. The refugees' longing to return continues unabated.

The present situation might be summarised as follows. Israel demands Arab recognition of her present status with no major border changes, the continuation of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and no large-scale repatriation of Arab refugees to their former homes. On the other hand, the Arab States and the refugees themselves demand restoration of the boundaries established by the Partition Resolution of the UN General Assembly of November 29, 1947, and also the implementation of Article II of Resolution 194 (III) of 11 December, 1948, which gives free choice of either compensation or repatriation to the Arab refugees. They seek the original partition lines rather than those drawn by the later armistice. The Partition Resolution granted 54 per cent of Palestine to Israel. Israel now occupies 80 per cent of the former Mandated Territory of Palestine.

Way of permanent peace

Nothing short of a mighty moral and spiritual rearmament in Israel, and in the Arab States, can possibly prepare the way for any permanent peace. It requires Arabs, Christian and Muslim, who will at any cost to their pride and selfishness accept God's will and plan for their lives. It requires Jews who return to the moral granite of the Ten Commandments and the prophetic faith of Isaiah and Jeremiah. Such men and women on each side of the line could one day pattern a new society which the world could emulate. That day appears far off at this point, but there is no other way to real peace.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Japanese controversy over right of defence

FROM FUJIKO HARA

TOKYO Over the coming months, highly controversial debates revolving around the question of Japan's defence system and her constitution are expected.

The recent debates on the proposed N-Ban Treaty, the Japan-US Security Pact, and the Third Defence Build-up Bill focus the need of unifying Japan's basic stand on her security in relation to her constitution. Japan observed the 20th anniversary of her post-war constitution this May, amidst the cool indifference of the conservatives and the praise of leftists, while most of the people enjoyed a free day off on the constitution day.

Although the constitution was originally dictated by the occupation forces, no one can deny today that its basic spirit of freedom and equality enabled democracy to take root in Japan. But the well-known paragraph 9 renouncing war and Japan's possession of armed strength has been the focus of arguments between those who want the constitution protected as it is and those who are for revision.

The constitutionality of the Self Defence Force (SDF) is the point of argument and it was revived when a minor collision involving Soviet warships and an American destroyer engaged in joint Japan-American anti-submarine manoeuvres took place in the Sea of Japan. The irony of the situation is that those who are convinced of the need of maintain-

ing adequate strength for defence must prove that the SDF is *not* an army in order to claim its legality.

Such arguments are meaningless since today the SDF is six times the size of Japan's pre-war army and since most Japanese have come to accept its existence as a matter of fact. The legality of the SDF has generally been accepted by interpreting the 9th paragraph of the constitution as "renouncing war, but not the inherent right of self-defence as an independent sovereign state".

The weakness seems to be the fact that while a nation like West Germany has quickly revised its constitution in order to meet the demands of the times, Japan is not only unable to do so, but is trying to delay any difficult decision for as long as permissible. The issue is not to remove the war-renouncing paragraph or to judge whether the post-war policy of putting economic recovery before defence was right or wrong. Nor is it a question that can be answered just by increasing the defence budget to 2 per cent of the Gross National Product from 1.3.

Considering that Japan's G N P will surpass West Germany's in the near future and rank third after the USA and USSR, her commitment and responsibility must grow to match her economic growth.

Family power struggle in Sudan

FROM VERE JAMES

NAIROBI The inevitable conflict between conservative traditionalists and radical modernists lies behind recent events in Sudan which ended the nine-months' Coalition Government. That the dispute is embodied in the country's most powerful family adds to the drama, and the danger, of the new political situation.

The world's youngest Prime Minister of Africa's largest country, Sayed Sadik El Mahdi, the 31-year-old

Oxford-educated leader of the Umma Party, resigned after a censure continued on page 11

The week in ASIA

HONG KONG — Peking's support to Pakistan over Kashmir proved that "China does not seek to disturb peace in the region," said Pakistani Defence Minister Afzal Rahman Khan, now on a goodwill tour of China.

RANGOON — Rebels attacked Pyapon, 100 miles south-west of Rangoon, and burnt the fire station, then looted medical stores from a hospital and rode away with seven elephants.

KATHMANDU — China agreed to extend the Kodari highway, opened by King Mahendra, to Kathmandu.

SYDNEY — Bacteria called autotrophs are changing low-grade ores into valuable copper in Australia. According to a chemical engineer, they live on inorganic materials which they process like plants.

DJAKARTA — Indonesia freed three former Premiers who led the Sumatra rebellion against the deposed Sukarno's regime in 1958.

KABUL — Soviet President Podgorny paid a 4-day state visit at the invitation of King Mohammed Zahir Shah.

KATHMANDU — Pro-Chinese students captured the four elected offices in Tribhuvan University Students' Union.

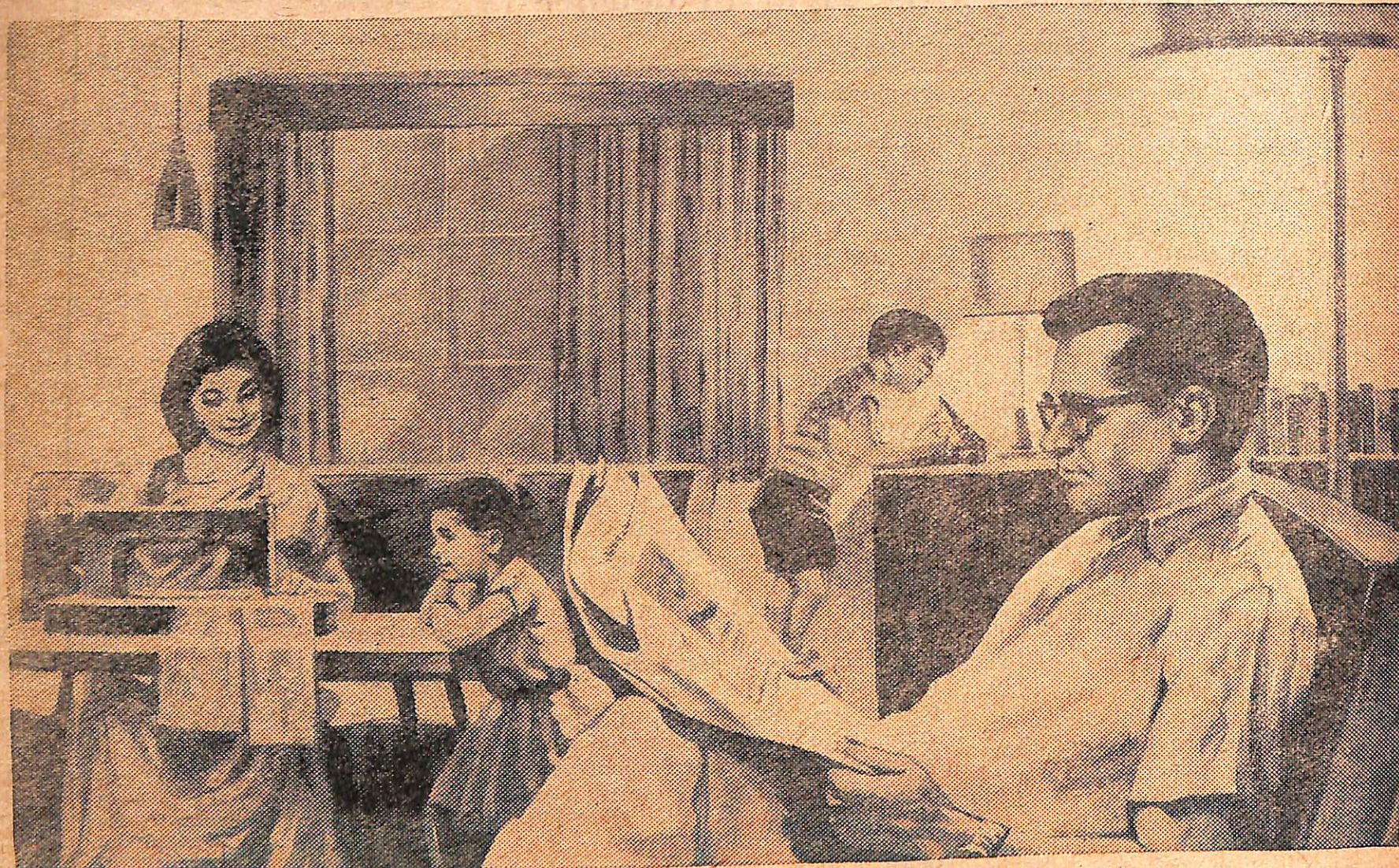
PEKING — Communists in Thailand have fought 200 engagements with US and Government forces this year, claimed New China News Agency. Fighting took place in 20 provinces.

COLOMBO — Ceylon is to set up two companies — an export corporation and another to deal with textile imports. This is to draw active private sector participation into spheres of trade now run by the State.

TOKYO — 300 screaming Maoists broke into the Chinese Foreign Office in Peking and battled with Red Army troops. Premier Chou En-lai ordered the Army to throw out the intruders.

GANGTOK — An all-party five-member Executive Council appointed by the Chogyal of Sikkim was sworn in. Three members are from the National Party and one each from the National Congress and the State Congress.

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

vote in the Sudan National Assembly. This followed withdrawal of support by his uncle, the powerful Imam of the Ansar, Sayed El Hadi El Mahdi, "Patron" of the Umma Party.

Earlier seven National Unionist Party Ministers, with whom the Umma Party had formed a coalition government, resigned on instructions from their leader, Sayed Ismail El Azhari, President of the Supreme Council of the Sudan.

Sayed Sadik's nine months in office brought definite improvements in the

Sudan. Signs of a solution to the economic crisis are evident. By-elections took place in the South bringing the membership of the National Assembly up to full strength for the first time. Preparations were proceeding for a general election later this year, which would have given Sudan a broad-based popularly-elected Government.

The latter, which might have resulted in a secularised democratic Government led by an Executive President, may have been the reason for the move against Sadik by the Imam. It is believed the Imam favours the establishment of an Islamic Republic with himself as President.

But Sayed Sadik had also angered other powerful elements in the country by refusing to allow the Communist Members of Parliament to take their seats in the National Assembly, despite a ruling in their favour by the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Awadalla, who was Speaker of Parliament when Sudan became independent 11 years ago, resigned in protest.

The resignation of the young Prime Minister confirms the continued power of the Imam, grandson of the original Mahdi Mohammed, who led the Holy War 80 years ago which culminated in the liberation of Khartoum and the death of General Gordon. It also demonstrates the power perhaps of the Imam's brother, Sayed

Ahmed El Mahdi, Minister of Defence in Sayed Sadik's Government. By a narrow majority of 111-93 Sayed Mohammed Mahgoub has been elected Prime Minister. It was he who made way for Sayed Sadik ten months ago. Although a very experienced politician, he is regarded as a stop-gap until the family power struggle is solved.



Sadik el Mahdi

Ahmed El Mahdi, Minister of Defence in Sayed Sadik's Government.

By a narrow majority of 111-93 Sayed Mohammed Mahgoub has been elected Prime Minister. It was he who made way for Sayed Sadik ten months ago. Although a very experienced politician, he is regarded as a stop-gap until the family power struggle is solved.

Perhaps the Imam will eventually emerge as President with Sayed Sadik as his Prime Minister—an uneasy solution. Or will Sayed Ahmed El Mahdi be Premier with his brother the Imam as President? The future of the Sudan seems to depend on the Mahdi family.

Meanwhile the economy awaits bold and imaginative direction; the Southern leaders must endure the political struggle in the North before their own deplorable situation can be alleviated.

Both these issues should be an incentive towards an early reconciliation of the two elements—that is if there can be reconciliation. At 31 years of age Sayed Sadik El Mahdi is hardly a spent force.

"Latent granite"

FROM GORDON WISE

LONDON The Middle East crisis and the successful return home by globe-girdling Sir Francis Chichester are the dominant themes of the week.

Here is a certain contrast. One represents a Britain in retreat. The other "a triumph of human skill and courage", in the words of the Prime Minister.

A United States expert on the Middle East, resident in Beirut, told me that Britain knows far more about this region than any other Western power, and is best placed to take the initiative there. But venturesome mediation, backed by a solid military presence, is not the present mood of Britain at all.

In 1956, the Suez adventure, when Britain launched a military attack on Egypt in collusion with France and Israel, is still a memory of shame for the average Englishman. Despite the then Prime Minister Lord Avon's book-length justification of the Suez intervention, the British feel that this was the wrong way to handle the

continued on next page

The week in INDIA

NEW DELHI — The Union Government decided to form a permanent Statutory Monopolies Restrictive Practices Commission. This followed MPs' attacks on the House of Birla during discussions on the Hazari report.

NAGPUR — Undergraduates of Nagpur University will study moral education and appear for a paper in that subject. This is to develop character, to inculcate a sense of responsibility and to develop sincerity, honesty, tolerance and consideration for others.

BOMBAY — The Municipal Corporation decided to pull down 105 dilapidated buildings in the city. Notices have been served on landlords and tenants.

CALCUTTA — Police fired thrice, killing two, injuring six, and troops were called out to quell riots following clashes between gamblers and residents in one area.

TIRUCHIRAPALLI — 43 people died when a bus plunged into a well near Namakkal.

JAIPUR — Free supply of water and electricity to former rulers of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner will be stopped as a first step in reducing benefits to them, according to a Government decision.

POONA—Several secondary girls' schools tabooed mini-skirts and sleeveless blouses for teenagers. Instead, they were asked to wear saris.

NEW DELHI — Mr Bhoothalingam, in his interim report on direct tax laws, suggested abolition of the annuity deposit scheme and making a distinction between earned and unearned income.

CALCUTTA — Police cleared a "gherao" by workers of an industrial concern following High Court orders. The Court asked the police not to allow violent demonstrators and employees to continue their illegal acts of trespass on the company's premises.

HYDERABAD — Andhra will switch over to Telugu as the university medium of instruction from 1969. Vice-Chancellors of three universities agreed that if textbooks are not ready in Telugu by then, lecturers can teach in Telugu, even though the books might be in English.

situation. So there is no heart in firm treatment just now.

Nor is there evidence of the statesmanship which frankly admits past mistakes, and moves on to a firm and clear-cut policy for the present.

The two major powers intervening now are the USSR and the USA, each backing its own protege—the Arab States and Israel respectively. One

can understand the British attitude of "let them have a try", said somewhat in envy with perhaps a suspicion of "I hope they burn their fin-

gers too", thrown in.

Sir Francis Chichester's bold world mission is more worthy of the guts and granite latent in these Islands.

The week elsewhere

CANADIAN FOOD AID

OTTAWA—External Affairs Minister Paul Martin said Canada would give India \$104 million aid in the coming

year. This would include one million tons food, mainly wheat; \$10 million worth of fertiliser and \$28 million worth of industrial parts and raw materials.

GOLD LIFT TO CHINA

LONDON—China was reported to have hired seven of Pakistan International Airline's Boeing flights to airlift gold, worth £49 million, from London to Shanghai. The London Times commented: "The Chinese earn most of their foreign exchange to buy gold through Hong Kong; the Vietnamese war has also been profitable; most of the houses of ill-fame in Saigon are said to be Communist-controlled."

C'WEALTH TRADE DECLINE

LONDON—Commonwealth buying of British goods fell last year for the first time since 1967, according to a Commonwealth Secretariat memo. Britain also bought less from its major Commonwealth trading partners. The memo showed British exports to the Commonwealth fell £39 million from the 1965 level of £1439 million. Commonwealth sales to Britain fell £80 million since 1965.

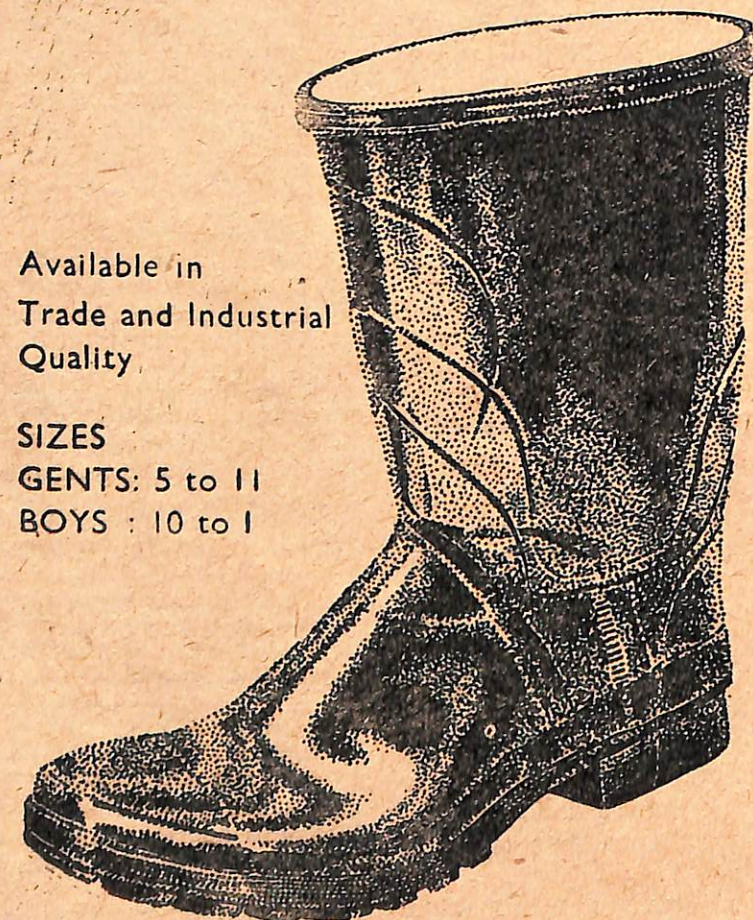
Meanwhile a USIS report showed the US last year had replaced Britain as No 1 recipient of Indian exports. India's main export partners were 1. USA. 2. Britain, 3. USSR, 4. Japan.

RUSSIAN GOLD FINDS

MOSCOW—New discoveries in Central Asia may prove Russia has some of the world's largest gold resources. Soviet geologist Vladimir Pervago told *Weekly Literary Gazette* here that preliminary surveys indicated deposits in Central Russia rivalling South Africa's. Biggest finds had been made near Samarkand in Central Asia, and in northern Siberia where vast stretches of gold-bearing sand had been located along sea and lake shores.



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Can Jan Sangh President Balraj Madhok redirect its policies?

AT THE AGE OF 47, Professor Balraj Madhok is President of the Jan Sangh, the third largest party in the Lok Sabha. If sheer dedication was the test of strength, the Jan Sangh may loom even larger.

The Party was started by Shyama Prasad Mukerjee in October 1951, when Madhok, a young man of 30, joined him. Since its inception, he was Secretary of the Party for 16 years until he became its President in 1966. Over the years, he has been an architect of its policies.

Balraj Madhok was born in what is now West Punjab, Pakistan, in 1920. He graduated with first class honours in History and capped it with a first class Master's degree. He was editor of his college magazine and was actively connected with the RSS which is recognised today as the militant wing of the Jan Sangh.

Lecturer and editor

He joined as lecturer in a college in Srinagar. At the age of 27, he organised a conference for the full integration of Kashmir into India, and was exonerated by Sheikh Abdulla. He came down to Delhi to be editor of the weekly *Organiser*, now the main organ of the Jan Sangh Party.

I met Madhok at his small home in South Delhi, the constituency he represents in Parliament. I found he had definite views on all subjects which he expressed without the slightest hesitation. There is an earnestness in the man and a good measure of confidence.

Is the Opposition in Parliament finding larger areas of unity?

"All parties realise we must sacrifice some of our differences to keep together. Provided we keep isms out of the way and deal only on a pragmatic level we can find a measure of unity. But it is easier for coalitions to be formed in the States than at the Centre."

Will the Indira Government fall?

"The situation is so fluid nothing can be ruled out. Whether there will be defections within the Congress is anybody's guess. The Congress is more of a movement than a party. It has no ideology. Its monopoly of

power held it together. Now that has ceased, anything might happen."

In the event of defections within the Congress ranks, do you see the possibility of the Opposition uniting behind a common leader?

"Whoever it be he should be a man of the masses and have communion with the people. Kripalaniji could be a possibility and he is a respected leader. Even Professor Ranga has a better chance as he is a man of the masses."

What would you do if in a coalition at the Centre you were Foreign Minister?

Without hesitation he replied. "First, I will make Tibet a world issue. If I cannot liberate it I will put China on the defensive. If Formosa accepts Tibetan suzerainty over Tibet then we shall recognise Formosa and not Peking. We have no border with China. Our frontier is an Indo-Tibetan frontier and any differences will have to be settled with Tibet."

"Secondly I will have closer relations with Japan, Australia, Thailand and other countries in that region. Today there is a power vacuum in South-East Asia so the US fills it. There are only two Asian powers that can fill the vacuum. One is India, the other China, and it has to be India."

Balance Middle East policy

"Thirdly in the Middle East I will balance our policy towards Israel and the Arab world. Israel is pivotal and I will not let the UAR have a veto on our relations with Israel."

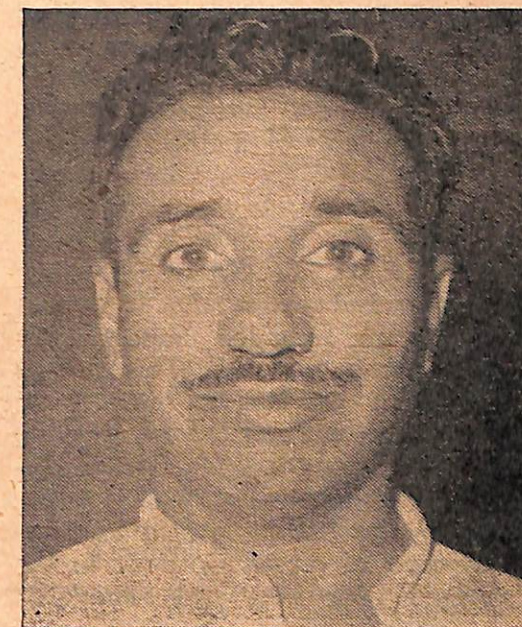
(Since the West Asian crisis, Mr. Madhok has stated that, in his view, the Gulf of Aqaba is an international waterway.)

Do you see prospects of greater unity between the Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh, a polarisation of the Rightist forces in India?

"Swatantra has more or less got the Jan Sangh thinking but it has no national or emotional pull."

What is the secret of Jan Sangh's growing success one election after another?

ON THE Spot



"Our nationalist feeling. That is the only thing."

What is your policy towards Pakistan?

For the first time Madhok really got heated. "The idea of India as one nation will have to be kept alive. Germany, Korea, Vietnam, are all divided today, but the idea of a united Germany, Korea and Vietnam remains. Partition of India today is a reality. How and when it can be changed we may not be able to see now but the idea of one united India has to be kept alive."

In an earlier public speech Madhok had said, "As a student of history I know that history does not accept anything to be a settled fact. God and nature have made India one country."

One may or may not agree with Balraj Madhok but one has to credit him with conviction and sincerity that is visible in few Indian politicians.

The behaviour of some Jan Sangh members during the Presidential elections gave one the impression that when the chips were down, they were communalistic first. Dr Zakir Husain was personally attacked both on matters of policy and even on his family matters. Dr Husain gave a dignified reply on the eve

continued on next page

New bones by electrical stimulus

BY REGINALD HOLME

AN AMERICAN DOCTOR has discovered a way to replace bone destroyed by accident or disease without putting in artificial bone. The artificial bone is usually made of metal and wears out.

Dr Robert Becker, Associate Chief of Staff of the Veterans' Administration Hospital in Syracuse, New York, worked from the fact that stress from damaged bones generates electric current. This directs the precise amount of new bone growth which is needed to give the additional strength. Dr Becker discovered this control system.

So he directed a precisely measured amount of electric current to the damaged bone area and stimulated new growth of bone—natural, not artificial—which would never wear out. "By administering the correct amount of current to areas of leg bones in living dogs, we have been able to cause the system to respond

FRONTIERS OF science

as though stress were being applied, and new bone growth appeared", says Dr Becker. He hopes the same technique will work with human bones.

How doctors keep up

HOW TO KEEP UP with latest developments in medicine is part of a busy doctor's or nurse's problem. Reading at the end of a long day's work is tiring.

In Wisconsin, lectures and discussions are taped as doctors in 21 hospitals "meet" through a tele-lecture service that connects them all by phone. All a doctor needs to do to catch up is to dial a number and listen to the needed lecture and discussion. Or he can phone the University of Wisconsin library and ask for a five-minute tape on any particular subject.

ON THE SPOT—from page 13

of the contest. He explained why he was against the common marriage code for Hindus and Muslims, the reason being that Muslim public opinion had, in his judgement, to be educated before the common marriage code could be effectively implemented.

Even after the Presidential elections, Madhok kept insisting that Zakir Husain should clarify his attitude on this subject.

The Jan Sangh does not at present credit others with the sincerity it is quick to claim for itself. Madhok could change that if he allows the whole world to walk into his heart, the Jews and Arab, the Christian and the Parsee, the Indian who converses in Hindi as well as the one who speaks only English. He could be a much bigger man, if to his passion for India is added a compassion for all men. With such a warm heart Madhok could be a great leader of all his people.

R.M.L.

Bihar is counting days before the next monsoon

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

PATNA If you want to see the unconscious cruelty of nature bearing down upon millions of people, go to Bihar. Two successive monsoon failures, coupled with man's neglect of the State's natural water resources, have brought about starvation, destitution and monumental suffering.

Some 30 million people in the areas worst hit by drought and famine, with the ever-present threat of pestilence hanging over them, are anxiously counting the days for the next monsoon, which usually comes about the middle of June. If it comes in time and is plentiful, the most dangerous phase of the crisis will be over, and the long and arduous road back to economic and social rehabilitation will be comparatively smooth. If it fails, no human effort can avert a disaster compared with which even the ghastly Bengal famine of 1943 will pale into insignificance.

No let-up in relief

But there can be no let-up in the massive relief programmes the government is undertaking in association with the relief agencies, even if nature is bountiful. To keep alive these people, who have lived on the threshold of starvation for months, is itself going to be a major problem. To restore their faith in living, to give them the physical and moral incentives to work will be a still bigger task, quite beyond the limited resources of the State. These vast operations call for international collaboration, perhaps on a scale never attempted before.

Some deaths are inevitable in the conditions of scarcity and utter destitution that prevail in many parts of Bihar. The wonder is that many more have not occurred, and for this the State administration must be given its due. So too must the voluntary organisations like UNICEF, the Bihar Relief Society headed by Mr Jayaprakash Narayan, the Catholic Relief Organisation, Care, Corags, the Red Cross, Oxfam, Afpro and a host of smaller bodies.

Probably the most significant of the numerous programmes these

agencies are undertaking from their own resources is feeding school children—more than six million of them. Had this not been done, Mr David Henry, UNICEF coordinator in Patna, told me, widespread "brain damage" would have been caused, and this would have resulted in as much as a 10-year gap in education in the State.

At the State headquarters as well as at the district, sub-divisional and block level, I found a keen awareness of what had to be done and little or no lag between making decisions and implementing them. The officers I met were alert and had their facts at their fingertips. They made no effort to hide shortcomings.

Palamau District, whose administration is headed by scholarly, quiet-spoken Dr Kumar Suresh Singh, Deputy Commissioner, is a model of how the entire administration can be geared effectively to cope with an extraordinary situation like famine. This District, 4800 square miles in area, and with a population of 1.3 million, is chronically deficit in grain and water. It was so severely hit by drought in 1867 that half its population perished, but this, thanks to

intelligent and effectively executed planning on a "total war" scale, will not happen in 1967.

Half a million people, a large number of them Adivasis who dwell in forest clearings, get a free meal daily at one of the 400 kitchens set up by private agencies under government control in the district, and although even large landholders have exhausted their grain and cash reserves and face destitution, there is no actual starvation on an alarming scale.

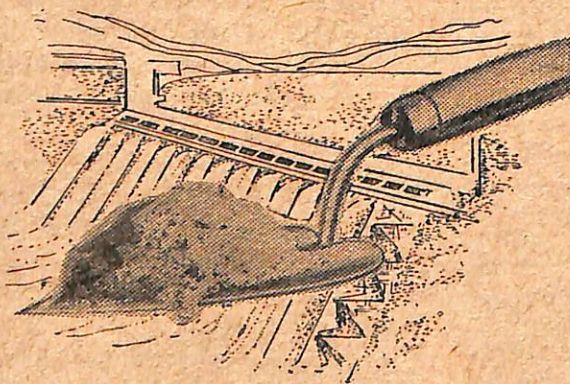
Contributions of grain

At each of the 79 fair price shops which serve the district's 3,000 villages—and none of them is more than two miles distant from a shop—there is a padlocked box for voluntary contributions to feed the destitute. The handfuls of grain dropped into these boxes come to a sizeable amount every fortnight, Dr Suresh Singh told me.

In the adjoining district of Gaya, with a much larger population, 4800 shallow tubewells have been sunk to provide irrigation as well as drinking water. This is one-third the number of such tubewells bored in

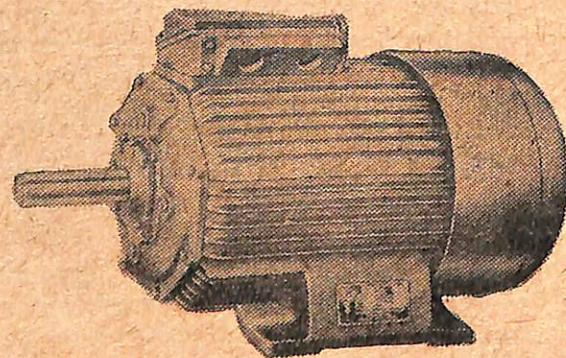
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FROM INDIA'S LEATHER

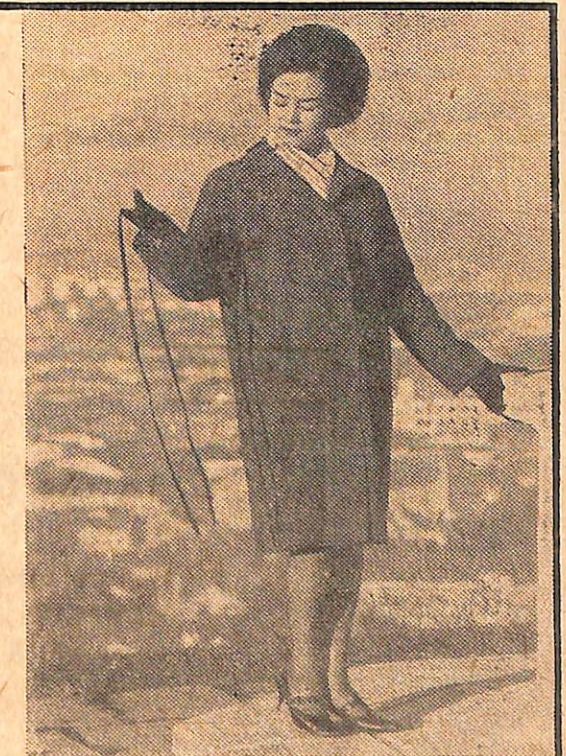
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BIHAR—from page 15

the whole State, and farmers are clamouring for 3000 more, the Assistant District Magistrate said.

The market gardeners of Bodh Gaya Development Block demonstrate impressively what can be achieved agriculturally through the proper exploitation of groundwater resources. Some of these men have strips of land no larger than an acre, but their turnover runs into five figures yearly. They sow four to five crops, of which one or two are grain.

World's largest free kitchen

The world's largest free kitchen is at Ranka, the headquarters of the Raja who formerly ruled this region, 24 miles from Daltonganj. The kitchen, run by the Manav Rahat Mandal, provides one meal daily to 15,000 destitutes, who come on foot from villages as far as 15 miles away.

Father Windey, Belgian head of Catholic Relief in Palamau District, does not think very highly of free kitchens. He believes that giving a person something for nothing, besides reducing its value in the

receiver's eyes, robs him of human dignity. He is therefore operating a food-for-work programme in some villages in 14 of the 25 blocks into which Palamau District is divided.

It embraces about 400 village projects, 370 of them for digging deep, open wells for irrigation and drinking water and the rest for levelling fields, building embankments for reservoirs and constructing roads and schools. Even the old and infirm and the village children may participate in these projects if they wish to get food. The children carry pots of water for the thirsty workers on a project, and the old folk scrape shellac from the bark of the trees on which it grows. As payment for their work, men get 400 grams of wheat daily, women around 350, and children a bowl of milk and some cooked cereal.

Indian doctors needed

Father Windey has 10 mobile medical teams working in a similar number of development blocks. All except one of the doctors who work for him without pay are foreigners. He wishes he could get more Indian

doctors, but even those without work are unwilling to work in the villages.

A senior district official told me that few members of political parties are taking part in the relief programmes. He said that in his district no Congressmen were active in relief, either as a party or as individuals. This could be explained partly, he added, by the fact that if a Congress leader went to a village in the district and attempted to address a public meeting he would be stoned and driven out. But the same excuse did not hold good for other parties which enjoyed popular esteem and could make an effective contribution to what the government and the voluntary agencies were doing.

The people of Bihar are all undergoing much suffering—unimaginable to those who have not seen it at close quarters. I have looked into their faces, and found no light in their eyes, no laughter, almost no hope. It is a tragedy from which we cannot dissociate ourselves, except at the cost of our humanity. For if the monsoon cheats them again and they die in thousands, a part of us will surely die with them.

This was a Life

ASKIA MOHAMMED I

C. 1460—1528

MOHAMMED I—the greatest monarch that ever ruled in the western Sudan—was the first emperor of the first civilised African empire south of the Sahara. Between his crowning in 1492 and his death in 1528, this former army general transformed a loose political union of tribes, centred at Gao on the middle Niger, into the remarkable Songhai empire, stretching from the southern forests to the desert fringe, and from the present western Nigeria to Mali.

He opened his rule with the assumption of the title "Askia", King, and a splendid pilgrimage to Mecca. During the pilgrimage, his retinue, hundreds of slaves and camels, staggered the Mediterranean world. The thousands of pounds of gold he carried caused inflation in Egypt.

The Songhai empire is noted even more for its quality than for its splendour. Peace and order followed the temporary disorders of the earlier conquests. Trade was two-dimensional. Gold was mined in the southern areas of the empire and sold to Arab trading caravans which crossed the Sahara to sell it in Egypt and Morocco, whence it would finally reach Europe. The Arabs on the return journey would bring cloth and metalware, which were exchanged with the southern residents. Banking soon developed, based mainly on gold as the means of exchange.

Since the means of communication were not as we know them today, trade was liable to annihilation by land pirates, hence a police system was established. Education is the cornerstone of every civilisation, and consequently a university was established at Timbuctoo, whose academic standing was unequalled by many European contemporary institutions.

This was the work of Askia Mohammed I. As usual with most great men, the Askia was too early for his time. The blind old man was thanklessly exiled by his ambitious sons to an island in the Niger, where, among the croaking frogs, the hum of the mosquitoes lulled him to eternal sleep in 1528.

D.G.

INDIA'S ROLE

THOUGH OUR Government has always announced "non-alignment" as the basis of our foreign policy in every international dispute, we always find ourselves aligned with one of the parties—surprisingly enough it is always from the so-called "Socialist Camp". A recent example is the Arab-Israeli dispute. Our Government could have played a great part in settling the dispute if it had not hastily pronounced its favour with the Arabs. We had wished our government to play a mature role in the conflict. It was rather disappointing that instead of pacifying both the parties, and playing a greater role to bring peace in the region, we have chosen to favour the Arabs. We should understand that our foreign policy should be aimed at World Peace and should not fan the fires of passion and hatred.

K. S. JAGMAG, Bombay 3.

HUMAN RIGHTS

OUR GOVERNMENT'S hasty decision to support the Arabs in the Middle East is once more showing up our so-called "non-alignment" policy!

Why has India aligned herself with the Arab world? Because there are 13 Arab nations ranged against tiny Israel? Because the Soviet Union is leaning towards Cairo?

Our duty is to stay neutral and try in the long run for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute.

This can never be achieved as long as the nations of the world are ranged on one side or the other. Every nation or race has a right to a homeland. The Jews are no exception.

It is human rights and not political expediency that India and all the world should stand for.

RATNA SEN, Calcutta

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

* India should not sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Closing date: June 23

** Is India's policy in West Asia wise or otherwise?

Closing date: July 7

Prizes: Rs 25, Rs 15

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

Letters

FIND THE BALL

I RECEIVED my 1st prize in "Find the Ball" and also a letter from you on Monday May 29, 1967. Before my receiving this prize many of my friends were not participating in the competition, saying that you are giving prizes to your relatives only, but now they have come to know how sincere you are. Now all of them are purchasing your magazine for the competition.

L. T. JETHRA, Bombay 22.

My relatives are angry with me, because under the rules of the competition, they are not allowed to compete. —Ed.

DR HUSAIN

THE ARTICLE on Dr Husain by Shri Rajmohan Gandhi under the caption "This is realism" in the issue of the HIMMAT of May 19 is a masterpiece. Even if the high hopes entertained are not realised, it will not be the fault of the HIMMAT or the writer of the article.

S. SIVASUBRAMANIAM, Colombo 12

AQABA & VIETNAM—from page 18

The failure of us in the non-Communist world lies in talking about God and conscience but banishing them from the way we live. Moral Re-Armament has shown in individual, family, national and super-national life that free men who obey the voice of God produce around them the superior revolution the world wants.

Hope and faith

Will the men and the spokesmen of the non-Communist world now live this out, privately and publicly, compellingly and fearlessly? If they do, hope and faith will replace confusion and frustration in the hearts of that soldier in Vietnam. The Arabs and Jews in the Middle East will then want to extend their hand of friendship to Washington, London, Paris, Bonn and Tokyo, and even, one day, to each other. In Moscow and Peking, too, revolutionaries in technocrat clothing and Red Guards would want to rethink their aims.

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We are privileged to make our appearance in the pages of HIMMAT. Herein is expressed the truth, the faith and the hope which we feel we share with our friends in India and throughout all Asia.

Contributors to the MRA Training Centre, Panchgani.



Aqaba and Vietnam

by Rajmohan Gandhi

Glasgow

IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI confrontation one obvious fact has not got enough attention. This is the steep rise of Soviet influence and power in the Middle East.

Moscow has been a substantial gainer in the new political and military line-up there. The traditional anti-West Arabs are now even more so. Taking up positions behind or beside them now are countries like Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia which have been wary of Communism and where many have sought friendship with the West.

Even Iran and Turkey, militarily tied up with America and Britain, have assumed an anti-Western and pro-Soviet posture.

Russia has celebrated its political victory by a show of military strength. Her warships now move openly, confidently in the Mediterranean, until now almost a Western preserve.

Biggest coup

When it comes to argument, both the UAR and Israel have enough for and against. But in the progression of events much land, and water, has been captured for Soviet influence.

It has been the biggest overseas coup scored by Messrs Kossygin and Brezhnev. But the development has not been, as far as Moscow is concerned, sudden or unexpected. Its rulers have been planning and working for it. They were ready to seize the golden opportunity and have now pounced upon it.

One of Soviet propaganda's greatest successes has been the projection of Kossygin as an efficient businessman, a technocrat, a man eager to buy and sell. Top circles in Washington, London, Paris, Bonn and Tokyo loved this picture of Kossygin and admired it. Now they are seeing deeper motives and a cleverer brain behind the face.

I am not intimate with the Kremlin's secrets, but it seems to

me that Kossygin and Brezhnev and those who work with them are as wily a set of men as the world has seen. They showed their skill from the very start when, with smooth ruthlessness, they effected the removal of Nikita Khrushchev, himself a man of no mean adroitness. They have been employing their ability, smoothly and persistently, to establish a Communist world with Moscow as its undisputed capital.

Russia's present targets

And the Middle East, Africa and South Asia—including India, Pakistan, Malaysia and Ceylon—are Russia's present targets.

The *Daily Express* talks about the colossal prize the Kremlin is after. It says: "In the West, Communist expansion is balked by the US and NATO. In the East, it is hemmed in by Red China with its competing creed. To the North there is nothing but ice. But the South is wide open as a result of the rapid erosion of British naval power...the Russians have always hankered after warm water ports and especially for an outlet to the Indian Ocean which offers the prospect of bringing Africa, Malaysia and Indonesia into the Soviet orbit."

Is there a connection between the Middle East and Vietnam? Will Moscow use her risen strength in the former to demand an American retreat from the latter? Or will she send more men, money and modern weapons to Vietnam to force America to commit there a mounting proportion of her resources, thereby leaving her weaker in the Middle East? Moscow is ready to do either or both.

The American soldier in Vietnam brings out the tragedy and irony of today's non-Communist world, as well as its readiness to sacrifice.

He must be a confused man. He hears off and on of the increasing co-operation between Washington and Moscow. Trade between the two increases with each month,

more and more American tourists pour into Russia. But in Vietnam Russian MiGs and missiles destroy American planes. Everyone knows that Chinese support of Hanoi is not enough to explain the surprising manner in which North Vietnam and the Vietcong in South Vietnam have withstood the American pummelling. Russia's economic and military help provide the explanation.

The US soldier in Vietnam must often wish for a direct clash with Moscow and with Peking—or to get out of Vietnam.

He must wonder, too, if there is not a third way, just as the average man in the West must wonder if there is not an answer for the Middle East other than war and the communisation of the region.

There is a way. There is an answer for Vietnam and for the Middle East. It is simple. It is exceedingly difficult, but it is not complicated.

Deeper revolution

It will come when the Western world understands the need for a world revolution superior to Communism and which can cure the causes of Communism; revolution which can stir and arrest the hearts of the poor, injured and bitter everywhere; a revolution which produces in the men of State and the man in the street a compassion and a passion which makes the Communist feel he is outmoded and reactionary; a revolution which will inspire the Communist to yield his ideology for one that is deeper.

For the odd thing about today's world is that although the Communists in Moscow and Peking have not given up their plan for world domination, they are less and less sure about Communism. One can almost hear this unspoken cry for a secret that would dissolve Communism's dilemma and take Communists forward to a way that works.

continued on page 17

FIND THE BALL Competition No: 23



2nd Prize:
HIRA LUXURY RAZOR
(with magnetic stem for picking up blades)

HOW TO PLAY

The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to mark a cross where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1, by noon Monday June 19. The winner will be published in June 23 issue.

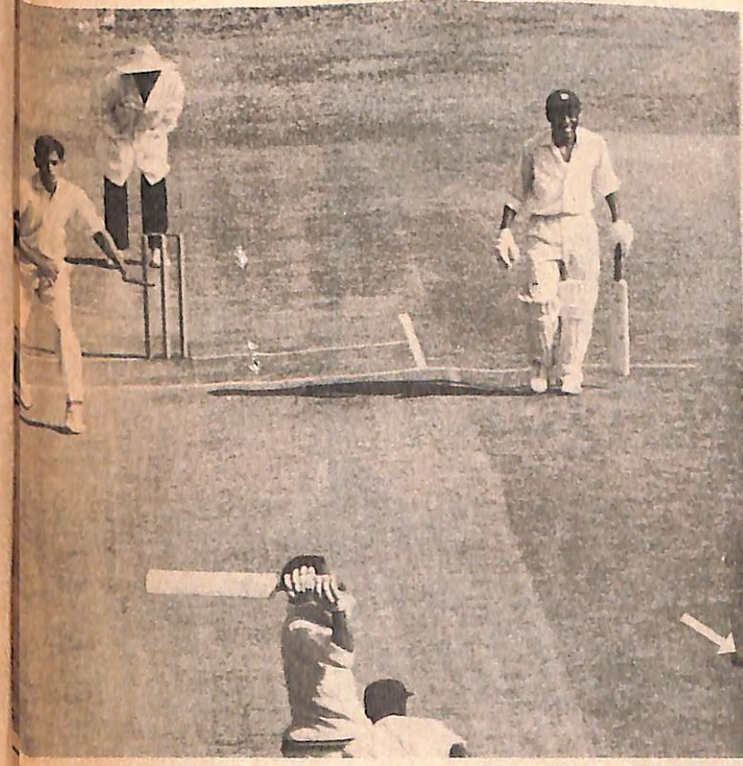
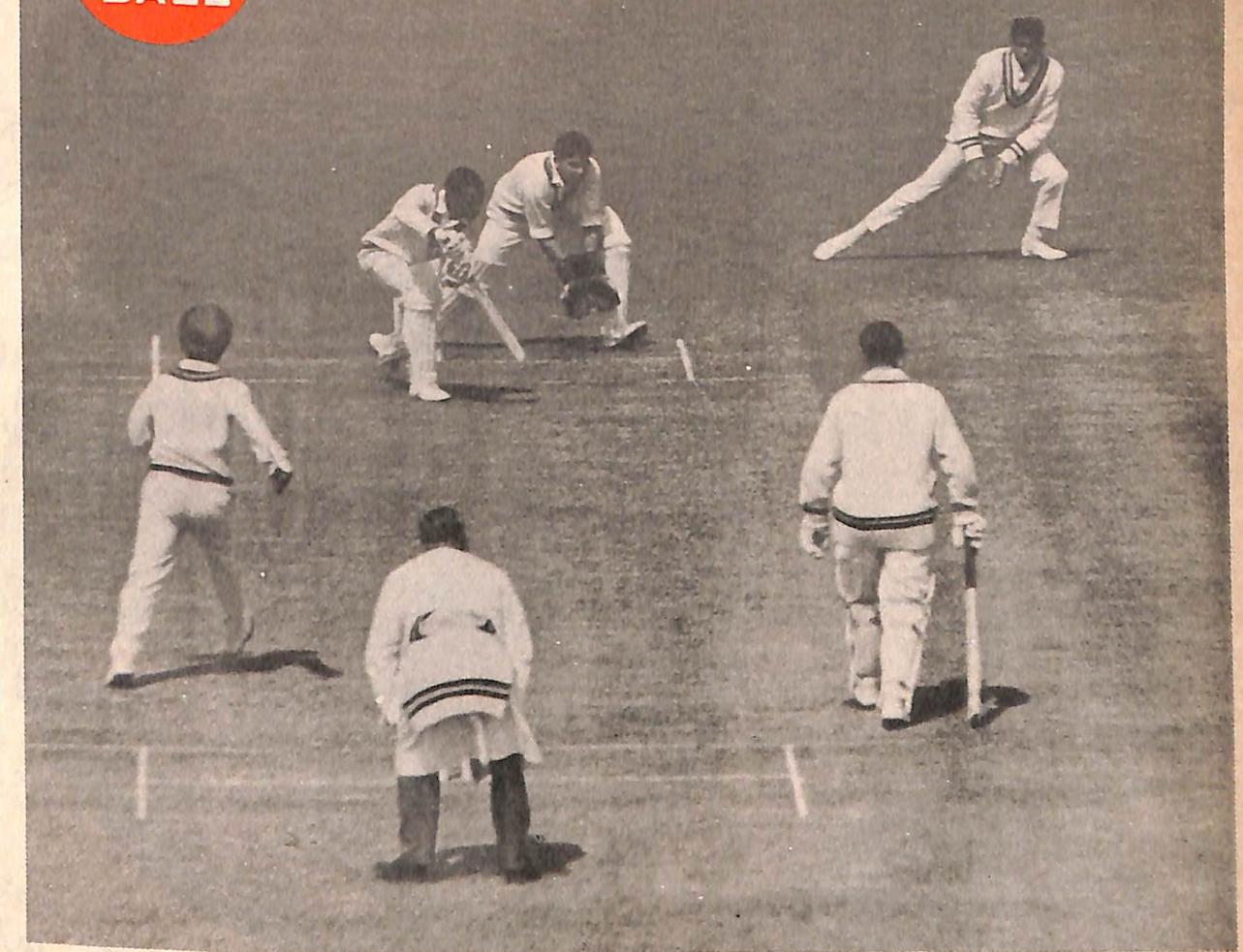
There is no limit to the number of entries you can make, but only one cross may be marked on any one picture. The Editor's decision is final.

Nearest entry wins Rs. 25
Jackpot* this week Rs. 50

*Starting with Competition No. 22 half the prize of Rs. 50 will be awarded to the nearest entry. The other half will be carried forward each week to a "Jackpot" to be won by the first competitor who marks the ball EXACTLY. This Jackpot will accumulate by Rs. 25 per week until it is won.

Name _____
Address _____
I agree to the rules of the competition as outlined above.

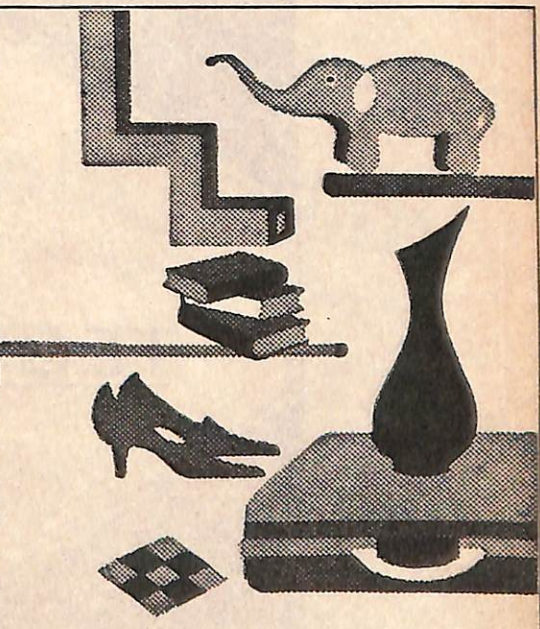
**WINNER OF COMPETITION 21
is Guntur Venkateshaiah,
Ticket Collector, CHIRALA
(R.S.) (S.C. Rly.) GUNTUR Dt.,
A.P. (1 mm from ball)**



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France, Germany, Finland,	Rs. 47	Rs. 84	South America	Rs. 67	Rs. 127
Italy, Switzerland, Japan			New Zealand, Nigeria,	£ 3.0.0	£ 5.15.0
United Kingdom	£ 1.15.0	£ 3.5.0	Ghana	Rs. 63	Rs. 120
	Rs. 37	Rs. 68	Holland, Norway, Sweden,	£ 2.15.0	£ 5.0.0
Aden, Iraq, Philippines	£ 1.5.0	£ 2.5.0	Denmark	Rs. 58	Rs. 105
and rest of Asia	Rs. 27	Rs. 48	Australia	\$ A 6	\$ A 10
				Rs. 50	Rs. 84

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HIMMAT

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Asia's new voice

FRIDAY JUNE 16 1967

Canal closure hits grain supplies

NEW DELHI, June 15 — FOOD MINISTER Jagjivan Ram today told the Lok Sabha that there would be a shortfall in grain supplies this month due to the closure of the Suez Canal.

Coal war

NEW DELHI, June 15 — Mr. L. N. Mishra, Minister for Labour and Employment, today assured the Rajya Sabha that the Government's decision to increase coal prices would be based on the market price.

The Times of India

SHAMEFUL

If the motives that have impelled the Arab powers and Israel to behave in the way they have done are reasonably the same cannot be said of the strange caperings and postures New Delhi has adopted on the West Asian crisis. In the dismal record of Indian foreign policy in recent times nothing can compare with such an exhibition of amateurishness as the only fruit of which will be to attract the world's amused contempt. Professing to be objective, to be dedicated to peace, to be constructive and to be concerned with the national interest both Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr. Chagla have provided ample evidence of their inability to fulfil these obligations. It is unlikely that the Government will ever be able to play this role with any conviction. It is credible that New Delhi deliberately taken no notice of the strident Arab calls for the extermination of the State of Israel. To accuse Israel, in a situation, of escalation, of taking leave of even a pretence of rationality and justice. Whether or not U.A.R. claims to have a right of sovereignty over the Gulf of Aden are finally sustained, the situation, in peace, to maintain a free waterway is also Cairo's interest.

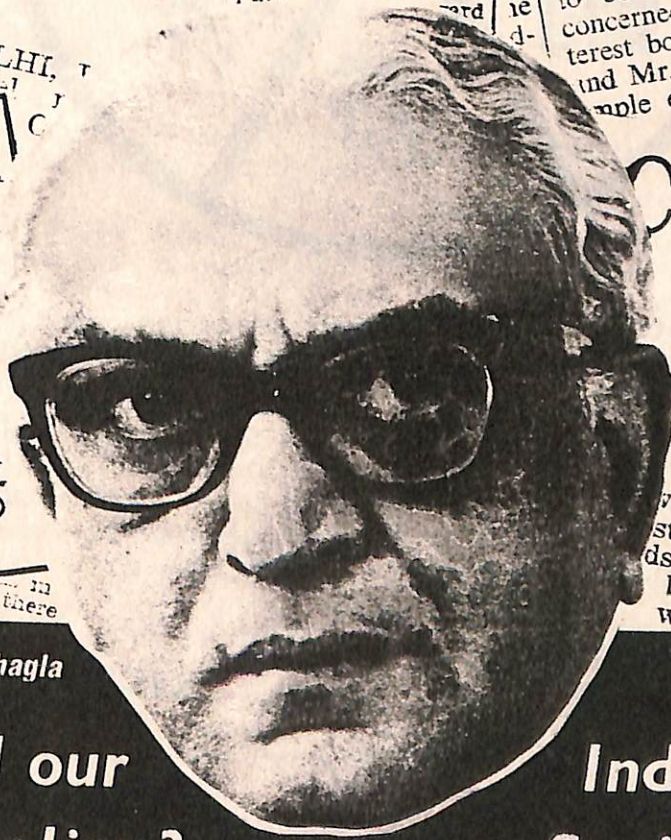
INCREDIBLE

Masani assails Centre's W. Asia policy

By A Staff Reporter
Our Government's duty to the U.A.R. would be to show sympathy and support to defying the U.N. call for a ceasefire. Swatantra leader, Mr. Masani said in Bombay on Friday.

Clash over Chagla's 'facts' about Israel

NEW DELHI, June 15 — SWATANTRA leader Dahyabhai Patil today assailed External Affairs Minister M. C. Chagla for his 'facts' about the West Asian war.



Chagla denies policy slant

By Our Special Representative
NEW DELHI, June 8. — There was sharp criticism and passionate defence of the Government's West Asia policy from the Opposition benches today. Mr. Chagla's remarks were based on national interest.

What dictated our West Asian policy?

Indian interests or Soviet demands? p 7

BIHAR CAN BE FED! p 12-13