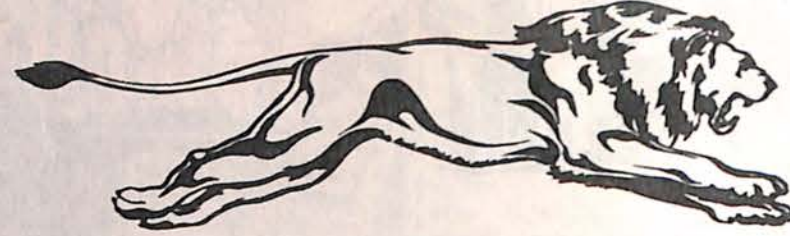




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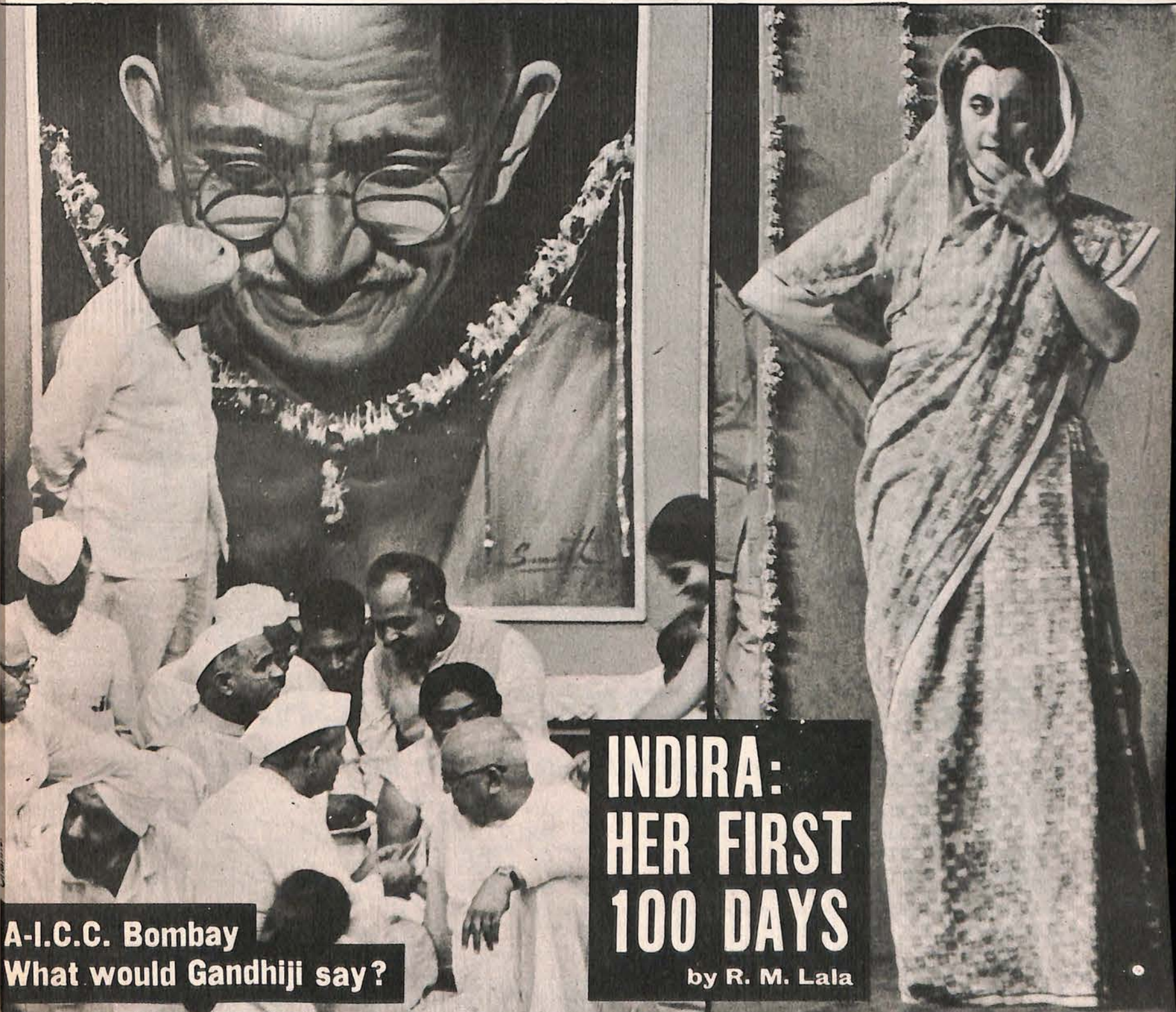
HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

VOL 2 NO 30

Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY MAY 27 1966



**INDIRA:
HER FIRST
100 DAYS**
by R. M. Lala

**A-I.C.C. Bombay
What would Gandhiji say?**

MAHARASHTRA-MYSORE: "DO IT YOURSELF"
Page 22



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday May 27 1966

Weed Out Dud Advisers

WITH THE SURRENDER of rebel military forces in the Buddhist stronghold of Da Nang it might seem that the Prime Minister, Air Vice-Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, has secured his position. But he would be a bold broker who, as a result, raised the odds on the Marshal succeeding in his threat to maintain power for a further twelve months before holding elections.

The late President Diem was no match for the organized assaults led by the Buddhist leader, Thich Tri Quang, once the Americans turned against him also. It would seem that in this latest insurrection in the northern cities of Da Nang and Hue (which still offers stout resistance), the Americans have not condemned the dissidents.

There were reports of direct communications passing between the Buddhist rebels and Washington. Latest dispatches credit Brigadier General Lewis Walt, American Commander of the Northern Zone, with mediating successfully between Saigon and the rebels, though such is not being conceded for political reasons. It is a fact that the rebels, lest their uprising be interpreted as Viet Cong inspired, called on their followers to maintain co-operation with the Americans and other allies.

America's military presence in Vietnam, invited by the nation's leadership, is holding the line of freedom for many nations of Asia. Her political presence and pressures, however, are another matter. Since Diem was assassinated—without much official American condemnation—Washington has floundered in its attempts to find better men.

Unless Washington learns from its mistakes and weeds out dud advisers in the State Department, it cannot succeed in installing an honest and selfless leadership in Saigon. And without this there appears no end to the expenditure of humans and hardware necessary to hold off Communist engorgement.

Indonesia's Chinese

INDONESIA IS BEING WELCOMED back into the community of nations after her military leaders have virtually taken over. Her move for reconciliation with Malaysia has brought favourable response from Kuala Lumpur. No one doubts the genuineness of General Suharto and his colleagues in wanting a new relationship with free Asia.

Whilst it is understandable that the army has moved in heavily on the Communists of Indonesia and is especially sensitive about the role of the Chinese community in that country, latest reports which say that one and a half to two million Chinese of Indonesia may be shipped back to Communist China are disturbing. The Peking Foreign Office in a note to Jakarta has angrily repeated its demand that those Chinese in Indonesia wishing to be repatriated should be shipped back without delay.

Peking said that it had decided to send ships to Indonesia in the near future to transport those Chinese who desire to return.

Whilst those Chinese who desire to go to the Mainland of China of their own free will should be free to go, it is important that not a single Chinese who desires to stay outside Communist China is coerced, either by the Chinese Communists or by the Indonesian authorities, to take the boat to Shanghai or Canton.

A responsibility also devolves on the Taiwan Government to make sure that those who do not want to return to Communist China have the facilities to go to Taiwan.

Many a Chinese in Indonesia, even if he has had some sympathy for mainland China, must be annoyed at Peking for provoking a situation whereby after two generations he and his well-settled family may have to move out.

Resume Indo-Pak Air Traffic

PAKISTAN INTERNATIONAL AIRWAYS is naturally anxious to win aviation rights for its China service to continue on to Tokyo. Japan has consistently refused. The latest talks ended no differently, except that the two parties have agreed to meet again "in 60 days".

It is difficult to imagine Japan holding out much longer. From Pakistan's angle—commercially as well as politically—the addition of Tokyo to her main trunk route would be immensely valuable.

The strange and regrettable feature of air traffic in these parts, however, is that, though officially normal services were supposed to have been resumed some months ago, the Indo-Pak air link is still severed and traffic between the two neighbours must still be carried by foreign lines.

Man Behind the Plough

IT IS FAIR TO SAY that, at the All-India Congress Committee session in Bombay, elections to the Central Election Committee interested people more than the issues of food or fertilizers.

The most worthwhile contribution of the session was a speech by Mr. S. K. Patil on the official resolution on agricultural policy.

Mr. Patil, a former Union Food Minister, made two significant suggestions. The first was to launch crop insurance. Farmers, he said, cannot be induced to spend money on fertilizers, pesticides and good seeds if they know that a change in the weather can ruin their crops and their investment. "Do not wait," he urged his colleagues, "to get the statistics before you launch out on the scheme. If you do you will wait for a hundred years." He made the sound suggestion that for every rupee that the farmer would give for insurance, the State Government should add one and the Central Government one. Flamboyantly, he called it the "Magna Carta" for our farmers.

Mr. Patil's second suggestion was that the responsibility for increasing the agricultural yield should be placed on the village Panchayat chiefs, who spend most of their time dabbling in local politics, and not on some official sitting in Delhi.

The present Food Minister and the State Chief Ministers will do well to implement Mr. Patil's two suggestions speedily.

Briefly Speaking ...

"Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Smuts Tackles Churchill

LORD MORAN, Churchill's physician, recalls an interesting conversation in Cairo, August 1942, between Winston Churchill and General Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa, who had earlier imprisoned Gandhi in South Africa.

Smuts spoke to Churchill of Gandhi. "He is a man of God. You and I are mundane people. Gandhi has appealed to religious motives. You never have. That is where you have failed."

Churchill replied with a great grin, "I have made more bishops than anyone since St. Augustine."

Smuts did not smile. His face was very grave.

Source of Protein

AFTER FACING protests of all types, the Union Government, on the eve of the crucial AICC meeting, is confronted with protests from the people of Chotanagpur in Bihar.

The Centre has asked State Governments to take effective steps to eliminate the rat population which is estimated to consume about as much wheat in a year as America supplies to India.

The Adivasis of Chotanagpur are immensely fond of roasted rats and feel they are not only a delicacy but also rich in protein contents.

Portly Cynics

THE OTHER DAY a few ungracious, though well-fed gentlemen, sitting at a dinner party in one of the posh hotels, were speaking against US sending food to India. Munching an American wheat bun, one of them said, "Why should children abroad forego their food for our sake?"

Perhaps if some of these gentlemen sacrificed a little of their food, it would not be necessary for children abroad to sacrifice theirs.

All credit to the 100 students and staff of the Hamirpur High School near our Rourkela steel plant who every week donate 28 kilogrammes of rice to poor children in nearby villages. Every Sunday the students go to the villages to feed the children.

AICC Sidelight

AFTER MAKING heated speeches against the Indo-US Education Foundation, at Shanmukhananda Hall, Bombay, AICC delegates slipped into the canteen to be offered cool Coca-Colas free by obliging waiters.

Powers Extraordinary

UNDER THE Jagiello dynasty, 1386-1572, Poland reached the zenith of its political and cultural level. Under pressure from the gentry, the Kings conceded extraordinary powers to the parliament. Any single member to

the *Sejm* (lower house) could dissolve the parliament. This practice called *Liberum Veto* was recklessly applied after 1572.

If our MPs had such a chance it would be "Hullo" and "Good-bye" the same day.

Mao—a Figurehead?

TOKYO HAS ITS ears tuned to Communist China, and there are strong rumours that Mao Tse-tung has already retired from the political front and has only a symbolic status.

They believe that the Chinese Government during the past year has been under a collective leadership of a head of State, Liu Shao-chi, and Premier Chou En-lai.

Lost Meal, Lost Cause

AN UNUSUAL hunger strike took place the other day in New Delhi. Members of the Delhi Parents and Teachers Council launched an "indefinite" hunger strike outside Parliament. It came to an abrupt end the same day when Parliament adjourned. A spokesman said the hunger strike would be resumed (no doubt after a good repast) when Parliament reopens on July 25.

Mr. S. R. Sharma, President of the Rural Delhi Government Teachers' Association says that those who fasted were neither teachers nor parents of school-going children.

Common Sense

A LITTLE GIRL at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition in London turned to her mother and said, "That is a very old-fashioned sculpture, isn't it, mummy? You can see what it is."

R.M.L.

Win a Transistor!

The latest Murphy transistor radio (Model 579—Two band, short-wave) will be given to the person who sells the greatest number of annual subscriptions (Rs. 12) between May 6 and June 30, 1966.

Those wishing to enter the competition are required to send their name and address to the Circulation Manager, HIMMAT Weekly, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1.

Subscriptions with payment must be sent immediately to HIMMAT. A record of the number sold by each entrant will be maintained at this office and the results declared in the issue of July 8.

—Circulation Manager.

INDIRA—The First 100 Days

By R. M. Lala

But there are many challenges ahead of her.

"Within one hundred days of my coming to power, I am facing hundreds of problems," she told the people of Bombay.

On January 25 she took charge of a confident nation that had signed a peace with honour with Pakistan. But soon the pay-off of the war came. Economic aid, frozen at the outbreak of war, wilted our production. Drought effects were sharply felt in rice demonstrations in Kerala and Bengal. She declared her first priority is to feed her people. That is why she agreed to the fertilizer agreement with the US firm.

Keeping Economy Alive

Her visit to the US in March-April has assured India a flow both of wheat and economic aid. The successful tour enhanced her standing in India. She met de Gaulle, Wilson and Kosygin but she was shrewd enough to know that to keep her people and economy alive, the immediate key lay in Washington.

That, too, explains why she is not over-keen on a "non-aligned summit" that Nasser and Tito have proposed

more than once. She knows Nasser feels strongly on US presence in Vietnam and wants no communique that involves her in an anti-American chorus.

If Nehru was basically a visionary and internationalist, and Shastri was "home-spun", Indira is an internationalist more keen to cultivate her own garden than to comment on her neighbour's.

Will Assert Herself

She has refused to take any step that will further strain relations with Pakistan.

To the American people she presented the image of India as the one nation to withstand the onslaught of China. Her policy reaped dividends (and capital).

At the same time she is not shutting the door to talks with China.

Her partymen at the AICC feel that, as the elections draw nearer, she will assert herself more. Watching her closely at the AICC gives me the impression that she is not a lady who will easily appease and though blessed with an alert mind will permit her heart and womanly instinct to guide her.

Continued on page 20

CHALTA HAI...



"It is really quite simple. In the Second Five Year Plan we achieved the first plan targets, in the third plan we achieved the second plan targets, in the fourth plan....."

This weekly feature comes to you through the courtesy of the Eagle Vacuum Bottle Mfg. Co. (Pvt.) Ltd., manufacturers of the Eagle range of vacuum flasks, jugs and insulated ware.



QUBIRAMA

CARDINAL: "You have taken Bombay by storm"



His Eminence Valerian Cardinal Gracias, Archbishop of Bombay, went backstage to greet the cast of "Sing-Out Australia" after one of several "house full" performances of the MRA musical show. "You have taken Bombay by storm," he told them. "I congratulate you. You men and women are harnessing the talents which God has given you to create God's peace, goodwill and brotherliness." The 53-member stage party, which comes from Australia, New Zealand, Korea, Philippines, Sweden and the United States are on a nation-wide tour of India.

Deviated from Father?

Her own Party had criticized her for the Indo-US Education Foundation arrangements and favourable terms granted to an American firm for setting up a fertilizer plant that India badly needs. To the charge that she had "deviated" from her father's policies, she replied: "If I think it is necessary to depart from these policies for the good of the country, I shall not hesitate to do so."

Next morning one of the main critics of her policy fumbled as he spoke from the platform. In less than four months she achieved what Shastriji took over a year and a war to accomplish—a stature unfettered by past shadows.

E.I.D.-PARRY IN THE FIELD

It is generally realised that the ultimate solution of the country's food problem lies in the proper use of balanced fertilisers and the E.I.D. Parry Group is proud of its record as the leader in the fertiliser field over the last 63 years. The E.I.D. Parry Group was the first to manufacture bone super, super-phosphate and compound fertilisers in the private sector. Factories are in full production at Ennore, Tadepalli and Ranipet, and mixing centres are operated throughout the States of Madras, Andhra, Mysore, Kerala, Maharashtra and Gujarat. The Group is also a partner in the vast project of Coromandel Fertilisers Ltd. at Visakhapatnam.

In 1963-64, the Group sold over a quarter million tonnes of fertilisers; it confidently hopes to double the sales in the next three years.

The E.I.D. Parry Group has the unique distinction of being called "The Fertiliser Co." in the rural areas and "The Confectionery Co." in the urban areas. The Group not only leads in the fertiliser and confectionery fields, but also in the manufacture and sale of sugar, pottery, sanitaryware, fungicides and a large number of other products.

Today, the E.I.D. Parry Group, fondly known as "Parrys", is one of the larger companies in India, consisting of 9 subsidiary and associated concerns providing employment for more than 10,000 people.

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and still growing.



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Problems of Communism—is the Soviet system decaying?

The Twenty-third Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union highlighted the durability of that institution, but also raised the fundamental question whether the Soviet system with its one-party dictatorship is on the eve of momentous changes which may alter her beyond recognition in the next decade or two. It is not only the Chinese Communists who fear that "restoration of capitalism" under the "revisionists" who govern the Soviet Union today may be the prelude to a more far reaching transformation.

Problems of Communism, a bi-monthly journal published from Washington, DC, carried an article in its January issue by Professor Brzezinski entitled "The Soviet Political System: Transformation or Degeneration?" in which the Professor analyses the conflicts and tensions in Soviet society which make change inevitable. The March issue of the same journal carries a review of a new book in which the author, a French expert on Soviet affairs, predicts the collapse of the Soviet system before 1970.

SAY THAT AGAIN...

I thought before we adjourned we should say something to take things further in the direction all of us want.

G. L. NANDA
Minister for Home Affairs.

In my opinion, there should be a very close examination of the question (nationalization of banks) before anything is decided.

SACHINDRA CHAUDHURI
Minister of Finance

We shall reserve hotel accommodation for them, receive them at the airport, serve them tea and biscuits when they visit us, be patient with their questions, book their return flights and take up our interrupted work when they leave us.

MADRAS DEPARTMENTAL HEAD, on eve of visit of a New Delhi "Study Team" led by an MP.

"A political system can be said to degenerate," writes Professor Brzezinski, "when there is a perceptible decline in the quality of the social talent that the political leadership attracts to itself in competition with other groups; when there is a persistent division within the ruling elite, accompanied by a decline in its commitment to shared beliefs; when there is protracted instability in the top leadership; when there is a decline in the capacity in the ruling elite to define the purposes of the political system in relationship to society and to express them in effective institutional and hierarchical lines of command, resulting in the uncontrolled and unchannelled intrusion into politics of hitherto politically uninvolved groupings."

Regime of Clerks

If these criteria are applied to the Soviet Union, it is a system in crisis with the present leadership presiding over an uneasy compromise between conflicting groups and interests.

Analysing the evolution of Soviet leadership from Lenin to Leonid Brezhnev, the Professor writes, "The Soviet system is now led by a bureaucratic leadership... by a bureaucratic leadership from the top down to the bottom." Prescribing the term to the "regime of clerks" he points out that "the apparatchiki are still part of an extremely centralized and rigidly hierarchical bureaucratic organization, increasingly set in its ways, politically corrupted by years of unchallenged power, and made even more confined in its outlook... by its lingering and increasingly ritualized doctrinaire tradition".

"The struggle for power has become less violent," but, he asks, "has it become a more regularized process capable of infusing the leadership with fresh blood?" In a brilliant piece of insight he answers, "The social and even the political system in which Khrushchev came to rule was settled and indeed, in some respects, it was stagnating and Khrushchev's key problem, once he reached the apex, was how to get the country moving again." He concludes,

Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

"Stalin magnified his power as he strove to change society; to change society, Khrushchev had to risk his power."

Stalin achieved the integration of group interests by terror. Khrushchev and his successors have attempted to realize it through the arbitration of the Party. But as the ideological cohesion of the Party declines and the power of various groups such as technocrats, police, armed forces, etc. increases there is danger of successive power struggles as the relative strength of groups waxes or wanes. For example, the recent reform of industrial management granting greater powers to managers was opposed by the Party bureaucracy. We have not by any means seen the end of the struggle between the Party apparatus and the specialists.

The emphasis in Brezhnev's address at the Twenty-third Party Congress on the ideological training of cadres and the strengthening of the Party apparatus.

Soviet Instability

Herein lies a key element of the instability of the Soviet system. In addition, there is the danger of successive struggles for power that it might lead to.

Mr. Garder, in the book "L'Agonie du regime en Russie sovietique" also makes the point that even "the most conservative Western bourgeois is a revolutionary next to the apparatchik". (All references to the book are from the review by Michel Tatu, former correspondent of *Le Monde* in Moscow, in the March issue of *Problems of Communism*.) He sees the strengthening of conservatism in the collectivist rule of the many in the Kremlin.

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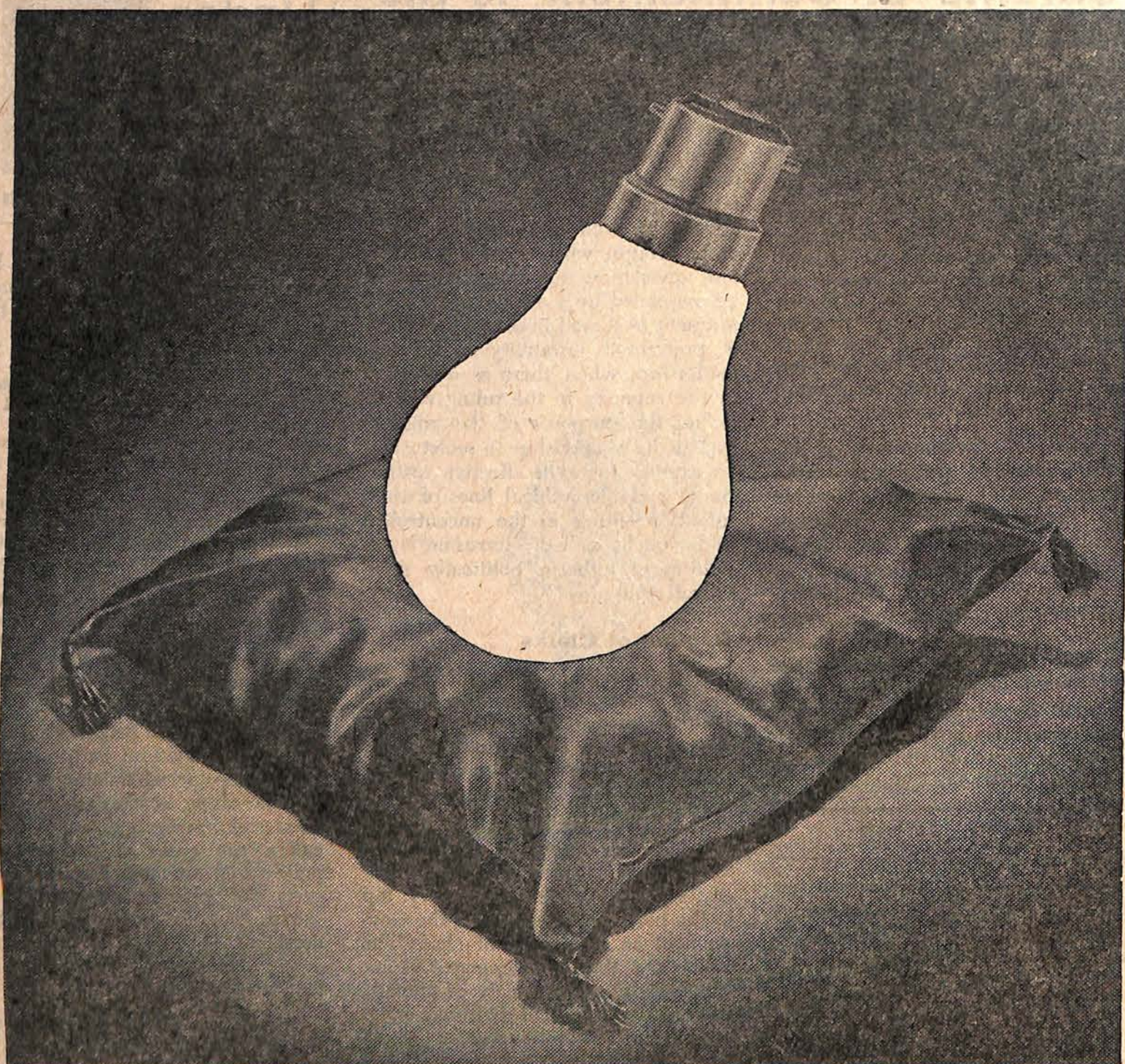
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Continued on page 20



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

New Alignments in Arab World

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

The sober figure of the Soviet Premier, Mr. Alexei Kosygin, followed almost exactly two years later in the footsteps of his more flamboyant predecessor, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev, on a tour of Russia's largest single foreign aid project—the high dam at Aswan on the Upper Nile in the UAR. Accompanied by President Nasser, he walked and drove over the catwalks and dusty roads of the dam's £110,000,000 mass of stone, concrete and machinery, now 70 per cent completed.

Mr. Kosygin was on an eight-day official visit which began May 10. Marking a heightening of Soviet involvement in the Middle East, it follows the signing of another dam agreement worth £50,000,000 for Syria on the upper reaches of the Euphrates River.

Speaking to a mass rally organized by the Arab Socialist Union in Aswan, the Soviet Premier noted that the UAR was carrying out 133 projects with Soviet help and that trade between the two nations had increased tenfold since 1956.

At a banquet given in his honour in Cairo Mr. Kosygin said, "The Soviet Union supported you during the tripartite aggression (by UK, France and Israel)...and in 1958 when there was military intervention (by USA and UK) in Lebanon and Jordan. You can rest assured that we shall always take the same stand."

Nasser Confronts Feisal

Kosygin's visit comes at a time when Middle East nations seem to be confronted with the choice between revolutionary Arab Socialism and its more conservative traditional opponents. This issue has brought President Nasser and King Feisal of Saudi Arabia near to open war in Yemen, where the Imam, Yemen's traditional Ruler, struggles with Saudi help against the Republican regime backed by President Nasser.

In the last month Moscow has had visits from leading personalities from both Iraq and Syria. A Syrian delegation led by the Prime Minister, Dr. Youssef Zeayan, returned to Damascus with £50,000,000 promised in aid for the Euphrates dam. Iraq's present President, Major General Abdel-Rahman Aref, made a success-

ful arms buying trip to Moscow while he was still Chief of Staff.

At the same time, within the Arab Socialist camp, Syria's relations with Iraq and the UAR show little sign of improvement.

Both Algerian and Iraqi press hail the Kosygin visit to Cairo. The Baghdad daily, *al-Thawra al-Arabia*



Mr. Kosygin

called the visit "a striking example of good relations between nations free from interference in their internal affairs". Algeria's official *al-Moudjahid* said the visit was being closely watched by the Arab world because Egypt had apparently decided to strengthen its revolutionary position in view of Anglo-Saxon aims in the area.

Meanwhile in Washington the matter of food shipments to the UAR is under routine review, since the term of the present six months' agreement expires June 30. During the Senate debate there have been the usual objections and complaints about the UAR's anti-American attitudes, but no decision has been reached.

In spite of an official State Department denial that aid was to be cut off, Cairo's authoritative *al-Ahram* stated that Egypt was not prepared to accept American threats not to renew food aid. The paper insisted that Egypt would not accept "foreign trusteeship over her policies and attitudes". It accused the United States of protecting "the monarchy in Saudi

Continued on next page

The week in Asia

DJAKARTA — President Sukarno agreed to meet Malaysia's Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman.

HUE — The commanding officer of South Vietnamese forces in Hue opposed to the Saigon Government appealed to his troops to "maintain co-operation with our allies, particularly the United States".

DACCA — Leaders of the Awami League which demands autonomy for East Pakistan were imprisoned. The Government is threatening to close down the movement's popular daily, *Ittefaq*.

DJAKARTA — The Government released fifteen political prisoners including a number of Muslims accused three years ago of a plot against Sukarno's life. It promised a fair trial for a second group imprisoned after rebellions in Sumatra and the Celebes in 1958. It also raised a ban imposed a year ago on the anti-Communist newspaper *Merdeka*.

COLOMBO — The Government has decided to abolish English as the medium of instruction in schools in favour of Sinhalese or Tamil. It will favour a compulsory second language.

KUALA LUMPUR — Malaysian and Thai police have launched their biggest action yet against Communist terrorists operating in the dense jungle border between the two countries. The terrorists are led by Chin Peng, head of the Malaysian Communist Party.

BANGKOK — Thailand will send a battalion of troops to Vietnam.

KARACHI — Foreign Minister Bhutto denied Pakistan had any secret pact with China. "If we have to have any agreement with China it will be as open as daylight," he said.

TOKYO — Japan's Prime Minister Sato may visit both Djakarta and Kuala Lumpur shortly.

KATHMANDU — The Soviet Ambassador to Nepal stated that the Soviet Union would aid China if the latter was attacked by any nation.

KARACHI — The Soviet First Deputy Premier, Mr. Kirill Mazurov, will lead a Russian Parliamentary delegation to Pakistan.

DJAKARTA — A joint Indonesian-Australian team will demarcate the West Irian—New Guinea border.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Arabia and the racist regime in Israel". The UAR has requested a \$150,000,000 renewal of food aid, and interest has also been expressed in further industrial loans worth \$100,000,000. US food aid to Egypt has been granted against payment in non-transferrable Egyptian funds which are then made available to Egyptian companies as long-term, low interest loans.

In the same week Washington announced through the State Department that King Feisal of Saudi Arabia will pay a state visit to America from June 21 to July 1. The announcement follows renewed US assurances for the territorial integrity of Saudi Arabia. These assurances were given following the May Day speech of President Nasser in which he threatened to seize two Saudi towns on the Yemen border, if Feisal continued to support Royalist forces in Yemen.

While Mr. Kosygin arrived in Cairo, the Jordanian Prime Minister, Mr. Wasfi Tell, paid a sudden visit to Riyadh for talks with King Feisal.

On his return he announced that Jordan would receive Saudi aid, saying, "Any initiative which increases our friendship, strengthens our international position, attracts supporters and consolidates our ranks is a blessed one."

Thus is the Arab world split in its own cold war between the poles of Riyadh and Cairo. Russia has come out strongly for the Arab Socialist states—the UAR, Syria and Iraq. The USA continues to try to maintain friendship with both camps, somehow recognizing that, while her oil concessions lie with the traditional states of the Arabian peninsula and Persian Gulf, the mass appeal of Gamal Abdel Nasser in the Arab world cannot be ignored.

The fact is that neither oil concessions, nor petroleum markets, nor food shipments, nor military bases, nor dams can ensure the friendly interdependence between Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa that economics and geography make so necessary. Achievement of such good relations does not ultimately depend on any material factor, but on the idea which wins the heart and rules the muscle of the ordinary Arab.

To the masses of the Arab world Gamal of Egypt is far more appealing than Feisal of Arabia. Gamal is one of them. He restored Arab dignity when he nationalized the Suez Canal and emerged triumphant from the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression in the Suez War. The peasant holds his head higher as he sees the dam rise at Aswan and walks on land which for the first time he can call his own. If Nasser's reform programme seems too violent and hasty to outside observers, Feisal's moves towards progress seem far too slow and reluctant to millions and millions of Arabs. And it is they who will eventually decide.

Hot Election Fight Expected in Tokyo

FROM FUJIKO HARA

Tokyo

Kaoru Ohta, for ten years chairman of Sohyo (General Council of Japan Trade Unions), declared his resignation from the top labour post. In a statement made at a press conference in a coal mining city in northern Kyushu, he also

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

made clear his intention of running for the Tokyo Governor's Election next year.

Last year's election for the Tokyo metropolitan councillors saw an unprecedented victory for the Socialists and the Communists. The loss of seats by the Liberal Democratic Party was largely due to its corruption scandals and the coming election for Governorship will be a hot battle for both parties.

The 4,200,000-member Sohyo was under the joint leadership of Ohta and Iwai, the Secretary-General for the past decade, and it may be time for a change.

The Labour Body has come out

Australian Labor See-saws on Vietnam

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Canberra

The visit to South-East Asia of Australia's Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Holt, has been commended here as a diplomatic as well as a political success.

What criticism there has been of Mr. Holt's report to Parliament on his 10-day tour has centred on his failure to provide specific information on his discussions with military and diplomatic representatives of the Vietnam and United States Governments. It has been suggested that these talks must have produced something more than generalities.

But Mr. Holt left no doubt that his visit to Vietnam has made him confident about the military situation there. He has returned with the strong conviction that this has been secured and that the Vietcong cannot win. At the same time, he has pointed out that "it may be a long time before the Communist threat can be subdued."

He went on to tell Parliament: "We see more than the need merely to preserve the independence and integrity of South Vietnam. If South-East Asia is to fall under Communist control we face a future in which the security of Australia is in jeopardy."

Meanwhile, the Labor Opposition Leader in Parliament, Mr. Arthur Calwell, has been taking front page headlines with a series of somersaulting statements on his Party's policy on Australia's participation in the Vietnam war.

with a programme for 1966, calling for a change of policy from the political to economic, putting more emphasis on the latter struggle demanding higher wages and better working conditions. However the highlights of the new policy draft include "staging of peace movements on a larger scale to preserve peace in Japan and in Asia in general". Its plan to send a peace mission to South-East Asia next month to seek the co-operation of the labour leaders for its continued campaign against US conduct in Vietnam, seems more political than economic. The mission is scheduled to leave Tokyo by air around June 20 and they are scheduled to visit India, Ceylon, Cambodia, South Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia.

Leaving no doubt that he believed he was on an election winner, Mr. Calwell declared a few weeks ago that if Labor became the Government after the elections at the end of this year it would immediately recall a 11 National Servicemen serving anywhere overseas, whether in Vietnam, Malaysia or anywhere else.



Mr. Holt

In a television interview a little later, Mr. Calwell suggested that a Labor Government would get Australian troops out of Vietnam six to nine months after taking office.

At a meeting of University students in Hobart this week Mr. Calwell said he stood by his two earlier statements but then went on to say: "If we (the Labor Party) form a Government we will not maintain troops in Vietnam any longer than we have to, but we will not walk out on anyone."

Asked if he would bring all conscripts (National Servicemen) home before a peace settlement was reached, Mr. Calwell replied: "There

Continued on page 14

The week in India

BOMBAY — S. S. Mirajkar, President of the AITUC, called for a summit meeting between India, China and Pakistan to resolve border disputes. He urged that the cease-fire line in Kashmir be made into an international border between India and Pakistan.

NEW DELHI — The Prime Minister stated at a press conference that India was prepared to have talks with Pakistan "at any level". She stated that she knew of no recent Pakistani infiltrations into Kashmir and had heard of Pakistani war preparations "only from the newspapers".

NEW DELHI — India has offered a loan of Rs. 10 crores to Indonesia to purchase Indian goods.

NEW DELHI — The Prime Minister disclosed that 46.6 million people faced scarcity or famine in six states.

NEW DELHI — The Chanda Committee has recommended the establishment of two autonomous corporations to govern radio and television. It urged that the powers be clearly demarcated.

NEW DELHI — Home Minister Nanda announced the amendment of the Defence of India Rules to make it necessary for State governments to gain consent of the Centre before taking action under the rules.

SIMLA — A top-level conference will take place between Indian and American experts on nuclear armaments.

SRINAGAR — China is reported to have massed 20,000 troops on the northern borders of Kashmir.

NEW DELHI — India rejected as "extraordinary" a note sent by Peking protesting the participation of a Taiwan delegation in the ECAFE conference.

KOTTAYAM — The vice-chairman of the Kerala Congress did not favour an "outright merger" with the Congress Party but sought instead an electoral alliance.

NEW DELHI — The Chiefs of Staff have been asked to prepare a thorough study on India's defence position in the light of the latest nuclear blast by China.

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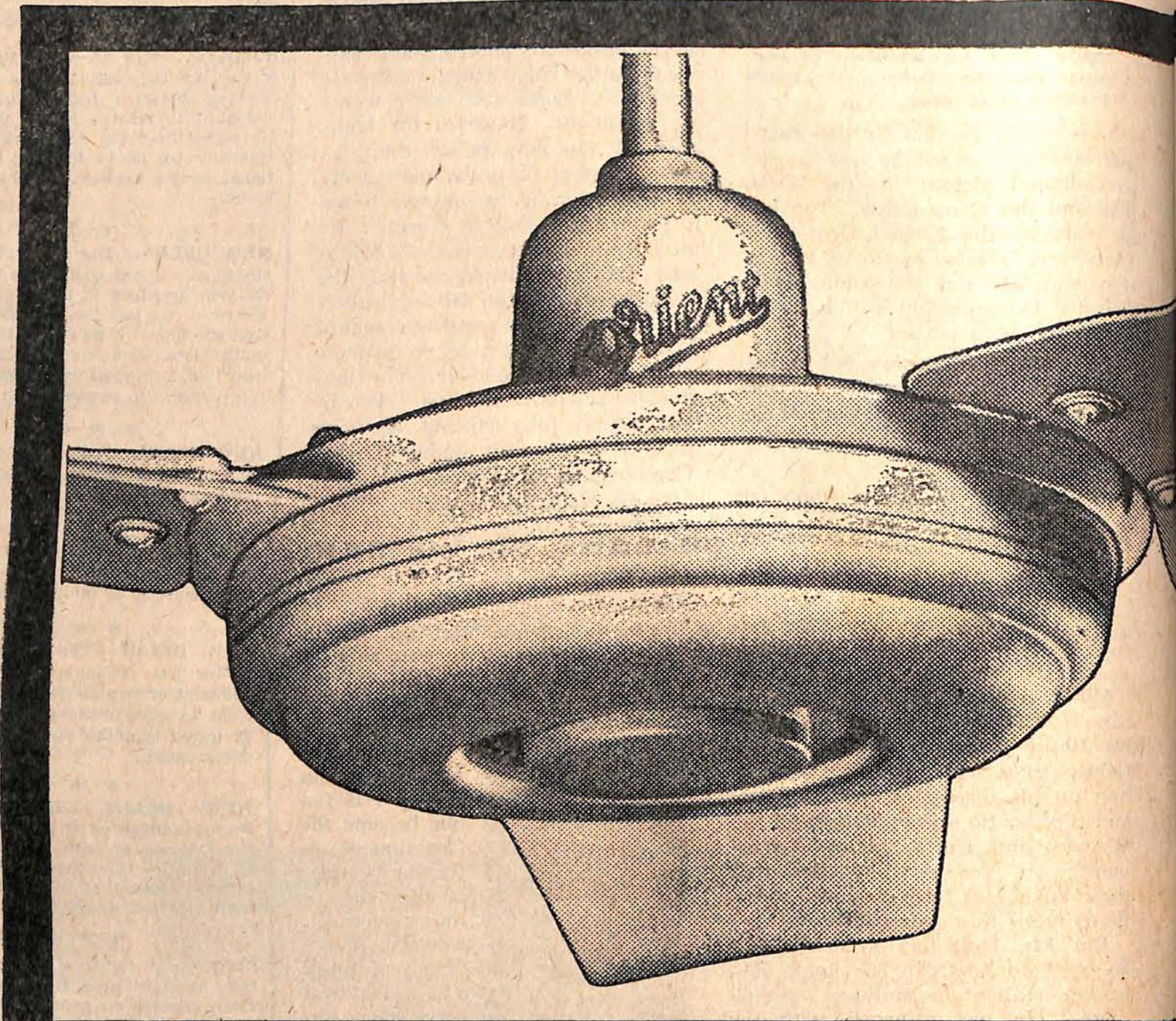


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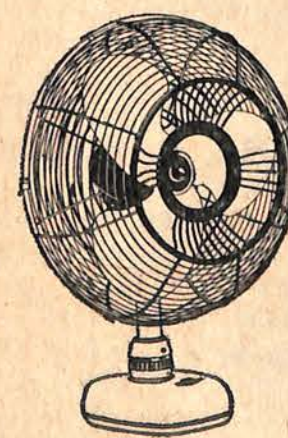
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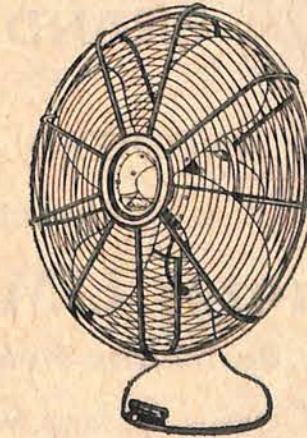
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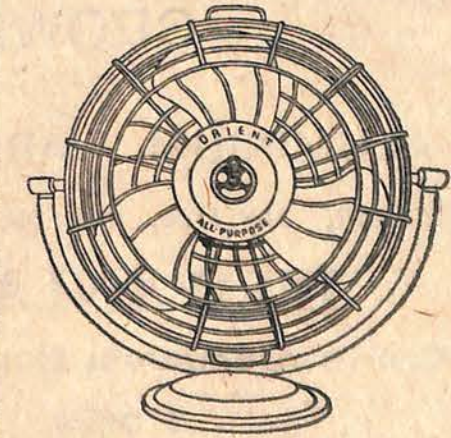
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

would be considerable military problems in attempting to disengage conscripts from the Vietnam conflict. It would not be desirable if the line or safety of regular soldiers were involved."

While Labor has its policy problems and its members tend to become bemused with the internal struggle between the Party's Left and Right Wings, the Government is also running into difficulties over its attitude to trade.

Labor spokesmen have been doing their utmost to make political capital out of the trade issue. But their attacks on the Government are motivated almost entirely from a desire to embarrass the Government rather than sincere conviction.

There is no doubt, though, that even the Minister for Trade, Mr. John McEwen, admitted that "there are a considerable number of Australians deeply concerned at the moral and physical proprieties of trade with China."

The Government has changed its policy to the extent of banning all trade with North Vietnam. Until a few weeks ago the prohibition on North Vietnam trade applied only to the export of strategic materials.

Mr. McEwen has since stated that the Government holds the same view as all other Western powers other than the United States alone. "It is not necessary to prevent the sale of certain items other than prescribed strategic items to China or other Communist countries," he said.

Australia depends heavily on sales of wheat and wool, by far its

biggest exports, to Peking to help its balance of payments.

But Australia also sells tinsplate, iron and steel scrap, and galvanized iron and steel plates to China because the Government regards them as non-strategic materials.

A conflict of interests is obviously involved when Australia declares China to be the instigator of aggression in South and South-East Asia.

While the Government has shown it is sensitive about its China trade policy, it is hesitant about the political consequences of taking any action which might mean reduced voting support from the farm bloc.

But if Australia becomes more deeply involved in the Vietnam struggle as many observers believe likely, the Government will find it hard to go on side-stepping the China trade issue.

Uganda's Kings Appeal to the UN

FROM VERE JAMES

Kampala

Prince David Kaboyo's powers as Omukama of Toro were somewhat shortlived. Like Alfred of old the new Omukama has his problems. His reign began in disaster. For nine days his kingdom, at the foothills of the Mountains of the Moon, was wracked by earthquakes. Strange as it may seem, the same phenomenon occurred in 1931 following the crowning of his father, Sir George Rukidi.

But other rumblings were taking place in Uganda of even greater consequence for the new King. These erupted into an unprecedented display of power pyrotechnics by Prime Minister Milton Obote, now President of Uganda.

The former President, Sir Edward Mutesa (also Kabaka of Buganda), was ignominiously dismissed from office. So was the Vice-President. Five Cabinet Ministers were arrested and are still in detention. Dr. Obote assumed what were regarded

by some as dictatorial powers. Then in a special session of Parliament, broadcast "live" to the nation, he virtually proposed himself President and presented the members with a new Constitution which they promptly adopted.

Meanwhile armed soldiers patrolled the streets in lorries with their weapons pointed at the hapless pedestrians. Overhead jet aircraft screamed past while Dr. Obote's voice laboriously outlined the situation over blaring radio sets.

He claimed it was necessary to take such action to prevent the over-

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

throw of the Government by "foreign powers". In fact, the new constitution ended Uganda's intricate federal arrangement, with it the powers of the traditional rulers, and invested authority nationally in a central Government and Dr. Obote as President.

Uganda's Attorney General, Mr. Godfrey Binaisa, QC, called it "a revolution". Other Ministers reckoned it was a "bloodless coup". Whatever the description Uganda's Constitution had been drastically altered without a shot being fired—or a vote being cast by the electorate.

The latest act in the drama has come from the former President, the

Kabaka of Buganda. In an appeal to the Security Council of the UN he claims that the way in which the President was deposed and his Kingdom of Buganda deprived of its powers, along with the other three Kingdoms of Ankole, Bunyoro and Toro, was a situation which might lead to international friction.

His claim that it was "a threat to stability in Africa" is likely to fall on deaf ears.

Meanwhile, according to Mr. Binaisa, "the new constitution offered the common man in Uganda and elsewhere a better deal, while at the same time not disturbing traditional rulers." He concluded in an address to the Uganda-Britain Society in London, "We now have one country, one people and one destiny."



The week elsewhere

LAO LEADERS IN USSR

MOSCOW—King Savang Vathana of Laos arrived in the Central Asian Soviet city of Dushambe on the first stage of a visit to the USSR. He was expected to be joined in Moscow by neutralist Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma for talks with Russian leaders.

UK SEAMEN STRIKE

LONDON—Mr. William Hogarth, general secretary of the British National Union of Seamen, warned the Government that if naval personnel were used to break the seamen's strike, a general strike might follow. Over 300 merchant ships were immobilized by the strike aimed at getting a 40-hour week for seamen. The Government banned export of meat to conserve supplies.

MOSCOW ATTACKS MRA

RECIFE, Brazil—Tribuna Portuaria, the official organ of the National Congress of Portworkers in Recife, reports that Radio Moscow in her programme in Portuguese attacked furiously the work of Moral Re-Armament in Latin America. "The visit of our colleague Antonio de Barros Falcao (Member of the Board of this paper) to Montevideo at the invitation of the dockers of that city was mentioned," says the report. "Radio Moscow appeared to imply that Com-

munist was outmoded and that Moral Re-Armament is an idea focusing the attention of the workers in Latin America."

UNEXPECTED VISITOR

BONN—The Roumanian Minister for Foreign Trade arrived on a nine-day official visit significant of far more than expanded commercial ties between his country and West Germany. Arriving just after a visit by Soviet leader, Mr. Brezhnev, to Bucharest, the Trade Minister said his trip to Germany conforms to Roumania's policy of national independence and of "economic relations with all countries irrespective of their social system".

EXTRADITE "REDEEMER"

ACCRA—Ghana has issued an international arrest warrant against former President Nkrumah charging him with large-scale extortion, though the Government does not expect cooperation from Guinea, his hosts in exile.

US-ASIAN RELATIONS

NEW YORK—The Chairman of the Rockefeller Foundation, John D. Rockefeller, urged "the transferring of greater responsibility for Asia from American to Asian shoulders where it belongs". He said America's relationship with Asia was "lopsided". "Our presence supports their self-preservation but bothers

their self-respect. It is an imbalanced relationship of receiver and donor, protegee and protector." To correct this he urged greatly increased American support for mutual assistance among Asian countries and top priority to projects designed to aid whole regions towards self-development such as the Mekong River development scheme.

"REALISM" OF McNAMARA

MONTREAL—American Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara called for "realism" in American policy towards China and stated that a lessening of China's isolation would reduce the risk of war. He stated, "There are many ways in which we can build bridges towards nations who would cut themselves off from meaningful contact."

ODINGA OPPOSES

NAIROBI—Oginga Odinga, former Vice President of Kenya who precipitated a split in the ruling KANU party and has formed an opposition group, stated that his party would attempt to expropriate the remaining lands held by European settlers and make it impossible for non-Kenyans to hold land.

PL480 YARN AND SMOKE

KHARTOUM—Sudan and Uganda have protested against American offers of cotton and tobacco to India under a new PL 480 agreement fearing a reduction in the amount India normally purchases from them.

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LETTERS

FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT

My heartiest congratulations on your article "Strength, Wisdom and Care" (HIMMAT, May 13). You have rightly and boldly pointed out that "there is no room in India now for the man who wants to be honest but will not fight". We cannot attain our goal by merely living honestly ourselves. We should fight for honesty, justice and straightforwardness without fear. Then only we can be proud of our motherland. I have already decided to lead an honest life. But after reading the above article I have even decided to fight corruption, maladministration, dishonesty and poverty for the sake of my motherland.

C. SAMPATHKUMAR*

Madras 33

* This weeks Rs. 10 prize winner

CHINA HAS NOT HELPED

HIMMAT has done a great service to the intellectuals in our country by publishing the views of a Japanese friend and Mr. Vaitheswaran's comments based on them.

It is quite true that a new power balance has to be achieved in Asia. But did we not recognize this fact when we tried to evolve friendly relations with Communist China and to bring together the countries not only in Asia but also in Africa? When we talk of "containing" China, we want that the Chinese should get their proper place in the power balance and nothing more. We want China to recognize that there are other nations who also must get their rightful place in the power balance. This has not been recognized by China today and that is the root cause of the conflicts.

I fail to understand how our policy can be described as anti-Chinese. Have we not been supporting admission of China to the United Nations? Have we not refused to enter into any military alliances against China? Let us think of what is happening in Indonesia today. Nothing of the sort has happened in India. True, the popular sentiment is anti-Chinese, but our official position has been made clear by all the three Prime Ministers. We have never

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said that we want to defeat China, if necessary with outside help, thus getting the terms of settlement in our favour. Popular sentiment is anti-Chinese because nothing has happened to help a change in it. In proper circumstances the feeling will change.

It is doubtful that the policies of Communist China will change once Mao is out of the scene. However, some time her policies will change. India will not block the way in those circumstances.

Lastly, why should we prepare for post-Mao China? Nobody prepared for post-Hitler Germany or for post-Stalin Russia. When the policies of these countries changed, the other countries adjusted to these changes. That can happen in our case when the Chinese policies change. We must remember that the present is also important and our position today must be based on the present circumstances.

N. B. KULKARNI

Bombay 1

BEWARE OF CHINA

If India is to rethink her China policy she should take many facts into consideration before she frames it.

China is a Communist nation. She would like to "liberate" other nations. "Liberation" to a Communist means "turning a country Communist".

China is guilty of one of the worst crimes that any nation could be guilty of—genocide in Tibet. Her betrayal of Tibet and India should be a lesson to any country, so foolish as to be friends with China.

Moreover, the Chinese believe that borders are negotiable. China's main objective has been and is to dominate all the territory she considers historically part of her empire. Her aggressive and expansive policy forbids us to foretell what her actions in the future will be.

After considering these unpalatable facts about China we should formulate a policy which would wall off China from India. But a small door should be left open for talks and negotiations, for China is undoubtedly "a great nation".

ARUN TIWARI

Calcutta 14

READY FOR POST-MAO DAYS

Concerning our attitude to Communist China: with caution, I would endorse some of Mr. R. Vaitheswaran's views. If understanding is to be reached between China and India to the benefit of both, then gladly let it be so. But we cannot forget in a hurry those days in 1958 (known as the Bhai-Bhai days) when we went out of our way to cultivate relationships and in return received more than a smack in the face. No, Sir, we cannot afford to be so naive again. We must be careful. If we are to extend an arm of friendship, it has to be an armed arm.

Through chinks in the bamboo curtain, we are receiving glimpses of things to come. Many intellectual Chinese dissidents are being hauled over

HIMMAT awards Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be brief and exclusive.—Ed.

the coals for questioning some of the Chinese policies. Mao Tse-tung is definitely on his last legs, and his departure may usher in a new atmosphere of cordiality between China and India. Therefore, as you wisely suggest, we should be prepared for these bracing winds of change.

But, on the other hand, we cannot forget that China has now exploded her third deadly bomb. In Korea and Vietnam she has tasted of success. In the cold war with Russia, China, though the underdog, seems always to come out on top. She has drunk deep of the waters of power, which tasted more than sweet. The passing away of one man, consequently, may not indicate the dawn of a new day. His successors may wish tenaciously to continue the policy outlined by Mao Tse-tung.

If that be true, then India will have to watch her p's and q's, and appease and accuse. A policy of friendship from a position of weakness will not augur well for India. What we desperately need is an atomic umbrella that will safeguard our sub-continent. No one said that we have to use it. But in its shade we might experience a measure of security.

DAVID SASSOON

Calcutta 14

BRING CHINA TO THE UN

In my opinion, the only wise course to tame China and bring her to her senses is to "secure a seat for her in the UN". For this, special responsibility lies with the USA. The USA must immediately change its "veto attitude" and unequivocally support China's membership in the UN. This act of the USA will go a long way in bringing peace to the world and stability and fearlessness to non-Communist countries, particularly India.

P.V.V. RAJAN

Calcutta 1

VIEWPOINT

COMPETITION

* Candidates' qualities I would vote for in the next elections.

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** India and Pakistan need each other to solve their economic problems.

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NEW ZEALAND FARMER SAYS:

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“IN NEW ZEALAND, the Government would like every farmer to produce 4 per cent more than he did last year. But many farms, including our own, have been producing 2 per cent more than this target suggested by the Government, for the last many years. In fact we reap three times as much from an acre as our grandfathers did,” said 27-year-old Garfield Hayes, a young New Zealand farmer now in Bombay.

Amazing! What is your secret? I asked him.

“The secret—if you can call it a secret—is our very favourable climate. Part of the reason is better methods of cultivation. Mechanization also helps us. For instance, on our farm of 3,000 acres, we use six tractors, which can do the work of nearly 100 horses. We also continue to learn the best methods of chemical weed-control, and seeding our crops.”

How much does an average farm in New Zealand produce in a day?

“Enough for about 68 persons.”

Find Better Ways

How do you manage it?

“We have to. Reason is—90 per cent of our export items are farm products. Better seed, new varieties of plants and animals, fertilizers, insecticides, weed-killers, big machines to till the rich land, new ideas on conservation of soil and water, better management, disease-control of animals, and—above all—hard work, all play their part in producing our record harvests and making the wheatfields full and golden. And we look to research to find still better ways for the future.”

Have you got any Indian farmers in New Zealand?

“Yes, out of 2-3000 Indians (mainly Gujaratis) living there, about 300 are farmers.”

Would you like to train young Indian farmers on your farms?

“Very much, if they can get over there. But, they must be willing to give the benefit of this training to the entire country and not only to themselves, on their return.”

Do tell us something about your early life?

“Farming has been a very integral part of my early life. My great-great-grandfather was one of the pioneer farmers in our area of New Zealand. So, farming is in my blood.”

What would you like to say to Indian farmers?

“In New Zealand we have about two and three-quarter million people and about fifty-five million sheep and our constant fear is that the sheep might win elections! But, seriously, the biggest problem facing the world is that there are too many people and too little food. Over-population brings famine, encourages dictatorship and often leads to war. Wars bring tremendous economic problems and more famine. The farms of the

world can keep pace with the population, provided the farmers produce more and more, taking full advantage of scientific research, and the people of the world learn to live like a family and to care for others. The young farmers of today, all over the world, must find ways to increase their production and to change waste lands into green and lush pastures.”

Do you think that we can feed the world in our lifetime?

“There is no time to wait for tomorrow. I am quite certain, as an experienced farmer, that feeding the increasing population of the world is no problem, provided we learn to make fullest use of the available land and technology and learn to care for others. To illustrate this, may I state that the production on our farm has increased by 100 per cent ever since our family met and applied Moral Re-Armament in our life and work. So, also, Indian farmers can double their farm production.

Production Unlimited

“I was very much impressed by what I saw at Aarey Milk Colony at Goregaon (Bombay). The cleanliness of the place, the efficiency of the workers, the output—everything, leaves nothing to be desired.”

What do you wish to do in India?

“I want to help my Indian friends by making them aware that they, too, can find the key to prosperity, and production unlimited through MRA.”

H.M.S.

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**RATH
VANASPATI**

INDIRA'S 100 DAYS—from page 5

If she departs further from the beaten track — or rut — as the nation's interests may compel her to do, she will need to grow into a propagandist, a campaigner, as her father was.

She has shown little interest in group politics of the Party and will be wise to leave the mechanics to the care of Kamaraj. She is set on gathering the mass support of the type her father had, for with it you can bully a party that has more than its share of political bullies (mildly termed "bosses").

Will Need a Team

Mass support will leave her free to function effectively without compelling her to pander to the syndicate, the Chief Ministers, the left or the right of her Party. She will be free to choose between the right and the wrong according to her own light.

This only adds to her enormous responsibility.

Two questions arise:

1. How will she use the supreme power she is heading for?
2. Who are the men that will implement her policies?

No one person in his or her own strength can change a nation. She will need a team to work with her. Now that she is settled in office, it is time she planned for the future.



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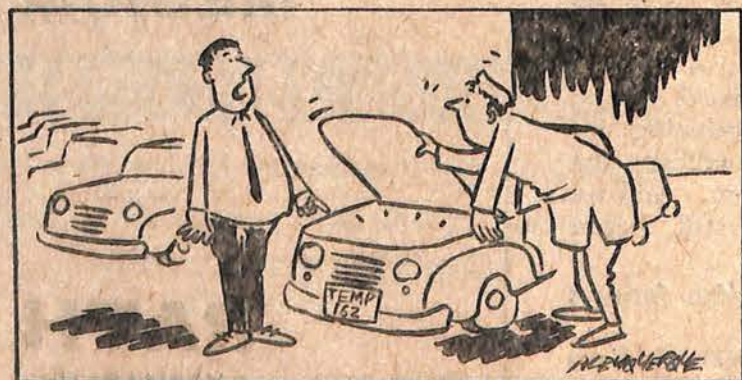
UNDER THE LENS—from page 7

He predicts "the mounting conflict, between a decaying regime that no longer has any other justification than the personal interests of those who profit by it, and the population of a young healthy country awakening after a long period of torpor, cannot end in compromise".

Michel Tatu does not agree that the ruling regime in conflict with the dynamic social forces of the country must inevitably sweep it away. He sees two other possibilities. Firstly, "The conservatism of the regime has not yet come to fruition, that it can still mature and harden." Secondly, "One can envisage a gradual transfer of authority from the Party to other centres of power—the army, the economic cadres, the police—a transfer, half negotiated and half conquered, which under conditions of 'controlled violence' would transform the regime into a more effective, if still dictatorial, form of government."

Big Changes Taking Place

A friend of mine who brought the above observations of Monsieur Tatu to my notice, and lives and works in Eastern Europe, writes, "Clearly, very big changes are taking place in the world ideological scene. From here at any rate, it looks as if Communism has lost its passion though not its power. The bosses who now represent a conservative bloc inside their own empire won't give up power without a struggle; nor will they stop resorting to the most unscrupulous tactics when it suits them. But two things have changed. They are no longer ready to take the same risks in promoting world revolution. And they no longer believe convincingly



"We said your car was ready for delivery. We never mentioned that the engine was ready."

in their own system. The gaps between theory and practice, promise and performance, are too great.

"They are caught in a dilemma. They can't go back to the absolutism of Stalin and the more they liberalize, the less strong is their hold over their own millions. I am talking primarily of European Communism. China presents another picture. But the Peking-Moscow schism has also weakened the ideological hold of Marxism among millions of believers.

Slivovic at 10 am

"If only nihilism, corruption and materialism were not growing so rapidly in the so-called free world the outlook would be much better than a few years back. As it is, humanity, East and West, faces the stupendous leap into space with no clear or satisfying aim. If ever it was Moral Re-Armament's hour, it is now—provided it is interpreted aright and lived up to the hilt.

"It is the gap between the way people talk and the way they actually live that has sapped the strength of Communism more than all the propaganda of the West. Yugoslav Communism, for example, was built in its partisan days on the most rigorous moral discipline: no alcohol at Party meetings, no sexual looseness amongst members. Believe me, it has slipped since then. The higher the man one goes to see the more certain one is of finding him drinking *slivovic* at 10 am. It is almost a status symbol, like the big Mercedes cars they all ride in. Of course, you can guess how much respect they retain on that basis."

Next Step Forward

My friend believes that the youth of Moral Re-Armament, who are bursting with energy and purpose all over the world, have the answer to the disaffected youth in Eastern Europe as well as in Western Europe. One of these days the Communists will turn to Moral Re-Armament as the next step in their onward evolution.

This was a life GOPALKRISHNA GOKHALE 1866—1915

"HE DID not wear his religion on his sleeve, he lived it...he remains for me the most perfect man on the political field...pure as crystal, gentle as a lamb, brave as a lion and chivalrous to a fault."

The man to earn such high praise from Mahatma Gandhi was Gopalkrishna Gokhale, whom Gandhiji regarded as his political "guru", in preference to such great contemporary leaders as Tilak and Pherozeshah Mehta, and whose birth centenary was celebrated by a grateful nation this month.

Born in a poor but cultured family in Ratnagiri District, Gokhale managed with great difficulty to secure higher education. Forsaking the temptation to go in for a lucrative job, he devoted himself to the service of the nation.

Gokhale's main work in life was in the field of politics and public life. He is well known for the Servants of India Society, which he established in 1905.

Whatever Gokhale did, organizing plague relief measures at Poona in 1898, or visiting South Africa for improving the lot of Indians there, or speaking in the Imperial Legislative Council, he enhanced his country's prestige.

As an educationist, he served Fergusson College for 15 years, and the Southern Educational Society for 20 years. He was a great scholar and an impressive orator. Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, once said the English books Gokhale had not read were perhaps not worth reading. On reading the very first speech Gokhale made on the Budget (1902-3) Ramesh Chandra Dutt wrote to him that it was the "ablest and best speech that had ever been made from our point of view in the Viceroy's Council", and he "dared to prophesy—knowing all the public men of India—that you will be the strongest, the foremost and most irresistible leader among them". His prophecy came true.

Gokhale became the president of the Banaras session of the Congress at the age of 40 and died at 49.

Gokhale wanted India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world, politically, industrially, in religion, in literature, in science and in art. At the same time, he believed that "we should not have two standards, one to be followed in public life, and the other to be followed in our private life."

H.M.S.

Q and A

Q—You say that Chairman Mao has not been seen in public for some months. Is he alive?

A. B. RAO, Bombay 1

A—Yes, judging by photographs published last week in the world's press showing Mao with the delegation of Albanian leaders. Speculation on his increasingly long absences from public view now centres on the likelihood of his having a severe paralytic condition or of his deliberately standing back while his comrades fight out the issue of his succession.

Q—In view of the reported starvation deaths in the state of Orissa, one is inclined to think that Indian democracy is designed to safeguard the interests of the rich and not the poor; the victims of starvation are, in fact, victims of democracy. Please discuss.

MISS L. JANAKI, London E 7

A—The victims of starvation are, in fact, the victims of callousness, and callousness is not the exclusive sin of any one class or system.

It is true that last year's rainfall in the worst affected areas of Orissa was less than half the normal. As a result 70 per cent of the crops were ruined and the balance produced a very poor and withered yield. But though it was as early as August, 1965, that Orissa's Deputy Minister of Community Development warned of the looming hardship it was not until March this year that the Government brought into operation gratuitous relief and fair price rice shops. (Some social service and missionary organizations did begin relief services in February.)

When the Chinese attacked in October, 1962, the nation rose as a man to fight—weapons and supplies were rushed swiftly to the areas where they were needed most. When hunger attacks Orissa, and let us face it, many other areas, the relief machinery grinds slowly and reluctantly. It is callousness at every level that has to be dealt with in our nation.

Q—Dr. H. Mahtab, MP, has asserted "bossism" is on the rise in the Congress Party and can ruin the nascent democracy of India. What is your opinion?

K. L. VARAHAN, New Delhi 16

A—He is quite right. Even Mrs. Indira Gandhi was reported the other day to have replied on this point, rather fretfully, "But how to fight it out?" (bossism). "Bossism" is inevitable in any part—in fact it is invited—when ever the rank and file yield their democratic responsibility for shaping the party policy and direction in exchange for crumbs of office. Don't blame the bosses if everyone toadies to them.

ANY QUESTIONS?
SEND THEM TO Q & A, HIMMAT.

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Maharashtra and Mysore

By Rajmohan Gandhi

SELDOM in any country have rulers been blessed with the loyalty shown by the Indian people to their leaders.

Dissatisfaction has been mounting for some years, yet even today millions are keen to offer their trust to those who govern us.

I saw evidence of this when I attended the Chowpatty rally addressed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. It was a vast crowd. Mrs. Gandhi was earnest and frank. However, she did not succeed in giving the hundreds of thousands hope that India would soon turn a corner.

Bombay's newspaper columns, hotel rooms and streets have been filled with All-India Congress Committee delegates. They have discussed food, the coming elections, the Indo-American Educational Foundation, the divisions inside the country and held a little election of their own.

Nowhere in the talks was there any evidence of hope. There was a great deal of criticism which did not seem to affect the policies or poise of the leadership. But as far as I could make out there was not one person who said, "Look here, gentlemen, I have a cure."

It was all blame, blame and blame. Some whipped the Government, others America and others the Opposition parties. Nobody claimed he had a way out.

The delegates' confidence that Congress would win the next elections was matched by their seeming certainty that India's problems could not really be solved. Everybody appeared clear on what should not be done. Few had ideas on what should be.

Specific Proposal

Now I believe that a change can take place, and that it can happen faster than most would concede. And I have a specific suggestion where it might begin.

I propose that the leaders of Maharashtra and Mysore decide separately and together that they will resolve the border dispute between them in a new spirit of friendship and unselfishness. The differences are genuine, and feelings are strong on both sides. A solution here would be a brilliant pace-setter.

Supposing Mr. Naik, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, and Mr.

Nijalingappa, Mysore's Chief Minister, were to issue a joint statement outlining the changes agreed upon and their timing. They would electrify the country.

Then Naik and Nijalingappa might go to Punjab and help in resolving the totally unresolved Punjab tangle by winning over Sikh, Hindu, Congress and non-Congress leaders to a new attitude.

Later they could go to the north-east and do something inspired with the Mizo and Naga leadership. The time might then soon be ripe for them to arrange a get-together between the ablest DMK stalwarts from the south and the staunchest Aryavarta champions of the north.

I want to warn those who would call this a far-fetched plan. It would require a wilder imagination to believe that without a pioneering and unexpected development of this kind it is possible to keep the unity of India.

We are told that a decision by the Central Government on the dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore is imminent. Mrs. Gandhi went to the courageous and determined men fasting for the merger of Mysore's Marathi-speaking areas with Maharashtra and promised them that the right decision would soon be announced.

Hair-pulling, Nail Scratching

If the present attitude between the peoples and leaders of Maharashtra and Mysore does not change, whatever this decision is it would arouse and inflame passions of hate, fear and revenge.

These fierce inter-state wars do not exactly help in projecting India abroad as a nation fitted to bring peace between countries. Our complaints about the hostile attitudes of neighbouring countries are often unheard in the normal din of our own mighty squabbles.

Mao Tse-tung's confidence is not entirely shaken by our official "firm determination to resist aggression" when he is presented every week with a fresh demonstration of our internal hair-pulling and nail-scratching.

While the A-ICC delegates were expressing their dislikes in a large hall in North Bombay, another hall in South Bombay was the scene of hope, unity and confidence.

On the stage in this hall were 60 Indians, most of them young, from all parts of the country. In music and drama they portrayed their challenge: "India Arise".

Now an interesting thing about this gathering on the stage is that it included people from Maharashtra and Mysore. More interesting, the Maharashtrians among them have learned songs in Kannada (Mysore's language) and the Mysoreans have become skilled in Marathi songs. The early creation of a new India is a much stronger passion in these men and women than the transfer or retention of square miles.

People watching and hearing "India Arise" came afterwards to the east and spoke of their thrill at seeing the demonstration. Some offered money, others labour and time to spread the spirit.

Men and Mountains

It was the comment of many in Bombay last week that the senior figures who moved in and out of Shanmukhananda Hall could have done with this spirit.

They can quickly acquire it, if they want to. And I believe that a number of them will want to.

Will Mr. Kamaraj and Mr. Chavan urge Mr. Naik and Mr. Nijalingappa to consider my proposal with care? I do not see why they should not. At worst, the result would be a minor disappointment and a return to the known and expected pattern of inter-state feuding. On the other hand, the result could indeed be a splendid breakthrough, offering our Central leaders a weapon of irresistible power.

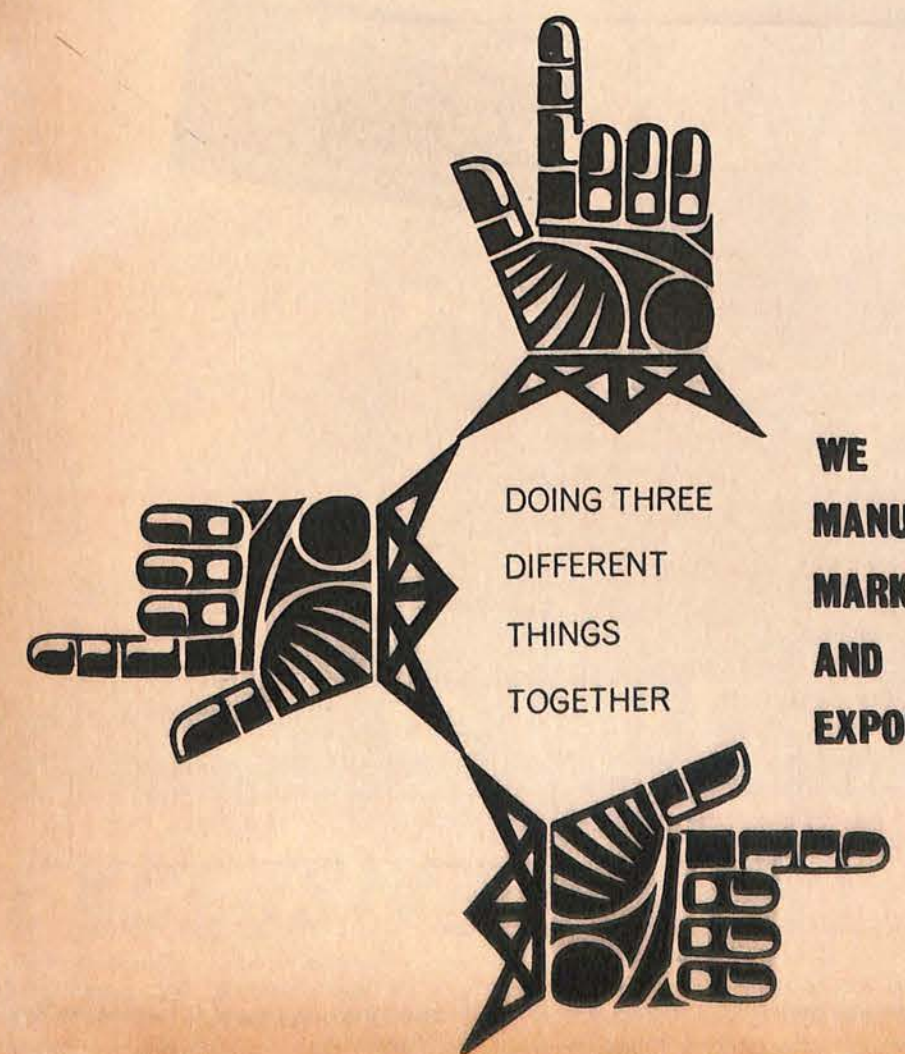
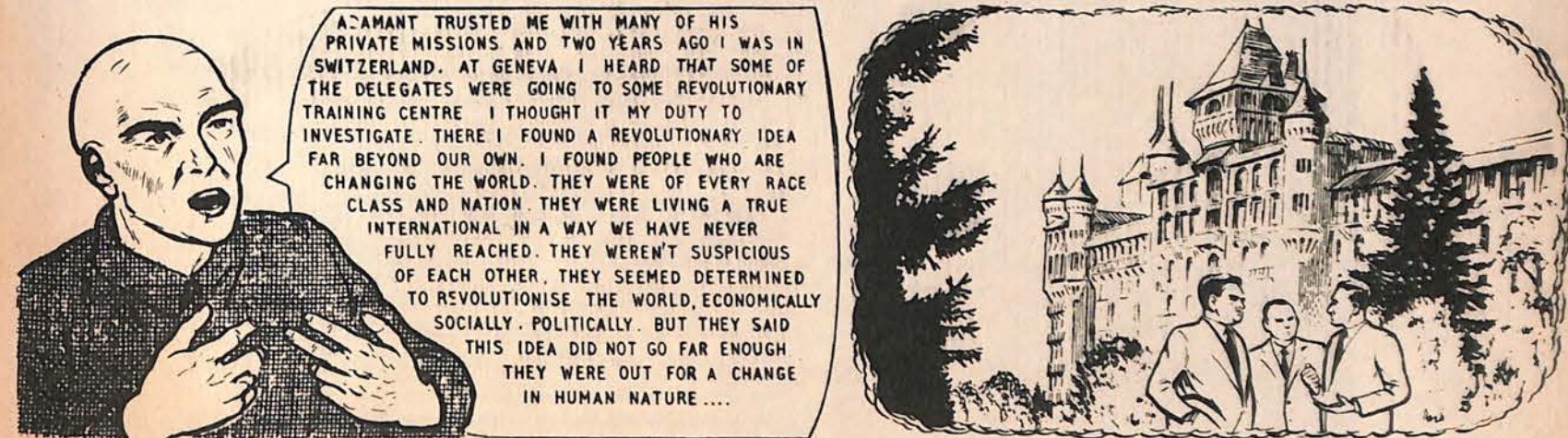
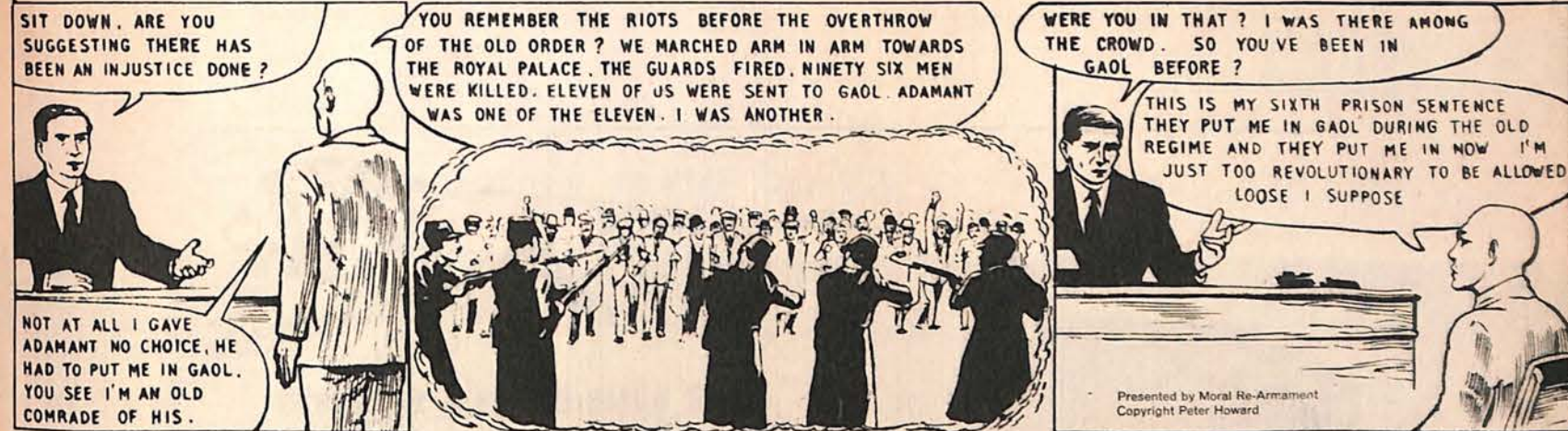
Outbursts against what we feel are the mistakes of other people may sometimes be necessary. They never can be the substitute for solutions which have to be found.

India is meant to be a strong and influential country, and her future in the world is far more important than any internal re-arrangement of boundaries.

India requires, as Mr. Chavan said the other day, men who can match her mountains. Men who involve themselves in the planning and building of a new Asia, men who can be the Indian reply to Mao and his colleagues. Will the leaders of Maharashtra and Mysore face this truth?

THE DICTATOR'S SLIPPERS by PETER HOWARD

Episode 11



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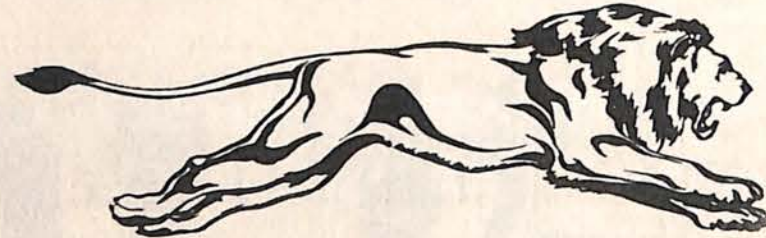
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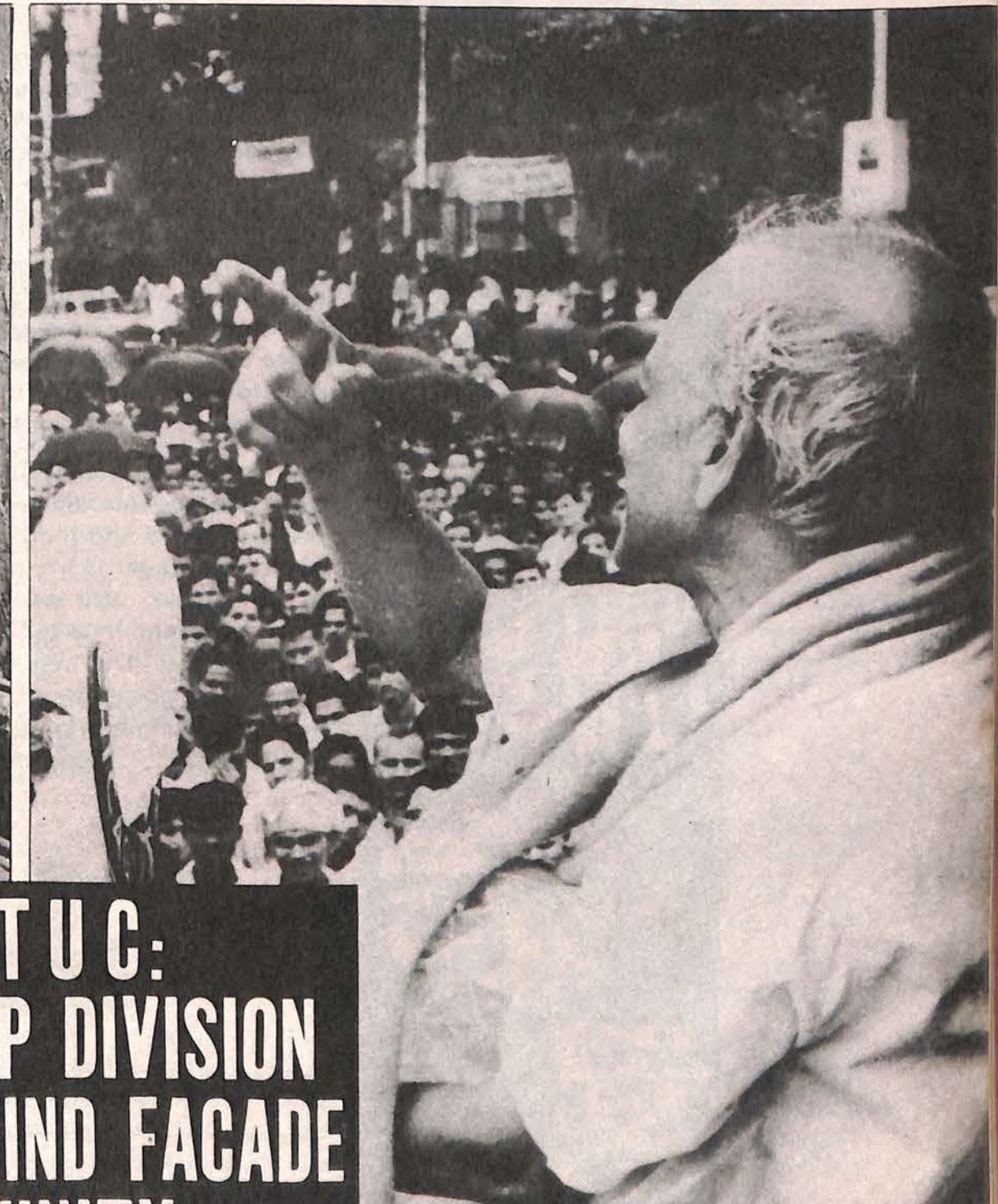
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EXCLUSIVE REPORT FROM PAKISTAN

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