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# HIMMAT

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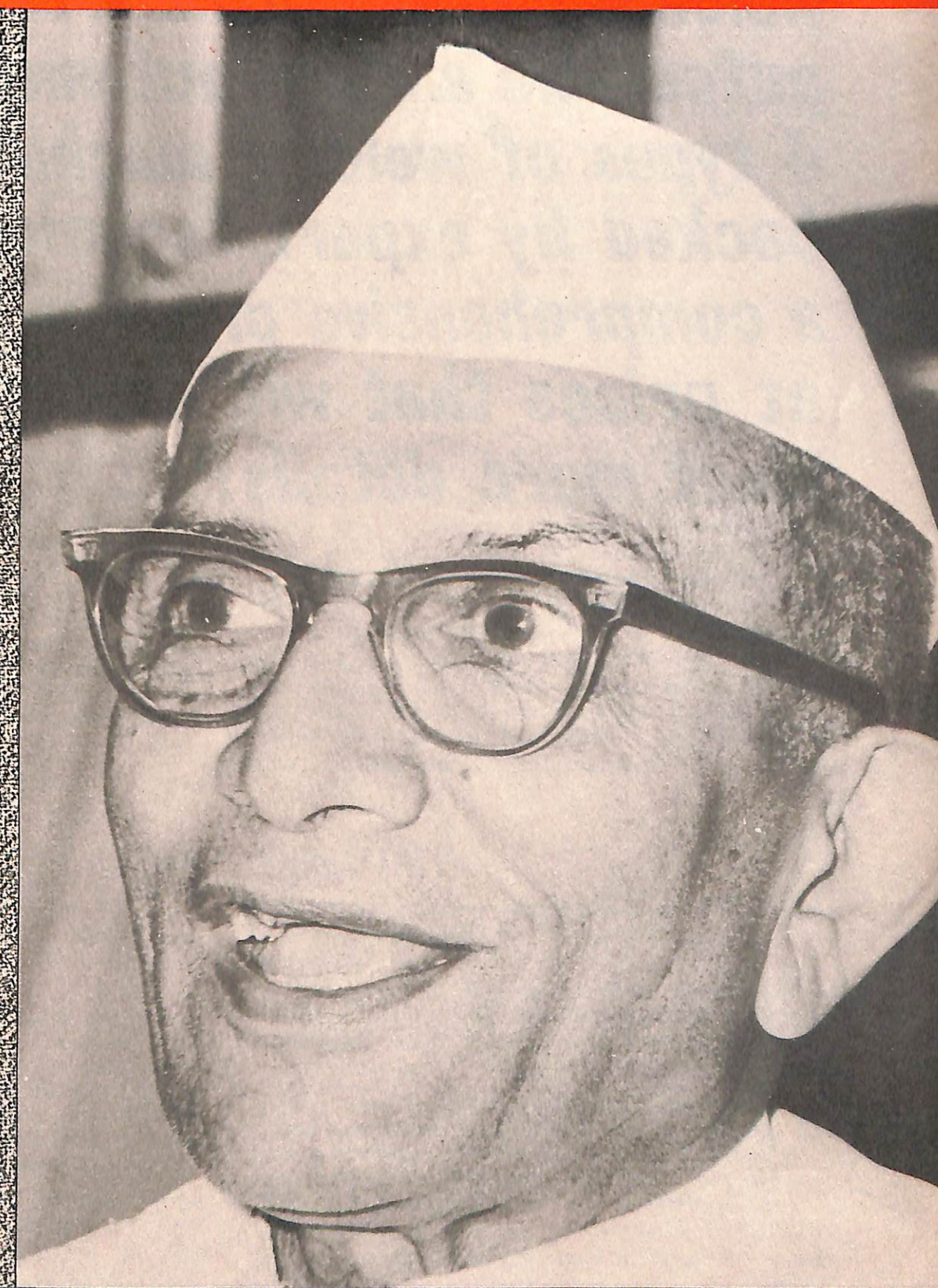
Asia's new voice

FRIDAY MAY 26 1967

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THE BUDGET*

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India*

*by R. M. Lala  
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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

BOMBAY FRIDAY MAY 26 1967

## Cult of smallness

WE WORSHIP little things. Is a steel plant located in my State or my neighbour's? Is a university established in my city or in another? We cloak our self-interest in the garb of "regional patriotism".

This week the city of Bhavnagar rose up against the decision of the Gujarat Government to locate a university in Rajkot instead of Bhavnagar. Mobs, led by both Congress and Opposition leaders, roamed the streets burning and stoning. Nearly 150 people were arrested and 70 police hurt. The Congress District Committee called on all Congressmen to resign from the Party and government posts.

The Bhavnagar Congressmen occupied most of Morarji Desai's time last weekend on the eve of his having to present the Budget. They were eager he arbitrated but not so eager to follow his verdict that the Gujarat Government's decision was "just and final".

What a colossal waste of national energy! Both Bhavnagar and Rajkot are in Saurashtra. They speak the same language with the same intonations. Have we come to a point when not only linguistic states but also cities will wrestle against each other, as they did in ancient Greece?

## Bullets or bluff?

WAR IN WEST ASIA seemed closer last week when President Nasser demanded withdrawal of the UN peace-keeping force following Israel's threat of reprisals against Syrian raids. But the deeper cause of the crisis is the 19-years' hostility between the Arab nations and Israel.

The Arab powers have little advantage over Israeli forces. According to one report, Egypt can field 120,000 men (of whom one third are already in Yemen); Jordan, Syria and Iraq, 160,000 between them. Israel can mobilise 250,000. It is unlikely therefore that Nasser wants a showdown with Israel now. His aim may be bluff rather than bullets.

According to UAR-Syrian sources the cause of the present crisis is a plot by "Imperialist powers", Israel and "Arab reactionaries" to topple the left-wing Syrian Government under the guise of Israeli reprisals. Israeli and Western sources accuse the USSR, Syria and UAR of a plot to bolster the Syrian regime.

The main loser is the UN, whose forces have ignominiously withdrawn when they seemed most needed. It is significant that Yugoslavia and certain

other UN contingents are reported to have pulled out without waiting for U Thant's decision—thus forcing his hand. Can small nations trust UN protection?

With the withdrawal of UNEF's thin line of blue berets tensions will be heightened permanently. Egypt gains strategically through the reoccupation of posts on the Gulf of Akaba, whence she threatens shipping en route to the Israeli port of Elath.

Further warlike acts by the UAR will forfeit world sympathy—which in fact she is already losing.

President Johnson is said to have proposed joint action by the US and USSR to enforce peace. The two great powers can exercise considerable leverage on their allies. But it will take more than diplomatic pressure to bring lasting peace in West Asia. Any effective initiative must cure the hates and hurts, misery and injustice that history has left in this cradle of civilisation.

## No feathers

THE CONGRESS PARTY CHIEF of Bengal, Mr Atulya Ghosh, has urged the Congress Working Committee to abolish the privileges of former rulers, like flying flags on their cars, priority in transport, telephones, telegrams, etc. No one has noticed these privileges and they have not interfered with the rights of others.

The "democratic Socialists" of the Congress Party, however, have been the truly privileged people of our country. Shorn of his feathers in the election, Atulya Ghosh looks enviously at the glowing plumes of others, anxious to pluck them. It will need more than stripping princes with privileges to rehabilitate Mr Ghosh.

## Forgetful?

NEWS THAT A BRITISH ACTOR has insured himself for £5000 against forgetting his lines opens up limitless possibilities.

This report will doubtless be welcomed by students entering examinations where the dangers of "forgetfulness" loom large, or to the motorist who "forgets" to park in the proper place.

Does this mean that would-be travellers could insure against the "forgetfulness" of Government officials in not issuing "P" forms? But surely the greatest boon will be to those politicians who forget which Party they stood for at the last elections.

Unfortunately, it is not all so simple. The insurance brokers have laid down certain terms for accepting British actor Norman Vaughan's policy. Among them are: no alcohol for three days and three nights before the opening of the show and in bed by 11 pm. The underwriters reserve the right to phone the actor at any time up to five hours before the performance and ask him to repeat at random any of the script.

# Briefly speaking...

## Pro-Viet rally

ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATIONS are not the only ones to find vociferous supporters in the USA. Recently 63,000 people, led by bands and banners, marched through New York in a "Support Our Men In Vietnam" parade organised by a city fire brigade officer. The demonstration was recorded by TV cameras and the film flown to Saigon for showing to US Army men.

## "Black power"

AN INTERVIEW with Dr Nathan Hare, an advocate of "black power", in *US News and World Report*, makes frightening reading. Dr Hare, 33-year-old professor at Howard University, Washington DC, appears to view coolly the possibility of guerrilla and civil war in the US as Negroes strug-

gle for "equality—not just equality of opportunity". He speaks of a "black blitzkrieg—like a thousand giant Watts riots sweeping the country".

It may be true, as the head of the FBI has recently said, that pro-Chinese-agitators have fired the "black power" movement. But the embers of hate were already there. President Johnson has declared war on poverty in the US. Who will help America move more passionately and more purposefully in a war against hate and the callous indifference which causes it?

## Road to peace?

NEXT WEEK King Mahendra of Nepal will open a 70-mile Chinese-built road linking Katmandu and Tibet. It is now possible to drive from Katmandu to the border and back in a day. Lhasa is three days' drive away.

It is to be hoped that tourists and traders, not tanks and troops, will alone make use of the new road.

## Students and spiders

DAVID BYGOTT, an 18-year-old Oxford student, won a Royal Zoological Society award for a paper on house spiders. His conclusion: "Spiders are very like undergraduates. They laze around doing nothing all day, but become active at nights." Widening the scope of his studies, Bygott keeps a tarantula by his bed.

## Ignorance can be ended

ONE THIRD of all primary school teachers are unqualified, according to a recent survey, and only 58 per cent of girls were last year enrolled in schools.

The task before Education Minister Dr Triguna Sen and his colleagues is immense. Yet one should not forget that the banishment of illiteracy may be just around the corner.

Science can within a few years make it possible to beam educational programmes, at relatively low cost, via TV and satellite communications

Nations fail because they desperately try to combat moral apathy with economic plans.

FRANK N. D. BUCHMAN  
1878-1961

into every village. The deadweight at the lower levels of education can be lifted. And Dr Sen may be able to concentrate on creating a higher education that builds a dedicated, straight leadership.

## Lindbergh anniversary

MAY 21 was a historic anniversary in aviation. Forty years ago Charles Lindbergh, 25-year-old airmail pilot, landed in Paris after the first solo transatlantic flight.

There's fantastic contrast between "The Spirit of St Jouis"—the frail monoplane in which Lindbergh made his 33-hour non-stop flight—and the sleek Concord jet which will soon be carrying scores of passengers, who have dined in London, across the Atlantic to New York in time for tea.

## India could export food

SIDE BY SIDE with news of hunger and despair, not only in Bihar, but in Madhya Pradesh and elsewhere, appears fresh hope that it can swiftly be ended.

"The world's hungriest nation could feed itself and even export food within a few years," says an *Economist* report, citing the opinions of "cool-eyed scientists who have seen the future of Indian agriculture in the experimental fields of the Punjab and know that it can work".

With new high-yield grains, states the article, "India's grain production could be more than ten times what it is today." If we have the will there is a way.

## Switched on slumber

SLEEP AT THE TOUCH OF A SWITCH! A West German firm has produced a contrivance that causes sleep by sending electrical impulses via an eye-bandage into the nervous system. Another method, guaranteed not to fail, is to switch on to one of All-India Radio's political talks!

*Birbal*

## MAN BEHIND THE BUDGET

# Morarji aims to revive India

BY R. M. LALA

I ASKED MORARJI DESAI last month, "What is uppermost in your mind?"

He replied simply, "To revive the country."

Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister, a former Chief and Home Minister, Morarji Desai has enjoyed power for 30 years but for two interruptions: once during World War II, and next when he gave up office under the Kamaraj Plan in 1963.

Most of his later life has been stormy but this 6-foot tall, controversial figure strides the political scene almost oblivious of the attacks. The last four years have mellowed Morarji greatly. Destiny, in which he believes, has reshaped him. For 3½ years from August 1963 to February 1967 he has been out of office, a period which was "good for me."

I can picture him in those years in his modest New Delhi home seated erect on a mattress with his back to the empty fireplace. Surrounding him were his books—rather bulky volumes of Vivekananda, his tiny white transistor broadcasting the cricket commentary, his hands busy at his spinning wheel.

## Discipline and freedom

That for me sums up the man who has respect for moral values, a love of action and a link with the Gandhian past. He is fit enough to have made a credible score in cricket just a couple of months ago. Morarji is up by 5 am every morning and before the Capital is awake has had his bath, recited his *Gita* (which he knows by heart) and has finished his exercises.

You may criticise Morarji but have to admit that he is himself. He does not pretend to be like anyone else.

Once I was ushered into his suite at Claridges Hotel, London, when he had accompanied Mr Nehru for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. As the door opened, I halted for a moment, to find Morarji seated on the carpet spinning away—probably the first and last man to spin at Claridges.

This son of a humble, impecunious but principled schoolmaster was

born in Bulsar on the west coast, 120 miles north of Bombay. At 15 his father died and the responsibility of the family fell on his young shoulders. He later studied at G. T. School, Bombay, on a scholarship of Rs 10 (10 sh) a month which he saved and sent home. Then he went to Wilson College and graduated with a first class. In 1918 he became Deputy Collector during British Raj but resigned in 1930. He was drawn into the Freedom Movement, and in all spent 7 years in jail.

When the first Congress Ministry was formed he was appointed Revenue Minister of Bombay Presidency. Came the war in 1939 and Morarji resigned with the rest of the Ministry. In 1946, when Congress resumed office, Morarji became Home Minister of Bombay, then one of the largest provinces. He administered efficiently and was reputed to clear

all his files within 24 hours of reaching him. But he invited the wrath of the anti-prohibitionists with his unyielding attitude to drink and his provocative statements.

## Firings and fasting

In the 1952 general elections he lost his Bulsar seat, but soon returned to rule as Chief Minister. With linguistic reorganisation, late 1956 and 1957 were difficult years for him. Both the Maharashtrians and the Gujaratis campaigned for a separate state of their own instead of remaining in the unilingual State of Bombay. There were incidents of violence and police firings both in Bombay and Ahmedabad. He fasted in Ahmedabad as Gandhiji would have done, to purify himself when the storm was raging around him.

In 1957 Nehru took him into the Union Cabinet first as Minister of

There have also been some miraculous escapes.

2 **Better facilities.** Do senior railways officials ever imagine, let alone experience, the sweat and anguish of getting a reserved third class ticket? Many travellers, though paying full fare, are lucky to get even a foothold in a doorway. Even to get a platform ticket at Victoria Terminus in Bombay last week, I was 43rd in the queue.

3 **Punctual timings.** It is no longer worth meeting a train unless first ascertaining its arrival time. But then has any senior official ever tried ringing "Enquiries"? The number is invariably busy.

To pay higher fares for more value is hard enough. To pay higher fares and get less value is infuriating. Once again our "Hold-the-price-line" Government leads the way in raising the cost of living.

With more effort (and more honesty among the public, no doubt) the Railways could increase revenue by Rs 9 crores at present lost through ticketless travel. And some reports indicate that Rs 20 crores would be nearer the truth.

*Freebooter*

## CHALTA HAI...



"Please bring me the atlas. I want to see what countries there are left to which I have not yet paid a courtesy visit."

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QUBIRAMA

# VERDICT!

## This week HIMMAT

IS APPALLED at the report that Indian Railways are losing Rs 9 crores a year from ticketless travel.

★

SALUTES Brazilian football star Pele for refusing to attend a function honouring him as "the world's most popular Negro" because his white team-mates were barred from coming with him.

★

WELCOMES an educational survey's recommendation that emphasis in planning be shifted to district level "to bring more realism into our plans".

★

CASTIGATES as abysmal red-tapism All India Radio's refusal of Mayor Karle of Poona's request to broadcast an appeal for Bihar Relief on grounds that they never broadcast appeals for funds.

★

FINDS Maharashtra Secondary Education Board guilty of gross incompetence in delaying till one month before the start of the school year its announcement of textbook changes (and then announcing there were no changes) and COMMENDS the publishers who went ahead so the books could be ready in time.

★

IS PLEASED at the Centre giving Sheikh Abdullah two days release on parole, and HOPES this proves that the Government is preparing to give him his complete freedom.

★

IS PUZZLED why the Government goes with begging bowl seeking new foreign loans, when it has over Rs 244 crores of foreign loans still unused from the Third Five Year Plan.

★

DESCRIBES as hot air ex-Ghana President Nkrumah's boast that he would return to Ghana "in a short time".

★

CONTRASTS China's instigation of rioting in Hong Kong with her repression of riots at home leading to over 100 deaths in the city of Ipin alone.

Commerce and Industries. Morarji left his Chief Ministership in Bombay to a former Parliamentary Secretary of his, till then an unknown figure named Y. B. Chavan. The hand of history has now brought both these men face to face in New Delhi as the closest contenders for the Prime Minister's office.

Morarji, soon appointed Union Minister for Finance, became the seniormost Minister in the Nehru Government when the ageing Prime Minister implemented the Kamaraj Plan. Ministers, under this plan, were expected to resign and—in theory—work to strengthen the Party. Morarji, like the rest, handed Nehru his resignation, little expecting that the leader would let him down. Morarji led the senior Ministers whose resignation Nehru did accept.

### Silenced

Ten months later Nehru died. In the succession struggle Mr Kamaraj and the "syndicate" of Party bosses did their best to keep Morarji out. Kamaraj claimed that he had taken a consensus privately of the Party leaders and the verdict was for Shastri. Morarji claimed that he had the majority of the MPs on his side. He was persuaded not to make it an issue. Eighteen months later when Shastri died in January, 1967, Morarji could not be persuaded to stand down again. The combined might of the Chief Ministers and the Party bosses was ranged against this one man. He stood and carried away 169 votes compared to the 365 of Mrs Gandhi. This performance established his status within the Party. The Chief Ministers and the Party wanted a more pliable Prime Minister than Morarji would have been.

In the year that followed Morarji consolidated his position further. After the last elections he wanted to stand against Indira for Prime Ministership. As his condition for standing down, Morarji insisted on the Deputy Prime Ministership and he got it with the Finance portfolio.

Within the first month of the new Parliament in March he has established himself as the best Parliamentarian on Congress benches. Many in his Party and in the Opposition say, "He is the one man who can now grip the nation." When Morarji rises in Parliament he is a patient and gracious figure. He soothes the Opposition where once he grated them.

At 71 he finds many of his policies reversed. Presiding over the Union Finance Ministry he sees various States scrapping his pet policy of Prohibition in order to earn the revenue he cannot furnish them.

The Party he has served loyally has been eased out of power in eight States though Morarji himself emerged with a majority of over 100,000 votes in the elections.

He finds the nation at a low ebb economically, her position weakened in world affairs. Destiny, he feels, has equipped him to lead India at this hour. But the top office where he could have been most effective has eluded him.

One of his closest friends told me, "If only Indira, Morarji and Chavan could work together everything would be right with the Cabinet, Congress and country. Morarji has a strong sense of loyalty which Indira should cash in on. Instead, she tends to listen to the men around her who whisper against Morarji to magnify before her their own small images."

In Morarji's presence you feel, "here is a man who wants to make his supreme contribution to the country but his way is not easy". Morarji is the first to admit "one must change oneself". But now he may need to accept that the Power that has changed him—perhaps more than he realises—could equally change other people, and that he may have an inspired part in making it possible.

As we parted the other day I said, "With the enormous task facing you it need not be surprising if you feel inadequate."

"I suppose if one does not feel inadequate, one is finished," he replied.

To govern well, Morarji realises the need for a Wisdom superior to his own. Tapping that Wisdom may prove his greatest strength.

On Thursday, May 25, soon after we went to press, Mr Morarji Desai presented the Union Budget.—Editor

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HIMMAT, May 26, 1967

## Can the Commonwealth survive Britain's Europeanisation?

BRITAIN'S ENTRY into the Common Market is now more or less inevitable. The reasons for Britain's application are compelling. As the *Economist* of London points out, "With the rapid development of 'conventional' secondary industries in new countries all over the world, maturer countries like Britain have found it increasingly necessary to rely on making and exporting sophisticated goods which (a) require a heavy capital outlay (b) need a background of general technological knowledge and where (c) economies of large-scale production are important.

Britain finds herself handicapped in not being able to exploit the economies of large-scale production as her exports to Commonwealth countries are necessarily in small quantities. Britain's search for a large export market drives her into Europe.

We cannot object merely because Britain's action causes temporary inconvenience to us. Nor should we be peevish because Mr Wilson singled out only the interests of New Zealand and the sugar-producing coun-

tries for special mention. Mr Wilson cannot obviously jeopardise his application by hedging it round with too many preconditions.

But it is fair to ask Mr Wilson and Mr Heath for their conception of the Commonwealth under the new circumstances. Does the "Europeanisation" of Britain exclude an effective or useful Commonwealth? With the economic bond and the sterling link weakened, if not torn asunder, and the political role already eroded by disparity of racial outlook, differences of continental situation and approach, and even intra-national conflicts and wars, does the Commonwealth idea have any validity?

Britain at the moment may have to concentrate all on entry into the Common Market. But this very process is bound to compel other Commonwealth nations to explore alternative relationships. This is already taking place. South Asia has already moved into the orbit of the Soviet Union and the USA. In view of Britain's present understanding of her role, is there any other alternative?

Should the October 1962 aggression be repeated, will Britain jump as readily to India's assistance? From so far away, one may be pardoned for believing that the effect of Britain's joining a Euro-centred Europe would be Euro-centredness. Britain was cast in a world role because of her leadership of the Commonwealth. It has become steadily less so over the years. Will it end for ever, as Britain becomes a "European power" overwhelmed by domestic demands?

It may well be, as some able advocates of Britain's application have suggested, that much of the emphasis on the Commonwealth arose from delusions unwarranted by reality and that the entry into the Common Market is only a recognition of existing economic and political fact. Perhaps it was this realisation that has led to the acceptance, with but feeble protest of Britain's application, by almost all Commonwealth countries.

## Under the Lens

by R. VAITHESWARAN



One may, however, justifiably shed a tear for an important association, however inadequate, of white, brown and black races, rich and poor nations, which was groping its way towards a new pattern of equality and which could, with foresight, have developed into a unique and mature, multi-racial, multi-national partnership of countries working together towards commonly evolved goals.

There are those who believe that such an association is not precluded by Britain's entry into Europe. If so, the pattern of a future Commonwealth has yet to be articulated by the leaders of Britain.

### Lost friendship

The history of the last twenty years does not justify too much optimism. To take only one instance, I am of the view that the fund of goodwill for Britain that existed on the eve of Britain's departure in 1947 has been largely dissipated and that the new generation of political leadership has no natural attachment for Britain. Over the years, respect for Britain's institutions and the "British way of life" and gratitude for the good things inherited from Britain has given way to emotional antagonism based on the belief that Britain's South Asia policy is a mixture of pride and prejudice that is heavily weighted against India.

Many leading men have told me that the British attitude towards the Indo-Pak conflict, whatever the rights and wrongs, has never really transcended the view that "Hindus and Muslims are two nations and never the twain shall meet. We always said so. What has been, will be". It is understandable that the British should despair that the two will ever resolve their problems. The Indians and Pakistanis with their unending and one-sided declamations against each other must often be impossible to get on with.

The unfortunate result of such frustrations has been a gradual de-

### SAY THAT AGAIN...

*An inefficient government by an inefficient clique with an insatiable hunger to cover as wide a field as possible with their inefficient authority, is the greatest conceivable injustice imposed on an innocent people.*

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

*Certainly we have made mistakes. But in spite of mistakes, we have made tremendous progress in the last 20 years.*

PRIME MINISTER MRS GANDHI

*I have spent much of my life fighting the Germans and fighting the politicians. It is much easier to fight the Germans.*

FIELD MARSHAL VISCOUNT  
MONTGOMERY

HIMMAT, May 26, 1967

emphasis of the effectiveness of the British role in South Asia and an erosion of the goodwill for Britain.

The exceptions, Singapore and Malaysia, have had a special relationship because of Communist subversion and the confrontation with Indonesia. But as the latter has ended, and the former is deemed controllable, British presence in the Indian Ocean area tends to become a nor-

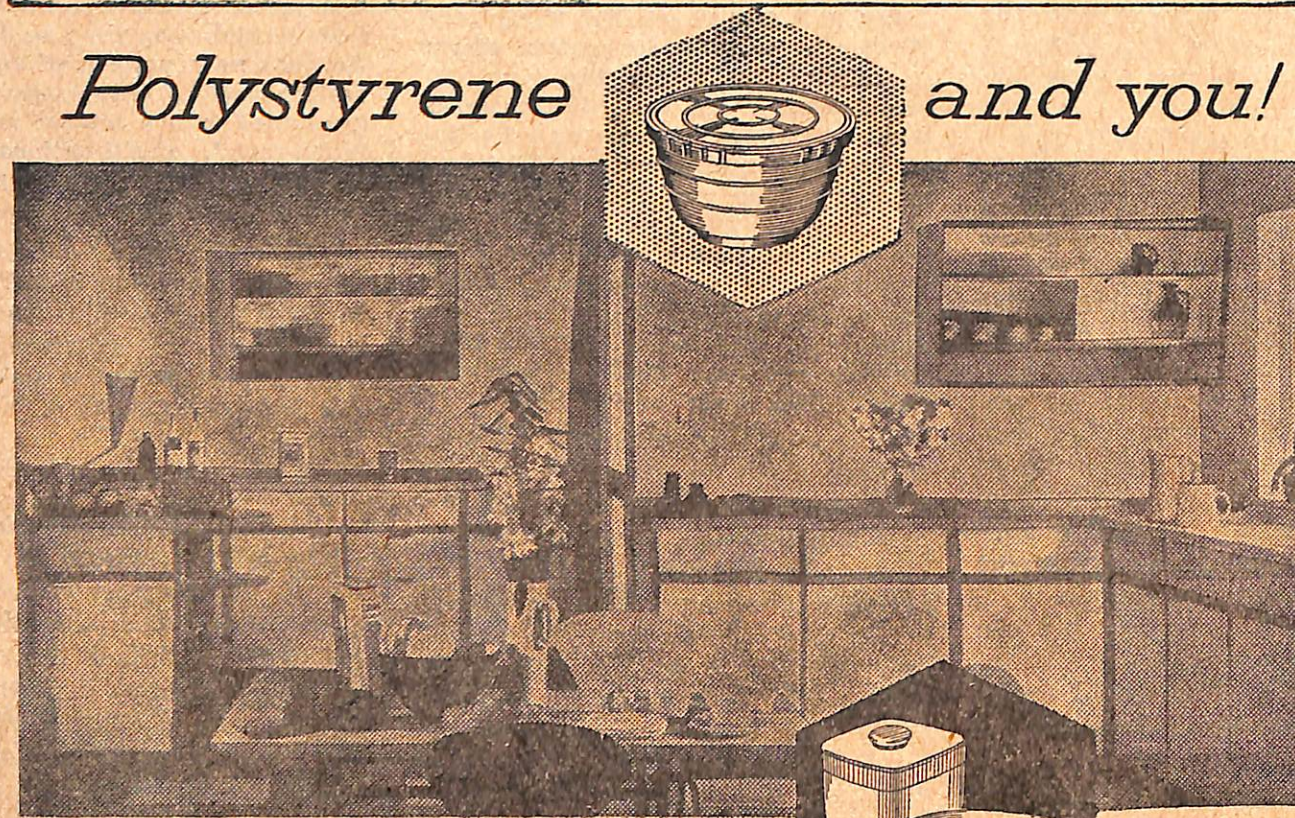
mal concession to the memories of a faded Imperial era.

Economic compulsions have acted on both sides to reinforce this trend. A major segment of Britain's economic aid has gone to Africa and her share in the development of South Asia has been much smaller than that of non-Commonwealth, European powers. The share of trade between South Asia and Britain has also

been declining steadily, if slowly.

None of this is, of course, an irreversible trend, for the Commonwealth is a forum of unlike peoples which has survived by its flexibility. But if it is to survive the growing Europeanisation, Africanisation and Asianisation of its members, the Commonwealth has to work out and accept a common goal beyond economic necessity or political convenience.

## Polystyrene and you!



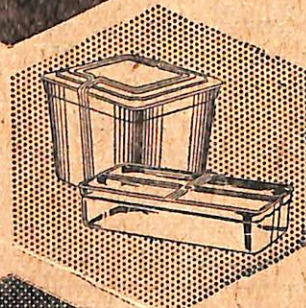
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## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Turmoil in Hong Kong

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

**HONG KONG** Hong Kong is famous for its amazing variety of imported and local goods at cheap prices. Tourists flock here for bargains. Some who could easily afford the cheap prices beat down shopkeepers shamelessly to get them still cheaper.

Working conditions and wages bar a few notable exceptions are bad and cheap. Many companies make large profits because there is a large labour force to draw upon.

In the past few weeks there have been labour disputes in a cement works and in a plastic flower factory, but not on account of wages. In the one case it was due to alleged assault on a Chinese worker by an Australian engineer and counter allegations. In the other it was harsh working conditions.

Leftist unions have demanded the dismissal of the boss concerned, apologies from the management to the workers and negotiations for settlement on their own terms.

Both factories closed down and the Leftist workers who are a minority of those employed picketed the factories and demanded that management re-open them before they would agree to talks.

Demonstrators outside the gates wave aloft the little red books with Mao's sayings, chant them, put up posters and banners and sing revolutionary songs. Children from Communist schools supply refreshments and join in their singing. Communist newspapers here have attacked the British Governor and hold him responsible. There may be truth in reports that demonstrators were being paid from 5 to 100 Hong Kong dollars.

Stirred up by these demonstrations, by inflammatory articles in the Left-wing press and by attempts at violence by the picketers, hundreds of others have joined in. They have mainly been teenagers and young men from the huge resettlement estates nearby with their multi-storey blocks and 200,000 people. Mobs have stoned the police who are mainly

Chinese. Fires have been started, cars, trucks and buses burnt. Tear gas and baton charges have been used to disperse the crowds.

In this area there are tens of thousands of teenagers who have grown up in unbelievably crowded conditions where each family has to live in one room, ten feet by twelve. The parents of many came out from Communist China during the past twenty years. But these young people have grown up knowing only Hong Kong conditions and seeing very little future for themselves.

Over the border fifteen miles away on the Mainland there are the Red Guards who are living passionately to make China great. Communist films here show the achievements of China and glorify Mao and the masses. What is more natural than that they should look to the Mainland for inspiration? Or give outlet to their frustrations in violence?

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* comments: "The disputes have revealed the extent to which many local managements conduct their relations with the workers in a high-handed, not to say autocratic manner... The disputes have arisen as a result of a new activism by the Leftist unions.

"In general, these groups have hitherto eschewed strikes and demonstrations, and had acquired a reputation with both management and Government for sweet reasonableness... It is very possible that the revolutionary zeal created by the Cultural Revolution has encouraged local sympathisers to rebel on their own initiative. If so, it is to be hoped that the Chinese authorities will remind them that a revolutionary Hong Kong would have little or no economic future."

## The week in ASIA

**TOKYO**—West German Vice-Chancellor Willy Brandt said the nuclear non-proliferation treaty should respect the security position of each country, which varied according to its regional position.

**DJAKARTA**—Col Mustafa Kamal Naseri of the Djakarta garrison said beggars, tramps and loafers, used by the Indonesian Communist Party to form underground party cells, were being taken to Borneo forests.

**KUALA LUMPUR**—India and Malaysia expressed determination to promote greater economic, commercial and technical cooperation. They renewed their faith in the policy of multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-cultural harmony of both Governments.

**SHANGHAI**—Chinese demonstrators wrecked everything in British diplomat Peter Hewitt's house. Meanwhile, thrice within the week pro-Mao crowds demonstrated in Hong Kong against the British.

**TOKYO**—A US and a Soviet warship collided in the Sea of Japan on two successive days. Moscow Radio attributed the mishaps to "provocative manoeuvres" by the US Navy, while US sources attributed them to cold war scheming by the USSR.

**KARACHI**—Pakistan's population will be 19 crores — double the present position — by 1986, despite its family planning drive, according to the Investment Advisory Centre.

**PNOM PENH**—Cambodian Head of State Norodom Sihanouk offered to transfer power to Red leaders pending a national referendum. He said they could organise and control the referendum themselves.

**DACCA**—Over 100 people died in recent cyclones in East Pakistan. 20,000 homes were destroyed.

**LANGDINH**—A US plan to evacuate 10,000 civilians from the edge of the demilitarized zone failed. The villagers refused to move out despite Viet Cong shells bursting near their homes.

**COLOMBO**—The Tamil Federal Party announced it would not quit Premier Dudley Senanayake's National Government "just now".

## To enter, or not to enter?

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

**VIENNA** The whole Austrian press is full of the question. The whole British press speaks hardly about anything else. All the other European papers join in the chorus. Rarely has as much been written in as passionate a way for as long a period as about this almost Hamletian "to enter or not to enter (the Common Market) ... that is the question."

Seen from Vienna, from the heart of Europe, the question of the Common Market has two aspects, one Austrian, the other European. The Austrians are realists. In spite of their neighbourhood with Eastern Europe, their main trade is with the countries of the European Economic Community. Although they promised to the big powers in 1950 that they would adhere to a strict neutrality, they have developed in typical Austrian fashion a flexible concept which would combine both neutrality and membership of the Common Market. The Russians are protesting but the Austrians are still going ahead.

Since the announcement by Prime Minister Wilson that Britain, too, will apply for membership of the EEC and has therefore decided to

abandon the European Free Trade Association, the Austrians cannot refrain from showing their satisfaction. This they do with special glee towards the Swiss who have up to the last moment fought for the survival of the EFTA and who find themselves now in the most difficult situation of all.

Switzerland, being hindered by its constitution in joining any association of states demanding the surrender of even part of her national sovereignty, wonders where she should turn. Every nation which has not belonged to the Common Market is in a similar position. Some have agricultural, some industrial, problems which will be considerably increased if the goods of the Common Market flow in without barriers.

But how does this whole debate look to a person outside the area involved? How does it look to the East Europeans? How does it look to the Asians, Africans and Americans? It is strange that voices from outside are hardly heard in the European press.

The exception may be the nations of the Commonwealth who still have a chance to make their voices heard—at least in Britain. For the Africans, also, the situation is not so simple. Many are already associated with the Common Market and others hope to be in the future.

The East Europeans, although their trade organisation called "Comecon" holds them tightly together, watch with greatest interest what is going on in the West. Of course they would like to increase their trade and raise their living standards. Their best chance to trade so far has been through bilateral agreements with individual Western countries. They are afraid that if the Common Market absorbs more and more of Western Europe, they might lose their chance to catch up. In a large "free trade area" they might have had a

chance to participate sooner or later, but never in a tightly integrated political and economic structure like the EEC.

America, finally, shows publicly a very positive attitude to European integration. It has always been official US policy to welcome all the moves making Europe into one economic and political unit. One may wonder nevertheless—and questions put by American journalists to Harold Wilson confirm this—whether there is not a widespread fear in many US circles

lest, if Britain joins the Common Market and accepts some of de Gaulle's demands in order to do so, the whole of Europe will affirm its independence from partners and friends even more than before.

If the question "to enter or not to enter ..." raises more questions than all the editorial writers put together can answer, it shows above all one fact: Europe is getting to the point where she needs to decide where she wants to go herself and where she wants the world to go.

## NATO choice—Guns or Butter?

FROM PETER HINTZEN

**THE HAGUE** The NATO Defence Planning Committee, consisting of the NATO Defence Ministers, meets in Paris. Yet France no longer takes part. Drastic changes are underway affecting Western Europe's security.

Since Bonn has declined to compensate America's and Britain's foreign exchange expenses for the divisions they have stationed in Germany, both countries are withdrawing a substantial number of troops. This is for financial reasons only. In a subcommittee of the American House of Representatives, General Wheeler, Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, has warned that there is no military reason whatsoever for a reduction of troops in Central Europe where there is at present an equilibrium.

The move is justified by the political argument that it may help decrease East-West tensions. But the argument that it may tempt the Russians more than placate them is also valid. The military justification is that the Americans are able to airlift vast numbers of troops in their new "jumbo" transport planes in a very short time.

US Defence Secretary McNamara has promised that the 35,000 soldiers and airmen withdrawn from Europe will not be sent to Vietnam, but kept in readiness. But if a new Berlin crisis brews up, may airlifting vast numbers of troops not be

considered an act of escalation? Also, such an operation would require a month.

NATO's real strength consists in America's nuclear striking power of 7000 warheads. Many believe that ground troops are not really needed because a conventional war has become unthinkable, at least in Western Europe where the US and Russia inevitably face each other. NATO never attained its target of 30 divisions and the present reduction to 20 divisions is a mere paper move. Even so, the American and British troop withdrawals have already given the Canadians and Belgians an excuse to do likewise.

Other European nations, which are all at present combatting economic recession, will be tempted to follow suit and prefer butter for their welfare state masses to guns that should never be used. This may usher in a dangerous trend towards unilateral disarmament.

According to Marshall D. Shulman in *Foreign Affairs*, NATO is no longer faced with a threat of Communist revolution or Russian military aggression. The real confrontation is now on the economic and political fronts. Assuming this is so, military means can still be used for the final kill of an economically and politically weakened victim. People, also politicians, should beware of wishful thinking, especially if the defence of their freedom is at stake.

## The week in INDIA

**BANGALORE**—Praja Socialist Party Chairman N. G. Goray said non-Congress Governments in many States had not shown urgency in tackling the problems of the country.

**VARANASI**—Twenty-six people were injured when an 11-coach train derailed near Bhatni in a severe gale. In Kanpur, 25 died and 200 were injured as a storm lashed the city.

**POONA**—Vandals disfigured "Black Princess", the six-foot world famous Ajanta fresco which occupies a vantage point near Cave No 1.

**AHMEDABAD**—Advance planning has enabled the Gujarat Government to employ 425000 labourers on relief work. They come from 5946 villages—one third the villages in the State—which are affected by drought.

**NEW DELHI**—Nine hundred free kitchens run by the Bihar Relief Committee are in danger of closure due to lack of funds. The Committee is striving to raise money to keep going these kitchens which have averted mass starvation in Bihar.

**CALCUTTA**—Three died and 48 were injured in police-mob clashes at Ranaghat station. The railway police arrested an ex-convict and a mob gathered and sacked the station.

**PATNA**—A convention of ex-Congressmen formed the Bharatiya Kranti Dal (Indian Revolutionary Party). It will work for a "democratic socialist society by peaceful means".

**JAIPUR**—A religious ban on marriages for 18 months sparked off 10,000 marriages between May 12 and 18.

**CHANDIGARH**—The Punjab Vidhan Sabha unanimously passed a non-official resolution recommending the merger of Kharar Tehsil, including Chandigarh, with Punjab.

**BOMBAY**—The Thana police fired on striking salt-pan workers in Belapur after they had attacked police officers and constables. In Bombay itself an indefinite strike by 1,900 men affected the Fertilizer Corporation of India's plant.

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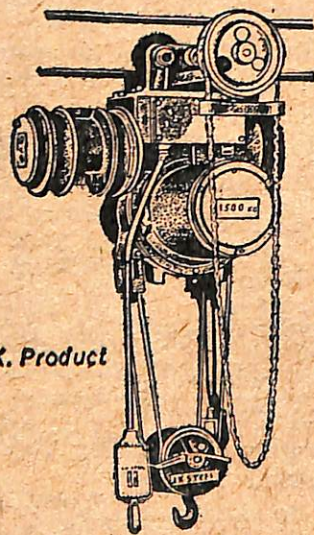
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PRESSMAN-JKS-23

## Red carpet for Feisal

FROM OLIVER CORDEROY

**LONDON** Clutching my pass from Buckingham Palace I joined my colleagues beside the reception dais to wait for the arrival of King Feisal of Saudi Arabia. It was a welcome for the King from practically the whole Royal Family of Britain.

The King chuckled and looked pleased when a Guards Officer invited him in Arabic to inspect the Guard of Honour. King Feisal first came to Britain forty-eight years ago when he was a fourteen-year-old Prince. He received cursory attention from the then Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon. This time his three weeks' stay began at Buckingham Palace. The King was Prime Minister most of the time from 1958 till 1964 when he took over from his brother, King Saud.

Few people realise the almost unmanageable bigness of Saudi Arabia. It has less than one per cent of India's population. Yet it is four-fifths the size of India. Communications are practically non-existent. The oil output has been increasing and reserves are claimed to be higher than in Kuwait. With revenue from the oil King Feisal has launched

social welfare schemes and free education in order to raise the level of prosperity.

In Britain there is still much confusion about the role she herself should play in the Middle East in the next ten years. This confusion is linked with indecision about Britain's place in the world and her long-range goals.

There are, however, two things clear about the present situation. Firstly, Britain is disengaging from Aden within the year. Secondly, the confrontation between Cairo and Riyadh. It is against these two facts that King Feisal's visit must be seen.

Future British policy could be said, roughly speaking, to be based on two premises. Firstly, filling the power vacuum on her departure from South Arabia. Secondly, protecting the oil.

King Feisal's policies both at home

## The week elsewhere

### WEST ASIA ALARM

**CAIRO**—The United Arab Republic asked UN's 3400-man peace-keeping force (which includes 900 Indian troops) to withdraw from the Egypt—Israel border area. The demand followed Israeli threats to retaliate against Syrian sabotage raids. Syria and the UAR mobilized their forces while other Arab governments promised help. The Soviet Army paper *Red Star* indicated Russian backing for Syria's left-wing government. Some observers felt the UAR's action was designed to buttress the Syrian regime rather than a serious intention to go to war.

### BARRIERS DOWN

**GENEVA**—Leading industrial nations agreed to reduce tariffs 35 per cent over the next six years. The cuts, involving four fifths of the

world's trade worth 40,000 million dollars, are the largest ever planned between nations. India's Commerce Secretary K. B. Lall hailed the agreement as "historic and far-reaching" and said India would gain in exports to the US and EEC countries.

### NO VETO—BUT...

**PARIS**—President de Gaulle laid down conditions for Britain's entry into the European Common Market which made her admission unlikely while de Gaulle remains head of state in France. There was no question of vetoing Britain's application, he said, but her special links with the US and the Commonwealth made it impossible for the six Common Market nations to include Britain until a "profound political and economic transformation" had taken place in her.

and towards Aden, Yemen, the Trucial States and Jordan, are influenced by the existing confrontation between him and President Nasser.

The King is visiting the British Aircraft Corporation factories making the Lightning supersonic fighters for his defence system. (They will be flown by British mercenary pilots.) He will meet industrialists at present working on Saudi Arabia's development projects. But it is expected that most of all the King wants to talk with the British Government in order to find out Britain's future plans both in South Arabia and in the Gulf.

## Indo-Ceylon Bill gets rough passage

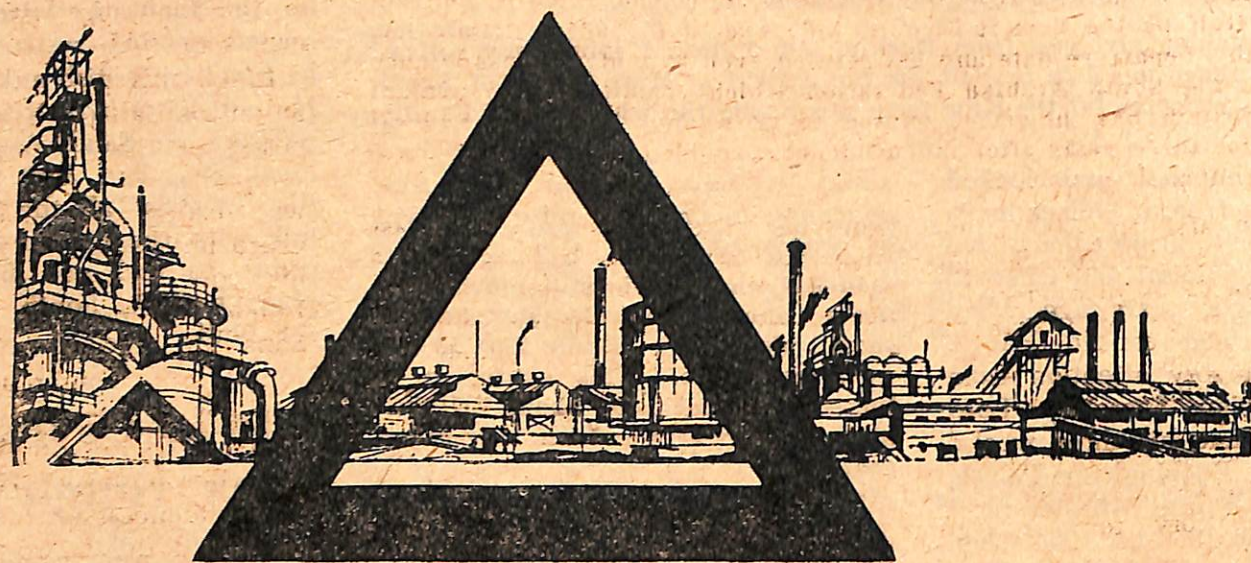
FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

**COLOMBO** The head of Ceylon's largest Buddhist Chapter, a long-time supporter of the National Government, has been speaking on an Opposition platform attacking the Government's Indo-Ceylon Bill. The Venerable Amunagama Sri Vipassi presided over the first part of Mrs Bandaranaike's meeting in Kandy and in his message, which was read for him owing to indisposition, he advised strongly against passing the Bill.

The Mahanayake Thero of the Malwatta Vihara said that if the Bill was passed, the "Indians" would get 18 seats in Parliament and have a major influence in 54 other constituencies. This, he claimed, would amount to "a complete betrayal of the Sinhala nation". If the Government went ahead with the bill against his advice he would appeal to the people with the support of the 12,000 in his Order.

A former Minister in the Bandaranaike Cabinet, R. G. Senanayake, said that if it had not been for the intervention of the Buddhist leader, the Bill would already be law.

The head of the Malwatta Chapter has been noted for his support of the Senanayake Government and his opposition to Marxism as inconsistent with religion. His appearance for Mrs Bandaranaike would appear to suggest some success for her tactic of wooing the Sinhalese Buddhists and attacking the Tamils, who are Hindus.



## AT JAMSHEDPUR, SAFETY IS PART OF THE JOB

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In addition, regular study courses, exhibitions and competitions are held to make safety a habit with every worker.

The success of these efforts is seen in the fact that between 1961 and 1966, the average monthly rate of accidents at the Tata Steel Works has dropped from 249 to 64. The safety highlight of 1966 was the achievement of 2.4 million accident-free man-hours between 1st June and 14th June—an all-time record in safety for heavy industry in India.

Safety is part of the job at Jamshedpur where industry is not merely a source of livelihood but a way of life.

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## Fireworks for South Arabia ?

FROM HARRY ALMOND

**BEIRUT** The British Government declared in February, 1966, that all British forces would be withdrawn from South Arabia and concentrated in Bahrein in the Persian Gulf by the time it becomes independent in 1968. Britain has held firmly to this departure date and has refused even to undertake a defence agreement with the South Arabian Federation which constitutes the present government. Britain has, however, offered to train and equip the Federal Armed Forces for three years after independence, provided no radical changes occur in the political situation there.

Behind Aden and for 700 miles along the coast from the Red Sea lie the territories of 23 Arab rulers who have entered into treaty relations with Britain. They, in return for protection and internal autonomy, undertake to accept the advice of British Agents and officers of the Governor in Aden Colony, and agree not to cede territory to a foreign power.

The Federation of South Arabia, announced in April, 1962, is a grouping of 17 of these 23 local states. It is to this government that the British Governor will hand over authority by the end of this year. Strong political elements in South Arabia, however, object that this Federation is not representative, and demand a popular government based on a plebiscite.

In fact the UN General Assembly passed resolutions in December, 1963, calling for self-determination, an interim central government and elections based on universal suffrage before the British departure. Although neither Britain nor the Federal Government accepted these re-

solutions at the time, by May last year the Federation had agreed to them as a basis for action.

The confusing "alphabet soup" of nationalist organisations which oppose what they refer to as the "feudal" or "British puppet" Federal Government polarize into two groups; a radical association of organizations known as FLOSY (Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen) led by Abdel Qawee Mackawee and Abdullah Asnag, and a more moderate group called the South Arabian League (SAL) led by Mohammed Ali al-Jifry and supported by the ex-Sultan of Lahej, Ali Abdel Karim.

While the SAL wants a moderate, representative government for the area of the Protectorate, FLOSY claims that the area really belongs to Yemen (hence the phrase "Occupied South Yemen") and backs this with support from the Republic of Yemen Government and from Cairo.

Thus the differences between the SAL and FLOSY are not only over the means to achieve independence

but over the very nature of the independence itself. The SAL does not want to be free from Britain only to be annexed by a Cairo-dominated Yemen. Yet this is exactly what FLOSY vows to do. It has led them to the road of violence, so far rejected by SAL.

In all this political jungle the ex-Sultan of Lahej is a key figure. Deposed in 1958 because of alleged sympathy with the UAR, Sultan Ali was exiled and took refuge in Cairo until recently. Convinced that his country belongs neither under London's rule nor under that of Sana and Cairo, he recommends a round table conference of all South Arabian groups to form an interim government and implement the 1963 UN Resolutions. He feels that if the influences exerted by both London and the Cairo-Sana axis were removed, the South Arabians could work out a viable representative government of their own.

Britain has so far refused to discuss South Arabian matters with anyone except the Federal Government they installed and support. President Nasser says that UAR troops, now concentrated in South Yemen, will not enter South Arabian territory, but that the UAR will contribute all possible aid to FLOSY.

In the coming test of strength after British evacuation the less spectacular policies of Sultan Ali and al-Jifry may prove to have more popular support than appears in the fireworks of current headlines.

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## Will Swatantra sway masses?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN MADRAS

**SHORTLY AFTER THE DMK romped to victory with the support of the United Front, Mr C. N. Annadurai observed: "It was Rajaji who sent me to prison in 1952. Now it is he who has helped me to become the Chief Minister of Madras."**

In truth, although the Swatantra Party won only 20 out of 234 seats in the elections to the Madras State Assembly, it played an impressive part in the DMK victory.

Although the DMK commanded mass support and had a well-knit, powerful organisation in this State, it lacked political sobriety and maturity. It was the Swatantra which gave the DMK an aura of staid respectability. It was Rajaji's towering personality that gave the DMK political stature in the estimation of the vast numbers of non-DMK voters who contributed to the UF victory. And, make no mistake about it, it was by and large a UF victory.

If the DMK had ploughed a lone furrow, the Congress may well have reaped the harvest. As truly as the DMK spearheaded the attack on the Congress citadel, equally the Swatantra, under Rajaji's genius, masterminded the coup which humbled the Congress.

When the DMK Ministry was sworn in, many commented angrily on the exclusion of the Swatantra (and other UF constituents) from the cabinet. It was Rajaji who still-ed the murmurs of disgruntlement. He felt that since the DMK could stand on its own legs, it should be allowed to function independently in running the Government.

Again, when the DMK's procurement policy came under heavy fire of criticism, it was Rajaji who pleaded to the people to give the DMK time to produce results.

He indicated that *if and when* the time to revolt against the DMK regime came, he would himself give the call to arms. Till then he wanted the people to do nothing to make the going tougher for the DMK.



Rajagopalachari



Annadurai

Recently, the Congress Working Committee commented that United Front Governments were, broadly speaking, following the basic policies of the Congress. There is much truth in this.

Until it came to power, the DMK had no clearly formulated policy or programme. It had nourished itself on slogans and narrow chauvinistic ideals. It was logical for the DMK, on being suddenly catapulted to power, to walk along the beaten tracks of the Congress Party's so-called Socialist policies.

The Swatantra, on the other hand, has clear-cut views and a lucidly enunciated programme of economic reconstruction.

But, on the other hand, the appeal of the Swatantra is too intellectual to sway the masses who are more responsive to inflammatory slogans than to profound ideologies.

As the national party which dominated the independence movement,


the Congress commanded a tremendous mass support, and still retains this in considerable measure. The DMK won mass support in Madras State at the lower level of parochial politics, by appealing to Tamil sentiment and pride.

**To achieve its full stature in Madras State the Swatantra has to evolve a strategy which will attract the masses in large numbers.**

At Tirumangalam towards the end of April, an election was held to the Assembly in which the Congress candidate was pitted against a Swatantra candidate and three Independents. The Congressman won, although he bagged only about 20,000 out of 60,000 votes. The Swatantra candidate won about 17,000 votes while the rest of the votes were squandered on the Independents. From these voting figures, the vexing political pattern in India is obvious.

Bringing together all the Opposition parties under the easy mantle of a United Front was the best tactical course in the first phase of revolt against the Congress. The Congress stranglehold has now been broken.

The revolt against the Congress now enters the second phase when it is of paramount importance to build up a formidable single party in opposition to the Congress, a party which offers a new concept of government, new policies, a new economic order, new programmes of reconstruction, a new pattern of society, new hope to the people—a party as different from the Congress as black from white.



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# Glimmer of hope in Nigeria

FROM OUR LAGOS CORRESPONDENT

COL GOWON'S bold step last week to accept the recommendations of the National Conciliation Committee brought a glimmer of hope into Nigeria's exceedingly gloomy situation.

For weeks there have been moves and counter-moves between Colonel Gowon, head of the Supreme Military Council, and Colonel Ojukwu, Military Governor of the Eastern Region.



Colonel Gowon

Some papers have likened this to a game of chess but it has often looked more like Russian roulette.

On the initiative of the Federal Chief Justice, supported by other respected civilian personalities from all regions, a national reconciliation was convened. After consultations

which included a conciliatory delegation to see Ojukwu they made three proposals designed to create an atmosphere in which a meeting could take place between the military leaders to answer the crisis:

- 1 The Federal Military Government to lift all economic sanctions against the East.
- 2 The Military Governor of the Eastern Region to revoke the edicts taking over the Federal institutions and revenue collections in the East.
- 3 Military personnel to be posted immediately to barracks within their respective regions of origin.

Colonel Gowon has undertaken to implement these recommendations. This is a courageous step in face of the powerful extremist pressures from the North. Will Governor Ojukwu have the courage to agree, also risking the displeasure of his own extremists?

If he does, it will pave the way for a meeting of all the Military Governors. This would give hope, after the hard bargaining, of a solution. If he does not, the Eastern Consultative Council which has been called for May 26, may pave the way to secession. This would inevitably be followed by bloody conflict.

### Crux of the matter

All the military leaders have pledged themselves to a peaceful solution to the crisis. Whichever way the country goes, one thing has been made abundantly clear. It was underlined for your correspondent in Lagos today by a senior African diplomat. "Most of our problems in Africa today seem to go to those of us who put our self-interest before the needs of the people," he said. "The crux is whether we will have the courage to do what we know is right."

# BOOKS

## Gandhi's Emissary

By Sudhir Ghosh, The Cresset Press, 351 pp, 42 shillings

THE LATE SUDHIR GHOSH'S great love of India shines through this intimate and well-documented book. It tells "the story of what really happened between Gandhiji and the British Labour Government in 1945-7, about the transfer of power to India".

Sudhir Ghosh was indeed "Gandhi's Emissary", in a unique way. But he was far more than a messenger boy. Ghosh was constantly bubbling over with creative suggestions, forever taking the initiative. When official channels took note, bureaucrats procrastinated and diplomacy probed, Ghosh blithely went ahead.

Ghosh became the trusted confidant of the Cabinet Mission. On the eve of his departure from India, Sir Stafford Cripps talked of the "phenomenon" of Sudhir. He told how the Cabinet Mission had never met him until they came to India three months before, yet how during those three months they had seen him almost every day.

"On many occasions," Sir Stafford said, "he has told Gandhi that he was unjust to us and had misunderstood us; he has not hesitated to tell us where we have failed to trust Gandhi and have made a mess of our job. He has functioned as the emissary of our principal opponent but we have not hesitated to tell him what are considered secrets."

These secrets Ghosh now reveals. Published for the first time are crucial documents, like the conversation between Sir Stafford Cripps and Sir N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar. But most are told through the illuminating correspondence and talks with Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Viceroy and a host of key people—Attlee, Casey, Burrows, Woodrow Wilson, Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Noel Brailsford, Chester Bowles, Rajendra Prasad, President Kennedy, John Kenneth Galbraith, Hubert Humphrey, Shastri, Rajagopalachari and Mountbatten.

Always, Ghosh fought for Gandhi's conception that Britain should hand over power to an undivided India and avoid what Gandhi called the

"cowardly solution" of two separate states.

Ghosh was always optimistic and was sure that Gandhi was right in believing that the solution lay in transferring real power to the majority in India and leaving to the majority the responsibility of bringing the minority into the Government. He seems to have had no understanding of how unlikely it was that Jinnah would ever accept such a proposal.

### 'That's the wrong question'

The writer of this review once said to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, then Chief Minister of the Punjab: "You have just been sitting on the platform with Mr Jinnah when he publicly launched his plan for the creation of Pakistan. Tell me, do you really believe in it?" Sir Sikander replied, "You are asking me the wrong question. This is the tail that is going to wag the dog. Now that Pakistan has been announced none of us could stop it even if we wanted to."

Ghosh tells of his love-hate relationship with Nehru, of the steady support given him by Vallabhbhai Patel and of his being an unwitting cause of bad relations between the two. Ghosh spent time with Gandhi on the afternoon of his assassination. He was due to be with him again that night after Gandhi had seen Vallabhbhai at 4 pm and Jawaharlal at 7 pm in an attempt to heal the serious rift between them.

Part two of *Gandhi's Emissary* opens with a description of the founding of Faridabad, which Ghosh calls "a revolution that did not come off". A highly imaginative, revolutionary scheme, that began by turning 40,000 Government supported refugees into a self-supporting community, nearly became a pattern that could have multiplied a thousand-fold.

Eleanor Roosevelt visited Faridabad and wrote enthusiastically of what she saw: "The director of this community, Dr Sudhir Ghosh, is equal to his job, one of the most inspiring and dedicated people I have met."

Ghosh told Nehru that he planned to accept the invitation of the American Ambassador to go to Washington, in part to raise further interest in his scheme. The Prime Minister became angry lest an Indian associated with his Government made any kind of effort to persuade the Americans to give assistance to India. Ghosh, furious, resigned and went to America as a private citizen. There he was highly successful. But since the Prime Minister had withdrawn his support, ministers and bureaucrats who had been jealous of his success pounced. Nehru did not relent and Faridabad was "liquidated".

Later Ghosh was restored to Nehru's good books. He writes an interesting chapter on the different ways the Germans, Russians and British went about setting up steel plants in India—the palm going on all scores to the Russians.

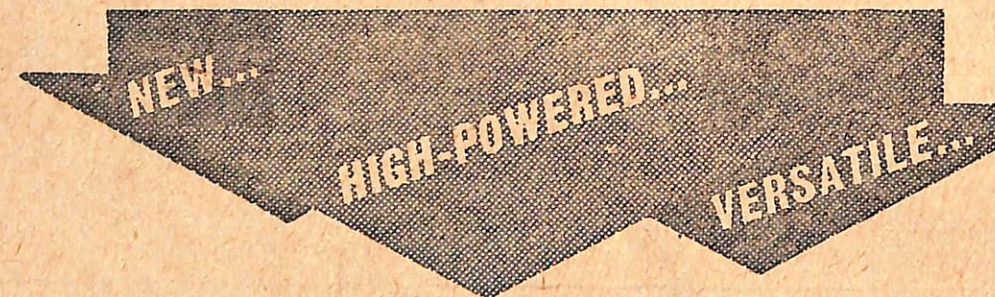
The last chapter tells of yet another of Ghosh's visits to America and of the standing ovation he received in the Senate. It describes well his talk with President Kennedy. This led, later, to Ghosh's speech in the Rajya Sabha in which he told of Nehru's appeal to Kennedy for help when the Chinese invaded Indian territory in 1962. A storm suddenly erupted which brought headlines in the world's press and evasive disclaimers both in the Indian Parliament and in America. It is a shoddy story which does little credit to anyone, except Rajagopalachari who wrote with kindness and true discernment to Ghosh.

### Meetings and machinations

Throughout the book many revealing incidents are graphically described. We learn why Cripps and Pethick-Lawrence, at moments of crisis in the Indian-Britain negotiations, chose to meet Gandhiji secretly in the garden at the back of the Viceroy's house. The machinations that led to the withdrawal of Wavell and the appointment of Mountbatten are disclosed.

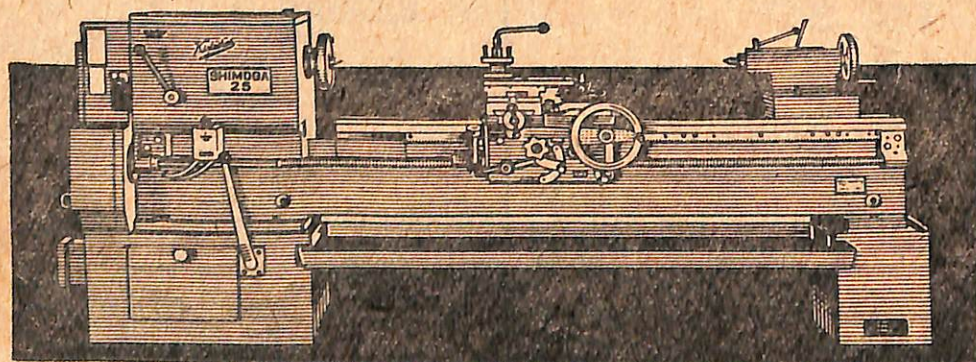
We hear of Gandhi's sleepless night on hearing of a decisive letter Maulana Azad wrote the Mission without the knowledge of his colleagues and of Gandhi's yet greater perturbation when the Maulana denied writing any letter while the actual document was, at that very moment,

continued on next page



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## GUARDIANS OF INDIA

WHAT is the state of our national conscience?

Most of our politicians claim to look after the peoples' interests. Yet they infiltrate into every sphere of our life from university bodies to workers' unions, and vitiate the atmosphere all around.

Politicians have let loose vandalism to serve their ends. The police feel they are being discriminated against and are in no position to maintain law and order. If ambitious politicians are responsible for the deterioration in our national standards and are sowing seeds of self-destruction, business men, bureaucrats and influentials have no scruples over profiteering and black-marketing while hundreds languish in Bihar and many are living from hand to mouth.

Politicians are gradually excommunicating themselves from the masses, but it is the latter who are the guardians of the nation. It is they who must decide whether the nation will endure the crude materialism which is eating into our vitals or bring about a national regeneration. A moral rearmament is necessary to prevent the decay of the national conscience and the ruin of our society.

GAUTAM SEN, Calcutta 14

## SYMBOL OF THE NATION

DR ZAKIR HUSAIN, venerable scholar and educationist, emerges as the third President of India in an election that need not have been so furiously fought as it was between the Congress and Opposition Parties. Now it is the duty of all parties in fact and in spirit to accept him as the symbol of the nation and never more to drag him into controversies.

T. S. PRASAD, Mysore

## VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

**\* Do women make good Prime Ministers?**

Closing date: June 9

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

Closing date: June 23

Prizes: Rs 25, Rs 15

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

## ARMY TAKE OVER?

THE Congress Party Working Committee and leaders of other parties have denounced as irresponsible Mr Jayaprakash Narayan's statement that an army take-over is not an improbability if the political situation in our country deteriorates. No right thinking person and none less than J. P. desires such an eventuality. He has only voiced loudly the fear of many.

Instead of denouncing his statement, the politicians of our country will do a great service if they could create an atmosphere where we need not have this genuine fear lurking in our hearts.

DR I. S. MENON  
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK

## FILLS IN THE GAPS

THANK YOU for HIMMAT and its most stimulating coverage of world news. It fills in many gaps and straightens out some misconceptions which build up if one has access only to one city's papers.

DAY ELY, Los Angeles, USA

## MISS A MEAL

WHEN there was war between India and Pakistan, the late Prime Minister adopted a slogan, "Miss a meal on Monday". While the people of Bihar are starving for food and water, why not a similar slogan now?

It pains me to hear and read that recently several hungry, thirsty and half-naked people surrounded a Minister in tears to show their untold misery. I suggest to the Government to revive the slogan until the people of Bihar are relieved of their distress and difficulties.

SYED ZIA MUJTAHDI, Hyderabad 29

## WHO FOR GOVERNOR?

THE Central Government has generally made it a practice to appoint retired politicians and civil servants to gubernatorial posts. There have been a few notable exceptions but the tendency to treat these posts as repositories of unwanted politicians and superannuated civil servants still continues.

It is important that a balanced representation in the gubernatorial ranks be given to leading public men irrespective of party loyalties, to brilliant men in the professions and to exceptional persons in trade and industry. Brilliant civil servants deserve to be rewarded, but only exceptional men from the civil service should be given these jobs.

RAJESH CHADHA, New Delhi 11

## This was a Life

### TANGUTURI PRAKASAM PANTULU

1872-1959

TANGUTURI Prakasam Pantulu, veteran patriot of Andhra, was an eminent lawyer and an able administrator. He suffered, sacrificed and served the country in the freedom struggle and rose to be Chief Minister of Madras.

Prakasam, as he was widely known, was born on August 23, 1872 at Kanuparthi village, Ongole Taluk of Guntur District, and received his early education at Vallur, and later in Rajahmundry. A promising scholar, he became a sensitive writer, an economist and a fiery reformer.

While practising law he encountered a friend who, recognising his genius, sent him to England to become a barrister-at-law. Returning to India, he set up legal practice in Madras. Successful, he was leading a luxurious life when he decided to renunciate it for his country's freedom.

He participated in almost all the movements launched by the Mahatma and was jailed on many occasions. He was editor of Swarajya and spent a fortune to keep it going. In the Central Legislature he seized every opportunity to press forward India's claim for Swaraj. As Revenue Minister in Rajaji's cabinet of 1947 he is remembered for initiating the Zamindari Enquiry Act. As Chief Minister of undivided Madras State, he started the Firka Development Scheme.

The epoch-making event in Shri Prakasam's life and political career was his defiance of Gandhiji as well as some of the "Tin Gods" of Congress to occupy his lawful place as Chief Minister of Madras in 1946. Collecting around him an efficient board of administrators he tried to implement Gandhian principles. Later he became the first Chief Minister of Andhra.

At the ripe age of 87 this valiant freedom fighter passed away. His indomitable spirit and rare gift of courage in moments of crisis had earned him the title "Andhra Kesari" — the Lion of Andhra.

T. M. K.

the story. He was never afraid of expressing himself. "At the Quaker meeting where Gandhiji and the Secretary of State were both present," Ghosh writes, "I broke the silence to say how heartbreaking it was to watch two groups of high-minded men, one Indian and another British, wanting to do nothing but the right thing but failing to reach each other, and how painful the tragedy of it all was. Gandhiji and Lord Pethick-Lawrence sat quietly through the hour's silence. I wondered if they felt like two schoolboys who were being reprimanded by an elder."

Sudhir Ghosh sometimes spoke out of turn. But he spoke up, he spoke straight and he spoke from his heart.

It is no small tribute to Ghosh's character and accomplishment that when Nehru sought to remove this impetuous, unorthodox and generally unofficial young man from the very centre of affairs, the Father of the Nation replied: "Usko mai nahi chhor sakta" (I cannot part company with him).

Those who read the book will know why this was true.

R. O. H.

mean that, with all his greatness, Jawaharlal is a poor judge of men, I think I agree with you. But tell me, have you anything better than him in India?"

Above all an intimate picture of Gandhi is revealed. During his travels in various parts of the world Sudhir Ghosh says he was often asked: "What is the clue to the great power that Gandhi had over other men and women?"

### Incredible capacity to care

"My answer," Ghosh said, "is that it originated in his incredible capacity to care for others. You were taken up by him because nobody cared for you the way he did. He did not love mankind only. He loved you as an individual and quickened to your singular sorrows, your particular happiness. He always had time for you; he was never too busy to see you or to think about you if you were away. How one man could find room for so many in his mind and heart was a miracle."

The passion with which Sudhir Ghosh felt and fought the battle heightens the dramatic unfolding of

on the little desk in front of Gandhi.

We read of the inability of Nehru and his combined secretaries and household to raise the Rs 300 that was necessary to buy the railway tickets that would get rid of the refugees who were sitting on his doorstep when he was entertaining Dr Hatta, Vice-President of Indonesia.

Character sketches abound, so do the leading characters' opinions of each other. (Nehru on Cripps: "The more you see him the less you know him." Cripps on Nehru: "Stafford told me (Ghosh) that evening at dinner that if Jawaharlal had trusted him India would never have been divided into two sovereign states.")

There is a letter from Brailsford warning Gandhi of Krishna Menon and we read of Gandhi's opinion of Krishna Menon's influence on Nehru, especially where Sudhir Ghosh is concerned. Gandhi says of Nehru on this point: "Here is a great man, by nature kind and generous, struggling very hard to be just and fair to a younger man but miserably failing to do so because of a more powerful pull from another source."

Gandhi also said to Ghosh: "If you



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# Minister and Son

by Rajmohan Gandhi

**SON** It seems, father, that we shall have almost half an hour together. I don't remember a chance like this before or since you became a non-Congress Minister. I'm scared but can we have an honest talk?

**FATHER** Go ahead.

**SON** Your speeches have lost fire since you got to power. You seem less revolutionary.

**FATHER** You are right. The clock now runs me. Civil Servants control me. There are so many official things I must do. So many functions that I must attend. And in a way I have been sobered, too, by responsibility. Providing enough food in time to the people who need it, making sure that factories, banks, colleges, schools, trains and buses run as they should is an exercise different from fist-waving and slogan-shouting at Congress sins—or British sins.

**SON** Tell me, Father, why do politicians like you make speeches?

**FATHER** I suppose because I'm expected to.

**SON** Some of my friends tell me that it is possible while making a public speech to help one man in the audience change and become a more unselfish man. They think that love for praise and applause can be replaced by a passion to see others grow.

Tell me, why do you refuse the garlands?

**FATHER** Because I don't want to show off.

**SON** Is it that you don't want to show off or that you are afraid of others thinking that you do?

Do you think it is possible that your Cabinet could become such friends and teammates that they

could teach unity to the Central Cabinet and to all our rulers, Central or provincial, Congress or non-Congress?

**FATHER** I have never thought of this as a need or a hope or a possibility. I should think it is impossible.

**SON** In that case is there the slightest chance of ending our country's hell of poverty? Your whole efforts are a waste of time if you don't hope, plan and work for this.

May I ask this, Father. When did you last say sorry to anyone?

**FATHER** I only say sorry when I feel I have done something wrong.

**SON** Which is worse? Not to say sorry when one feels one has made a mistake or not to feel that one has made a mistake?

How many people do you really care for or love, if I may use the word?

**FATHER** I don't understand that. Who do you mean?

**SON** I mean those you would rather have with you than away from you. People whose pain pains you and happiness thrills you.

**FATHER** I don't know. Not many.

**SON** What about Mother and us children? Your party and Cabinet colleagues?

**FATHER** Don't press me now. Next question?

**SON** What do you feel about God, Father?

**FATHER** I believe in Him. I would have gone mad years ago had I not believed.

**SON** But do you think He could change people? Cure self-worship,

remove jealousies, take away fear of what people think and fear of one's own death or the death of those we love, answer sexual impurity, end gossip and back-biting and replace callousness with a love for others that daily deepens and widens?

**FATHER** If that were possible we would have Heaven on earth.

**SON** My friends think that if we let Him, God can do all this and more. To be honest I'm beginning to feel that myself.

**FATHER** What do you mean?

**SON** You know me, Father. I have never spoken to you like this before. People like me react to the speeches of politicians but my lies and boasting before my friends are much worse. There is not a sentence I have uttered before my friends which was not aimed at impressing them. I have been impure, lazy and a coward.

But now I want to change. I have a strange feeling that this thing or rather this person called God will change me if I let Him. But I need your help. I need you and your forgiveness.

**FATHER** I think you do.

**SON** I respect you, Father, and I love you not because I think you are perfect but because you are my father. Our countrymen and women need you too. Like me before, they may not realise they do. Can we not care for them, burn for them and sacrifice our pride for them? Not because they are without faults, but because they are our countrymen and women?

**FATHER** I hate to admit it but you have taught me something today. However, I must warn you it may be my turn to help you tomorrow.

## FIND THE BALL Competition No: 21



Send no money

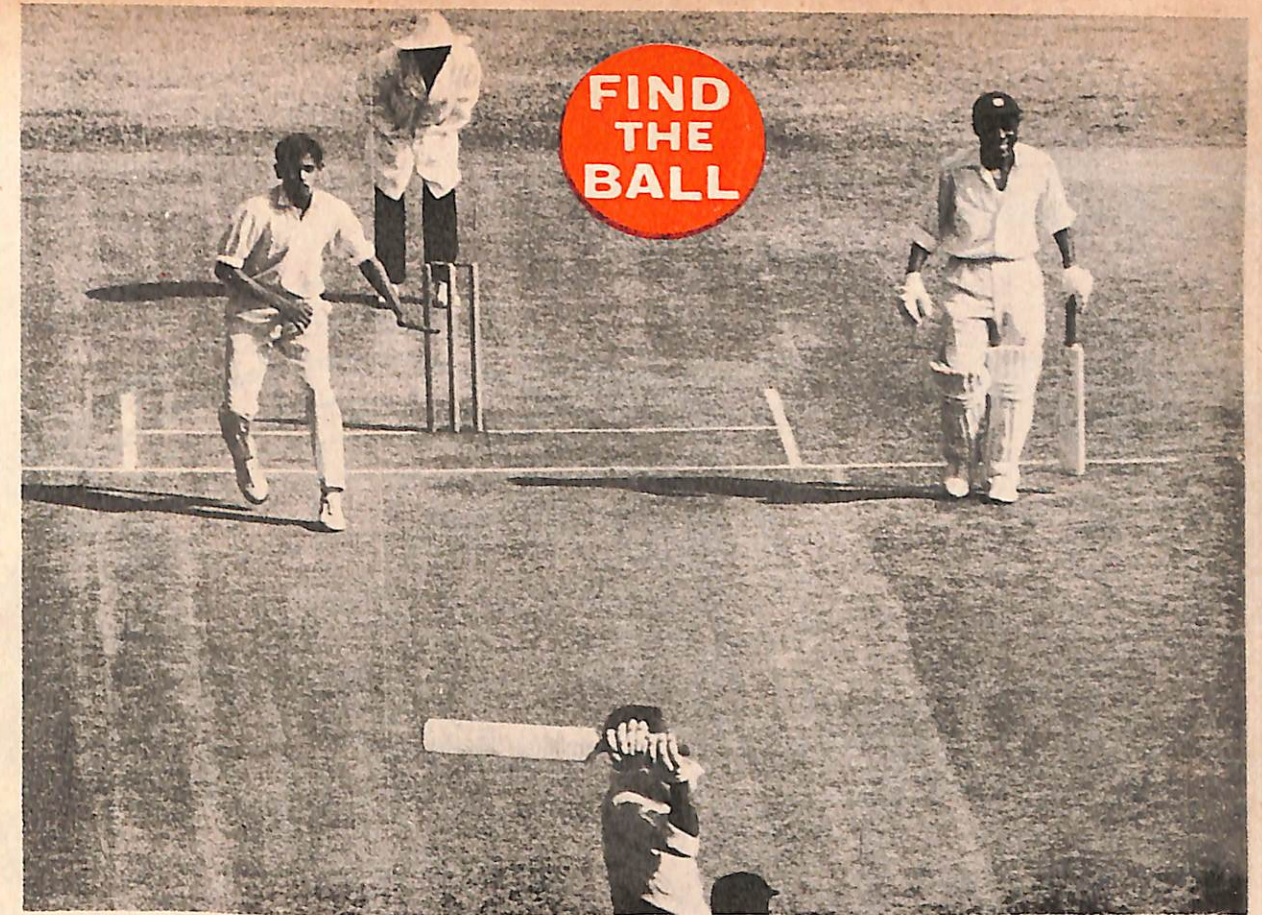
### HOW TO PLAY

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 5

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 and no correspondence will be entered into about results.

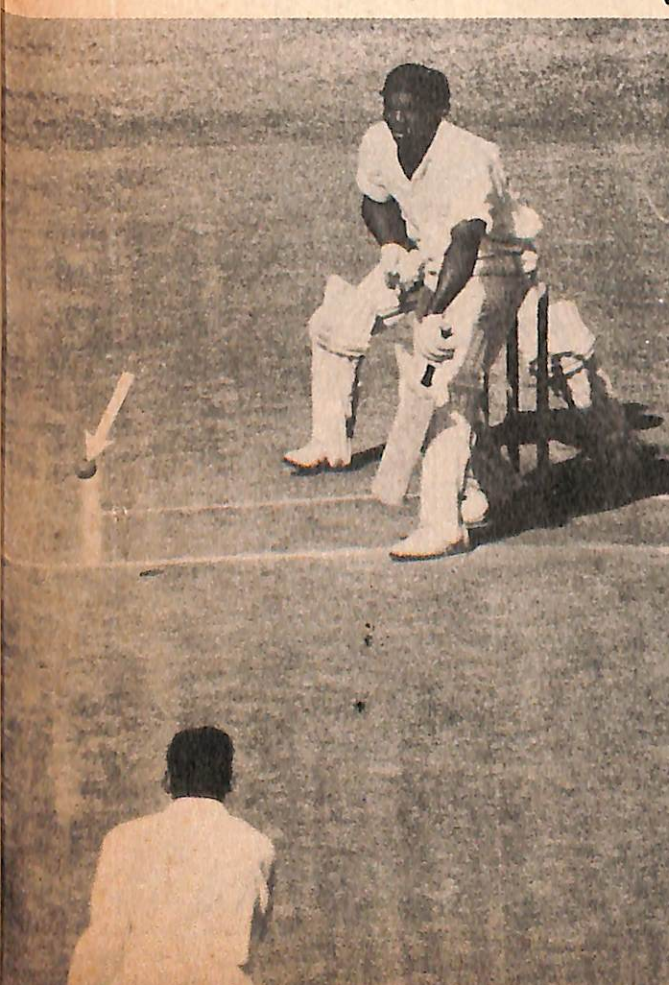
The winner of Competition No.21, with the picture showing the ball will be published in June 9, issue.

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



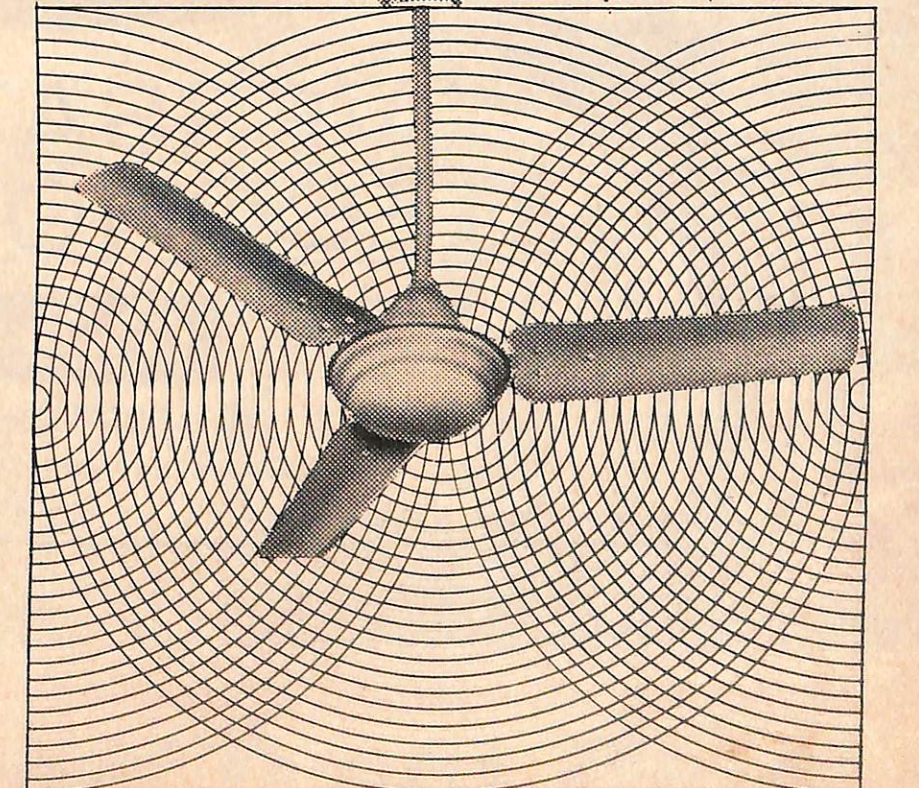
## WINNER OF COMPETITION No. 19 IS

**Mohan Chandra D. Masiwal, F.Y.Sc, M. V. College of Science, Laxmi State Compound, Bombay 69.**  
2nd Prize goes to Paul Mathew, Bagalkot Cement, Bagalkot P. O., Bijapur Dist., Mysore State.



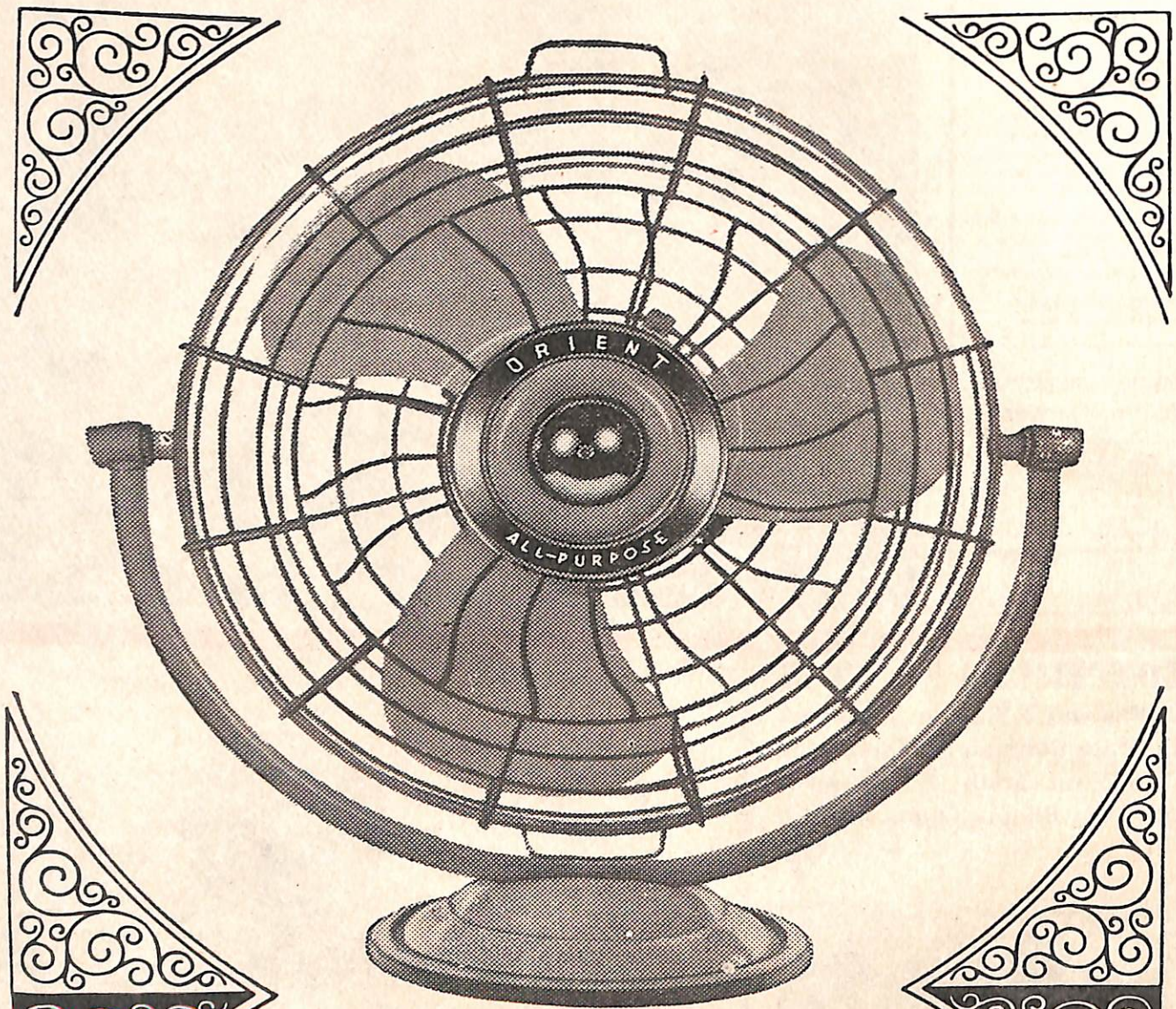
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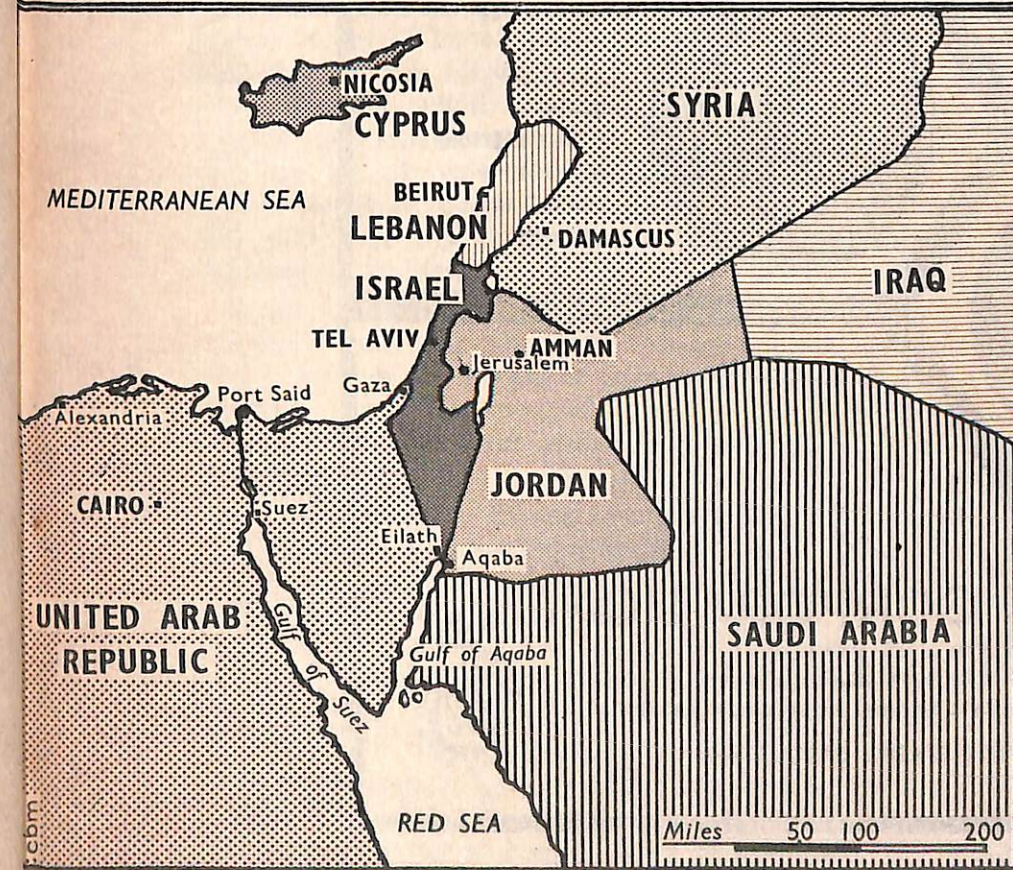
FRIDAY JUNE 2 1967



**President Nasser—UAR**



**Prime Minister Eshkol—ISRAEL**



# WILL IT BE WAR?

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## Special Report from Beirut

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