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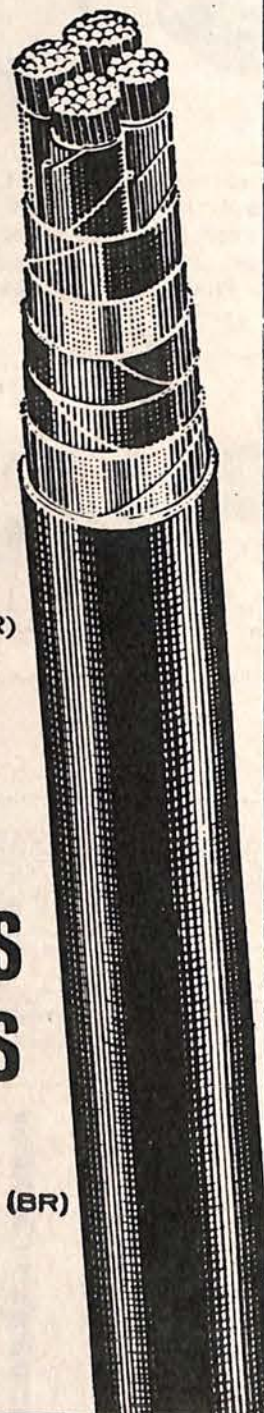
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HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p.

VOL 2 NO 34

Asia's New Voice

FRIDAY JUNE 24 1966

OPPOSITION PARTIES

FOOL THEMSELVES

AND CHEAT

THE NATION

UNLESS.....

PAGE 5

Rajmohan Gandhi

AM I A SOCIALIST ?



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay Friday June 24 1966

Exit Mr. Bhutto

EXIT Foreign Minister Bhutto of Pakistan, and within hours of it, Washington announces the resumption of its full aid to both Pakistan and India. Does Mr. Bhutto's departure herald a shift in Pakistan's policies towards (a) China (b) the USA (c) India?

Mr. Bhutto had taken Pakistan further towards China than President Ayub was probably prepared to go. And there is little doubt that America's concern at Mr. Bhutto's liaison with China was a major factor that brought about his downfall.

Even so, there are disturbing reports that China is getting a strong foothold in East Pakistan.

It will be hoped, both by Washington and New Delhi, that one result of Mr. Bhutto's absence would be a new policy by the Pakistan President vis-a-vis China. Obviously the Pakistan President finds that friendship with the US is worth more than with China where Pakistan's economic interests are concerned. It is also conceivable that the President, who has consolidated his position with the armed forces recently by appointing to senior posts eight of his trusted men, wanted to consolidate his position politically and saw in Mr. Bhutto, a potential rival who needed to be clipped.

The mere exit of his Foreign Minister is not an indication of a change in Pakistan policy towards India. But India shall soon know.

The second Foreign Ministers' Conference between India and Pakistan which was due to take place in New Delhi in pursuance of the Tashkent agreement, has been postponed. Now that President Ayub is Foreign Minister, the next conference may need to be at a higher level between the Pakistan President and the Indian Prime Minister. But there is little prospect of it just now. Foreign Minister Swaran Singh's disclosure that Pakistan is preparing for another wave of infiltration in Kashmir will be received with great concern by all those interested in peace in the sub-continent.

Both India and Pakistan are militarily tired nations who want to get on with solving their immense internal problems. It is daylight madness to keep up tension between the two countries.

Why Rail Accidents?

TWO MAJOR rail accidents in one week. Sixty-six killed in one at Matunga; eighteen in the other crash near Ajmer.

HIMMAT's investigation of the Matunga crash showed:

That Track No. 1 diverted at 6.29 am could not return to normal position.

The electrical maintainer speedily tried to set right the track.

A few minutes later at 6.45 am the indicator in

the signal cabin lighted up to show the line was in order.

The green light went on and the ill-fated train raced on. Between the time of the green light and the train actually crossing the point, the track opened up and diverted the train to line 3. Meanwhile on line 2 another train was approaching. Train No. 1 ploughed into Train 2 bogies with its bumpers in a most tragic and painful accident.

Was there some leakage in the current that diverted the track once it was set?

Was there hurried work?

If the rules were followed memos had to pass between the electrical maintainer, the signalman and the station-master and the operation would have taken 45 to 50 minutes, instead of about 15.

Railway employees complain that the pressure to keep trains rolling is so great they are compelled to seek short cuts and if they don't, disciplinary action is threatened against them as "obstructionists".

Is it not true that time and again drivers have reported that while immediately behind a train on the track there should always be the red signal, they have seen the orange or green signal?

"If rules are strictly followed, there would be no accidents, but trains won't move either," says a railway unionist. A disrespect for rules has seeped in deep. If the rules are cumbersome let the railways streamline them within limits of safety and then enforce the rules strictly. But when standards are set and ignored, the result cannot be anything but accidents.

And rules have to start from the top. A Railway Minister in charge of office for 2½ years says he never eats food on the railways because it is not good. If the Railway Minister allows such poor catering without taking action what moral authority has he with a staff member who cuts corners, hurriedly fixes a point that momentarily connects a track and then diverts?

Standards must get back into the railways if the rail staff and the public are to travel safely.

Not Plain Sailing

FAR FROM RULING THEM, Britannia seems to be slipping beneath the waves. As the British seamen's strike entered its sixth week, over 700 ships and 20,000 men were involved.

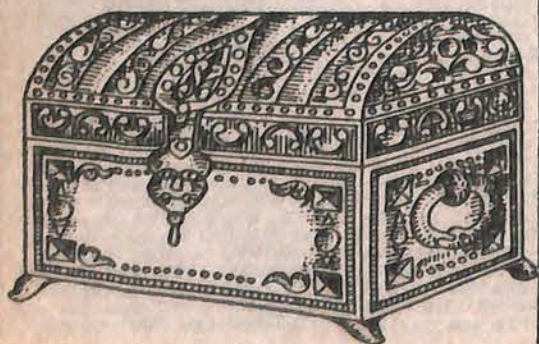
Reports from London suggest the strike is the work of a small group of determined Communists in the union executive. Other members, lacking their passion or unity, allow this minority to exploit the seamen's justifiable claims for better hours and pay.

Is there a pattern in the spate of strikes in world transport industries? Japanese and American seamen have been out recently. So have French seamen. A damaging dock strike has paralysed the ports of eastern Canada. Haifa, the Israeli port, has been hit by a "go slow" by port workers. Air India, Air France, and Sabena, the Belgian airline, have also had recent labour troubles. The All-India Port Workers' Federation recently alerted its members for direct action.

Is this all coincidence, or is there a deliberate bid to use the grievances—largely legitimate—of transport workers to rupture world trade?

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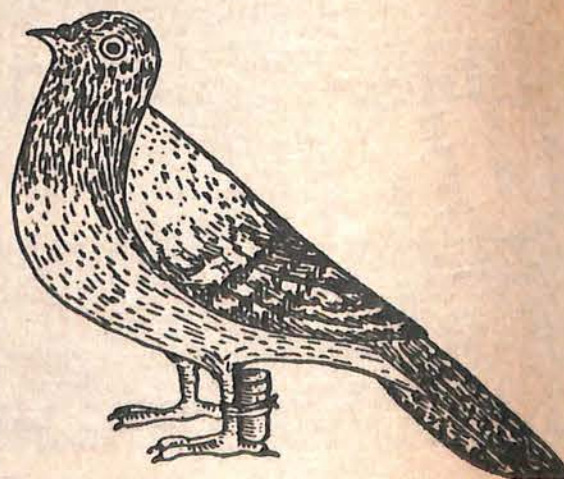
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Briefly Speaking ...

To rule a country is like riding a tiger.
AFGHAN SAYING

P (ersecution) Form

THE FINANCE MINISTER has put to rest reports that the P form will be lifted for travel abroad. It will stay.

Not only the public, but even the Reserve Bank officials are reported to be fed up with the P form. "It is no longer a Permit form, but a Persecution form," said one official. I understand that at the highest levels the decision to lift the P form was considered and the atmosphere was reported favourable at which point one gentleman interjected to say that not only should the P form be lifted, but that sufficient foreign exchange should be made available for Indians to travel abroad. At this point the Finance Ministry decided to clamp down and keep the P form.

My own hunch is that the Government will think twice before remov-

ing the P form because it has become for them a political weapon in the guise of a financial restriction. According to a Supreme Court decision, passports cannot be withheld from Indian citizens so a P form has become a useful handle to keep the citizens of free India on tenterhooks.

Through Wrong Glasses

RIGHT COMMUNIST leader S. A. Dange, at his Party Convention in Hyderabad, asked whether there was any secret understanding between Mrs. Gandhi and President Johnson on Vietnam. He says soon after Mrs. Gandhi spoke of US difficulties in withdrawing from Vietnam, the US decided to increase its shipment of troops and armaments to Vietnam.

If Mr. Dange thinks that the US waits for India's approval before shipping more troops or armaments to Vietnam, where her sons are dying, he is looking at India through a magnifying glass and at America through the wrong end of a telescope.

Raw Humour

THE AUSTRALIANS have a raw and ready sense of humour. A friend of mine from Melbourne says that amidst the cranes and boxes of the Melbourne wharves many "titles" are awarded.

One docker is called "the Judge" because he sits on a case all day; another is called "the London Fog" because he never lifts; a third, a foreman, is called "the Crystal Ball" because when any complaints are made, he always says, "I'll look into it."

Mentors into Monsters

MENTORS of yesterday have become "monsters" of today. Heads are rolling in the universities of China and Radio Peking threatens that more heads will roll. When the Rector of Nanking University was stripped of all his functions, his dismissal was announced at a meeting of 10,000 of his students and professors. At this rally it was pledged to further expose those "monsters" who remained in the campus.

"Monster" is the label now pinned to intellectuals and party leaders

who have voiced some criticism of Mao Tse-tung's unsuccessful great leap forward. All admissions to universities in China are now suspended for six months. One can imagine the insecurity and fear sweeping China today. Men who go to bed at night know not what to expect the following morning.

The pattern of the 1930s trials in Russia is catching up with China in the 1960s.

Well-hooked

A 92-YEAR OLD grandmother caught a hammerhead shark with a hand-line while sailing across the Indian Ocean. Grandmother Mrs. Emily Clark is being taken on a 9000-mile voyage from Mombasa to New Zealand in a home-made boat by her son, Commander George Cole.

Going Up in Life

I READ THE OTHER DAY that Mr. N. V. Gadgil, once in Mr. Nehru's cabinet, was visiting a tehsil a couple of years ago. He enquired of a police jamadar who happened to be an old acquaintance of his about goondas in the Taluka. The jamadar told Mr. Gadgil, "There are no goondas left in the Taluka."

Seeing the surprise on Mr. Gadgil's face, the jamadar added: "All those who were known to be goondas have been absorbed in Zilla Parishads, Panchayats and the Social Welfare Organizations." Some of them, he added, "have entered the Assembly also."

Time for elections again!

R.M.L.

Last Chance to 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.

Opposition fooling themselves, cheating the nation, unless.....

Whatever the rights and wrongs of Government policies, it cannot presently be accused of indecision. With the general elections only seven months away, the temptation to inaction until after the polls was great. But to the credit of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, she has not shrunk from the many important but controversial decisions on devaluation, the Punjabi Suba and the Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute.

One of the handicaps of responsibility is the necessity of choice between courses of action that are equally costly or unpopular and are bound to leave a residue of discontented elements.

This is the dilemma of the Indian National Congress and the opportunity of the opposition parties.

For example, faced with stagnation even in the industrial sector which had hitherto registered considerable progress, the Government had either to agree to devaluation, without which the urgently needed aid would not have been resumed, or allow industry and agriculture to deteriorate further in the name of self-reliance. In either case, inflation and higher prices were unavoidable and the plight of the common man was bound to get worse immediately.

Thus the opposition parties have never had it so good. Their potential

SAY THAT AGAIN...

People who say that English should be demolished should get out of this country.

V. V. GIRI
Governor of Mysore

An over-sensitive people should not indulge in over-borrowing.

DR. B. R. SHENOY
Economist, (commenting on charges that devaluation was due to foreign pressures)

Even after the proletariat class has seized power, there still exists the danger of losing power.

RED FLAG
Peking daily

for votes is considerable as a result of scarcity and high prices and, in rural areas, because of the grain procurement system. With situations such as the Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute, and the conflict over Chandigarh, the ruling Party is going to the polls with a considerably weakened centre within the Government and in the Party High Command.

The Prime Minister, pressured by the compulsions of administrative responsibility (and the irresponsibility of years of inefficiency, extravagance and corruption), is unable to pull the full weight of the Party with her in the decisions in which such support is most needed. The Party is divided at the centre. In Kerala, Mysore and Bengal dissident groups have officially broken away from the Party. In Orissa, such a split seems inevitable.

In Uttar Pradesh, there are two parallel organizations within the Party and in Punjab, every important leader has his own group which changes loyalties according to the shifting fortunes of the power struggle. Similar group struggles have become sharper in Rajasthan and Andhra. If the opposition parties don't benefit from such a situation at the next elections, said an SSP leader, we have to rethink seriously the whole question of democracy and political parties in India.

Incapable of Unity?

The concern of the SSP leader is not unrealistic for despite all the vehemence of the expressed opposition of the opposition parties and the wide area of their common interests, they seem to be incapable of coming together in any realistic attempt to furnish a power-alternative to this nation.

I have had the chance in past weeks to meet with leaders of the Swatantra, Praja Socialist, Samyukta Socialist, Right and Left Communist Parties. All of them agree that the Congress should be opposed unitedly by a single candidate in each constituency all over the country. They are prepared to sit together and work out such electoral "arrangements" and "adjustments". But there is no

Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

willingness to come together beyond the immediate purpose of defeating a Congress candidate.

More fundamental obstacles to agreement seem to derive from the characteristics of our political leadership and the nature and evolution of Indian political parties. There is the tendency to treat the political leader in the same reverential terms as the feudal lord or the religious guru. Mahatma Gandhi's position was of this nature. Though Nehru was essentially a western-oriented liberal-Marxist, his leadership shared the same characteristics. To a lesser extent, all Indian leaders have similar standing with their followers.

Breakaway Parties

The results of the breakaway political parties formed by some of these leaders were threefold.

1. The new political parties never outgrew loyalty to their leader who had left the Congress nor developed an independent loyalty to a programme or ideology.
2. The breakaway leaders themselves were never quite free from the charisma of their leaders—Gandhi and Nehru. (All Indian political parties, including the Communist Party, have had bitter disputes on the attitude to be adopted towards Gandhi and Nehru.) And so, their parties were never intended as alternative roads to power.
3. These leaders in turn overestimated their own personal charisma. Their approach to political power was naive. There was never any serious attempt to build a grassroots organization from the village to the top, nor was there the patience or the perspective to live with the fact that political power is a long-term objective.

Continued on page 17

CHALTA HAI...



"We are having a clean up campaign next Friday so make sure there is plenty of rubbish around."

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Will Kerala's Rebel Congress Split?

From G. S. Kartha in Trivandrum

Kerala Liberator Mannath Padmanabhan and Rebel Congress chief K. M. George, both strongly anti-Communist, fail to agree on a common strategy to defeat Left Communist Namboodiripad's bid to capture power. Each wants things done his way, suited to the interests he represents. Both are aware that another liberation struggle would be impossible if Kerala voted for the Communists.

Eighty-seven-year-old Mannath advised the rebel Congress to merge with the parent body on honourable terms, relying on his assurance, as he felt the rebel Congress was formed not because of fundamental differences but as a protest against the attitude and actions of certain leaders. Now that Congress is ready to forget the past, Mannath wants the rebels to return. He is also eager for the broadest anti-Communist unity.

Win League from Left

But George firmly rejected Mannath's advice for an electoral pact with Congress. He also wants to win the Muslim League into the fold instead of driving them left and opening the Malabar area for Communist influence. Congress and the rebels could then, he thinks, individually

muster the maximum support, which is difficult in the event of a merger.

It is asked why Congress is shy for alliance with former Congressmen when it is allied with Republicans in Maharashtra. Rebels will choose their own stand if Congress proves unreasonable.

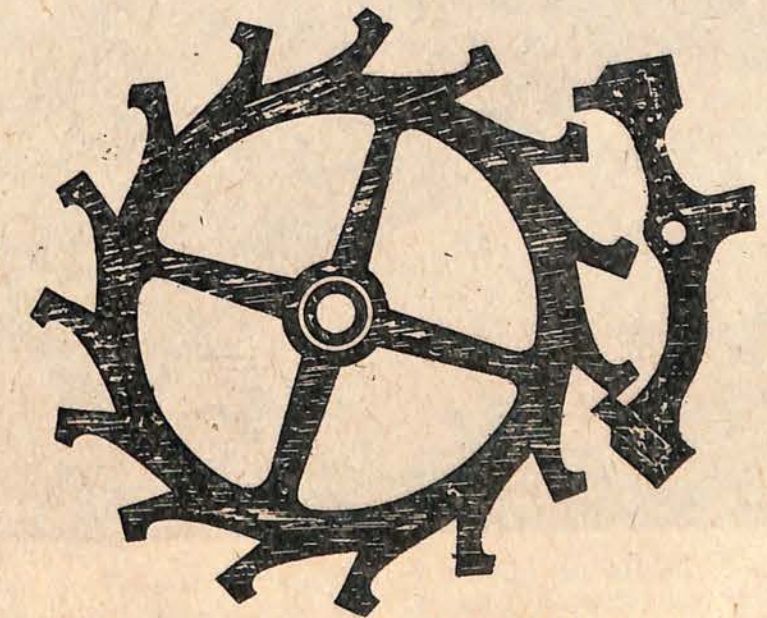
Merger Response Poor

Fifty out of two hundred invited rebel Congressmen supporting Mannath asked him in a recent meeting to mediate an honourable merger with Congress. Finding the response poor they plan to win the maximum to their fold before a merger. This might split the rebel Congress.

Meanwhile it is felt that the Pradesh Congress leaders are unlikely to accept Mannath's terms as his in-

fluence with them is almost nil. One view is that Mannath is being used by the top Congress leadership to further their strategy and that nothing helpful will result. The prospects of non-Communist unity are gloomy.

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HIMMAT, June 24, 1966

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Britain and the Common Market

PETER HINTZEN REPORTS

From The Hague

The "Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant", an authoritative liberal daily, editorially strongly disagrees with a European Coal and Steel Community Report which was recently "leaked" to the public, but later disavowed by the Community's High Authority.

In the report it is suggested that Britain's entry into the Common Market may be undesirable, unless she disengages herself from her world involvement which the Pound Sterling's position as reserve currency imposes.

The report calls the British economy "sick" and fears it would on entry infect the six Common Market partners. Since 1955 they have shown spectacular economic growth, whereas Britain has lagged behind.

According to a British Government statement, the most recent currency crisis of 1964 will take five years to recuperate from. The report does not want to import such difficulties into the Common Market and feels possible entry should be linked with stiff conditions and commitments. This opinion seems to be shared by France's Economics Minister, Michel Debre, who recently said that Britain may have to change the international position of the Pound as a "price" for admission into Europe.

"The mentality shown in the report is wholly unacceptable," says the Dutch newspaper. "For British monetary difficulties and balance of payments problems are not only caused by Britain's productive shortcomings, but also by her commitments towards the Commonwealth countries and her position as international banker. It is an illusion to think that Britain can shed these commitments just like that. They could not go without it, because they depend on well-organized world trade. It is just as much an illusion to think that the European Communities can be developed... into a perfect economic machinery without being concerned with the rest of the world. By making Britain's Pound problems community matters, Europe will be enabled to play a leading as well as a serving role in the world."

GORDON WISE REPORTS

From London

There is a slowly accelerating movement of Britain towards the European Economic Community (EEC). A good deal of keen-eyed scrutiny of the likely benefits and disadvantages—what Ministers refer to as "probing"—is going on.



Wilson—no illusions

There is the wider issue of Britain's Commonwealth obligations which the Government says is in the forefront of its mind. But even in terms of Britain's own financial self-interest, the Prime Minister, himself an economist, is under no illusions about the difficulties.

Full Day's Work

Speaking in Bristol last March Mr. Wilson said, "We should not accept too easily that the cold wind of competitive imports will, of itself, make British industry more efficient. Unless we modernize, streamline our industries, base our attitude on a full day's work for a full day's pay at all levels within industry, unless we continue to strengthen sterling in our balance of payments—then the Common Market choice is simply between being a back-water inside Europe and a back-water outside Europe."

The Economist wrote recently of the Common Market, "Though it

Continued on page 12

The week in Asia

DACCA—Awami League demonstrators with black flags protested at alleged police atrocities during the June 7 "bandh" to demand autonomy for East Pakistan.

SAIGON—Buddhist leaders marched to the central police station and offered themselves for arrest in new demonstrations against the military Government.

TOKYO—Japan will invite India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, to pay an official visit, said a Government spokesman.

HONG KONG—A sudden rain deluge set off landslides and floods causing over 55 deaths in this British colony.

PEKING—Chinese Premier Chou En-lai left on an eight-day official visit to Rumania.

KATHMANDU—Prince Birendra of Nepal leaves this week on a three-week visit to Peking, announced Radio Nepal. On his return he will visit East Pakistan.

COLOMBO—To curb excessive profits the Government announced that the State-controlled Co-operative Wholesale Establishment would in future be the sole importer of textiles. The private sector of this trade has been dominated by Indians and Pakistanis.

PEKING—The Rector of Nanking University has been dismissed, reported Peking Radio, in China's continuing purge of intellectuals.

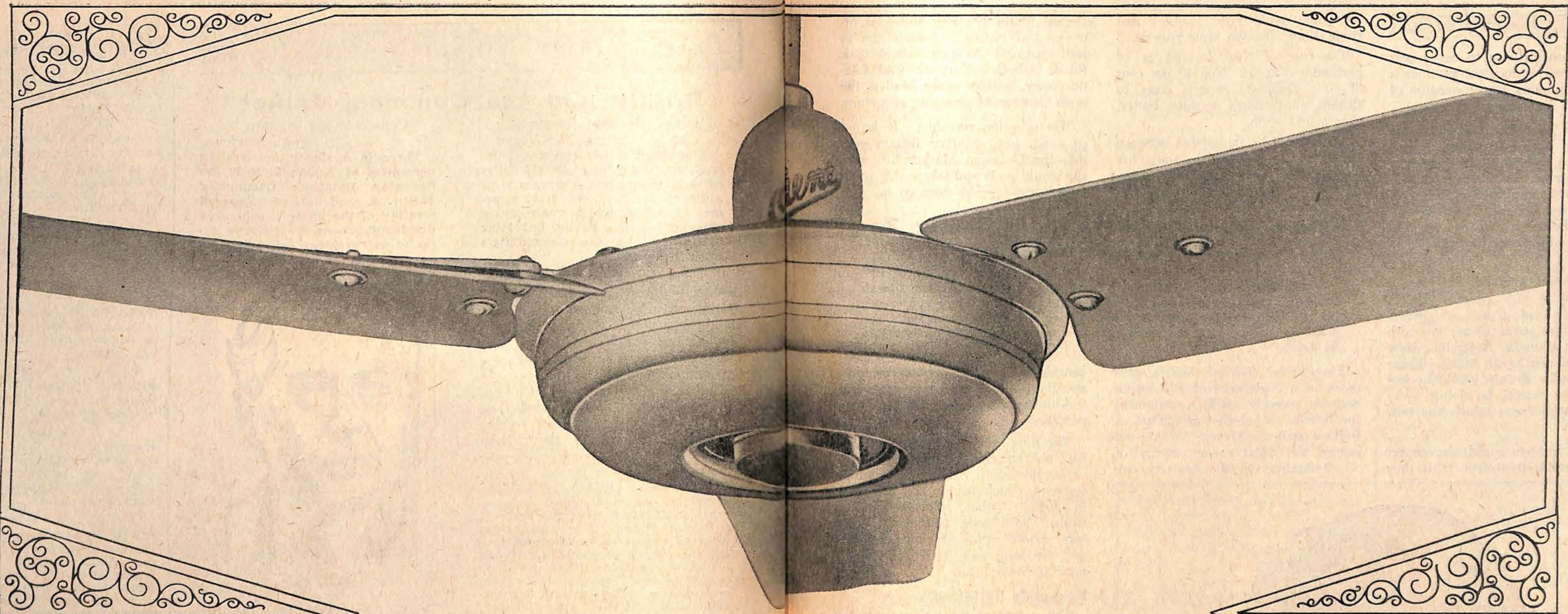
RAWALPINDI—President Ayub Khan announced that Pakistan's Foreign Minister Z. A. Bhutto was going on leave for health reasons, and that he was taking over his office. He said there would be no change in foreign policy.

DACCA—Floods in East Pakistan were reported to have killed over 100 people and driven 70,000 from their homes.

CAIRO—Communist China began negotiations here for a Peking-Cairo air link.

DJAKARTA—Pakistan is considering giving Indonesia a 30 million dollar credit for essential imports, said a communique following a visit by Pakistan Foreign Minister Bhutto.

HIMMAT, June 24, 1966



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

gives a good shaking to everyone's preconceptions, it does not produce a sudden miraculous transformation of the national economies."

A market of 180 million people would open up for Britain. A stiff challenge to her industry could be expected, for as tariffs were reduced, the present comparatively high protective duties behind which manufacturers shelter would be lowered to admit rival products from the Continent.

There would also be the loss of preferences in her present EFTA trading area and a loss of preferences in the main Commonwealth markets of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and also South Africa. These preferences for Britain would be lost because she would be doing away with the preferences which she now gives them.

British exporters could also expect less favourable treatment than they

now enjoy with India, Pakistan and Hong Kong, for the same reasons.

The case of New Zealand is of particular concern. For 40 per cent of New Zealand's exports come to Britain, mostly farm produce, butter, cheese and lamb.

There need be no conflict between Britain's Commonwealth role, her transatlantic partnership with America and her part with Europe. The

Kings and Socialists in Arab Zig Zag

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

The visit of India's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dinesh Singh, to Cairo recently raised the possibility of yet another conference for the Arab world to consider; a non-aligned meeting between India, the UAR and Yugoslavia, originally proposed last month by President Tito in Cairo.

King Feisal of Saudi Arabia, proposer of a conference of all Muslim nations, recently made a statement for British TV which was quoted as follows on Radio Mecca: "We do not regard the UAR as an enemy of Saudi Arabia. On the contrary, we

United States has pan-American interests and Pacific responsibilities as well as vital Atlantic connections. Russia is both a European and Asiatic power, besides being head of the main Communist grouping of nations.

The question remains: It is not so much now *whether* Britain goes into the Common Market—but *why* she would go in and *where* she would take Europe if she does go in.

consider we are brothers, and understanding must prevail between us in the interest of our countries and our peoples."

The King said he thought the UAR had no intention of trying to seize or occupy South Arabia after independence, which Britain has promised in 1968. "What interests us, as Arabs," he added, "is that the territory should attain its independence and freedom, rule itself and determine its own future."

Kosygin's Initiative

The statement three days later by Editor Hassanein Heykal of Cairo's *Al-Ahram*, however, was less pacific. He wrote in his weekly article that there was no longer any value in the Arab Summit meetings, initiated through the Arab League two years ago at President Nasser's suggestion. Mr. Heykal wrote: "Arab reactionaries hate Israel, but they hate the Arab revolution even more. It is my belief that there remains nothing worth the sacrifice. There is nothing to justify pursuing the road which is full of thorns and mines."

Soviet Premier Kosygin called for a rapprochement of Arab Socialist states—Algeria, Iraq, Syria and the UAR—during his recent visit in Cairo. This appears to have motivated in great measure the current talks being held between the UAR Government and a strong Syrian delegation led by the Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister, Dr. Ibrahim Makhous. Syria is reported to be

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

urging a "little Summit" of the Socialist states. Algeria is cool to this suggestion, fearing that it might jeopardize the announced full Arab Summit meeting planned for September in Algiers.

Officially, all members of the Arab League have agreed to attend the Algeria meeting in September, except Tunisia. President Bourguiba has remained at odds with Cairo ever since he was violently attacked last year for his proposal that the Arabs negotiate with Israel on condition that UN resolutions on Palestine first be implemented. Now, however, Editor Heykal's *Al-Ahram* statement raises grave doubts that Cairo will attend. It is also difficult to imagine President Nasser and King Feisal sitting at the Algiers conference together until the prevailing tension over implementation of the Jeddah agreement on Yemen is relaxed.*

Further to the West, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi of Iran arrived in Morocco for an 11-day State visit.

* Latest reports from Cairo quote Nasser as saying he would not attend any Arab summit if King Feisal and other "reactionaries" were present.

Australia Fears UK Withdrawals

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Canberra

Commanding the headlines throughout Australia has been Britain's defence policy east of Suez. The issue arose following reported remarks by Britain's Foreign Secretary, Mr. Michael Stewart, and the Secretary of Defence, Mr. Denis Healey, at a meeting of the British Parliamentary Labour Party.

They were said to have gone "a long way" towards agreeing with a large and influential body of Labour MPs who are seeking the withdrawal of British forces from Malaysia, Singapore and the Persian Gulf and a cut of \$A 250 million (Rs. 210 crores) in defence spending.

This provoked a sharp reaction from Canberra as such a reduction would mean virtually the end of British power in South and South-east Asia.

The Australian High Commissioner in London, Sir Alexander Downer, at an interview with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, stressed that Australia was concern-

This follows a week's stay in Yugoslavia and talks with President Tito. The Shah, along with King Feisal and other monarchs, has indicated his support for a conference of all Muslim nations. Morocco's King Hassan is so far non-committal. This will surely occupy a principal place in the Rabat discussions.

These new alignments emerging in the Arab-Muslim world represent fundamental ideological differences. King Feisal's call for a meeting of Muslim nations falls within the broad lines of action agreed on at the first Arab Summit in Alexandria two years ago. He is a fitting personality to call such a gathering in his capacity as Keeper of the Holy Places—Mecca and Medina. He has carefully avoided political overtones.

To oppose such a fraternal gathering almost falls into the same category as being against motherhood or patriotism. But the fact that only conservatives—the Shah of Iran, the Gulf Princes, King Hussein of Jordan, probably King Idris of Libya and possibly the Sudan—have rallied to the call raises suspicions in Cairo.

On the other hand, the foot-dragging response of Iraq and Algeria to the call for Socialist solidarity under Cairo's banner makes it clear that the Algerian summit, if it takes place, would reveal a waning of Cairo's influence.

ed not only about the defence vacuum that such a withdrawal would create, but also for the future stability of South-east Asia.

Australia's Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Holt, later announced in Canberra that Mr. Wilson had thoroughly satisfied the Australian Government that Britain intended to remain a Far East power.

Defence authorities here see no prospect of any major British withdrawal before 1970. But they believe the end of Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia could result in a scaling down of British forces in the area

Continued on next page

The week in India

NEW DELHI—The President promulgated an ordinance making anyone preaching or working for the secession of part of the country liable to up to 10 years' imprisonment. The ordinance was reported aimed at moves to demand secession by some Sikhs, and at the Mizo rebels.

SRINAGAR—Mr. Ghulam Nabi Hagroo, acting president of the Plebiscite Front, was arrested under Defence of India Rules.

BANGALORE—Thirty thousand people took part in demonstrations in Belgaum against reopening the Mysore-Maharashtra border issue. Nearly 1300 demonstrators who blocked railway lines were arrested in Belgaum and Bangalore.

NEW DELHI—Resumption of US economic aid to both India and Pakistan was reported here.

BOMBAY—Sixty-six people were killed when two trains collided in the worst-ever accident on Bombay's suburban railways.

AJMER—Fifteen people were killed and 59 hurt when the Ahmedabad-Delhi Express collided with a goods train at Ladpura Station near here.

PATNA—Sunstroke killed at least 313 people in Bihar cities. Country-side deaths are not generally reported.

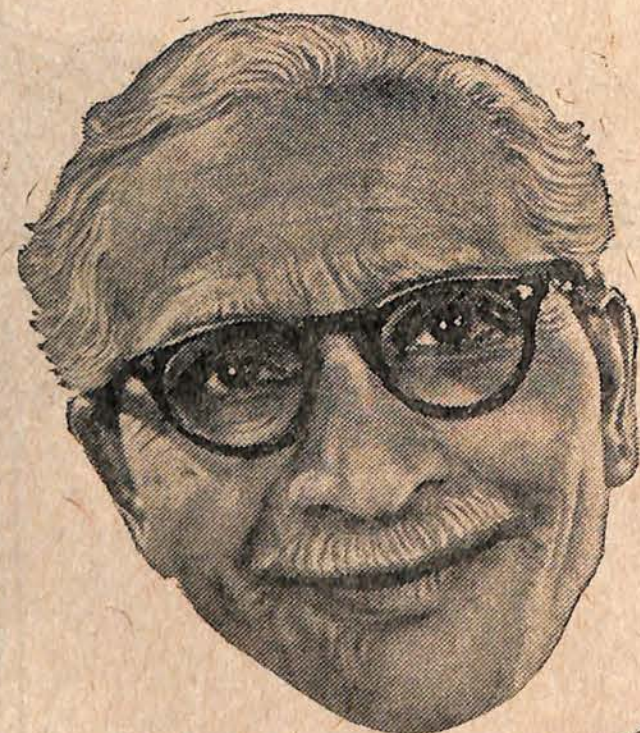
NEW DELHI—Russia was reported to have offered India a commercial credit of Rs. 150 crores.

HYDERABAD—Right Communist Party Chairman S. A. Dange told pressmen "all talk of Mrs. Gandhi being a progressive Prime Minister has been proved wrong within three months". He visualized a series of strikes culminating in a national strike against the Government.

IMPHAL—The rain-swollen rivers Iril, Imphal and Nambul burst their banks and flooded large areas of Imphal city.

MADRAS—Nearly 4000 dockworkers struck in protest against the Dock Labour Board's alleged refusal to consider their demands.

ERNAKULAM—It was announced that Cochin Oil Refinery, designed to produce 2.5 million tons of petroleum products annually, would start production by August 15.



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

even though Malaysia and Singapore make requests on acceptable terms for UK troops to remain there.

Meanwhile, arising from Anglo-Australian defence talks earlier this year, there is in progress a joint examination of the practical possibilities of stationing British troops in Australia.

The question now is whether Mr. Wilson is sufficiently in command of his own party to resist the pressure that is obviously mounting for a major cutback in British commitments in this part of the world.

Lebanon Editor Murdered

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

Lebanon has been deeply shaken by the assassination here of Kamel Mrowa, publisher-editor of the Arabic and English dailies, "Al-Hayat" and "The Daily Star". The 51-year-old journalist, father of five children, was killed in cold blood when a man penetrated his office and shot him before he could even look up from the editorial he was writing.

The killer, 23-year-old Adnan Shaker Sultani, was apprehended almost immediately and is reported to have confessed. Amid widespread speculation as to possible political motives for the crime, it is clear that it was carefully planned—not the work of a crank.

Born in Sidon in South Lebanon

in 1915, Mrowa graduated from the American University here. Early in the war his nationalist convictions forced him into exile abroad. Arrested on his return, he was released when Lebanon became independent in 1943. Mrowa's integrity made him highly respected throughout the Arab world and beyond—even by those with whose political views he

The week elsewhere

S.E. ASIAN COUNCIL

SEOUL—Ministers of nine Asian and Pacific nations meeting in the South Korean capital, agreed to meet annually and establish a secretariat. The conference is likely to be called ASPAC—Asian and Pacific Co-operation Council. Nations taking part were South Korea, Formosa, the Philippines, South Vietnam, Australia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand and Thailand.

UK—MALAYSIA RIFT

LONDON—Relations between Britain and Malaysia have cooled with the end of "confrontation", says a report by *The Observer's* defence correspondent. Confidential talks are said to have begun in Kuala Lumpur about the immediate withdrawal of a British brigade from Borneo. "I understand the Malaysian Government is insisting that the other remaining brigade must be withdrawn 'as soon as possible'—at most within six months," writes the correspon-

differed. His daily *Al-Hayat* was launched in 1946. In its opening issue he pledged to give his readers "a clean paper in clean hands for clean objectives". He wrote on the paper's 20th anniversary this January, "Today I feel that with my colleagues I succeeded in holding true to our slogan. And we shall keep it that way."

elsewhere

dent. Malaysians complain that the British forces' campaign to "win hearts and minds" of the inhabitants of Borneo has diverted their loyalty from Malaysia to Britain.

TURNABOUT

DJAKARTA—Twenty-five thousand people packed Wild Buffalo Square in Indonesia's capital, scene till recently of "crush Malaysia" demonstrations, for a rally to demand the end of "confrontation". "End it, end it," the crowd chanted, as a workers' leader, Darius Marpaung, shouted, "To hell with confrontation."

"SING OUT" MULTIPLIES

DORTMUND—Fourteen thousand in West Germany's biggest hall applauded the final performance in that country of the Moral Re-Armament musical "Sing Out '66". Invited from America by Chancellor Erhard, the show visited 24 cities and several army camps during its 4-week tour, and left behind 12 German "Sing Out" groups comprising 2000 people.

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets the people

Cheap justice may prove costly, says judge who quit

LAST WEEK A JUDGE of the Bombay High Court, the Honourable Justice H. R. Gokhale, announced what he called his "somewhat unusual" decision to resign from the Bench in order to pose some questions of considerable public importance before the nation. He said he had resigned because he honestly felt that in the present conditions of service he would be doing injustice to his work if he continued.

When I met him at his apartment at Rocky Hills flats not far from Raj Bhavan, he informed me that a High Court judge's salary was fixed at Rs. 3500 per month when the Constitution came into operation in 1950. Although the cost of living had gone up by over 100 per cent, a judge's salary remained the same. After his income tax and annuity deposit, he got Rs. 2400 net. He talked candidly and without any trace of bitterness about his decisions because he sees his battle as one for the independence of the judiciary and someone, some time had to focus it.

Ten Refuse Judgeship

India's High Courts determine the competence of laws enacted by the legislatures. They have the power to issue writs to protect the citizens from encroachment on their liberties. Clothed with the performance of such important functions, High Court judges should be chosen from the finest talent at the Bar. His Lordship said that to his knowledge, in the last three years, at least ten leading advocates and barristers had declined the offer of a judgeship in the High Court of Bombay.

"It is very expensive in a democracy to secure cheap justice," he says.

Why did you choose to be a lawyer, I asked.

"Law is in my blood. My grandfather was a civil judge in Baroda 100 years ago. My father was on the

Bench, and became Chief Justice of Baroda."

Justice Gokhale got his BA Honours with English Literature, and later got interested in constitutional law. He practised in his home town of Baroda from 1940 to 1952 and on the merger of the state came down to Bombay starting practice on July 18, 1952. He knew no one in Bombay, but his original touches with the trade union movement brought him some labour cases to begin with and before long he represented the trade unions connected with the Congress Party (INTUC), the Socialists (HMS) and the Communists (AITUC).

Did you have any interesting cases before you were appointed judge?

"I had to argue on behalf of a shareholder of a company (Tatas) who objected to a contribution by the firm to the Congress Party. The issue was whether firms could contribute to political parties. Though the Bombay High Court upheld the right of the company to contribute to a political party, the case led to a debate in Parliament and legislation that if a public company does contribute funds to a political party, it should be indicated in their balance sheet and the information published in the national newspapers as an advertisement."

Rulings Resented

When were you appointed to the Bench?

"In 1960."

Have you had occasion to go abroad?

"Yes, I have. I was on a tour in 1964 invited by the British Council and also had a chance to visit many European countries, East Europe and the Soviet Union."

Did you find anything of interest comparing legal systems abroad and here?

"Ours is based on the British legal



Justice H. R. Gokhale

system. There is, however, a difference in the attitude of the executive to the judiciary in Britain and in India. In Britain when a judge gives a decision the Government says, 'At last we know the law and what the position is.' Out here the reaction of the Government is 'Here are we trying to do such good work and these judges interfere.'

Status Needs Review

Justice Gokhale related an interesting encounter he had in Britain. He went to a pub in Kensington with a friend from London. His companion could not resist the temptation of telling an English stranger next to him, in the convivial atmosphere of the pub, that sitting with him was a judge of the Bombay High Court. At which point, the stranger rose from his chair, stretched out his hand to Mr. Gokhale and said, "Honoured to meet Your Lordship. It's the first time I have shaken hands with a judge." Before long, the whole pub followed in a procession. The only trouble was that the bar which was until then quite jolly and bright suddenly assumed the atmosphere of a court-room.

He believes that the whole question of the status of judges needs investigation. Their status, he feels, should be equated with that of ministers "lest the impression arose that they are inferior and subordinate to the latter".

Continued on next page

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LETTERS

CHINA AFTER MAO

Rajmohan Gandhi's article on "China in 1970" (HIMMAT, June 10) presented a realistic point of view of the policy the United States might adopt in the near future. Already the US is talking in terms of containing China, which she has so far successfully kept out of the UN.

The announcement over Radio Peking that China is similar to Hungary before the 1956 rebellion is interesting. If there is such an uprising, will the US involve herself, unlike on the previous occasion? The purge of VIPs shows that something is about to erupt in this mysterious nation.

Although the recent appearance of Mao Tse-tung scotched rumours that he is dead, it is a fact that some day he has to die. But present moves indicate that Mao Tse-tung will continue to exert influence on China even after his death. The campaign to make every Chinese respect "the thoughts of Mao" clearly demonstrates that none who are likely to succeed him enjoy the support of the masses. This absence of self-confidence has led to a mass propaganda campaign

ON THE SPOT—from page 15

On July 18 this year exactly 14 years after he started practice at the Bombay Bar, Mr. Gokhale will don his gown and start practice in the Supreme Court of India. "You see," he explained, "High Court judges are not permitted to practise in the courts over which they presided."

I have a feeling that this sturdy warrior will continue his battle for the judiciary of India.

Varuna

which involves Chinese life to such an extent that every achievement in all spheres is attributed to the thoughts of Mao.

Sport victories, successful surgery, increased production, scientific advance, better crops, healthier animals and even bigger litters of pigs are all attributed to the thoughts of Mao. Heir apparent Liu Shao-chi always refers to the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung in his speeches and the current campaign seems to be an attempt to deify Mao or make him into a Lenin. Mao's books, according to reports, have displaced the sacred books containing the teachings of Confucius whose influence on Chinese thinking seems to be dwindling.

If the present campaign succeeds a dangerous monster may emerge. All Chinese will begin to think alike and "expansion" will be more easily achieved. A failure also would be dangerous as the leaders will try to keep the Chinese attention away from home affairs. This may result in a fresh onslaught on vulnerable India.

VIJITHA YAPA*

Bombay-26

*This week's Rs. 10 prize winner

"TALKING SHOP"

Our esteemed Prime Minister in a statement in New Delhi published in the papers on May 12, said "that India today required in her legislature and executive more people with special knowledge of technological and scientific problems than generalists". May this recent awakening be kept up. The late President Kennedy appointed experts, specialists and intellectuals at the top administrative levels in the United States. The "371 major appointments" President Johnson has "made in the last two and a half years, collectively hold 758 advance degrees". Likewise our political parties should allow qualified candidates with special qualifications with emphasis on youth and new blood to contest the elections. Let us hope

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

our Parliament does not continue as a "Talking Shop" but as a "Thinking Forum".

VITALIS J. PINTO

Bangalore 25

POLLUTED WITH POLITICS

The river water disputes in India have created a serious situation. While Indonesia has ended its confrontation against Malaysia, Madhya Pradesh has not done so yet with Gujarat.

The Engineer-Minister Dr. K. L. Rao, who had offered his good offices, has failed to solve this issue which has historical and political aspects too. It is amusing that Mr. Eugene Black's good offices produced a settlement of a most controversial Indo-Pak dispute on the Indus waters, but Dr. K. L. Rao could not achieve the same measure of success at home.

In the South, the Krishna-Godavari dispute has created bitterness between Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore and Madras. This, too, has defied solution so far. The river water is much polluted with politics and unless it is purified interstate relations will continue to be unhappy.

MUSLAIDHUDDIN AHMED

Hyderabad 12

WE CAN'T DICTATE

I fully agree with your views on the "Indo-US Foundation" (Q and A, June 3, 1966). It is a pity that India suspects her real friends rather than the enemy. When America is spending her money (PL 480 fund which is her money) in an all-Indian project, we suspect their sincerity. When we suspect why should they be so eager to help us?

If they don't want to spend the PL 480 fund in India, who is the loser? USA or India? Our leaders should remember one thing, "Beggars cannot dictate."

C. SAMPATH KUMAR

Madras 33

VIEWPOINT

COMPETITION

* What should be India's new role in Asia?

Closing date: July 8

** Will devaluation benefit India's economy?

Closing date: July 22

Prizes: Rs. 25, Rs. 15

Send entries of 500 words or less to:

Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate Street, Bombay-1.

This was a life SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU 1875—1949

"YES, born on December 8, 1875: dead, don't know when: and nothing much in between." So Tej Bahadur Sapru joked about himself when friends were felicitating him on a birthday late in his life.

These were modest words for the greatest authority on Indian Constitutional Law. Lord Reading, the then Viceroy, relied on his counsel as the Law Member, but found it at times highly unpalatable.

It was obvious that his mind was wedded to law and not to politics. Though he revered Gandhiji, he vehemently disagreed with Gandhiji's ideas of civil disobedience. The reason is not far to seek: the brilliant lawyer could not play the role of a law-breaker. Sir Tej Bahadur left the Congress with the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1920.

Though he came from a Kashmiri Brahmin family, he hated orthodoxy. Sir Tej Bahadur was a rebel against customs and conventions. He sided wholeheartedly with Gandhiji when the latter began his campaign against untouchability.

He resented the inferior racial treatment meted out to Indians abroad. His words to General Smuts tersely put his case for equal citizen rights for Indians, "We claim, along with you, equal citizenship in the same Empire. We are not willing to be relegated from King George's dining-hall to King George's stables."

SCHOLAR AND WIT

Sir Tej Bahadur was a scholar of English, Persian and Urdu and he possessed one of the finest private libraries in the country.

He could never sway the masses for he was not an orator, but he was a flawless debater. His legal training made his speeches terse and to the point. One of his last great cases was the INA trials, where he led the panel of eminent lawyers, followed by Bhulabhai Desai and Jawaharlal Nehru. The case aroused such strong public feeling in the country that although the accused were sentenced by the court they emerged as heroes.

Sir Tej Bahadur was a heavy smoker and drifted from a cigarette to a cigar, from a cigar to a pipe. Once Sir Tej Bahadur left the courtroom for a hurried smoke but Sir Grimwood Myers summoned him in as he was required to answer a point raised by his opponent. The Chief Justice remarked, "You had better stay a little longer, Sir Tej Bahadur, otherwise your arguments may end in smoke."

Q and A

Q—Should we produce atom bombs to defend our country from external dangers?

J. ABDUL SUBHAN, Tiruchi 8

A—No. Not yet. With China's third nuclear explosion the subject has again come into focus. The new Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, said the other day that national security cannot be assured by mere possession of one or two atom bombs. If we go in for it, it would entail producing a comprehensive defence system which would include means of delivery.

Mrs. Gandhi has reassured a Japanese delegate that exploding an atom bomb would not help our country. India's rea-

UNDER THE LENS—from page 5

Another factor, important for understanding the inability of opposition parties to work together, is the tendency to justify our actions in terms of abstract ideas as well as the quite genuine fascination we have for ideas in our political growth. Apart from personal bitterness, even minor points of ideology seem to have a capacity to excite major passion. Our political leaders spend hours in discussion on what ultimately turn out to be irrelevant issues. This hold of "ideology", even when it is a cloak for personal rancour, is a real weakness of opposition parties. The strength of the Congress Party may well derive from the fact

sons are both moral and financial, the latter weighing more heavily. Recent policies including devaluation show that the Indian Government has been assured substantial foreign aid to concentrate on economic progress. If India diverts her resources to the atomic race now, there is little doubt that foreign aid will be reduced by the West and by Russia. It will also mean that Pakistan will launch into the nuclear race whatever the cost to her. Both internally and externally, making the A-bomb will create more problems than it will solve. For the next three years or so one can depend on President Johnson's assurance against nuclear blackmail by China. Once China has the capability of destroying even half a city on America's West coast, the testing time will come for India. We need, of course, continuously to review the situation.

ANY QUESTIONS?

SEND THEM TO Q & A, HIMMAT.

that for those who matter in it, the only relevant ideology is power.

If power is the aim—and only if power is the aim—is it possible for the opposition parties to organize and unite to offer an alternative to the Indian people? If not, they are fooling themselves and cheating the nation.

If practical jobs in terms of people's welfare and not ideas or slogans loom large, agreement at the state level may be a realistic beginning.

I am not unaware of the history of Communist take-over of united fronts in the past. But experience suggests that without some attempt to secure each other's support for a Government of any of the opposition parties, singly or together, alternative to Congress rule is wishful thinking.

AN
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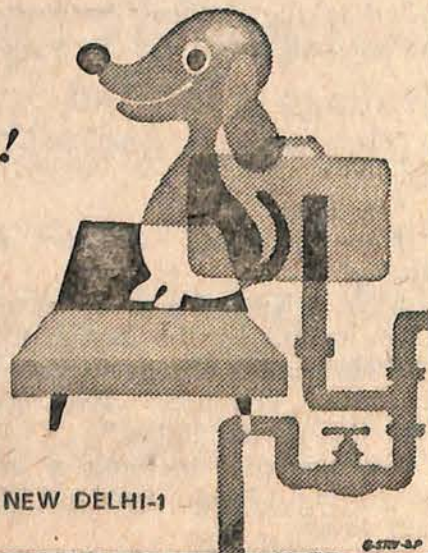


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Am I a Socialist ?

By Rajmohan Gandhi

I SUPPOSE when men are dead and reach heaven—assuming they do—they will have a chance of discovering the Almighty's rating of different countries.

Is China at the bottom of the list and India at the top? Or Russia at the top? Where does America figure? And where do Pakistan, UAR and Israel stand? What would South Africa's rank be?

The standards of judgement up there will most likely surprise the wisest down here. Historians, commentators and analysts will, I think, find the marking unexpected and unorthodox. Perhaps they will protest the criteria of judgement.

I wish I could have a glimmering of the view from there of men and nations.

Men see others more clearly than themselves, other nations more objectively than their own.

I remember meeting an American professor called Little when I was twelve. My first question to him was about the treatment of American Negroes.

"What About Untouchables?"

I have had occasion to visit America a number of times in recent years, and each time I have tried to observe the pace of the Negro's advance.

I have been to the Deep South, to Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia. What do you think a boy of about fourteen in Jackson, Mississippi asked me? He wanted to know what high caste Indians were doing for the untouchables.

The editor of a strongly conservative Southern newspaper asked me the same question. So did many others all over the American South.

An Ahmedabad story announces that on June 19 a large group of Harijans entered the Swaminarayan Temple there for the first time. Apparently a dispute about Harijan entry had been going on in various courts for 18 years until the Supreme Court decided that all who wished could enter.

Pretty late in the day, this development. It is a healthy reminder to our country that a lot has to be done to establish the rights and dignity of every last Indian.

Socialism is the goal of a number of our political parties. The Congress Party is officially pledged to achieve it. So are a number of Socialist parties. The two wings of the Communist Party also want Socialism, although they say that Socialism will only be the foundation on which the building of Communism will be erected.

More than Slogans

I am a Socialist. My aim is to make of all of our 500 million people one family. A family where everyone cares and is cared for, where everyone is included and has a feeling of belonging.

The Congress, Socialist and Communist leaders and followers can play a mighty part in building such an India. They will need more than the repeated use of slogans about Socialism to do so.

They will also need more than ordinances and decrees taking over companies or nationalizing this industry or that.

There is no reason whatever to believe that Government officials are automatically more unselfish than businessmen, or that a bureaucrat will show greater prudence with money and more concern for the worker than an industrialist.

"Class War Is Not Socialism"

It is not a question of the category or the class you belong to, it is a question of the individual man.

Socialism based on class war is not Socialism. It can never achieve the kind of change India's millions are thirsting for.

Socialism is a way of life. It expresses itself in the way I treat my wife or husband, children or parents, brothers or sisters, neighbours or colleagues.

Socialism is a function of my concern for other people as individuals. Burning for humanity at

large is no substitute for an interest in the man next to me in the railway compartment, and a passion for the brotherhood of mankind cannot conceal or overrule my hate of my brother or neighbour.

When Socialism ceases to be a way of life, fights among Socialists become inevitable. The simple explanation of the fact that we have so many parties claiming to be Socialist and hurling attacks on one another is that Indian Socialism is far from being the way of life, the attitude of the individual heart and mind, that it is meant to be.

The phenomenon is not exclusively Indian, of course. It is common to all continents, to the Communist and non-Communist worlds. China accuses Russia of giving up Socialism. Some Russians allege that Chinese Communism is Fascism. They recall that Hitler, too, called himself a National Socialist.

Socialists All

Nkrumah called himself a Socialist and was thrown out by Ghanaians who called him feudalist. Sukarno styles himself as a Socialist and is now under fire from large numbers of Indonesians who think his presidency for life is most anti-Socialist.

Kaunda, the Zambian President, says he is a Socialist. He is furious about another Socialist nearly 5,000 miles to the north, Harold Wilson.

Socialism is a quality of leadership. A leader who has it is able to create a team around him. He brings the best out of people. And men who work with him become greater, bolder and maturer each day.

Let all those who call themselves Socialists examine whether Socialism is a way of life for them, whether it produces in them a greater concern for the people around them, whether it enables them to create a multiplying body of leaders.

If the answer is no, let them have the courage thoroughly to re-examine what they stand for.

THE DICTATOR'S SLIPPERS by PETER HOWARD

Episode 15



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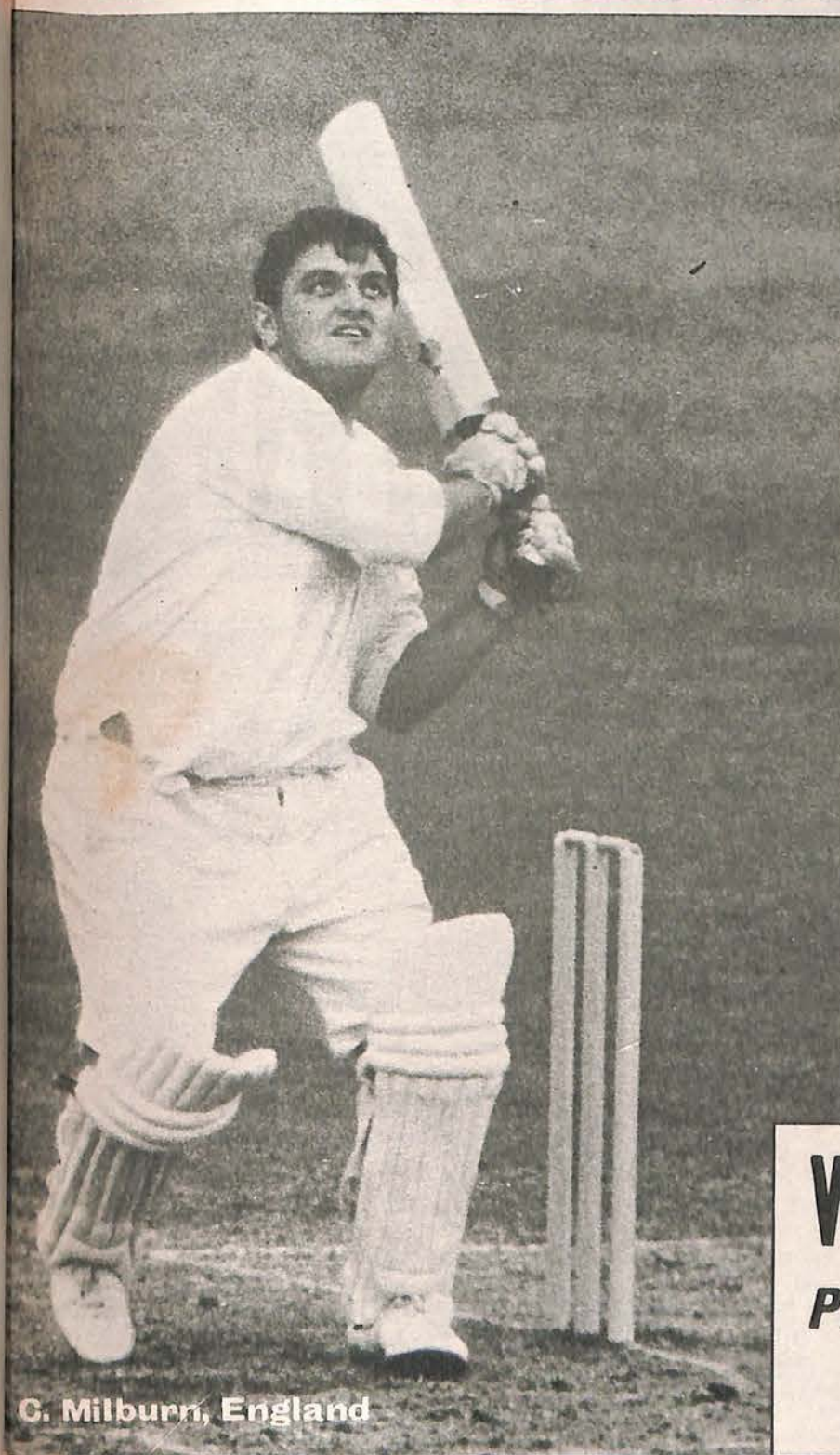
HIMMAT

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FRIDAY JULY 1 1966



G. Milburn, England



G. S. Sobers, West Indies Captain

WEST INDIES vs. ENGLAND

Pictures & Special Report

by Dickie Dodds Page 2 & 8

MUKERJEE'S EXPULSION ROUSES BENGAL