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WEEKLY



**KERALA
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the best**

editorial

Channer

Friday
March 12
1965

LEFT COMMUNIST FUTURE Page 7

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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, March 12, 1965

Vol. I No. 19

Deserves the Best

THE KERALA ELECTIONS demonstrate once again the folly of division and the danger of short-sightedness.

There is no doubt that but for the tragic division between the official Congress and the Kerala Congress, a united party would have been in a position to win an absolute majority. Congress leaders need to consider why, from leadership of a strong coalition of democratic forces in 1960, they have been reduced to their present position of lone contenders for power.

The Kerala Congress leaders, who may be tempted to congratulate themselves on a remarkable victory, may not forget that the price of their vindication may well be the death of democracy in Kerala. Other parties, too, will have to answer for the narrow policies that have led to the present situation. Only E. M. S. Namboodiripad seems to have known what he wanted. He has successfully used every division in democratic ranks to strengthen the Left-wing Communists and weaken and isolate the Congress.

The election results establish that the leaders of the Muslim League, the Nair Service Society and other communal organisations wield unquestionable influence. If the Congress will not take the trouble to win them and carry them along in the building of a new Kerala, they will be used to multiply division and disrupt democracy. People like Mannath Padmanabhan and Bafaki Thangal have a record of selfless service to their communities. The next step will be for these leaders to show a new quality of statesmanship. Can they resist the temptation to settle old scores, forget past quarrels, put aside narrower loyalties and grow into a new dimension of leadership?

The people of Kerala deserve better than the bickering, jealousy and instability that has been their lot during 17 years of Freedom.

Passports

THE JUDGEMENT of the Bombay High Court last week denying the Government absolute discretion in the issue of passports is of far-reaching significance.

His Lordship Mr. Justice Tarkunde, in giving judgement, said that under section 14 of the Constitution the Government of India must issue passports to all Indian citizens who ask for them or none at all. He declared that under section 21 the right of a citizen to go abroad is clearly guaranteed to him.

This judgement strikes at the root of the arbitrary curtailment of personal liberty which is increasingly becoming a feature of the Indian administration. The petitioner is to be congratulated. The pity is that such action was not taken by someone much earlier.

It is a healthy feature of this democracy that there is still the legal machinery by which the liberties of the individual may be protected, but it requires action by a citizen to exercise his right if freedom is to survive.

Disgraceful

THE REPORT of the Central Bureau of Investigation on Mr. Biju Patnaik and Mr. Biren Mitra, two former Chief Ministers of Orissa, laid on the table of the Parliament by Mr. H. V. Kamath, if authentic, is a crushing indictment of the Government and the Congress High Command.

Two issues are raised by the disclosure of the report. The fact that Mr. Kamath could get hold of a secret report of the highest intelligence agency in the country reveals a serious lacuna in the security arrangements of the nation. It is to be presumed that what is available to a Member of Parliament is also accessible to enemies of the country.

Even more serious is the protection granted to Party satraps in face of the clearest evidence that they misused Government position to enrich themselves, and their families. In the words of the report, "The available material shows that a few concerns in which Mr. Patnaik and Mr. Mitra have or had interests made large financial gains. It is also clear that big losses were caused to public funds."

Instances of such losses were an overpayment of Rs. 20 lakhs by the State Government to Orissa Agents, sole proprietary concern of Mrs. Mitra, wife of the former Chief Minister, and sale of the low shaft furnace of Kalinga Industries (of which Mrs. Patnaik was Managing Director when her husband was Chief Minister) to the Orissa Industrial Development Corporation at a price of Rs. 1 crore, when the real value had been estimated at only Rs. 30 lakhs.

Along with such misappropriation of public funds went the wholesale corruption of the machinery of Government. "This is not a case," says the C.B.I. report, "of merely a single department or a few individual officers placing a few orders on Orissa Agents. Here several departments and a large number of officials placed large orders worth lakhs of rupees disregarding financial rules and interests of the State." To call such large scale corruption "impropriety" is beyond common sense.

The Congress Party has thus lost a great opportunity to establish itself as a party of integrity and character. It has made a farce of all the talk about sadachar. The nation will henceforward justifiably question the *bona fides* of Chief Ministers enquiring into charges against their own colleagues in the Cabinet or Central Ministers investigating their Party men at the Centre or in the States. One way in which the Congress High Command can redeem itself is by endorsing the principle of an independent Presidential panel assisted by the intelligence agencies of the Government and vested with power to examine all charges of large scale corruption whether in political parties or in business or in the Government. Firm action against proved wrong-doers, whatever their position or Party, will begin to restore the true image of a Party that claims to follow Mahatma Gandhi.

Briefly Speaking...

To make your children capable of honesty is the beginning of education.
JOHN RUSKIN, 1819-1900

Leaders Will Miss Him

HIMMAT's last issue was in honour of Mr. Peter Howard. Tributes still keep coming in from the world over. We may be too close to measure the outreach and influence Howard has had—and will have—on world events.

The Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives compared him to Lafayette. The New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr. Keith Holyoake, attended last Sunday a public Memorial Service for Howard in Wellington.

The Prime Minister said, "Leaders of nations of every continent miss his guidance. I count it a very great privilege to have known Peter Howard, to have read his books and to be influenced by him."

Lippman Reconsiders?

IN AN EARLIER issue HIMMAT dealt at length with the Lippmann plan for Asia. Mr. Walter Lippmann appears to have shifted some ground from the standpoint that the U.S. should withdraw from S.E. Asia. In one of his latest articles, Mr. Lippmann says, "There would be grave risk to many who have worked with us if South Vietnam collapses. There should be no American withdrawal before or during negotiations for a settlement."

Say It With Music

THOUGH the press of Ceylon holds its flag high, Mrs. Bandaranaike has brought Ceylon's National Radio to

heel. *The Observer*, London, reports that Government suspicions were aroused by a series of fill-in music records played after Government broadcast announcements. After Mrs. Bandaranaike's announcement of the general election was played Beethoven's "Funeral March"; after another ministerial message to the nation came "The Dying Swan"; and after a third official announcement, "The Donkey Serenade". Heads are reported to have rolled.

Disc jockeys are now reported to have compiled a list of Western pop records that are liable to be suspect during the election campaign. These include "Lady, Be Good", "Pistol-Packing Momma" and "The Party Is Over and the Lamp Is Low".

Czech Stand

THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN Foreign Minister, on a visit to India, regarding the Chinese invasion said, "It was difficult for us to recognize the cause of the dispute but it could be seen there were remnants of colonialism." When asked to elaborate what he meant, Mr. David added, "It is well known that British Imperialism was here (in India) before."

In other words, Czechoslovakia believes the boundaries were drawn by the British and are not correct.

That is also the Chinese stand.

R.M.L.

The week in India

TRIVANDRUM—Of the 133 seats in the Kerala Assembly contested in last week's elections, the Left Communists gained 40, the Congress Party 36, the breakaway Kerala Congress 24 and the Right Communists 2. Twenty-eight of the successful Left Communist candidates are in prison under Defence of India rules. The Central Government has transferred them from State to Central Control. The Congress Committee President of Kerala ruled out any possibility of the Congress Party forming a ministry. Among unsuccessful candidates was former Congress Chief Minister Sankar.

NEW DELHI—Canada will give 100,000 tons of wheat to India as a gift to help allay shortages caused by the continuing U.S. dock strike that to date has held up the shipment of 1.2 million tons to India.

CALCUTTA—A scheme of gradual State take-over of the 2,500 private secondary schools in West Bengal was announced by Chief Minister P. C. Sen. The best non-Government schools will be converted into State schools every year on the basis of results achieved in the preceding five years' effort.

NEW DELHI—Pakistan intrusions into Indian territory continue south of the Kutch-Sind border. 13,000 acres are under occupation. Foreign Minister Swaran Singh called for total withdrawal and talks on the border "at the highest level".

NEW DELHI—The Government may permit majority foreign share-holding in Indian concerns in certain cases to speed up production, the Prime Minister announced. Such measures would, however, be rare and temporary.

NEW DELHI—India has been the chief recipient of West German aid and investment. The Bonn Government has contributed \$500 million. Private investment has totalled \$20.6 million since 1951.

CHANDIGARH—Failure to arrest the assassins of former Chief Minister Kairon has led to bitter feuding between the Kairon group and the Ministry. The Congress High Command has been asked to investigate.

NEW DELHI—Five hundred searches have unearthed Rs. 55,000,000 in black money, the Finance Minister announced. Since the budget a number of offers for voluntary disclosure of black money has been received.

LESSONS OF ORISSA

by the Editor

SHORTLY after Mr. Nehru's death, Congress President Kamaraj made a shrewd observation. "In the past," he said, "the Party and the Government might commit grave mistakes, but those were covered up by the towering personality of Nehru. Hereafter, even if we commit small mistakes, they will be magnified and the people will not forgive us."

Now a big "mistake" has happened—if mistake it be. The Central Bureau of Investigation's report clearly shows that between 1961 and 1964 public funds were channelized into the private firms with which Mr. Patnaik and Mr. Mitra were connected. Yet the Cabinet Sub-Committee consisting of six of our senior Cabinet Ministers came to the astonishing conclusion that "no pecuniary benefits" accrued to Mr. Patnaik.

It is now reported that the C.B.I. report is not the only basis on which the Cabinet Sub-Committee arrived at the decision and that replies of Mr. Patnaik and Mr. Mitra were taken into consideration. This week Education Minister Chagla is expected to make a statement in Parliament explaining the decision.

Important Questions

The whole episode raises certain important questions:

(1) Why was the Cabinet Sub-Committee "soft" on Mr. Patnaik and Mr. Mitra?

(2) Did the Congress High Command, some of whose members were on the Cabinet Sub-Committee, fear to give sterner strictures on the two former Chief Ministers? If so, whom or what did they fear?

(3) How can the Union Cabinet win back the confidence of the Indian people?

The Cabinet Sub-Committee had obviously in mind not only the immense influence of Mr. Patnaik in Orissa but also obviously the fear of the forces within the Congress with whom Mr. Patnaik is aligned. Among them is Mr. Atulya Ghosh, boss of the West Bengal Congress and one of the five men mainly responsible for Mr. Shastri's election as Prime Minister. Some weeks ago Mr. Atulya Ghosh

participated with Mr. Patnaik in what was called "a little A.-I.C.C.". Held on Mr. Patnaik's home ground, its aim was to assert Mr. Patnaik's influence in Eastern India and intimidate the leadership of Delhi.

Mr. Ghosh is also known to have issued what an M.P. described the other day as "certificates of innocence and honesty" to the two leaders of Orissa. It is conceivable that both Home Minister Nanda and Prime Minister Shastri were not keen to have Mr. Patnaik use the occasion of his inquiry to gather a section of Congressmen and have another "Rebel Congress" as in Kerala. It is revealing that one of the first acts of the new Chief Minister of Orissa, Mr. Tripathi, was to laud the services of Mr. Patnaik.

Leadership Must Lead

The function of leadership is to lead. It may be that in order to fight for integrity in India's political life, Congress may have to be prepared to lose its control over one or two states. The present leadership needs to decide whether the interests of the nation shall in future be sacrificed for the benefit of the party, or whether the benefit of the party will be sacrificed for the good of the nation. The integrity of Indian political life and

democracy is at stake. The Indian people can and will bear a great amount of economic hardship provided they know that the authorities deal straight and firm with all forms of corruption and injustice.

The Government needs to win back the confidence of the Indian people. Words and explanations will not do. Only action will tell.

"Bank of China" Report

In session after session the Government has been asked by Members of Parliament to disclose the findings of the C.B.I. report on the Bank of China. Time after time the Finance Minister has refused to divulge. So far the Government has shown that when it holds back reports which are of vital public interest, the security of the nation is not at stake. The security of the nation is at stake if the truth is not known.

Would the Government of India reconsider its decision on the Bank of China report and will they win back the confidence of the people by disclosing its contents? The people have a right to know.

Or will they once again, as in Orissa and the Punjab, wait until their hand is forced by angry public opinion or by embarrassing leakage of documents.

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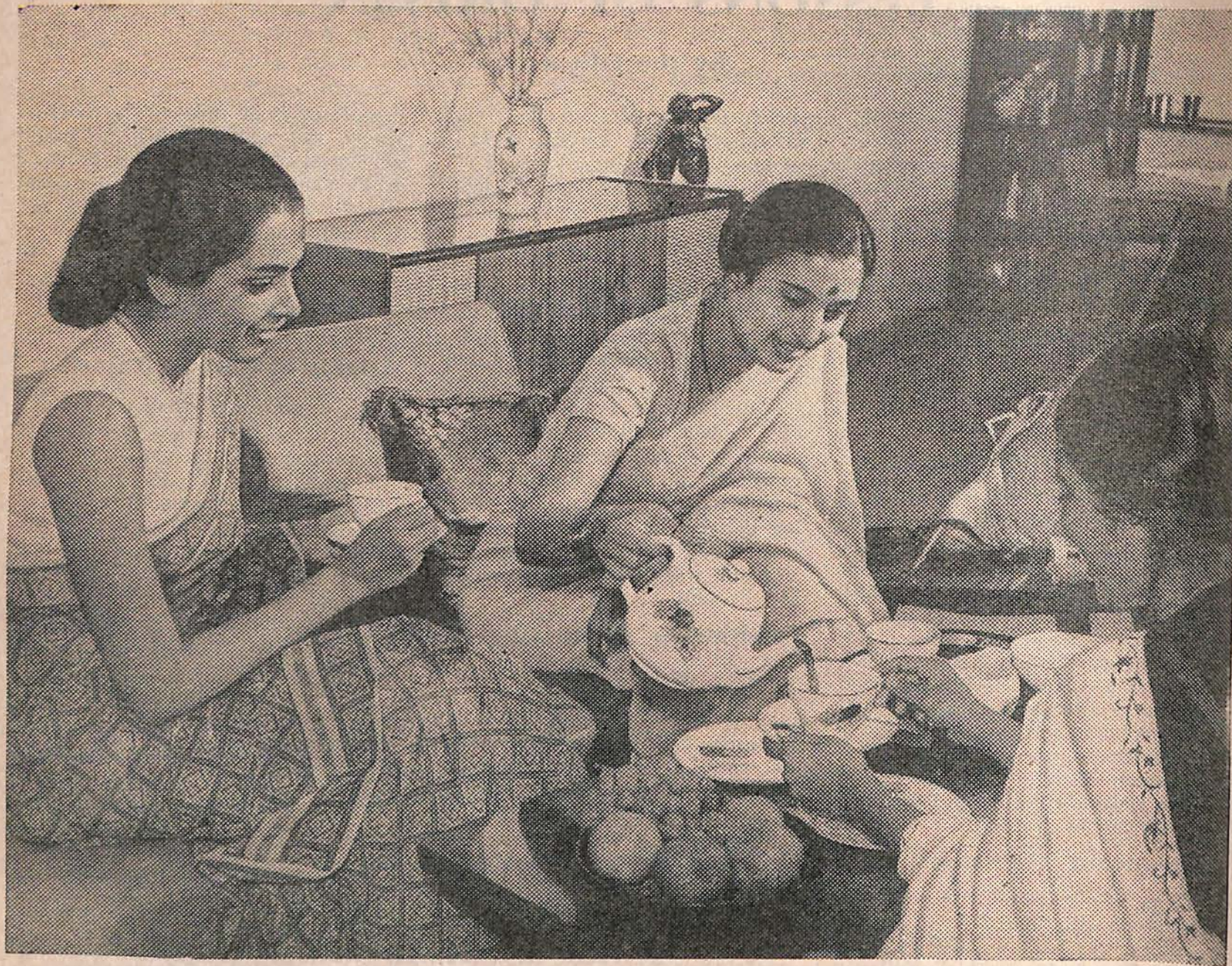


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Left-Wing Communists

THE STATEMENT of the Minister of Home Affairs on the "Anti-National Activities of Pro-Peking Communists and Their Preparations for Subversion and Violence" is a well-documented report on the aims and activities of Left-wing Communists in India.

Few will question the action of Mr. Nanda against the Left-wing Communists. They have, after great deliberation, chosen a policy aimed at the encouragement of violent struggles all over the country. A powerful group among them, whose names have been mentioned in the report, have also chosen to support Communist China in a mistaken belief that Chinese actions are dictated by Marxism-Leninism. Their courage in giving frank expression to their views would be admirable were it not so dangerous to the freedom and integrity of this nation.

Within the framework of Leninist principles the strategy of the Left-wing Communists is not surprising. Communists usually formulate their policy on their understanding of what they consider to be "the state of the economy and the alignment of class forces".

Degree of Violence

On this basis they define their "main enemy" and targets of attack. They determine their slogans in terms of this enemy and outline a scheme of alliance based on their assessment of those they consider as their "firm allies", possible friends and opposition that should be neutralized for the time being. Depending on the stage of revolutionary struggle, they prescribe the degree and method of violence to be adopted.

Until the "Declaration of Communist Parties in Moscow (1960)", certain axioms were an indispensable part of the Communist credo: (1) class struggle is an inevitable aspect of social development; (2) revolutionary violence is necessary to overthrow a capitalist system; (3) the socialist state is a dictatorship that continues the violence against the enemies of the proletarian state; (4) nationalists who take power in colonial countries are incapable of

achieving socialism and therefore must be overthrown; (5) only the Communist Party can achieve socialism after going through the fire of a revolutionary civil war and a violent dictatorship.

The Moscow Declaration modified the above to allow for a peaceful transition to socialism in view of the increased strength of the world Communist bloc and by virtue of the possibility of Communist participation in national governments in newly independent countries.

Like their counterparts in many nations, the Left-wing Indian Com-

Under the Lens

munist Party do not subscribe to this "Khrushchevian" modification. They condemn it as revisionism.

The Chinese have emerged as the champions of post-Stalin Bolshevik orthodoxy. By insisting on strict adherence to Leninist dogma and unquestioned obedience to the so-called principle of "internationalism", they seek to establish Peking as the world headquarters of a Chinese version of a new monolithic, disciplined, tightly controlled Comintern.

The Chinese, who are even more fundamentally committed to the restoration of the original prestige of the Manchu Empire, have thus succeeded in reinforcing the demands of national restoration with the pressures of ideology. China has yet to demonstrate that she will sacrifice her national interests for the sake of Marxism-Leninism. Left-wing Communists in India do not yet see—or do not choose to take into account—that their militant orthodoxy is a convenient tool that is being used against the true interests of India.

Their present policy, as the statement of the Home Minister amply makes clear, is a continuation of the Calcutta thesis of 1948 which launched on a nation-wide scale the violence that characterized the Telangana uprising. It is based on the understanding that India never really became independent and that the

Congress Party is a representative of "foreign imperialists, capitalists and landlords". They substantiate this absurdity with a careful selection of half-truths and persuade themselves that the only way of dislodging Congress rule is through armed struggle and organized violence.

They see China as their ally in this timetable of revolution. Their jubilation at Chinese advance is presumably a result of their desire to secure a base for armed struggle on the borders of India whose impregnability will be assured through its contiguity with Chinese territory. As in the case of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam, this will enable them to get facilities for training and supplies from China and escape routes to an asylum where they cannot be pursued.

The great flaw in this theory, even from their point of view, is the assumption that Chinese help will be available without a price. It has never, in fact, happened. The price that Stalin extracted for the Red Army's liberation of Eastern Europe was total political, ideological and economic slavery to the Soviet Union. The cost of Chinese help will be satellite-dom and slavery for India.

Some are Sincere

There are sincere men among the Left-wing Communists. They react to what they call the "opportunism" of many in the Right wing who have preferred the soft ways of power and influence to those of struggle and sacrifice. Certainly those who want to turn this country into a Russian satellite have no answer to those who want to convert it into a Chinese province.

One of the unfortunate and rather surprising aspects of the Home Minister's statement in Parliament is the implied endorsement of the Russian view in the ideological conflict between Moscow and Peking.

The country would welcome one of these days a statement by the Government of India on the aims and activities of Right-wing Communists.

R. VAITHESWARAN

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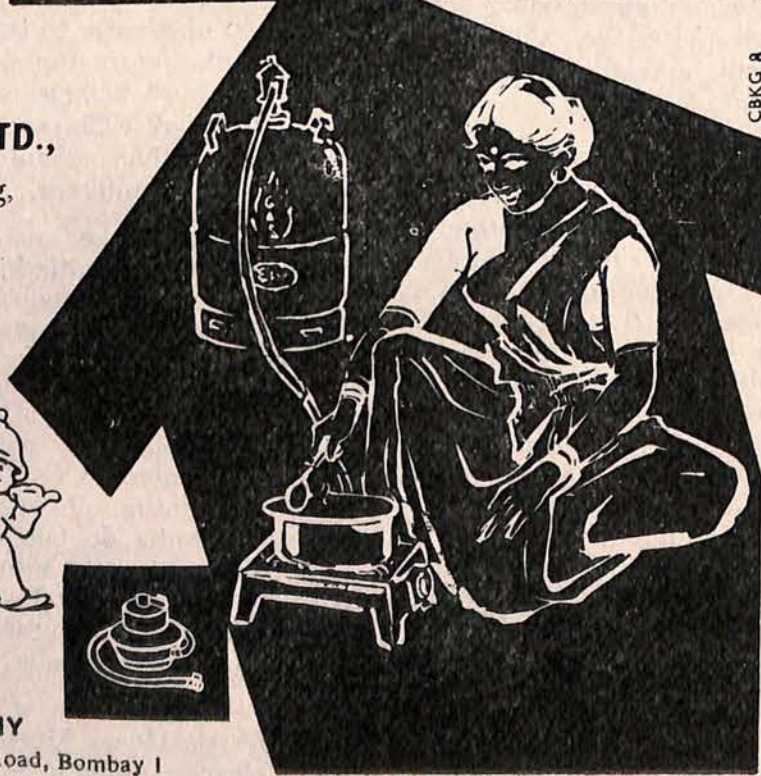
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LONDON DOCKS

Modernizing British Character and Industry

By Gordon S. Wise

MR. HAROLD WILSON genuinely prefers tinned salmon to the more expensive smoked variety. Such preferences may be an appropriate contrast to his Conservative predecessors. But soon, Mr. Wilson and those who elected him may not be able to afford tinned, smoked or bottled delicacies, the facts of British economic life being what they are. Britain has been living far beyond her means. This is the financial crisis in a nutshell.

The economic malaise is not visible to the untrained eye. Except for serious pockets, unemployment is down to 2 per cent of the work force. Shop windows are crammed. You can see some London dockers jostling for car-parking space near the dock gates. But in 1964, Britain's balance of payments debit was Rs. 1,100 crores: the worst trade gap for twenty years.

The bills began to come in when the Conservatives zipped up their briefcases and left Whitehall. Labour's emergency answer was a 15 per cent surcharge on imports, which, for the lack of consultation, was much berated by her friends. Britain was given six months' credit to the tune of a \$3,000 million loan by eleven nations to avert the catastrophe of a sharp decline in the value of the pound. The time limit has just been extended since there is an improvement. The British bank rate was increased to 7 per cent reducing the flow of credit.

These drastic steps brought their own hardships. In ten weeks, according to one newspaper, 2,000 items on the shopkeepers' shelves cost more, though many increases were unjustified. The *Sunday Times* wrote, "Already the crisis and defla-

tion of 1964 have destroyed the 4 per cent gross target; there is a grave danger that it will postpone the whole modernization programme, with serious social consequences."

Only the rabid dogmatists deny the fact that the will to work and to modernize is the only way up and out for Britain. In 1963 her national output increased by 3 per cent. In much derided South Africa, the growth rate was 11 per cent, in Australia 9 per cent, and in the U.S.A., West Germany and France, 6 per cent.

Yet the British paid themselves an overall 5 per cent increase in wages and salaries.

"Class War is Out"

George Brown, Minister of Economic Affairs, is tackling the challenge with Churchillian vigour. Brown has little sleep these days. He works a seven-day week.

With characteristic bluntness, Brown says now, "The class war is outdated." Brown assembled Britain's topmost industrialists and labour leaders recently and had them sign a remarkable document. This was a Joint Statement of Intent on Productivity, Prices and Incomes, aiming to enlist the nation's total resources in modernization and expansion. The aim is to keep prices down and to have wage and salary increases geared to production increases.

As Brown put it, "The drive and energy of private enterprise must be harnessed to the good of the community as a whole." But he also added that just as employers needed to accept a new approach to prices, trade unionists needed to accept a new approach to incomes.

This is common sense. The question is: how to do it?

Not many yards from Westminster Hall, where Sir Winston Churchill lay in state, stands the Westminster Theatre. On the Saturday of his funeral, the hoof-beats of heraldry and ceremony were heard on nearby streets. On Sunday morning the heart-beat of a new Britain could be heard in this memorial theatre where, since 1961, nearly half a million people have come to see the robust, invigorating plays of Moral Re-Armament. From the theatre stage, workers and management from Britain's docks, mines and factories made their declaration of intent.

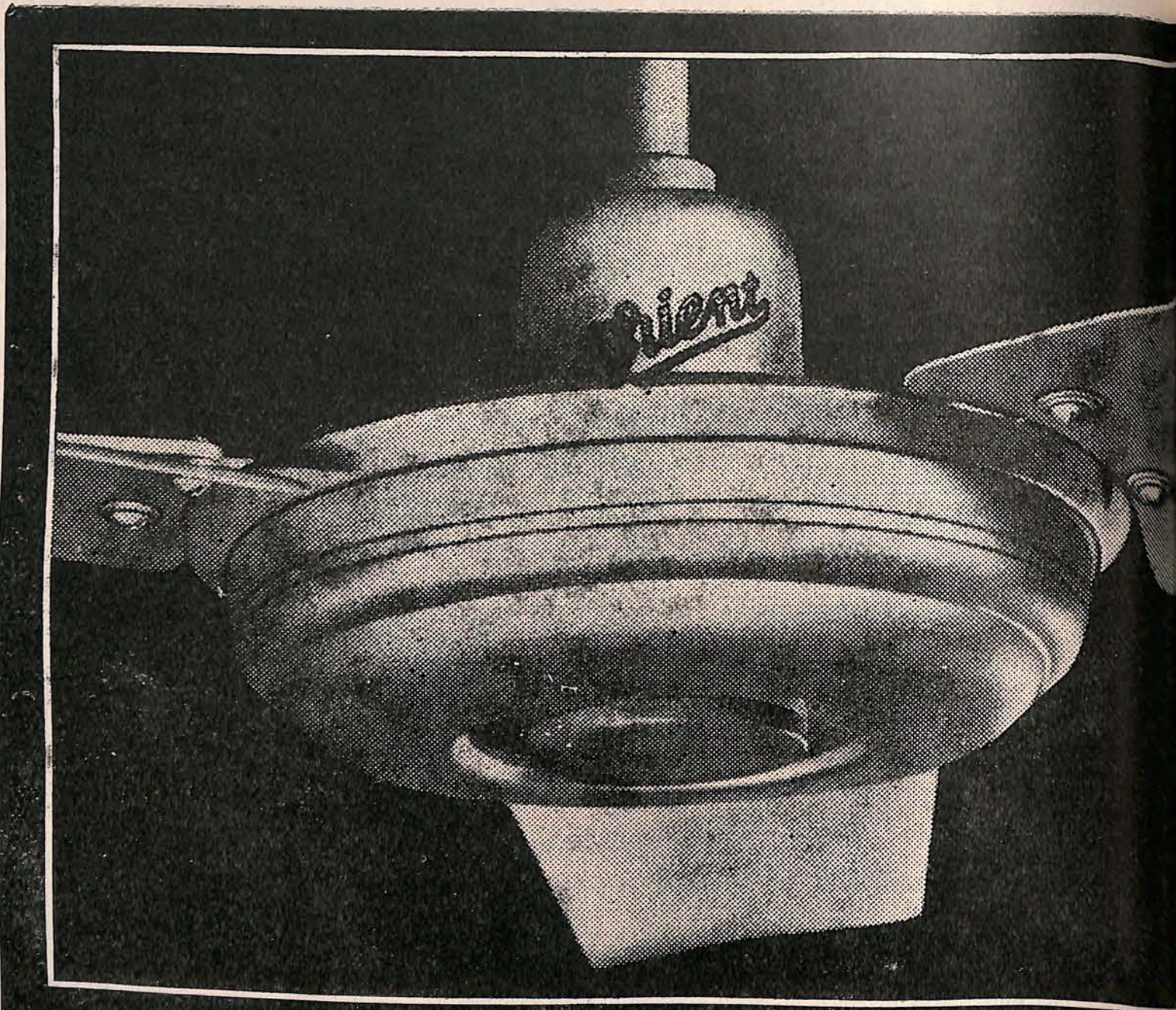
Their aim is that Britain should produce an abundance of her best quality goods and services, not just to earn her own living but to provide the means of living for Asia's and Africa's deprived millions. Then, automation, which many British workers fear will steal their jobs, will be an ally in entering this age of abundance.

Man after man from Britain's key industrial areas took the platform and gave factual examples.

The managing director of a renowned Leeds company said that last year his production went up by 29 per cent, exports by 46 per cent, and wages by £ 1|10|- per man per week. Prices of his products were reduced. Among other benefits pioneered has been a company staff benefit trust which is now worth half the total share value of the firm. The trust lends money to members of the staff and factory force, for building or buying their own homes, for example, at one per cent interest instead of the usual 6 per cent.

Britain needs more housing. In Coventry, heart of the motor industry,

Continued on page 14



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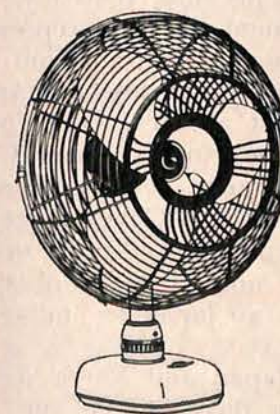
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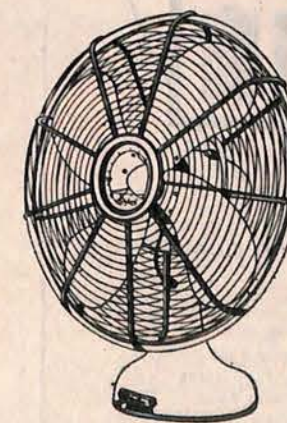
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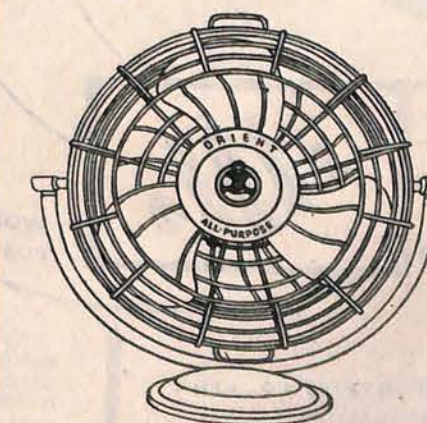
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Mending Japan-Korea Breach

FROM TOSHIO HARA

Tokyo

THOUGH JAPAN and Korea are geographically next door to each other and 600,000 Koreans are living in Japan, the two countries have no diplomatic relations. Though it is nearly 20 years since Korea got her independence from Japan, no peace treaty has been signed.

There are residual bitternesses from the wounds of the past which still remain unhealed. Koreans are suspicious of Japan's real motives in approaching them and are fearful of Japanese economic control.

Japan's Foreign Minister Shiina has been recently in Seoul conferring with leaders of South Korea. This is the second visit to Korea by the

Foreign Minister and it may be the beginning of the normalization of state relations for the two countries. Prime Minister Sato has pledged that the establishment of right relationships between Japan and Korea is one of his major diplomatic tasks.

When Mr. Shiina landed at Seoul airport he issued a statement admitting there were unfortunate incidents in the past. He apologized for this and received favourable response.

Koreans have their own difficulties. The Korean peninsula is a divided land with a strong Communist North. Students are rioting in the South threatening President Park's Government. The Opposition is against the Korea-Japan talks and is putting pressure on the Government.

Former President Syngman Rhee once established a "peace line" in the sea between Japan and Korea (the Japanese call it the Rhee line) and this prohibits Japanese fishing boats from operating in the Japan Sea, in some areas as much as 200 miles from the Korean coast. Japanese fishing boats operating inside the line are often captured by the Korean Coast Guard. Attempts to negotiate have been made several times but no clear-cut conclusion has been reached, because this involves something much deeper than a mere political dispute. For Koreans the "peace line" is a trump card when she deals with Japan.

Threat to Peking

Prime Minister Sato is convinced that the establishment of right relations with Korea should be the start of his "positive diplomacy" for Asia. The Opposition party (Socialist) is against the visit of the Foreign Minister to Korea because, they say, the Park Government does not represent the whole Korean peninsula and the talks will bring Japan into the Asian anti-Communist alliance. It is interesting that the North Korean Government newspaper *Minjoo Chosen* also attacks the Sato Government for "creeping into South Korea under the cloak of normalization of state relations as a Japanese militarist agent".

A united Japan and Korea would pose a strong threat to Peking. At the same time, unity will never come if the Japanese only seek economic profit and the Koreans only calculate what they would gain from the coming reparation payments.

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS—cont'd.

Beyond Leninism

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Nairobi

SOUTH AFRICAN nationalist Andrew Peppetta said here that "we Africans can do better than Leninism". Peppetta who has been persecuted for his stand against *apartheid* was addressing Nairobi's leading weekly forum, the United Kenya Club.

"Some people advocate Marxist-Leninist Socialism for Africa," he pointed out. "But let us grow out of the immaturity of importing out-of-date ideas like capitalism and Communism which have already failed to unite their own societies. The contradiction of these two philosophies is dividing the Organization of African Unity meeting here and must be answered in Africa."

Vice-President Oginga Odinga recently told a large Kanu Party rally at the Kisumu Stadium that a Communist was a person interested in community development and that people whom Europeans called Communists were the true nationalists.

"If imperialists call me a Communist I am happy," said Mr. Odinga.

At the public rally the Vice President presented a badge bearing portraits of Marx and Lenin to Mr. B. Kaggia, a local M.P. and Chairman of Kanu's Murang'a branch to mark his "devotion to African Socialism".

The incident drew public criticism from eight of the Kanu Party district leaders including a Cabinet Minister and three MPs. In a statement they demanded the resignation of Mr. Kaggia. Their people were "appalled to the maximum", the statement said.

Vice President Odinga, the signatories declared, should be asked by the people of Kenya whether he intended to represent his own views or the views of Kenyans and the Government. Kenya was committed only to African Socialism which had nothing to do with the teachings of Karl Marx.

Another M.P., Mr. John Okwanyo, said he disapproved of the presentation because Kenya was a non-aligned country and Marx was the "Father of Communism".

There was no room for Communism in Kenya, he said, and the people would stand against the importation of foreign ideologies because their ideology was African Socialism—not Communism.

WIN Rs. 100 FOR YOUR "GRAND DESIGN"

The Editor of HIMMAT announces a competition for the best article on "A Grand Design for India." In 1000 words it must cover what should be the national objectives of India's policy at home and abroad. The best article will be awarded a prize of Rs. 100. Closing date is March 20. Best entries will be published at HIMMAT's usual rates. Entries should be sent to:

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The week in Asia

PEKING—While Moscow talks on Communist unity proceeded, the Chinese Communists attacked the Soviets saying that the removal of Khrushchev "merely means a change of signboard and what is on sale in the shop remains the old wares of Khrushchev revisionism". The Chinese have just published a massive book to help their people understand "Khrushchevism without Khrushchev" and carry on the struggle against "modern revisionism".

PEKING—Mao Tse-tung has reiterated his "faith" in the inevitability of war. He is believed to have told Soviet leaders that American raids on North Vietnam were not a cause for great alarm but that the Communist world should prepare to fight a global war with conventional arms in "10 to 15 years".

KARACHI—President Ayub took his top atomic scientist, Dr. Abdul Salam, to Peking to discuss technological advancement with the Chinese.

COLOMBO—A committee set up by Prime Minister Bandaranaike has advised the Government to liberalize the Ceylon Citizenship Act and remove certain restrictions making the Act more in keeping with world concepts of the subject.

GANTOK—The Maharaja of Sikkim stated that Chinese designs on his country had become very alarming. The Chinese planned greatly to increase their control over the Himalayan states, he said.

KUALA LUMPUR—The Prime Minister of Malaysia has ordered the suspension of the forthcoming municipal elections because of the state of emergency existing in the country. Leading members of opposition parties have been charged with treason for attempting to overthrow the Government by force and deliver Malaysia into Indonesian hands.

PEKING—China has offered Pakistan an interest-free \$60 million loan, a new trade agreement, cultural exchanges and a new shipping service between Chinese and Pakistani ports. Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the People's Republic, stated that friendship with Pakistan was "a long-term policy, not a matter of expediency". President Ayub, on a state visit, asked for China's support on the Kashmir issue.

LETTERS

UNBIASED NEWS

Sir,

For the last three months I have been a subscriber to your excellent weekly. My husband and myself and those of our friends who can read and understand English, are most grateful to get this clear, unbiased and uncompromising statement of world news.

A paper like this is what we in Austria and what all Europe needs and we hope your lead will be taken up by others.

(MRS.) LISA BECK,

Vienna, Austria.

Sir,

In a period when democracy is sold for money and position, a brave and challenging organ like HIMMAT is most welcome.

JAMES LOKHO MAO,

Bangalore 25.

HINDI-ENGLISH

Sir,

Though the Constitution is a fine enactment, without English there will be no force in the country which will work for the implementation of its provisions. The concept of Democracy, which came to us through English, will be warped

when English goes out, as democracy is not in our tradition.

Democracies govern mainly by the process of statute making. The statutes are interpreted and administered by judges. Such impersonal administration, Rule of Law, is the essence of democracy. But the pre-British form of administration by Rajahs and Nawabs was through personal rule. They passed orders according to their own ideas of justice and Dharma. There was little scope for the judiciary to intervene as between the State and the subject.

As Indian languages are accustomed to such a sort of administration, they are naturally deficient in vocabulary required for statute-making. Most of the words lack precision in their meaning. So statutes, if made in Indian languages, will be vague and loose, with the result that the administrators themselves will claim greater competence to interpret them than judges. Thus the country will be heading towards personal rule by ministers instead of Rajahs and Nawabs.

Even the Law says that only the English versions of a statute would have a binding force. So, our statutes will continue in English though administration will be in Indian languages. In such a case what co-ordination will there be between the two? The chances are that English statutes will lose importance and administrators will go their own way, which even judges will be unable to prevent. If a language cannot serve all official purposes, including legislation, the

people's language can be good only for politicians, but not for administrators or judges who require accuracy.

P. M. KRISHNAN,

Kodaganallur (Madras).

NEWSPRINT

Sir,

Of late, I have come across many advertisements about the lack of newsprint and that this is equivalent to curtailing the freedom of the press. From the figures given, it can be easily seen that there has been no rise, leave alone a proportionate one, in the import of newsprint with regard to the number of newspapers, weeklies, etc.

When such is the case, I was shocked greatly when I came across a copy of one Indian weekly paper. It contains nothing but filth and endless reports like "Diary of a Model".

How on earth is the Government allowing such a weekly to be printed? This is an outrageous waste of precious newsprint! Is there no Department responsible for keeping track of what is done with the newsprint supplied? Is there no one who can put a stop to this type of pornography? Surely the Government, before granting newsprint supply, would have checked to see what the weekly was about? So, does that mean that the Government has sanctioned such a weekly or is it that they are being hoodwinked?

J. C. ARIANAYAGAM,

Madras 6.

MODERNIZING—From page 9

the Chairman of the Joint Council of the Building Industry believes that Britain can and must achieve a target of building 500,000 new houses a year. This man has set the example by increasing the output on his building sites by 25 per cent.

A Northumberland miners' leader tells how a thousand families still have a regular income because he and management solved the problems which threatened to close their pit.

In the Aberdeen shipyards, when I first went there three years ago, 800 skilled workers were unemployed. Then there was a change from blind bitterness to fighting conviction in one union leader. Management responded. Shipyard disputes ended. Delivery dates were guaranteed. Yards won new orders. Today extra men from Belfast have been brought in to meet a labour shortage.

The state of Britain's ports is

chronic. There is congestion in the docks due to out-of-date methods and facilities, and restrictive practices on both sides of the industry. Delays are driving exporters to use coastal ships to send their wares to continental ports where they are transferred to ocean-going freighters.

The Times sagely sums up: "There is so much that is wrong; so little resolve to do anything about it."

But the resolve is mounting. Last week I sat down at a luncheon conference with eight dockers from two rival unions, with the managing director of a well-known shipping company. There were "no holds barred". It was honest and frank. Without apportioning blame, these men sought to solve the issues which they raised.

The aim of these thousands of ordinary Britons is to modernize not only British industry but British habits and British character. Last year, in the midst of financial emergency, Britain spent £860 million

on gambling, over £1,000 million on tobacco and £1,181 million on alcoholic drinks. That is £57 per person—man, woman and child. The World Health Organisation estimates that in Britain there are now more than 400,000 alcoholics, with a cost to industry of more than £30 million a year. Economists say that in the same period £1,000 million was wasted by bad workmanship on both sides of industry.

This is the moral gap behind the trade gap.

The men and women whom I heard speak in London and the North, and with whom I have been meeting in their homes and on their jobs, intend to liquidate this liability.

This, then, is the Battle of Britain, 1965. And upon the outcome of that battle will depend Britain's ability to sustain the Commonwealth and her ability to continue to aid so substantially in undergirding the economies of India and her sister nations.

FOR WOMEN

PLAY THE GAME

by Mrs. Peter Howard

Mrs. Howard is the widow of the late Mr. Peter Howard, author, sportsman and world leader of Moral Re-Armament who died two weeks ago in Lima, Peru. As Doris Metaxa, Mrs. Howard was Wimbledon tennis doubles champion in 1933-34.—Ed.

THE WHOLE WORLD today can watch an Olympic race or a Wimbledon final, even from thousands of miles away, with Telstar. Sportsmen have more glamour in the eyes of youth than great actors. Though swimming 100 yards backwards takes great discipline and skill, nobody suggests it is great art! While acting often is.

The ancient Greeks invented the Olympic Games. The games were a part of life. Not a way of life. The prize was only a wreath of laurel. That is, I believe, the right perspective.

For many today sport is the whole of life. It must be said these people are often rather dull company especially for their families. Their world is too small. And when they get too old to play the game and can only look back on it, they sometimes win

the bore's gold medal with their one topic of conversation.

Sport is meant to keep us fit, to put us in touch with others, to teach us the stretch of competition with all its dare and risks, to make a more complete man or woman out of each one of us: an important factor in the United States where 50 per cent of the young men are rejected as unfit for military service.

For us women it is a chance to do something outside home with our children. In world competition it brings forth high qualities: endurance, mastery of nerves, discipline, good temper in defeat, going on, through pain often, to victory. People get to love another country through some sportsman who shows these qualities.

Crowds instinctively dislike a sportsman who cheats, is corrupt,



Mrs. Howard at Wimbledon

plays dirty, is a cry-baby or full of excuses when beaten, gambles large sums on his match, or gets drunk late at night.

Sport was never meant to be a career. Modern man needs to recapture the right image of it. There is more to life than games.

Some countries use sportsmen to take ideas to other nations. They teach them games they had never played before. They then tell their players to scratch in a match if they come up against a player from a country whose policies they don't like. It hits the headlines. And as a result their idea reaches out across the world. People with an ideology use everything, even sport.

HUBERT



"She's got her pink telephone—now our entire bedroom has to be redecorated."

Bigger Aim

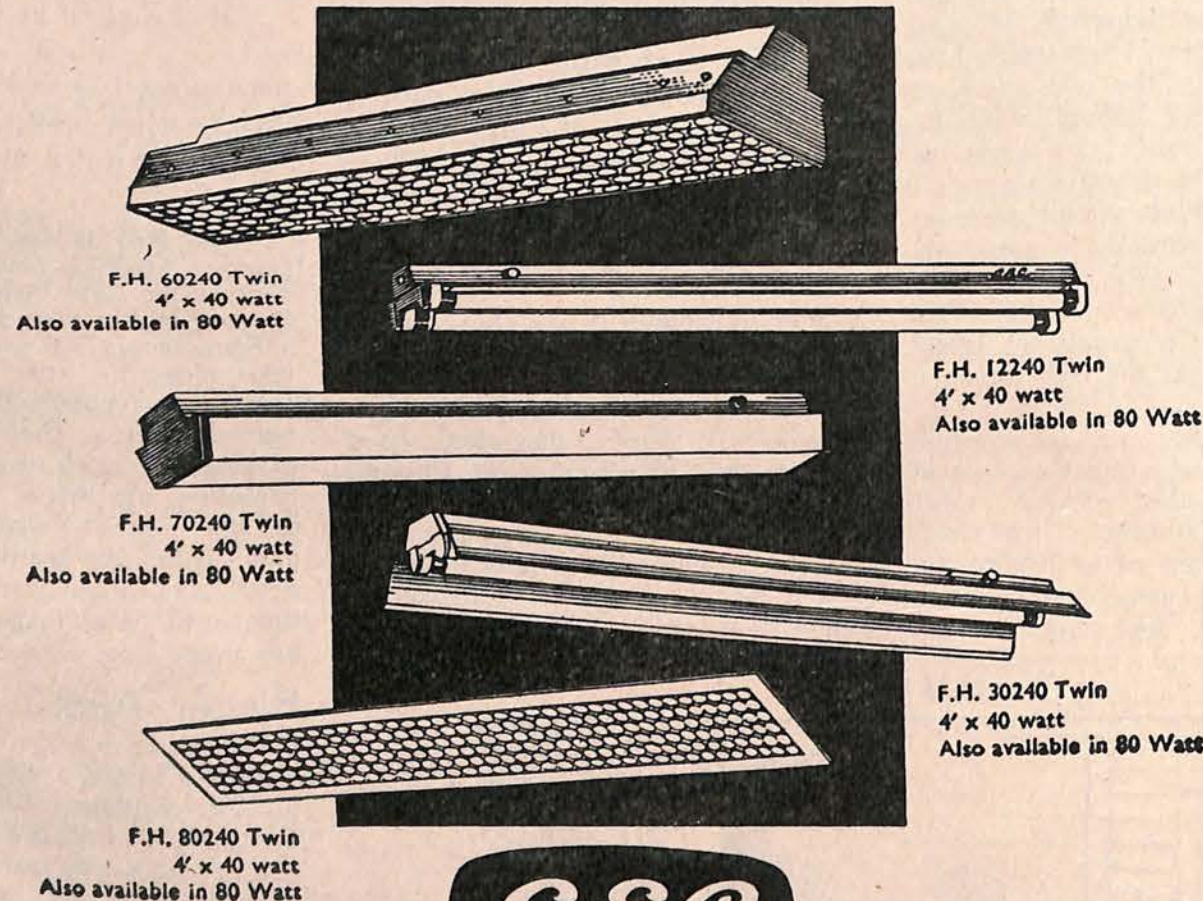
We must have a revolution of character in the world if we are to survive. Kipling, though by no means right in all his attitudes, gave some good advice on one of the ingredients needed to create the right character in man:

"If you can meet with triumph or disaster
And treat those two imposters
just the same"

Those lines are graven over the door to the Centre Court at Wimbledon.

The next generation will, I hope, put sport in its right place in life and in its right perspective in the nation's life and use it to create right relationships between nations. And it would be an interesting aim for sportsmen, bigger than just their own success or more cash, or their photo in the paper. Why not sportsmen with an aim bigger than sport and a discipline and comradeship in its pursuit that can teach the nations how men really should live?

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THIS IS



This was a life
TOD SLOAN
1877-1957

TOD SLOAN called himself a "watch-maker by trade" and an "agitator by nature." He was a revolutionary veteran of London's dockland. He fought with Keir Hardie in 1895. He knew Mahatma Gandhi.

In the 'eighties, starvation wages and appalling conditions were the lot of hundreds of thousands. "What I saw as a boy of twelve," said Tod 70 years later, "made me a revolutionary."

His first object lesson was the historic dockers' strike of 1889. When Keir Hardie contested the 1895 elections he was one of his closest lieutenants. "That is when I learned to fight," he said. "Some of the opposition were pretty hefty." Tod had great delight in recounting how they dealt with mounted police charges. "We used to have sacks of ball bearings ready. When the horses were given the orders to charge, out rolled the steel ball bearings along the street—and then the fun began!"

In 1937, in London's East End, his eye caught a notice outside a public hall. "What is MRA?" it said, and underneath was written:

"It's not an institution,
It's not a point of view,
It starts a revolution,
By starting one in you."

"Revolution!" exclaimed Tod to his friends. "Let's have a basinful."

A revolution had started in Tod which was felt up and down Britain and beyond. In Geneva he urged the need of Moral Re-Armament on his old friend, Litvinov, leader of the Soviet delegation to the League of Nations. In 1938, he visited the Prime Minister of Sweden. In 1939 he went with Frank Buchman to America and till the day he died at the age of 80, Tod fought for a new world order based on a new type of man.

He was small in stature, yet giant in his capacity to unite men because his heart was emptied of bitterness. His bitterness gone, he fought shoulder to shoulder for a classless society with those of every class and station.

One such was the Countess of Antrim, who had been lady-in-waiting to three Queens of England. Their birthdays fell upon the same day. So they shared the same birthday cake. "I used to hate yer all like 'ell. 'Ang the lot was wot I said," Tod would reminisce at the birthday party, "But now I loves yer, I do."

Q and A

Readers are invited to send questions about our land or the world

Q—How can we drive away the inertia of the nation?

HARINAKASHI, Hyderabad.

A—Selfishness is at the root of indifference. Preoccupation with ourselves makes us callous towards our country's needs.

We can restore patriotism only when we have a national purpose. What is India's aim today? We need only to ask the question to realize that there is none. We are so engrossed in making a living or fighting for English or Hindi that we have forgotten that even our survival as a united nation is in danger.

Love of country is not a sentiment. It is a way of life. There is no short cut to national greatness, except through work, sacrifice and dedication. We will sacrifice if we have a vision of India's destiny in the world.

We can make India dynamic only if we decide to become revolutionaries. A true revolutionary is one who will not only think and plan for the world, but also accept the discipline of absolute honesty and purity in his life.

Q—What do you think of "walk outs" during the address of the President or Governor?

P. JAGANNATHAN, Madras.

A—"Walk outs" ordinarily are a legitimate expression of protest, but a walk out by any group during the President's or Governor's address is unfortunate and wrong. The frequency of such happenings during the present series of budget sessions at the Centre and in the States reveals a dangerous lack of respect for Constitutional proprieties. The President and Governor, by virtue of our Constitution, stand above

political parties and are the guardians of the interests of the entire nation.

Though their addresses are normally written for them by the Government, disrespect to the President or Governor in the way of walk-outs is a demonstration not against the ruling party, but against the Head of our State.

The common habit of appointing party men who need to be given a job for some reason or other has not helped to preserve the dignity of the office of Governor, but this does not justify the thoughtless and hasty action of opposition groups using the important occasion of the Governor's address for political demonstrations.

Q — "My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest," said Gandhiji. Is such democracy existing now?

N.C.H. VEERACHARY, Hyderabad.

A — I am sure that Mahatma Gandhi did not mean that democracy should be judged only by the rights granted to the weak sections of the population. He always emphasized the duties of the strong as well as the weak.

The Indian Constitution does provide substantial guarantees to the weak sections of the population. Minority groups, backward communities and Harijans are protected to a certain extent. But laws cannot do everything.

Democracy is only partly a matter of the legal framework. It is essentially a question of attitudes.

The economically and politically powerful people are often unaware of the problems and needs of other people. Their indifference generates bitterness and encourages violence.

But the so-called weak people at times use their weakness to demand more and more. Often they lack the will to work hard, and they tend to blame their failure upon circumstances.

It is the privilege of the weak and the strong to work together for the greatness of a nation.

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"BELONGED TO THE WORLD"

From Our Special Correspondent

Lavenham (England)

A FLURRY OF SNOW settled gently over the surrounding fields as Peter Howard was buried in the churchyard of Brent Eleigh, in the heart of the Suffolk countryside he loved so passionately. Over a thousand people from 26 countries followed the farm dray drawn by two prize-winning Suffolk farm horses which carried the black mahogany coffin that had been flown from Peru where Peter Howard died two weeks ago.

The mile-long procession walked along winding lanes from the fifteenth century Parish Church of Lavenham—the "Wool Cathedral" of England—where the funeral service took place to the village churchyard of Brent Eleigh. As it passed the farm which had been Howard's for 25 years, neighbours stood silent at the gate.

The cortege was preceded by the personal piper of Dame Flora MacLeod of MacLeod and was followed

by members of Peter Howard's family—Mrs. Peter Howard, her two sons, Philip and Anthony, her daughter Anne, son-in-law Patrick Wolrige-Gordon, M.P., Dame Flora MacLeod and Dr. Marc Metaxas.

The six pallbearers, workers on Mr. Howard's farm, were followed by hundreds of people from every walk of life and every continent.

The funeral service, conducted by the Reverend J.P. Thornton-Duesbery, Master of St. Peter's College, Oxford, was addressed by Dr. Morris Martin, for many years Dr. Buchman's secretary and close friend of Peter Howard for a quarter of a century.

The churchyard path was lined with hundreds of wreaths bearing the national colours of many countries.

So the world came to an English country village to honour an Englishman who, in the words of his wife, Doe, "belonged to the world".

The World Pays Tribute

THIRTEEN Heads of State and Prime Ministers are among the many world leaders who have sent Mrs. Howard messages of tribute to the life and work of her husband, Peter Howard, world leader of Moral Re-Armament.

Sr. Arturo U. Illia, President of Argentina: "Faced with so painful a loss for men of goodwill and for the world which the death of the illustrious writer and distinguished leader of Moral Re-Armament, Mr. Peter Howard, represents, I request you to transmit to Mrs. Howard the feeling of grief of the Argentine people and myself."

Herr Heinrich Luebke, President of West Germany: "One of those men of faith who dedicatedly and sacrificially put their lives at the service of reconciliation and of peace, and in countless people keeps alive the hope of a better future... their grateful memory of Peter Howard will be the commitment to go on working in his spirit."

Mr. Hubert Humphrey, Vice President of the United States: "My deep condolences on the passing of your great husband. We will remember so well his profound contribution to the spiritual thinking and action of mankind."

Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, former U.S. Ambassador to India, speaking in the U.S. Senate: "A remarkable man of wide interests and experience, devoted to freedom and believing it could be attained and preserved by moral and religious rebirth and the devotion of the individual. He was a devoted friend of our country."

Congressman John W. McCormack, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives: "Since the days when Lafayette and von Steuben gave our infant republic decisive help in the revolutionary struggle for survival, few, if any, citizens of other lands have rendered the American people services comparable to those of Peter Howard."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, former Governor General of India: "The premature death of Peter Howard is an irreparable loss to a band of brave men and women who want and devotedly work for a better world. He was a dedicated, lovable worker and an able leader."

Cardinal Tisserant, Rome: "The death of Peter Howard grieved me very much. He was a splendid man who wished only to work for the advantage of others."

Cardinal Bea, Rome: "Profound sym-

Howard's Latest Play Goes Before the Cameras

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT
London, Mar. 8.

FILMING began today of *Mr. Brown Comes Down the Hill* by Peter Howard, within ten days of the author's death.

"A modern murder story", as Howard described his play, it ran 212 performances in London's West End last year and is scheduled for stage production in several European countries.

Considered by many to be Mr. Howard's most penetrating play, *Mr. Brown* deals with how Christ might be treated if he reappeared in modern London.

Shooting began this morning at St. Johns Wood Studio and is expected to take three weeks. Directed by Henry Cass, the screen version has the cast of the original stage production.

The film will later be dubbed into a number of languages.

pathy to you and your family on your great loss. I shall recommend his soul to God in my prayers."

Venerable U Narada, Secretary of the Presiding Buddhist Abbots' Association of Burma: "Shocked and deeply moved. An irreparable loss to world peace."

Mr. K. Santhanam, Chairman of the Committee for Prevention of Corruption, former Indian Cabinet Minister: "Deeply regret the death of Peter Howard. A brilliant thinker and writer. An apostle of great causes."

Other message were received from: **President Kenyatta of Kenya; Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus; President Helou of Lebanon; President Azikiwe of Nigeria; President Belaunde-Terry of Peru; President Castelo Branco of Brazil; General Chiang Kai-shek, President of Nationalist China; His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet; Chancellor Klaus of Austria; Prime Minister Sato of Japan; Mr. Kishi and Mr. Yoshida, former Prime Ministers of Japan; Prime Minister Holyoake of New Zealand; former Chancellor Adenauer of Germany; Cardinal Angelo Rossi, Sao Paulo; Archbishop Mathias, Madras; Archbishop Mar Gregorius, Trivandrum; General K. M. Cariappa, former Indian Army Chief of Staff and Herr Willi Brandt, Mayor of Berlin.**

HIMMAT, March 12, 1965

HOWARD'S TRIUMPHANT JOURNEY



MRA LEADER Peter Howard was equally at home with princes and the common people. On his triumphant tour of Latin America he met presidents and slum-dwellers. On the right he is seen being welcomed by the favelados (shanty town dwellers) of Rio de Janeiro. On the left, Howard is conferring with President Arturo Illia of Argentina.

"AIR-LIFT TO HOWARD'S FUNERAL" was the headline in Howard's old paper, The Daily Express, to describe delegations that flew in from several countries of Europe. Hundreds came from all over Britain through the snow in cars to the Parish Church in Lavenham where Howard's family worshipped.



The tumult and the shouting dies,
The captains and the kings depart,
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.

From the Service in Lavenham Church for Peter Howard

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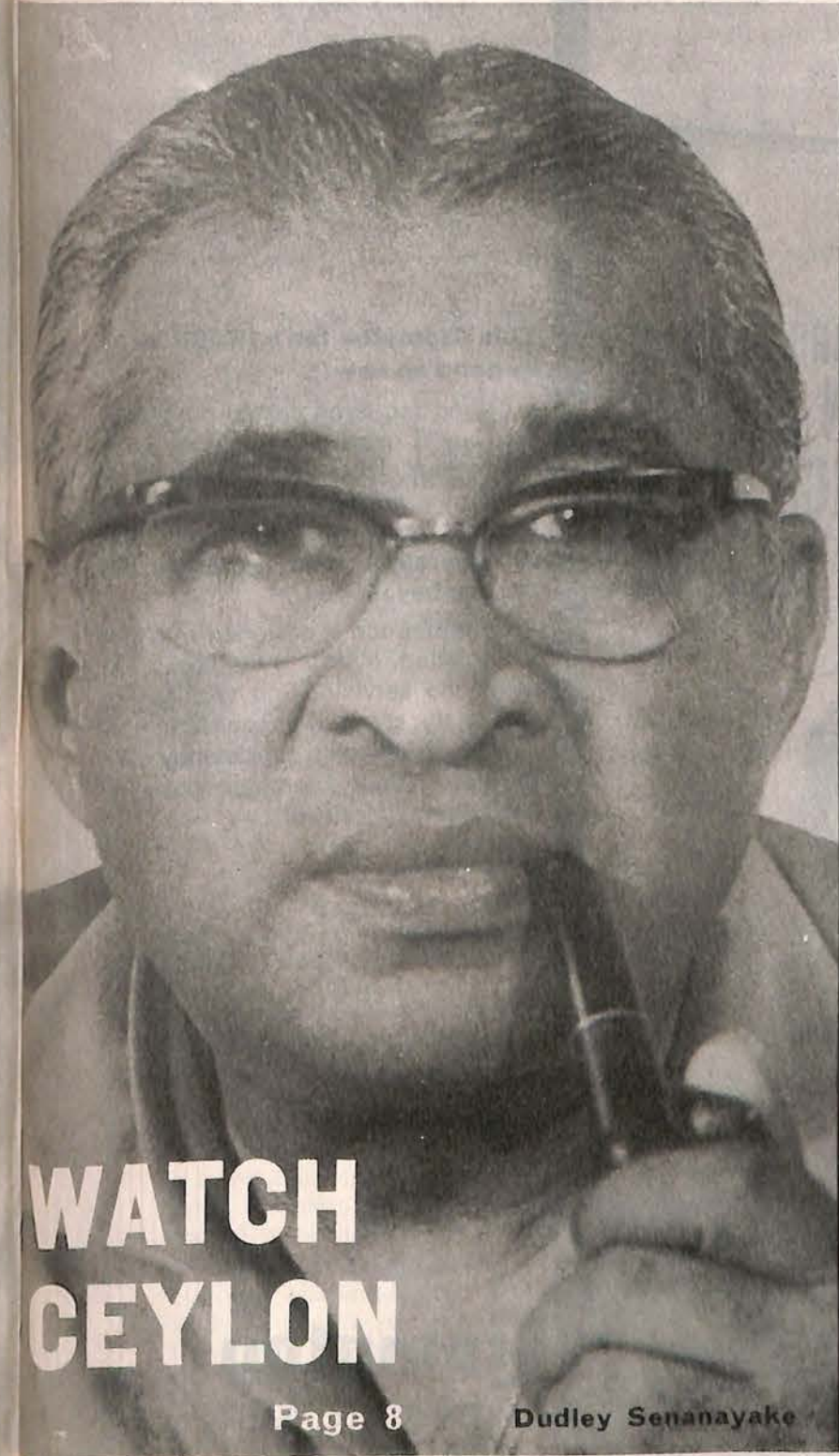
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HIMMAT

25P

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



**WATCH
CEYLON**

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Dudley Senanayake



Sirimavo Bandaranaike

Friday
March 19
1965

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