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WEEKLY

**COMMONWEALTH
COUNT-DOWN**

Shastri of India

Wilson of Britain

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Ayub Khan of Pakistan

Friday
June 18
1965

KRIPALANI ON SHASTRI

Bridge-Builders

CANADA AND INDIA have been good friends. As our Prime Minister recalled, we have in India, Canada dams, Canada power projects, a Canada atomic reactor.

Materially, India may not yet be in a position to give much. But even advanced nations like Canada have serious human and social problems like the agitation by the French-speaking Canadians for a separate state.

The Speaker of the Canadian Parliament said that Canada in the midst of its own national unity problems could take an example from India's multi-racial, multi-language society.

Today we are not worthy of such a tribute, but it does show what the world expects of India. A nation at peace within itself will bring peace to humanity. The world is waiting for some great nation with all the genius of a multi-racial and bilingual society to give the lead.

The Prime Minister of Canada envisages both his nation and India as "bridge-builders" between nations. At present India knows Moscow's stand on Vietnam and Canada knows Washington's. That is why the exchanges between the two Prime Ministers are important. It will however take more than that to be "bridge-builders". It will require in statesmen like Mr. Pearson and Mr. Shastri, the ability to heal the hurts, hates and greed that run nations as surely as they run men.

To be true "bridge-builders" they may—in the words of a song—need to

Build bridges from man to man

The whole round earth to span.

It will also mean the capacity to challenge and invite the Soviet Union, China and U.S.A. to a revolution superior to Communism and beyond the defensive mechanism of anti-Communism.

Hats Off

HATS OFF TO the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Mr. Asoka Mehta. In Bombay a few days ago he announced that the Central Government would no longer indulge in deficit financing. No internal inflation would be tolerated, he declared.

From the first year of the Fourth Plan, he told newsmen, every deficit State would have to balance its budget.

Mr. Mehta talked sense. The Government has moved a long way if his statement represents their official approach to finance and planning.

Not all the States will welcome his words. But if he holds firmly to his purpose, they will be forced to adopt a more realistic approach to their own regional planning and a more efficient employment of their local funds.

How Mr. Mehta plans to achieve his aim is not clear. Woe to Congress if they resort to more taxation.

Hard work and minimum wastage inside India would render unnecessary a great deal of the funds we now must borrow from outside. What measures does the Planning Commission have for igniting the imagination of people? Without it, hard work and maximum efficiency will remain a dream.

Speaking elsewhere in Bombay, Mr. Mehta said a vast country, like India, could not depend on external assistance. "If we are not good at the task, we have no business to exist," he added.

Though Mr. Mehta was chiding those in industry who rely on imports rather than developing the art of improvisation, his words could also apply to the Administration.

Hats off, also, to the firm which has won the contract for selling 500 railway wagons to the East African Railways. This export order, worth Rs. 1.8 crores (\$3.92 million), is the largest sale of Indian goods so far to East Africa. Delivery is expected to commence early in 1966.

The Minister of Planning, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, said on his return from East European countries that there was a large market for Indian railway wagons in Hungary and Yugoslavia. Hungary, alone, wishes to import 8,000 wagons, he said.

Let India compete in the world market for such contracts. More of this sort of thing will provide part of the answer to Mr. Asoka Mehta's conundrum.

Sukarno's Satyagraha

IF DR. SUKARNO has to quote Mahatma Gandhi he must be in real trouble. In his latest outburst, he accuses Indian leaders of being disloyal to Gandhi and his principles of *satyagraha* and non-cooperation. Gandhi, he argues, called for non-cooperation with evil; Malaysia is "an evil thing" and India, by backing it, has been disloyal to Gandhi.

Fortunately for Sukarno, Gandhi is dead. Had Sukarno actually consulted Gandhi, the wise Mahatma may well have advised him to "non-cooperate" with certain other "evil" (to use Sukarno's words) practices to which his name is attached, at least in Tokyo, Hollywood and Honolulu.

Dr. Sukarno may also recall Gandhi's words: "The *satyagrahi's* object is to convert, not to coerce." Dr. Sukarno has tried to coerce Asian and African nations not to support Malaysia's admission at Algiers. Now, Dr. Sukarno is shaken. For the first time his bluff is being called.

As the Algiers dateline approaches, Malaysia is gathering support not only from India who is sponsoring her, but from many others, including, it appears, the U.A.R. It is quite possible that after one or two dramatic utterances at Algiers, the Indonesian President may "allow himself to be persuaded by friends" not to walk out.

Wonder who he will quote next?



FOR THE FINEST WELDING ELECTRODES AND EQUIPMENT

Briefly Speaking ...

All that is human must retrograde if it does not advance.

EDWARD GIBBON 1737-1794

Will He? Won't He?

ACCORDING TO the *Times of India* news service, Mr. Biju Patnaik offered to take to *vanaprastha* (retirement) politically, if necessary for unity of the Congress.

The reporter, bless his innocent heart, says, "The former Orissa Chief Minister made this offer *feelingly* at the Balasore Congress workers' meeting which was addressed by the Congress President Kamaraj."

Stand by for demonstrations from Patnaik supporters urging Mr. Patnaik not to leave Orissa "fatherless".

College Clearing House

A MAJOR OPERATION for students and parents these days appears to be gaining admission to colleges. Students have to fill in admission forms for three or four colleges on the average, waste hours in the process, while their parents spend days of anxiety wondering if and when they will be admitted.

Britain has recently organized a clearing-house scheme to simplify university entrance. Prospective candidates apply for places through the Universities Central Council of Admissions instead of to individual universities. The clearing house automatically passes on rejected applications to the next university of the candidate's choice.

Could not such a system be incor-



"All I did was to offer my resignation ... and they accepted it."

porated in India whereby a student could indicate his or her preferences and have the form processed entirely by a central body? This would lessen chances of influence and pressure being exerted on college authorities and also save students and parents undue strain. Could Bombay University be the first in India to consider such a system for Arts and Sciences courses?

Smells to Order

SCIENTISTS are thinking of more interesting uses of perfume than for one's personal adornment. The science of "reodorants" has expanded considerably in the last five years and nowadays industrial perfumers make rubber balls for dogs smell of meat, plastic flowers emit an aroma, plastic handbags are given a built-in leather smell, second-hand cars are sprayed to make them smell like new and plastic seat covers are made to reek of the Rolls-Royce.

Other improvements: to make cheque-books used by bakers smell of freshly baked bread.

There are also possibilities of a treatment called "odour therapy". The idea is to get patients to recover quicker if surrounded by smells of home-cooking oil and garlic for India; fish and chips for Britain!

A. I. R. Again

STRANGE COMMENTARIES appear in the AIR programme "In Focus Tonight". It is an accepted principle in journalism that one's conclusions are related to the facts at one's command, or at least the facts that one wants to present. In the "In Focus Tonight" programme of June 7 on Ghana, the commentator was all praise for Dr. Nkrumah's efforts. "He has shown considerable pragmatism in the country's planning."

Later in the programme came facts like: out of 47 state corporations established by Dr. Nkrumah, only three make a profit.

The programme spoke of Dr. Nkrumah seeking a loan of the staggering sum of Rs. 1,800 crores from the world banking bodies, but did not say that Western countries have declined to give him any loan in view perhaps of his "pragmatic planning".

Indians may not know much about Africa, but it is an insult to our intelligence to be fed on such features.

Beggars' Haven

DR. SHOKI MIYAZAKI, noted Japanese expert on leprosy, arrives shortly in India, as head of the Indian Centre of the Asian Anti-Leprosy Association at Agra. He is welcome.

Japan is advanced in leprosy control and cure. Until 50 years ago leprosy was a major curse in Japan. A missionary lady from abroad decided to take on the task and leprosy is strictly controlled now. All those suffering from leprosy in Japan are housed in a separate island and only when they are cured do they come back to the main islands of Japan.

Lepers beg in the streets of Bombay as they did in biblical times. The Bombay Police do not seem to be even concerned about them.

Abbas Freed

WHETHER ONE AGREES with Ben Bella's policies or not, he has yielded to world opinion by releasing Algerian liberation leader Ferhat Abbas from detention on the eve of the Algiers Conference.

It is a tragedy of modern times that men of his stature who have fought for freedom are condemned to spend years in detention when "freedom" is achieved. Will others in power follow Ben Bella's example?

R. M. L.

Not Much Time To Wait

By J. B. Kripalani, M.P.

ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI, M.P., joined Mahatma Gandhi in 1917 and was President of the Indian National Congress at the time of India's independence. In 1951 he resigned from the Congress and is now a leading member of the Opposition.

IT IS NOW a full year since Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri was entrusted with the stewardship of the nation. Though he says he has a mind of his own, he often declares that, both in internal and external affairs, he is following the policies of his predecessor in office. This means that he is continuing or completing the work begun by Jawaharlal.

Let us then examine these policies.

All schemes for our internal advance are woven round the periodical Five Year Plans. In spite of our goal being Socialism, the process of the rich getting richer and the poor becoming poorer continues unabated. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission admitted that the previous plans were not only defectively executed, but they had not even been properly conceived; yet, a more ambitious Fourth Plan is envisaged.

Lesson Not Learnt

The food situation, though easier than before, continues to cause anxiety. We are being told by the Chairman of the Planning Commission and his Deputy that rising prices are the inevitable consequence of a developing economy!

In the administration, though the Home Minister has devised some measures to check corruption, yet it is believed that even his colleagues in the Union Cabinet are doubtful about their success. Moreover, the attitude of the Home Minister to the findings of the Public Accounts Committee, regarding the grave irregularities committed by the Bharat Sevak Samaj (whose leading light he, himself, has been) has cast doubt on his

ability to check corruption. It is common belief that, in spite of the efforts of Shri Nanda, corruption is on the increase.

Our entire foreign policy consists of non-alignment even though we are in the midst of something worse than a cold war with China and Pakistan. We feel that even in modern times a country, standing alone, can defend itself. If we rely upon the friendship of any foreign power, it is Russia. Our experience in 1962 has taught us nothing. To Russia, India is a friend but China is an ally, nay a brother.

We do not see that our national interests have more in common with the West. We also seem to have forgotten the most ancient maxim in international conflicts that "our enemy's enemy is our friend." We must realize that our greatest danger comes not from Pakistan but from China, and its biggest opponent is the U.S.A.

We are obsessed with the idea that we are the greatest peace-makers in the world. Whatever may be our peaceful intentions, we could not have brought about a partial ban on nuclear tests. Only the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. could do that. What counts in the international field is not good intention but effective power.

In the case of Vietnam, we rushed in where angels feared to tread. Our

criticism was directed solely at America. We conveniently shut our eyes to the fact that North Vietnam has been attacking the South through the Communist guerrillas. *The least we could have done was to condemn both sides.*

Impressed People

We have, in a military sense, refused to cultivate our garden. Though the Defence Minister has several times assured the Parliament that our military was in a position to take on both Pakistan and China together, yet we have not been able to wrest from Pakistan even the bit of territory it has occupied in the Rann of Kutch.

Although Shri Shastri has impressed the press and the people with his equable temper and humility, it seems his personal and official secretariat has not been able to see to it that his correspondence is speedily attended and his interviews with important Indian and foreign people properly regulated. In these matters, his predecessor was more careful.

The most one can say about Shri Shastri is that he has maintained the *status quo*. However, the ills from which this country suffers, and they are many, need not only radical changes in our home and foreign policies but also in the political and administrative set-up. One year may not be sufficient to bring about these radical changes.

It will be some more time before one can properly assess the success or the failure of the course of action which Shri Lal Bahadur and his colleagues may follow in the near future. There is not much time for us to wait, as the situation in which the nation finds itself is truly critical.

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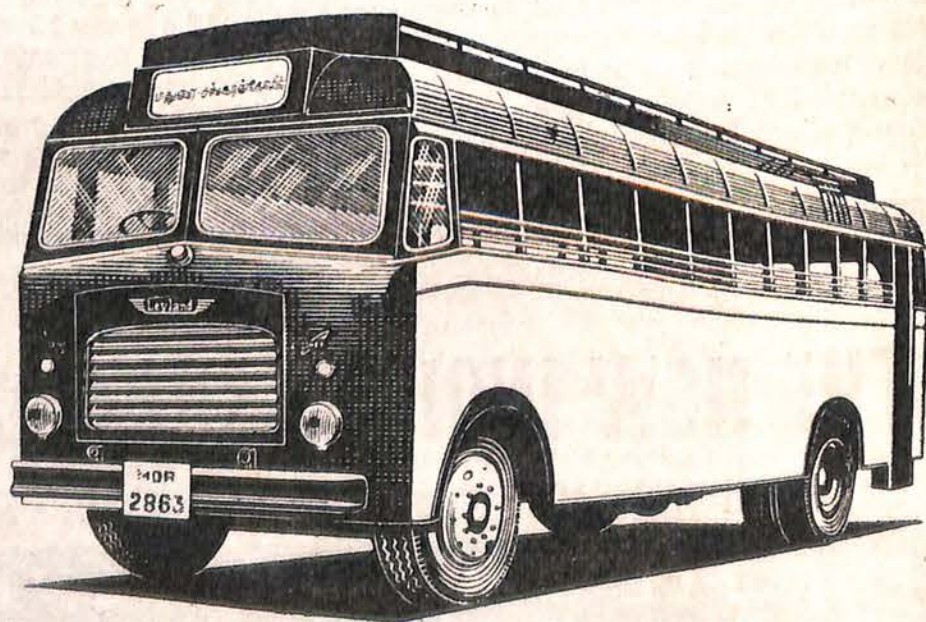
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HIMMAT, June 18, 1965

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India at Algiers

THE CONFERENCE of Afro-Asian nations to be held in Algiers at the end of this month will destroy forever the facade of unity maintained in the name of common opposition to imperialism.

Already the moderate leaders of the French group who have formed a bloc, the largest in Africa, Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache (OCAM), have decided to stay away from the Algiers meeting. Ironically, they seem to be far more united and effective in their moderation than the others are in their varying degrees of extremism.

President Nasser, for example, recently lamented what he called "the suspicions, contradictions and distrust" in the Arab world. "Every time the Arab League meets," he said, "everyone attacks everyone else, blaming each other."

Race War Line

The conference will, therefore, have to avoid any reference to the Bourguiba-Nasser rivalry, or the Moroccan-Algerian border conflict, or the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir or the Indo-Chinese border war. Instead, the ire of the delegates from such countries as do attend, will be vented on the South Africans and the Portuguese, the Americans in Vietnam and the British in Malaysia and on those with an independent mind and policy who refuse to toe the line of race and class war.

India cannot of course match the frenzy of race hate and anti-imperialist war-mongering. To prevent our isolation, India's External Affairs Ministry has been unusually active. All our leading spokesmen are rushing from one country to another in a bid to win support and understanding.

The Prime Minister has had talks with Nasser. The Vice-President has been assiduously wooing the West Asian countries. Mr. Swaran Singh, the Foreign Minister, has taken charge of East Africa. Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Minister of State for External Affairs, has had fruitful contacts with the leaders of West Africa. Mr. Dinesh Singh, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, has persuaded Japan

to take a more favourable view of Russian admission to the Afro-Asian Conference.

This is an improvement on the past when India took for granted the friendship of the world. We know now that we have to work for it and have the ideas that will win the support of other nations

India's firmness on the admission of Malaysia is also new. It represents a welcome shift. Our enthusiasm for the entry of the Soviet Union, if understandable, is rather misplaced. Thereby, India has chosen to put herself at the heart of the Sino-Soviet dispute and in a straight war with the Chinese who will undoubtedly lead the militant "Africa is ripe for revolution" group.

Does non-alignment extend to championing the U.S.S.R. in world councils? Support for Soviet admission need not put us in the position of having all our eggs in one basket.

A clash is inevitable. Chou En-lai and Sukarno are determined to keep these nations out. Mao Tse-tung is determined that Afro-Asian unity will be cemented with Chinese mortar or not at all. He wants it established that the Soviet Union has no right to any sphere of influence in the coloured world.

Sukarno, who constantly presses Chinese aims, is out to carve an Indian Ocean hegemony for himself under Chinese auspices. On the other hand, the Soviet Union has expressed herself strongly in favour of her participation at Algiers. Writing in the *New Times*, official Soviet journal on international affairs, an observer says, "The fact that the Soviet Union has not raised the question of its participation in the Algiers Conference should not be taken as a sign of indifference."

"Bandung" Abandoned

The Sino-Soviet struggle should not blind anyone to the aims of both the U.S.S.R. and China. Russian desire for penetration in Africa and Asia is only modified to the extent of maintenance of the detente with the West. The Chinese have abandoned the version of co-existence supported by both at the first Bandung Conference in favour of struggle and revolutionary war against enemies, imaginary or real,

Under the Lens



by R. VAITHESWARAN

"Peking sees the June conference as a turning point in its drive to set up a new international of 'peoples struggling for liberation'," writes Mr. W. A. C. Adie, an expert on the Far East, in a recent issue of the *Current Scene*, Hong Kong. "All the evidence indicates that Peking expects the conference to take decisions which could engulf Africa, and perhaps other regions, in revolutionary war. By participation in this warfare, Peking plans for China and her supporters to gain a leading position among the 'emerging forces' as a whole."

Therefore, whether or not Malaysia and Russia are admitted to the Algiers Conference, the Communists would have gained their purpose in Africa if they succeed in obtaining agreement and initiative for armed struggle for so-called "national liberation". The Chinese have already succeeded in browbeating Algeria into not inviting South Vietnam and South Korea. It may be their further aim to obtain Afro-Asian support for the Viet Cong.

Beaten Horse

The danger at Algiers is that in trying to outbid Chinese extremism, we may also indulge, if more moderately, in the cry of hate against "the imperialists, the colonialists and the neo-colonialists". This would be disastrous for India's objectives in Africa and Asia. We will not win the extremists and we will put off the others who believe that true non-alignment consists in our not taking prejudged positions in favour of any of the big powers—the U.S.A., China or Russia.

In any case, imperialism of the old type is a beaten horse, already done to death. Wisdom would consist in our emphasizing the many common tasks of all of Afro-Asia in creating stable responsible regimes, a continuity of patriotic leadership and developed industrial societies. Mr. Shastri will thereby help to save the Afro-Asian structure for more important and constructive jobs.

HIMMAT, June 18, 1965

Australia's Stake in Asia

By K. E. Beazley, M.P.

Member of the Executive of the Parliamentary Labour Party in Australia and Secretary of the Party's Foreign Affairs Committee.

INDIA AND MALAYSIA are the two Commonwealth countries of Asia with whose fate Australia is inescapably involved. There is a military involvement. A major Chinese thrust at India would necessarily involve Australia in an offer of military assistance to India, for a Chinese conquest of India would make Australia's security well nigh impossible to maintain.

There is a growing recognition of the fact that Australia is ideologically involved with India. China and India are the ideological alternatives for Asia—the alternative models. India's is the vastest experiment in democracy of all time. If India can solve her problems in a democratic framework, all Asia will follow the democratic path. If India does not succeed, Asia seems inevitably bound to totalitarianism.

Australia is morally involved with India. If the ideal of the Commonwealth of Nations means anything, the well-being of the whole Indian sub-continent and Ceylon must be an Australian concern.

Peacetime Conscription

Australian foreign policy is rotating around the hub motive of security from China. With the deepening crisis in South East Asia, Australia has abandoned traditions cherished by the nation and the Labour Movement. From being the land which could scarcely envisage conscription even in war (John Curtin had an intense struggle on this issue when wartime Labour Prime Minister) Australia has enacted drastic conscription in peacetime. Two years' selective service with a liability for action anywhere in the world has been imposed on 20-year-olds.

Scarcely was the ink dry on the Statute book when the legal possibility of the two years becoming five years was created by amendment. The Defence Act establishes a new liability, on proclamation, for military service on every male between 18 and 60 anywhere in the world.

Defence expenditure has been increased from £200,000,000 to £400,000,000 and is now clearly on the way to £600,000,000. The Australian economy is undergoing drastic re-orientation.

When I was first elected to Parliament in 1945, the late J. B. Chifley (Labour Prime Minister, 1945-1949) was a strong admirer of Nehru, and a protagonist of Indian and Indonesian independence. He had two convictions. The first was that the attempt to impose any settlement anywhere in Asia without Asian consent was doomed to failure. "It is like drawing a stick through water," he said. "You make a momentary dent which vanishes."

The second was that the grain surplus countries should establish in the Indian sub-continent the storage of a year's supply of grain to remove the threat of famine.

There is a growing agitation in Australia for concerted action on Asian agricultural and industrial problems. The commitment of Australian forces to Vietnam has renewed it unexpectedly.

The Liberal and Country Party Government of Sir Robert Menzies asserts that the ultimate threat in Vietnam is Chinese. Australia has sold wheat worth £A 286 million over recent years to China, as well as some wool, steel and lead. The wheat is consumed by China, releasing higher priced rice for export. With the profits, China finances industrialization and increased war potential. The other materials have direct military significance. There is a growing concern that this contradiction in policy—claiming China to be a threat and strengthening her to threaten—should cease.

The recent Senate elections showed no loss of Government support on conscription. The commitment of Australian forces to Vietnam means a new concern in the Australian public for the security of those forces—a patriotic reaction—which always con-

solidates a Government in office in Australia.

Thus Mr. Arthur Calwell, leader of the Opposition, while critical of the decision to commit troops to Vietnam in the face of commitments in Malaysia and Papua-New Guinea, nevertheless promised the troops, "We shall do our utmost in supporting you to do your duty."

This attitude is the difference between Constitutional opposition and revolutionary defeatism. The Australian Council of Trade Unions, moving in the face of probable Communist proposals to boycott supplies to the troops, declared against such boycotts. The strategy to rob nations of mind, will and conviction, so that they will destroy their own armed forces by supply boycotts, is a high point of ideology with Mao Tse-tung. It is also high treason.

Diverting Trade to India

The Australian people would also be prepared to follow a resolute lead diverting the wheat trade from China to India, and there is some agitation that this should be done. It must intensify with a growing demand for logic in foreign policy.

Apart from logic, to impose heavy obligations on youth puts the Parliament and nation on trial before youth.

Australia wants a blade-straight, self-sacrificing youth and must pay the moral price for it. Part of the price is consistency and integrity of policy right through. What is being asked of youth now can only be justified by a policy the morality and intelligence of which are not in doubt.

The youth who wrote to Prime Minister Menzies stating that they were convinced that "Australia's role in S. E. Asia is to go on the offensive with an ideology far more challenging and effective than that of Red China" were dealing in plain political realism; for if China has ideas to capture the minds of our neighbours and Australia cannot build in superior ideas and an ideology of integrity, Australia must be worsted.

If the older generation controlling action in the China trade, and relations with India and South East Asia, does not develop a policy which can demonstrate straight motives to Asia, then the generosity and *elan* of Australian youth will be gravely misused.

Britain Wants to Hear from Shastri

From Anthony John Howard

THIS THURSDAY the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference opens in London. On many minds will be Britain's future with the Common Market. All parties in Britain seem to be veering towards Europe. And whatever their pledges for the future, the Common Market must mean less interest in the Commonwealth. This Prime Ministers' Conference may be the last chance for the leaders of the Commonwealth to influence the future of Britain as far as the Common Market is concerned.

India is considered to be one of Britain's success stories. This may sound condescending. And indeed the attitude often is. But there are advantages. For example, if when China invaded India an advertisement for volunteers had been put in *The Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* it is likely that a large number of Britons would have signed up.

There is still a reservoir of people with high ideals and nowhere obvious to apply them. There are still large numbers with the restless spirit which sent their grandfathers out to build the empire and their fathers to fight the Germans. But it's always hardest to apply your ideals in your own country. And there is no longer an empire to build and, at the moment at any rate, no major war to fight.

India receives more press, radio and television coverage in Britain than almost any other Commonwealth country. People seem to care about India and they want to know what is going on there. We have had so many disappointments in our former colonies. But in India things have gone comparatively smoothly.

It's a sop to our pride, and perhaps to our conscience, if they continue to do so. And we cannot bear to believe that this is only the whim of fortune and that it is still possible for India to go the way of Ghana or Burma. There is as great an insecurity about the past as there is about the future in Britain. And India still represents something firm and successful about former years.

So, at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference there is an opportunity for India to speak to Britain. For Britain will surely listen. And Britain wants to hear from Mr. Shastri in particular.

So far he is only known as a nice, little man with a lot of big problems. But is he a statesman capable of keeping India on the road to lasting freedom? Is he strong enough to cry halt to the internal dissensions and intrigues in his country and his party? Is he big enough to begin to find a solution to Kashmir—even to the whole situation with Pakistan? And has he the stature to play a significant role in international politics?

COMMONWEALTH MEET

A quarter of the world's population will be represented at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting which is being held in London from June 17 to 25.

It will be the 14th meeting of its kind since the present series began in 1944, replacing the much more formal Imperial Conferences.

All the 21 independent countries of the Commonwealth will be represented—Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, Malaysia, Nigeria, Cyprus, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago, Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, Malta, Zambia, and the Gambia.

These questions are much in British minds at the moment. And the Conference is Mr. Shastri's opportunity to show that he is a statesman as well as a politician.

Apart from everything else, Mr. Shastri would be doing Britain a great service if he did speak out.

Behind all the swank and splendour of the Conference, behind the platitudes and pomposity which occasions of this sort seem to breed, Britain is leaderless. This isn't a question of parties. It's said to be the result of the narrow majority the Government has in the House of Commons. In fact it is because of the attitude of the people to their leaders and the off-hand way political leaders of both parties treat the people.

For centuries the parliamentarians have been able to hide their shortcomings behind the austere facade of the House of Commons. But now the people are beginning to take a clinical look at what goes on inside the Chamber itself. They are interested in the work that their members do. And some of the shoddy scenes and slanging matches of the last few months have destroyed many an illusion.

So it's hardly surprising that many members of Parliament are strongly against televising proceedings in the House. Their constituents might learn the truth.

Perhaps Mr. Shastri can do double service when he comes to London. He can put at rest the minds of those who are worried about the future of India. And demonstrate to the British politicians what it takes to be a leader—and a statesman.



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

He Rides a Lonely Chariot

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

PRESIDENT NASSER spoke to the Second Session of the Palestine National Congress in Cairo immediately following the recent meetings there of the Arab Heads of Government. In a restrained voice he made a frank evaluation of the division and mistrust in Arab ranks, of the "lukewarmness of Arab action".

He remarked that some were disappointed and bitter because resolutions did not use the language they wanted against President Bourguiba.

"This," Nasser continued, "is not the way to liberate Palestine... Each one has his interests and each is afraid of the other..."

"This is evident in not allowing Arab armies to move to one Arab country from another. There are problems between Iraq and Syria, between Saudi Arabia and the U.A.R., and suspicion that Lebanon does not want to permit the stationing of Arab forces."

Lebanon is reluctant to begin actual work on diversion schemes for the Jordan's headwaters, as agreed in Cairo Summit meetings, because she is fearful of having to call in other Arab troops to protect her from Israeli reprisals.

The mere presence of such troops would have strong political overtones and could easily upset the balance of power on which Lebanon's existence depends.

85,000,000 Arabs

President Nasser went on to say "the solution of the Palestine question requires revolutionary action". Just what form this revolutionary action will take is not clear. It could mean more "revolutionary action" such as has been under way in Yemen, such as Lebanon saw in 1958, or such as some of the Arab Gulf Emirates, notably Bahrain, have seen in recent months.

It is not the force of conviction or personality alone that makes Gamal Abdel Nasser a significant figure. He speaks for the largest and most influential Arab state. Nasser, with Aref and Ben Bella, speaks for a clear majority of the Arab League's population. Its 13 member States total over 85,000,000 people of whom nearly 30 million are in the U.A.R., 11 million in Algeria and 7 million in

Iraq. Financially, the U.A.R. contributes 23.7 per cent of the League's budget.

Press response was varied. Jerusalem dailies *Falastin* and *al-Manar* praised the speech for its frankness.

Beirut's independent *al-Jarida* wrote: "He stands in a single chariot, urging on the revolution with the one hand and backing kings and presidents with the other. It is a difficult and dangerous attitude that is adopted by President Nasser."

Syria, competing with Cairo in concern for the Arab cause, let fly a broadside at the "oil princes" whose wealth, General Hafez said, belongs to all the Arabs



Abdel Nasser

So the sad story of frustration and reproach continues. Many look for a new element. A statesman who could unite the 85 million Arabs in a programme to exploit the resources of the region honestly for the common good would find immense popular response just now.

Which Colonialism?

FROM VERE JAMES

Nairobi

HE SAID IT again. Mr. Chou En-lai has renewed his declaration, made a year ago in Mogadishu, about revolutionary prospects in Africa. This time he also embraced two other continents. During his visit last week to Tanzania he stated that "an exceedingly favourable situation for revolution prevails today not only in Africa but in Asia and Latin America".

This brought an immediate and stern reaction from the Kenya Gov-

ernment who, in the last few weeks, has seen quite enough potentially revolutionary activity within its own borders. Chinese arms conveyed by Uganda soldiers have passed through Kenya territory from Tanzania. While the Kenya Army, fighting a costly border dispute with the Shifta rebels on the Somalia border, have captured Chinese weapons.

"It is not clear to the Kenya Government what type or what form of revolution he has in mind," an offi-

Editorial

NOT NON-ALIGNED

"Leaving aside the merits and demerits of Communism and capitalism, imperialism and revolution (none of which are wanted here), the fact remains that this is a violent attack not at all in keeping with non-alignment."

"If ever there was a plain case of seeking to involve African countries in the cold war they detest, this visit has been it. Chinese arms have found their way to the Shifta disturbing the peace in Kenya. Mr. Chou's revolutionary edict can only mean the subversive suggestion of overthrowing popularly elected African people's Governments."

"The communique spoke of the struggle against 'the old and new colonialism'. What if the new form should spring in disguise from a Communist country?"

—East African Standard

cial Government spokesman declared. "But the Kenya Government wishes it to be known that Kenya intends to avert all revolutions irrespective of their origins or whether they come from the inside or are influenced from outside."

"It will be remembered that the Kenya Government recently banned the booklet entitled *Revolution in Africa* which attacked not only the leadership of our President, but also that of the President of Tanzania and the Prime Minister of Uganda."

Meanwhile Vice-President Jaramogi Oginga Odinga continues to stay out of step with his Government's policy. In his home town of Kisumu he declared on the same day as the Government statement, that China is one of Africa's best friends. He added that President Nyerere had told him this and, as a result, they both changed their way of dressing from the Western to the Eastern pattern.

Reports from Dar es Salaam indi-

cate that Chou is somewhat put out by his reception in Africa. He hasn't looked very cheerful. Apparently he had planned to visit a series of African countries between now and the Afro-Asian Conference at the end of this month. Kenya and Uganda have not renewed last year's invitations which were postponed at the time of the East African mutinies. Burundi, the tiny central African state which recently acted firmly against Chinese interference, did not offer a welcome.

"Go Home Chou" is implied if not stated. This is a new experience for the Chinese Prime Minister.

Stark Lesson for Labour Party

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

MR. RAY GUNTER, Minister of Labour and a former president of one of the railway workers' unions, hit out last week at the "indiscipline in Britain" and warned the Labour and trade union movements that they were falling away from the moral standards on which they had been built.

Mr. Gunter, himself, had suffered from such indiscipline when, along with thousands of holiday-makers, he was held up at London airport by a wild-cat strike of baggage loaders.

Speaking to the Co-operative Congress in Edinburgh, Mr. Gunter warned delegates: "It is only when the nation realizes and understands that there are underlying moral standards to which we should be obedient that the Labour movement is going to achieve everything it wants to achieve. Otherwise, we shall perish as a Labour Party."

"We fail to change our ways and the circumstances of the day are so vastly different from when our movements were founded," he said.

A great social and technological revolution was taking place, he believed, and it was against this back-

Continued on page 12



Chou En-lai

The week in Asia

TOKYO—Japan will oppose the presence of Viet Cong representatives at the Algiers conference. She will attempt to have the Governments of South Korea and South Vietnam included.

KUALA LUMPUR—Police discovered grenades with Chinese markings near the site of several Indonesian landings. This is the first discovery of Chinese arms used by the Indonesians.

RANGOON—Brigadier Aung Gyi, former acting Chairman of the Revolutionary Council, has been detained by the Burmese Government.

KARACHI—Pakistan intends to raise the Kutch conflict at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London. Foreign Minister Bhutto announced.

COLOMBO—The Government has forbidden its air or sea ports to be used by other nations' planes or ships carrying troops or weapons on missions of war.

PEKING—The People's Daily stated that America's decision to move her troops on to the offensive when necessary gave the right to all "friendly" countries to join the ranks of the Viet Cong.

KATHMANDU—King Mahendra will lead the Nepalese delegation to the Algiers Conference.

KABUL—Pathan guerrillas in the northwest border areas of Pakistan are expanding their actions against the Pakistani army.

TOKYO—Prime Minister Sato suggested that the Soviet Union and France make "peace contacts" with North Vietnam in order to settle the conflict.

COLOMBO—A Government panel has urged that the number of official holidays (101) be cut down to 86 a year.

PEKING—Following on the abolition of military ranks, the Chinese army has abolished all military titles including Marshal, the highest rank in the army and an honorary title awarded to old revolutionaries.

SAIGON—President Johnson has freed American troops to fight in support of South Vietnamese actions rather than engage only in defensive measures around bases. 15,000 more U.S. troops and amphibious equipment for use in flooded paddy fields are on the way. Viet Cong guerrillas are mounting massive attacks on two fronts under protective monsoon cover.

PORT MORESBY—A tribe of up to 1,500 people, hitherto unknown to the outside world, has been located in the Sepik area of New Guinea.

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ground that the Labour movement in all its aspects must come to terms.

"This is the primary task of the new Labour Government," he pointed out, "to do all we can to bring this nation face to face with the nature of change."

Mr. Gunter said that the necessity was "stark in front of the nation". Many had to relearn the lessons of history.

"I do not believe," he said, "there is any purpose in the Labour movement unless it has a moral background. If that be not the case, what different are we from the Tories or anyone else?"

"If we are to build the things that we want to build, never let us forget that deep in our hearts these things are only desirable because it is in the atmosphere of service that we seek to achieve them."

The "Great Charter"

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

BRITISH schoolchildren are celebrating this month two landmarks of liberty with a day's freedom from classes.

Education Minister Anthony Crosland has decreed a school holiday to commemorate the 750th anniversary of Magna Carta and the 700th of Simon de Montfort's Parliament.

Both British and Americans regard these events as milestones on the road to democracy. It was at Runnymede, the island in the Thames, that the "Great Charter" was signed on June 15, 1215.

The Magna Carta was no complete charter of human rights as later generations regarded it. The feudal barons who forced King John to grant it wanted to safeguard their own rights against royal encroachment.

But it included important principles: "No freeman shall be imprisoned or in any way destroyed...except by the lawful judgement of his peers or by the law of the land"—"To no one will we sell, deny or delay right or justice."

Above all, the King acknowledged that the law of the land was greater than the power of the ruler: right, not arbitrary might, was supreme.

Simon de Montfort, far ahead of his time, envisaged a Christian Community where even peasants and

craftsmen would find justice. To his Parliament of 1265 he summoned representatives of town and county as well as barons and bishops. It was the most representative national assembly England had known.

Some barons felt de Montfort went too far and took up arms against him. He declared, "Though all should forsake me I will stand firm...in the just cause to which my faith is pledged."

De Montfort was slain in battle the same year; but his work lived on. The common people revered him as a martyr to their cause.

Fresh Water from Salt

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

"NO SCIENTIFIC breakthrough, including the trip to the moon, will mean more to the country which is first able to bring fresh water from salt water at a competitive rate," declared the late President Kennedy.

Water is one of earth's most abundant commodities, yet scarcity in many regions creates hardship, retards development, and provokes international disputes.

Scientists calculate 97 per cent of the earth's water is in the oceans; 2 per cent is frozen, and only 1.7 per cent is fresh, circulating in rivers, lakes and underground reservoirs. Therefore the most promising way of increasing the world's fresh water supply, is to desalt the water in the sea.

The need is pressing. Industrialization multiplies the demand. It takes about 65,000 gallons to produce a ton of steel.

This year, experts from many countries began a ten-year campaign to discover better ways of using the world's water resources. The period has been designated International Hydrographical Decade. Last year the U.S. and Russia agreed to co-operate on research into desalination and make their finding available.

Desalination plants are already in use where fresh water is scarce. At Kuwait in the Persian Gulf, for example, a complex of five desalting plants produces 6.6 million gallons of fresh water daily. An American firm is planning a nuclear-fuelled plant that will produce 150 million gallons daily as well as electricity.

The week in India

NEW DELHI—A spokesman for the Dalai Lama strongly denied reports that His Holiness had applied for political asylum in Thailand.

NEW DELHI—A suggestion by the International Monetary Fund that the rupee be devalued in order to correct foreign exchange imbalance was rejected by the Government. A further tightening of foreign exchange and licensing is in the offing.

AHMEDABAD—An oil field promising to be India's biggest source of crude oil has been discovered in Gujarat. The area is not in Kutch.

NEW DELHI—State Home Ministers approved plans for a unified border security force for the whole country and an expansion of the Home Guard to ensure internal security and civil defence.

NEW DELHI—A further round-up of Left Communists is expected in West Bengal, Bihar and Punjab, where their activity is increasing.

TRIPURA—The 3,000 card-holding members of the Communist Party have decided to join the Left faction, having been "non-aligned" since the split.

CALCUTTA—Over 100 delegates, critical of both Left and Right Communist parties, formed a third Communist Party with a separate constitution and flag.

NEW DELHI—Union Food Minister Subramaniam stated that with the available stocks of food grains the Government could "meet any situation in any state". Prices of grains were on the decline. The wholesale index number dropped from 153 in September to 136 in May.

COIMBATORE—General K. M. Cariappa, former Indian Chief of Staff, called for objective political thinking on the highest levels in Pakistan and India as the preservation of freedom in both countries and the security of their minorities depended on their finding a workable relationship.

CALCUTTA—Kevi Yalley, brother of A. Z. Phizo, left for London to consult his brother on the current negotiations between the Indian Government and the Naga underground.

NEW DELHI—Japan has agreed to purchase 8.5 million tons of Indian iron ore over the next three years. Total value of exports of ores to Japan in the current year will be Rs. 19 crores.

SRINAGAR—Union Education Minister Chagla called for an all-India minimum wage for teachers. He said that no new universities would be opened during the Fourth Plan as the Government was gravely concerned at the decline in standards of those already in existence.

VIEWPOINT

Is Annual Bonus Desirable?

By M. S. Pai

BY TAKING the extraordinary measure of issuing an Ordinance, the Government have now firmly established Annual Bonus as a permanent feature of the industrial scene in India. Many rightly question the need for an Ordinance to introduce legislation such as this, and fear that other matters may fall prey to similar treatment, thus by-passing Parliament. But whatever the propriety of this action, is Annual Bonus a desirable method of reward?

Certainly the bickering, strikes and general ill-will created in many industries in the past, in attempts to establish a quantum acceptable to management and workers, is something no-one will be sorry to see disappear—except perhaps the labour leader who likes to grasp any opportunity for an annual show of strength. But will the Ordinance dispense with negotiation?

Already sections of the community who feel they have been left out are clamouring for inclusion. The Ordinance

makes it clear that it prescribes a formula for deriving the minimum. Will extenuating circumstances not be brought forward by the score to justify something more than the minimum, and the bickering start all over again?

But laying all that aside is bonus in any form, especially when it is in the order of 20 per cent of a man's total annual wages, a desirable feature? Without denying the worker the same total income inclusive of bonus would it not be better to abolish bonus altogether? Are not such bold sweeping reforms called for if one thinks, not in terms of past practice, but rather of improving the general efficiency of industry which, as seen when it enters the export market, is often hopelessly uncompetitive in a world market?

How many housewives would not prefer a wage packet increased by 20 per cent each month rather than a lump sum once a year, which is

often mortgaged before it arrives? No one attempts to claim that Annual Bonus has any incentive value. In fact, the general profitability of a company is as much the result of good management and favourable trading conditions as workers' exertion—necessary as this is.

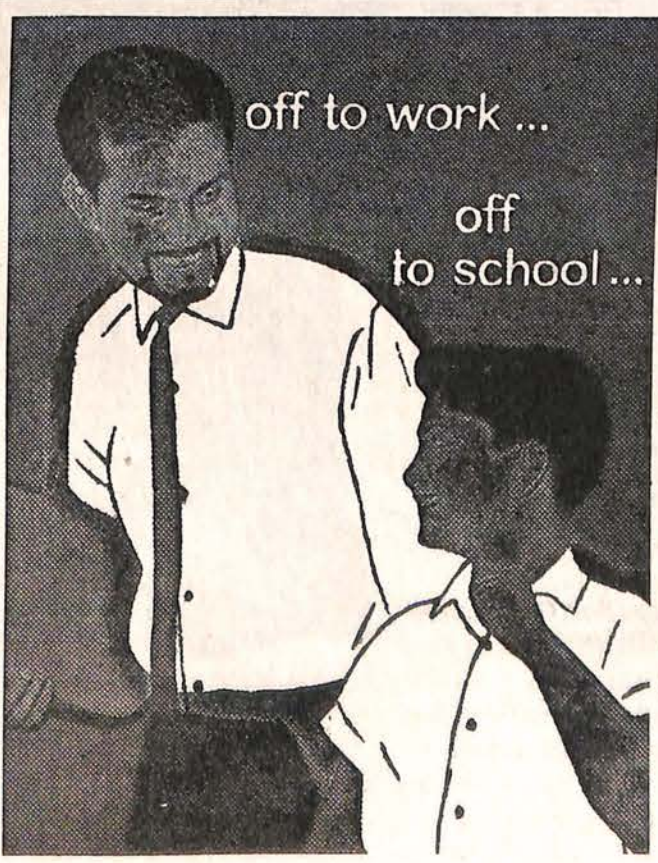
But what of the company that is making no profit? Let them enhance their basic wage as well by the same amount and operate their business more efficiently, or pack up. It might take a few years to reach that point, but it is something that should be the declared aim of the Government, to be accomplished within a given period of time. With it could go an all-India wage scale for manual workers coupled with well-defined trade and grade definitions—but no automatic annual increments, please!

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

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—EDITOR




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FOR WOMEN

Big Job For Classroom Rebels

By Joyce Kneale

AS A TEACHER, I know that our children are longing to leave the world better for their having been in it. But are we equipping them with the tools to do so?

We offer them techniques of earning a living, but miss giving them the techniques of how to live. People say you learn to live by experience. To some extent this is true. But do we have to give every child petrol and a match to prove petrol is inflammable?

I teach in East London. My class consists of 37 lively, uninhibited ten-year-olds. These children come from an area that stood some of the worst batterings in the war.

One boy of ten shares a small room with his four brothers and sister, whilst mother, father and two babies turn the one sitting room into a bedroom each night. High spirits are to be expected in children from such backgrounds, but it is no excuse for anarchy. During one of the holidays, £500 worth of damage was done in a nearby school when children broke in, set fire to books and furniture.

Practical Proposals

How does one turn these rebellious, irresponsible, often dishonest children with chips on their shoulders, into worthy, constructive citizens? We must offer them an aim and a challenge that will take everything they've got, to achieve. So I said to this class: "How can we make the Commonwealth a pattern of how nations of all races could work together?"

As a class we visited the new Commonwealth Institute, and we studied the basis of the Commonwealth. Then we got down to brass tacks. First we took India, where many children have one meal every two days. We discussed why this was so, and made many enquiries including writing to India. The class came up with four suggestions to deal with the situation:—

1. Put 6d. on the tax of everyone in the Commonwealth.
2. Load a ship with food which we contribute and send it to India.

3. Stop people from being greedy in India and every other country.
4. Make people honest so that the loss to the nation through corruption does not continue.

The two latter suggestions seemed the most practical so we began with them. One child had the idea of collecting money to send. It was decided not only to contribute surplus money, but to offer it from sacrifice—from the money that would otherwise be spent on sweets. Then we turned our minds to the corruption.

"Suppose every Englishman who went abroad was honest," I said. "Suppose every Indian coming to Britain found we were trustworthy."

In a lesson earlier in the term, the children had listed the things they had stolen. Gradually the meanness of it was becoming clear to them. They realized now what effect this behaviour could have on a country like India. They decided that they would pay back money they owed.

Two had debts to settle at a large store. The Manager received us and the boys apologized and handed over the money. He told me privately that his firm was losing thousands of pounds every year through pilfering.

Another girl went back with money to a nearby shop and got her

friend from another school to own up and pay back also.

The interesting repercussion I noticed, as their teacher, was the "pulling together" spirit in the classroom, and the peace and obedience that was beginning to grow.

At Christmas my brother and his wife visited the school. For some years they have been living in Germany. Illustrating it with music, my brother painted a picture of life in Germany, their homes, lives and industries. In response the class told them their interest in making the Commonwealth a pattern of how nations could live together.

Airmail Friendships

The direct result of this was that on returning to the Ruhr, my brother and his wife gathered together many of the children of the miners' families and told them about the class. Those children want to do something too. So they began to save money through doing jobs like carrying coal. In three months they had collected £10 which they sent to India.

A healthy correspondence has grown up between these German children and ours. In their letters they are sowing the seeds of friendship based on care for the world.

Any parents who have children under thirteen and would like them to correspond with these young Londoners, may please write: Miss J. Kneale, 106 Biddulph Mansions, London, W.9.

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LETTERS

DELHI, TAKE NOTE!

SIR: The article on "Nepal and Ceylon" was, I believe, so good that it deserves "compulsory reading" at the highest Government level.

BEJAN J. DARUWALLA
Ahmedabad 4.

LAKHS AND CRORES

SIR: I enjoy reading HIMMAT each week. For a poor foreigner, however, could you please clarify one point.

How much is a lakh and how much is a crore? They are often referred to in your columns.

J. D. HUTCHISON
Glasgow, Scotland

In India and Pakistan one lakh represents a hundred thousand and is written as 1,00,000. One crore is 100 lakhs, or ten million. It is written as 1,00,00,000.—Ed.

SPACE PROPELLANTS

SIR: As a visiting American, I highly commend Anthony Reynolds for his exciting report on "GT-4"—the 62-orbit flight of America's latest space-twins, McDivitt and White.

Some misunderstanding may result, however, from his statement, "The Russians have always led with their propellants."

May I draw to your attention the fact that in March this year, the Americans fired the most powerful rocket

engine ever built. Delivering 3,000,000 pounds of thrust, it roared for 64 seconds, creating the loudest continuous sound ever produced by man.

Five successfully-tested F-1 engines built by North American will be clustered together to create 7,500,000 pounds of thrust to boost three Americans into space for their first landing on the moon in 1969. By mid-1967 the Thiokol Chemical Corporation plans to launch a rocket using a cluster of four solid-fuel motors delivering an unbelievable 28,000,000 pounds of thrust.

Early in April, Americans sent into orbit the world's first nuclear rocket, the SNAP 10A. Its ion engine, successfully tested in an 800-mile high orbit, shot particles into space steadily at 176,000 m.p.h. Later ion engines are expected to deliver such thrust as to carry space vehicles clear of the solar system itself.

There is no evidence from Russia that any engines of comparable power or sophistication are even within the realm of possibility in the near future. It seems that in the field of rocket power as well as in the highly intricate and complex non-manned scientific space programme, the Americans have purchased a commanding lead over the Russians.

DAVID B. ALLEN
Bombay

HIMMAT announces a prize of Rs. 10 for the best letter received every week. Letters should be received by Friday. They should be brief and exclusive to HIMMAT. Carbon copies will not be considered.

—EDITOR

HUBERT



"Why don't you blow it out, Mother-in-law? It's getting rather warm in here."

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This was a life NAPOLEON BONAPARTE 1769—1821

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, son of an Italian lawyer, was born in 1769 on the island of Corsica, then under French rule. After a military education he became a captain of artillery at the age of 23. When King Louis XVI was guillotined, Napoleon's republican sympathies and brilliant campaigns saw his swift rise to General's rank at 27.

Though small in stature, Napoleon was giant-sized in his love for France. Gripped by the ambition to conquer Egypt and India, he out-matched the British Army on Egyptian soil but, underestimating the importance of naval power, had his fleet destroyed at the Battle of the Nile in 1798. He fled back to France.

Appointed First Consul, Napoleon now turned his attention to the administration of the Republic. His Code Napoleon—drafted in one night—is marked with his clear thinking. It enabled the ordinary man to understand the country's laws. Christianity, rejected by the Revolutionaries, was re-established in France. Paris was beautified and modernized—new bridges over the Seine, a new water supply and paved streets.

Bonaparte's special interest in education and outstanding power of concentration were shown when, on the eve of Austerlitz, after a council of war with his generals, he dictated a plan for the organization of a girls' school. The battle was won next day.

In 1804, Napoleon became Emperor. Foiled in his attempt to invade Britain by the defeat at Trafalgar, he turned on her allies in Europe, inflicting crushing defeats upon them.

In 1811, he attacked Russia. He marched his Grande Armee of 400,000 men on Moscow. The Russians fell back, leaving a deserted capital. Unable to engage them in open combat, Napoleon was forced to retreat. Harassed by Cossacks, starving, and crippled by the severe winter, three-quarters of his men died on the trek.

At Leipzig, the combined armies of Europe defeated the French. Napoleon was forced to abdicate and was exiled to the island of Elba.

A few months later, Europe was stunned by news of his escape from Elba and his triumphant progress towards Paris. But after a hundred days, on June 18, 1815, the Allies routed the French at the Battle of Waterloo. Napoleon was exiled to St. Helena, where he died of cancer six years later.

Napoleon said that his glory consisted not in forty battles won, but in his good government and the Code Napoleon, which still guides France.

Q and A

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

Q — "Indians talk more and work less." Comment.

B. S. RAGHAVENDRA RAO,
Bangalore.

A — Agreed. Sometimes I feel we need a super-scientific device to convert the movement of our jaws as we talk—and sometimes our hands while we talk—into some kind of electric energy.

That's all. Got other work. G'bye.

Q — HIMMAT states, "India must choose an ideology superior to Communism and non-Communism." What is the outline of such an ideology?

K. R. RAMANATHAN, Bombay.

A — Both Communist and non-Communist worlds have a common weakness. Neither has produced a corruption-free, hate-free, selfishness-free society. This is so because neither has mastered the secret of making corruption-free, hate-free and selfishness-free individuals.

Moral Re-Armament is the logical and practical revolution for Communists as well as non-Communists. On an exploding scale on every continent, it is demonstrating that men and women can find answers for social and economic problems by transforming their natures, aims and motives.

Why not make India the world's most advanced nation in Moral Re-Armament?

Q — Is this not the time to define Indian Socialism? Will it not be a strong answer to China's threat?

R. V. PUROHIT, Poona.

A — Yes, we must define Indian Socialism. Alas, people have conflicting views of it. Some fight for it because they think it is the opposite of Communism. Others support it because they think it is not far from Communism. Some are for it because they think it will do away with our past. Others champion it as something in keeping with our tradition.

If Indian Socialism cannot unite India, if it cannot unite all the Indian Socialists and if it cannot unite even the different Socialists within a particular Socialist party—Congress, P.S.P., S.S.P. or any other—how can it unite Asia, Africa or the world? And if we are unable to offer something that can meet Asian, African and world needs, it will be impossible to answer China's militant ideology.

The age of the underdog has come. No man or force or nation can thwart it, thank God. Socialism is inevitable, but unless it is a revolutionary Socialism based on Moral Re-Armament, it will either be a divided, discredited, inefficient and corrupt Socialism or it will be the reactionary Socialism of a country like Red China.

A Socialism that does not change man's greedy nature is no different from selfish capitalism.

Indian Socialists must take the lead to develop a modern, profound and all-embracing Socialism that one day can challenge, include and change men and women in Peking, Moscow and Washington.

Q — "After fourteen years of Nehru's rule the value of a rupee has gone down to fourteen paise." Comment.

V. SATHIAH, Hyderabad.

A — How you get your figure of fourteen puzzles me, but I understand what you are trying to say.

The rupee's value has certainly gone down—and drastically. But don't blame Mr. Nehru for it all. If he ruled all those years, all of us lived, too, all those years. Many of us were in responsible positions. All of us could have been responsible citizens if we had wanted to. And this applies even to those who may think they are too young or too old.

Mr. Nehru's life had achievements and failures. Yet history may accuse others and not him for India's failures during these last years. One man, even if he is Prime Minister, can do a certain amount but no more. It is those who say, "I will do nothing myself, but I will criticize those that try to do something," and not the few who assume responsibility, who will face posterity's pointed finger.

—R.G.

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Commonwealth Count-Down

by Rajmohan Gandhi

ONCE AGAIN the Commonwealth Premiers gather in London. Distinctive robes, hats and caps will add more colour for a week to a landscape already multiracial and varied. There will be conferences, and banquets, topped by one presided over by a gracious Queen.

Someone will carefully work out the protocol and decide who sits where at the banquet table, the conference table and in the official photographs. Newspapers and the TV screen will show smiling dignitaries and their wives and perhaps an angry one or two.

Will the gathering achieve anything? Some hold that the Commonwealth is a farce, not a force. I disagree. Yet it is certain that in the minds of its leaders and peoples the Commonwealth's role is unclear, its value diminishing.

It is equally certain that, given new motives and challenges, the Commonwealth can do more than any other association of nations for a confused humanity.

When India decided to stay in the Commonwealth after freedom, and by consensus Commonwealth leaders decided to have sovereign republics as members, Mr. Nehru declared before Parliament, "We join the Commonwealth obviously because we think it is beneficial to us. The other countries of the Commonwealth want us to remain because they think it is beneficial to them."

Opposite Views

This satisfaction of one another's self-interest has helped to keep the Commonwealth going even when on major issues members have held totally opposite views.

Yet it is not the only reason. There is also a feeling of friendship and regard among the different peoples of the Commonwealth, created over the years by unselfish comradeship in peace and war, that has withstood the impact of political convulsions. This is true not only of countries like Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, whose ties include those of blood and religion, but also in the relations between these countries and the Asian and African members of the Commonwealth.

Some would brush away this attitude as sentimental. But I am not sure that in an age where wars and tyrannies arising out of hate,

fear and envy have killed or chained millions, friendship is a quality to be debunked.

Having said this, there is still the reality of political and economic pulls. From year to year, there has been a decrease in the proportion of trade among Commonwealth members and an increase in their trade with nations outside the bloc.

The Common Market tempts Britain and offers her an opportunity and challenge to sharpen her industrial machine.

New Political Line-Ups

We must not make an unfair criticism here. Both the ruling Labour Party and the Conservatives have expressed their decision to continue aiding the developing nations. Yet it would be foolish to ignore the belief of many Britons that they would be better off tied to Europe than to the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth has played a part in the defence needs of member nations. Indians are grateful for the quick help that came from Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Canada when China attacked in 1962. However, new political line-ups are evolving in the world, casting Commonwealth nations on different sides, and no member can assume that other members will come to its aid if a non-Commonwealth country attacks it.

There is a growing opinion in Britain and Canada, for instance, in favour of a closer relationship with China. In spite of Chou En-lai's recent setback in Africa, it would be wrong to regard the African Commonwealth nations as immune against China's influence.

Whether, therefore, it is India that may want military (or moral) support against China, or Malaysia that wants similar support against an Indonesia egged on by Peking, it is doubtful that the African nations would provide it, even if they could.

If the Commonwealth is to be an effective world force, it has to stand for, and demonstrate, a type of life and society that is desired by both the Communist and the non-Communist blocs.

A simple, frank look at both the Communist and non-Communist worlds reveals similar problems and requirements. There is greed for power and money in both.

There is the pursuit of selfish pleasure and indulgence, leading to divorce, delinquency and broken homes, in both. There are hates between youth and age, class and class, colour and colour and race and race in both. Both carry within their systems seeds that will destroy them and civilization itself.

The Commonwealth can make a united and massive attempt to cure this basic malady of our age.

Some group of nations, some association of races, has got to make a beginning in this direction. For many reasons, the Commonwealth may be nearer the possibility than any other collection of countries.

It is an association of different nations.

It is an association of different races.

It is an association of different religions.

It is not directed, politically or militarily, for or against the Communist bloc or the non-Communist bloc.

It is an association based on something more than one another's self-interest.

Who has a Plan?

To fight to establish a new world order, covering Washington, Moscow and Peking, based on Moral Re-Armament, is the natural destiny of the Commonwealth. For the evidence of Moral Re-Armament is conclusive. Its power to heal hates, end exploitation and replace the "me first" attitude with a new motive of reconstructing society has been shown on all continents.

Most, perhaps all, leaders of nations at the conference will try to assess what the Commonwealth, even in its weak state, can do for their nation. Some, only a few, will have plans about what their nation can do for the Commonwealth. Will someone go with a plan and a strategy for what the Commonwealth can do for the world through Moral Re-Armament?

If Mr. Harold Wilson of England, Sir Abubakar Balewa of Nigeria, Mr. Keith Holyoake of New Zealand and Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri of India—or any one of them or any one else—do this, history will reckon that role to be greater than Johnson's or Eisenhower's, Brezhnev's, Kosygin's or Khrushchev's.



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