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HIMMAT

WEEKLY 25p

VOL. 3 NO 34

Asia's new voice

FRIDAY JUNE 23 1967

Ajoy's
NAXALBARI

Roots of
the trouble

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warned
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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

BOMBAY FRIDAY JUNE 23 1967

Towards peace in W. Asia

BEHIND THE POSTURES adopted by victorious Israel on one hand and the proud but defeated Arab States on the other, are the underlying obstacles that need to be tackled if there is to be peace in West Asia. They are:

1 Arab unwillingness to recognise Israel as an established State.

2 The plight of over a million Arab refugees.

No settlement imposed by force can work. As Prof. Arnold Toynbee says: "To be permanent this peace settlement must be one that is accepted by both belligerents, not just on paper but in their hearts."

Israel as victor has the greater responsibility. If she holds to any of her new-found territories, she is inviting a fourth war sooner than she thinks, and it may involve not only her and the Arabs but the whole world. Could she in victory stretch her hands out to the Palestine refugees, resettle those who want to return and offer them their own land where convenient or new land? Israel has worked wonders even with her desert soil. With modern technology and resources she should be able to resettle some of the refugees.

The Arab States, too, need to go beyond lip service to the refugees. It has been suggested that the land to the north-east of the Euphrates River in Syria is sparsely populated yet fertile. It could be suitable. Refugees have been used as political pawns and not even been offered temporary shelter by the Arab States. Compassion demands that they be no longer used as fuel to feed the fire of hate against Israel.

The oil wealth of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait is not negligible if put to resettle these people. In fact the world can and will help, for any cost to resettle the Palestine refugees will be cheaper than risking a third world war. The tragedy of a million Palestine refugees instead of dividing can become the rallying point where both Arabs and Jews need each other.

The region that cradled the religion of the Jews, Arabs and Christians can yet be a pattern of how all men are meant to live. If Arabs and Jews have had three wars in 20 years, France and Germany had three major wars in 70 years. And yet, through the honest apology of statesmen and stateswomen, a chain reaction was started that healed the old wounds. Today Europe presents a different picture. It may be foolhardy to expect a miracle in West Asia now. It will be disastrous not to expect and work for one.

Are India's interests safe ?

WHY HAS CHINA chosen this time to create a diplomatic crisis with India? Her behaviour towards the two Indian diplomats has been both cruel and sadistic, with throngs screaming, clawing, kicking at them. Perhaps the greatest crime of Mao's regime is that it has de-humanised a nation with 4000 years of civilisation.

Is there any relation between China's behaviour to the Indian diplomats and the explosion of her hydrogen bomb? Is China rearing for another attack on India? Are these unfortunate diplomats China's excuse to whip up the feelings of its people? Is it accidental that pro-Peking Communists are now creating violent disturbances in Naxalbari near the strategic northern frontier with Nepal, Tibet, Pakistan? What can account for the ruler of the border State of Sikkim perceptibly cooling towards India at this time, and pressing for an independent seat in the UN. Could it be that China is infuriated that India has been the voice of the Soviet Union in West Asia?

The conditions in China in the last ten months have been so chaotic that it is difficult to pinpoint the exact reason for her belligerence. Over China's policy we have no control, but over India's we have. The tragedy is that our foreign policy is being conducted by men who in the words of a noted Indian editor have placed "the dunce's cap on India's head".

At the height of the battle for our Embassy staff, China explodes the hydrogen bomb and our Foreign Minister promptly boards a plane to New York to "resolve" the crisis in West Asia where, thanks to his policy, we have little chance to be of help.

With China exploding the hydrogen bomb and acting in a belligerent manner, Indian interests demand the minimum measure of security against China's nuclear power. It is not likely to come from the Soviet Union or from Yugoslavia and Egypt whom Mrs Gandhi and Mr Chagla have cultivated as our main allies. One can seriously question whether India's interests are safe in the hands of a Foreign Minister and a Prime Minister who architected such a shallow policy in West Asia.

Crying need met

FEW WILL HAVE REALISED that every time the police hurl a teargas bomb, bang goes some more precious foreign exchange. Until now the Union Home Ministry has relied entirely on imports to meet the crying need for this mob-stopping gas.

But welcome is the news that teargas is now to be manufactured locally. In one more essential item we shall become self-sufficient.

One would have thought that the Home Ministry's policies could have produced all the tears the nation required. However, with this new move, we may even be able to export some.

Briefly speaking...

Stirring document

THERE IS HUNGER of the stomach in India but there is also the hunger of the spirit. In spite of the frailties of our people and our country there are reservoirs of faith and service which await to be tapped.

The statement of the "India Arise" cast, *Bihar Can Be Fed!* has awakened lakhs throughout India where it has been published, especially in Bihar, UP and other States of north India where it has appeared.

Among the many letters received is one by a Head of the Department of Political Science in a college in the UP. The professor says, "The page 'Bihar Can Be Fed!' seems to

have stirred my very soul. I believe in the absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love, but in my actual life I fall far, far short of them. I do believe there is something like the inner voice of God but I never seem to have heard or at least realised that I have heard it. I do wish to regenerate myself and become a more useful instrument of service to humanity."

Working with hands

UNIVERSITY DEGREES in India mean less as each year passes. Come June and lakhs of our young people queue outside colleges of arts, science and commerce. Most graduates are not clear what they will do when they get their degrees. They drift.

An advertisement in a South Indian state for bus conductors got thousands of applications from graduates. Yet in its capital, people have got to wait, sometimes for days, before a plumber, carpenter or electrician can visit them.

Why is it that we would rather starve with our names ornamented with degrees than earn with the labour of our hands on a tool or a machine? Surely education should not create such an aversion for the mechanical arts.

I know a young man from a business family who took a diploma in electrical engineering at the VJTI less than five years ago. He now goes around houses fitting electrical equipment, doing electrical repairs and at the age of 26 can undertake jobs worth Rs 30,000 if need be. He is a useful member of society who has no time for belly-aching and says he enjoys his work.

MRS LILAVATI MUNSHI refers to the above-mentioned point in an address to the All India Women's Central Food Council of which she is President. "There is talk," she says, "of opening more agricultural universities. Unless the work of the students in the university is linked

I do not believe in a fate which strikes men however they act. But I do believe in a fate that strikes men unless they act.

G. K. CHESTERTON 1874-1936

with the land it will only produce officers without producing much food."

Britain and India

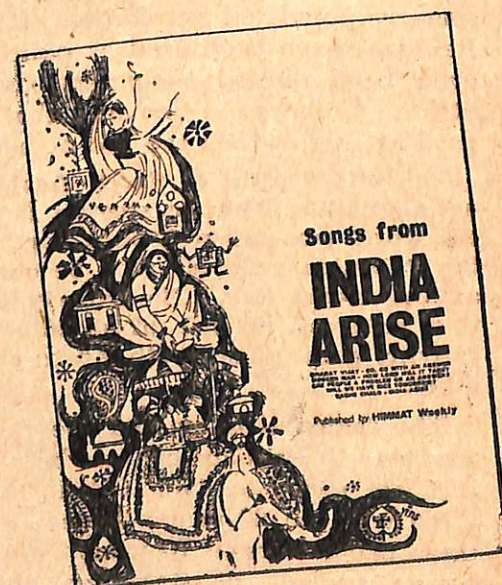
A YOUNG INDIAN GIRL, Miss Neerja Chowdhury, summarises the impact of Britain on her and gives an interesting comparison between British weather and Indian character.

"The British have a passion for weather. The British weather is somewhat like Indian character — volatile, unexpected and erupting in sudden outbursts. The British character takes after the Indian weather — steady, solid, strong and in a straight line. The British are silent in sixteen languages while Indians talk in six hundred dialects." She adds, "I suppose there must be a lot to be silent about!"

Birbal

FREE

IN NEXT WEEK'S HIMMAT



A 12 page supplement of the songs from INDIA ARISE that have captured the imagination of thousands here and abroad.

How New Delhi views Peking events

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI India's foreign policy chickens are coming home to roost. First West Asia, now China. To those here with sufficient political seasoning to see behind the headlines, China's expulsion of two Indian diplomats on the flimsy pretext of spying is not an isolated instance of Peking's bloody-mindedness towards foreigners, but a major development in the hate campaign the Chinese have been deliberately building up against India since the general elections last February.

Experienced observers in the capital feel the ouster of Mr Raghunath and Mr Vijay is only the first of a chain of similar incidents, on an ascending scale of acerbity, which would logically face New Delhi with no alternative but to complete severance of its virtually non-existent diplomatic ties with Peking, unless, of course, New Delhi decides, as the circumstances warrant, to end the farce immediately. For you can speak of diplomatic relations between India and China only if you include making rude noises at one another and penning long and ponderous notes as a legitimate part of such relations.

The basic fact to be realised in dealing with China's latest political offensive, which opened early in March, is that the policymakers in Peking disapprove strongly of Mrs Indira Gandhi's Government, which in their eyes is "bourgeois reactionary" and the handmaid of United States "imperialism" and Soviet "revisionism" at one and the same time.

Easy overthrow

Peking seems to have decided, after studying the results of the Indian elections, that the Government at the Centre has become so enervated because of the battering the Congress Party received at the polls that its overthrow can be encompassed in the not very distant future by discrediting it internationally and further undermining its foundations internally.

The immediate cause of the attack on the diplomats, according to veteran analysts here, is the sudden increase in the Indian Government's popularity among the Arabs because of its zealous advocacy of their cause against Israel. The Chinese, anxious to rush in and fill the vacuum created in Arab hearts by the

the West Bengal Government, and by implication of the Centre, has gained administrative control of Naxalbari and the adjoining areas in Darjeeling district, and threatens to engulf larger parts of the State.

Consider the immense strategic significance of this region. It forms a narrow corridor, sandwiched between Nepal in the north and East Pakistan in the south, and is the only land link between Assam and the other north-eastern territories of India and the rest of the country. Why did the militant wing of the Left Communists, who unashamedly acknowledge their allegiance to Peking, choose this area of all places in West Bengal for their "revolutionary" gambit?

If they are able to consolidate their hold on Naxalbari, and there is evidence that they have succeeded in setting up a parallel government, though they refuse to call it by this name, there, they could disrupt communications with North-eastern India, where the Centre is already

continued on next page

CHALTA HAI...



"Chalo bhai! Let us settle by consensus who will sign the peace-treaty."

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MIKADO

On your toes

"MY MAN FRIDAY"

ROBINSON CRUSOE had his man Friday. And so did the late Mr Nehru. Only his name was Sinha — Satyanarayan Sinha. Like Crusoe's Friday, Nehru's Sinha was an odd-job man. And some of the jobs were pretty odd, too. Though the portfolios he held sounded impressive enough.

Satyanarayan Sinha is one of the few of the old guard left. Some have been put out to pasture. Others, unable to stand the fog of Nehru's policies, left for other fields. But the faithful Sinha was left. Or rather, Mr Nehru's daughter was left with Sinha.

The Rajya Sabha was in turmoil for half an hour last week as Opposition members tried to elucidate exactly what Mr Sinha as Minister Without Portfolio was doing in Mrs Gandhi's Cabinet.

Mrs Gandhi was evasive. Believed that in the uproar she was able to sidestep the issue, she merely explained that he was performing "such tasks as were assigned to him from time to time". But what tasks?

When Mr Bhupesh Gupta, perhaps unkindly, suggested that Mr Sinha was a "ministerial surplus" Mrs Gandhi countered: when she appointed him she had "certain tasks" in mind but they had not been fulfilled due to his "indifferent health".

Come now, Mrs Gandhi. Is this really true? And if it is, should you continue asking the taxpayer to foot the ministerial salary (with all its expensive perquisites) of a man who for the last three months has been unable to do his job because of "indifferent health"? Some would say the real reason is "indifferent capability" and that Mr Sinha should be pensioned off.

In that event Mrs Gandhi may find more work for the anxious Deputy Ministers who called on her recently to bemoan their idleness. Several of them are said to be fretting because they have no specific responsibilities beyond drawing their salaries. One poor fellow even had trouble getting a staff car because it had not been clearly defined which "staff" he was attached to.

It would seem that Mrs Gandhi's "kitchen cabinet" has too few cooks and too many Fridays tasting the broth.

Freelancer

VERDICT!

This week HIMMAT

FEELS QUEASY thinking of London student James Gallagher who ate 40 bananas in 25 minutes to beat the world record.

WELCOMES the offer of an Australian firm to set up a factory to make 8000 small cars a year, and **NOTES** the proposal to pay for the plant by exporting Indian-made car components.

IS ASTONISHED at a World Health Organisation estimate that India has 4800 million rats—nearly ten times the human population.

COMPARES West Bengal's Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee's denial that law and order is breaking down with press reports that "police have been withdrawn" in Naxalbari, "leaving the area entirely in the control of the CPI (Marxist)."

SUGGESTS the External Affairs Ministry acquire some of the diplomacy of the Central Bureau of Intelligence who found both the US and Communist countries guilty of spending money to influence India's elections.

REGRETS Naga leader Phizo's reported refusal to accept a proposed settlement for Nagaland, and **URGES** him, and Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi, not to give up working for a peaceful solution.

AGREES with President Johnson's statement that "Economic and social development is a task not for sprinters but for long-distance runners".

IS TOUCHED by the offer of the United States to parachute water-supplies to Egyptian soldiers in the Sinai desert, in spite of Cairo radio broadcasts a few days earlier saying they would bury the "American imperialists".

SAYS THREE CHEERS to Chief Minister Annadurai's plan to start "prosperity brigades" in Madras State to give an hour a day to social uplift.

PEKING EVENTS—from page 5

facing difficult situations in Nagaland, the Mizo Hills and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

Arming rebels

New Delhi has proof that the Chinese are training and arming the Naga and Mizo rebels in special camps set up in East Pakistan, and it is only a matter of time before they start doing the same for the "revolutionary" workers and peasants of West Bengal, if they are not doing so already.

This is not all the pro-Peking extremists are doing to hasten the "revolution" on the pattern Mao Tse-tung has laid down for predominantly peasant countries. The gheraos in the industrial belt around Calcutta is further evidence of the intention of the Peking-oriented Left to capture power in West Bengal, which they seem to have chosen as the crucible of the Indian revolution. When you consider the economic and political conditions in West Bengal and the State's proximity to territories from which military and other aid can be provided with comparative ease, this supposition becomes an established fact.

The extreme Leftists in Bengal

are convinced that the defeat of the Congress and the formation of a Communist-dominated coalition government in the State is a stepping-stone to their own seizure of power. Their policy is a "expose" the moderate parties in the coalition and appear before the peasants and workers of the State, and on a wider canvas of the country as a whole, as their sole champions, thus creating a situation in which the coalition will break up and the roadblocks on their path to absolute power will be removed.

Why keep it up?

We come back to where we started. Why do we have to keep up the pretence of diplomatic relations with a hostile China when we spurn the hand of friendship Israel offers? This question is being asked more and more frequently in the lobbies of Parliament. Perhaps the Government will come up with a convincing answer soon.

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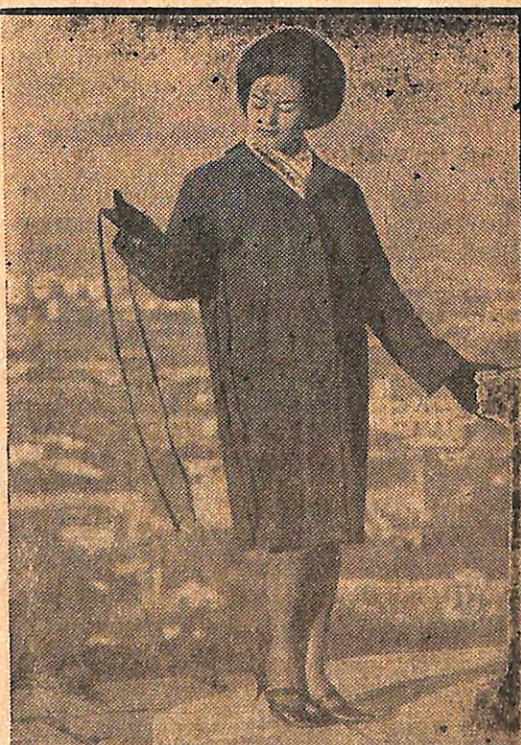
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Morarji warns against Chagla's Arab-Israel policy

by **ANTENNA**

NEW DELHI ANTENNA reliably understands that when the West Asia crisis was discussed in the Cabinet before the war began and the question of what India's stand should be was raised, Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai strongly opposed a total commitment on the Arab side. He said India should not take sides in the issue even if the Government felt the Arab cause was just, but should take up a non-aligned position which would enable it to play a positive role in lessening tension so as to prevent the war that appeared imminent after Egypt closed the Gulf of Aqaba.

PM, Commerce Minister swayed

This was vehemently opposed by External Affairs Minister M C Chagla. It appears that Mrs Gandhi and Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh inclined to Mr Desai's view, but as a result of Mr Chagla's persistent advocacy of his views,

they allowed themselves to be talked into agreeing with him. Later, when there was strong criticism of Mr Chagla's statement to the Lok Sabha in the press and in Parliament, as well as in the Congress Parliamentary Party, Mrs Gandhi attempted to tone it down, as is evident from her subsequent statements in Parliament. Still later, Mr Chagla seems to have prevailed again, and the result is the fury over the unfortunate killing of Indian members of the United Nations

Emergency Force. This was clearly a diversionary move, to stem the swing of popular opinion in favour of Israel.

What will he do?

Mr Morarji Desai foresaw the impact of closure of the Suez Canal on India's economy — a factor which Mr Chagla ignored. Now that the Suez Canal is blocked it is to be seen what efforts Mr Chagla will make to get it opened for traffic again.

BOOKS

Panditji

A Portrait of Jawaharlal Nehru by Marie Seton, London, Dennis Dobson, 1967, pp 515, 63 sh

INDUSTRIOUS READING combined with interviews and talks with all sorts of people, ranging from the Earl of Mountbatten to Panditji's life-long servants, have given a well-informed background to this lively account of often narrated events. As the blurb says, Miss Seton covers the moments of triumph, the negotiations for Independence, Korea, the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, the Bandung Conference and the dramatic efforts of India as a peace-making force during the Suez crisis. She starts her book with an estimate of the Mahatma and an account of her unorthodox meeting with him in London in 1931.

The most interesting parts of the book are the candid and revealing descriptions of what went on behind the scenes in the "Big House", as the Prime Minister's house, we are told, was called by those who worked there, and on tour with Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

Miss Seton first came to India in 1955 at the invitation of the Indian Ministry of Education. She lectured



Mr. Nehru

on film appreciation and became technical adviser to the Federation of Film Societies of India. She describes her first and only formal interview with Nehru, following an introduction from D. G. Tendulkar.

From that extremely unsatisfactory beginning she became first a friend of both Nehru and Indira Gandhi, and then an intimate member of the household: "It never ceased to give me the poignant feeling of being at home in Delhi, to be left to wander into the house unattended, unnoticed, with nobody bothering about me."

Unguarded remarks

There is something a little embarrassing as well as fascinating in having dangled before us the unguarded remarks and acts of Miss Seton's host and hostess. True, Miss Seton received a half-permission from Panditji to write this book—she was told it depended on what she wrote and to consult Indira but, as Miss Seton says, "because of her father's

continued on page 20

"Under the Lens" will be resumed next week.

ECONOMIC COMMENTARY

Monsoon holds the key

"HOW will the monsoon be?" That is one question millions of people in India have asked themselves many times during the trying summer days.

We have already had two droughts. The prospects of a third capricious monsoon makes us all shudder. Food, industrial production, employment — in fact, our very existence — depends on a good monsoon. A failure this time would bring about "other measures" as warned by Finance Minister Mr Morarji Desai. An incomes policy would conceivably be the cornerstone of such measures. Put simply, it would mean a ceiling for a specific term on salaries and wages, dividends and prices too. Tough indeed.

That should set us thinking as to why we are so helpless after 15 years of planning. The answer lies in our "magnophobia", that made us go in for grandiose industrial projects and neglect our agriculture. "Back to the villages" must be our slogan during the next ten years if our cries of self-sufficiency in food are to carry conviction.

Set a target

THE COMMERCE MINISTER, Mr Dinesh Singh is an angry man these days. During the second week of June he chided in two consecutive days the captains of the jute and the engineering industries.

In 1966-67, our engineering industry exported products worth only Rs 20 crores. Compared to exports the previous year, it was Rs 4.5 crores short. But what seems to have annoyed the Minister most is the comparison of the exports with the imports granted to the industry. Licences for imports worth Rs 280 crores were granted during 1966-67. Obviously, the paltry exports do not justify such a huge import entitlement.

While conceding that the Minister may have been right in slashing the engineering units, one wonders if really concrete steps are being taken to avoid the recurrence of such a

poor show. It appears that the industry lacks a target. There is no doubt a target of exporting annually by 1970-71 engineering goods worth Rs 100 crores. But the trouble with such remote targets is that they induce complacency in the beginning and panic as time flies.

Setting up of annual targets would probably be a better idea. That would impel the engineering industry to sit up and consider how it could overcome the hurdles to-day. In the process, it might also compel the Government to review and recast outmoded policy measures.

The lost mission

WITHOUT being unduly harsh, the Gajendragadkar Commission's labours could now be written off as lost.

The Commission sat to find out a way to neutralise the impact of the rising prices on the wage packet of the Central Government employees. However, it rose without doing anything of the kind. A rise in dearness allowance of a few rupees consequent upon a rise of ten points in the Cost of Living Index may be a good palliative. It can never make up for a cure.

The Commission was also authorised to see if there were ways other than monetary allowances to

Vins in Europe



soften the rigour of rising prices. After World War II, subsidised rationing, vegetables and provisions were arranged by the Government through its own Fair Price shops. That venture ended in a loss. But the records could have been available to the Commission. Many employees feel that the scheme would have worked but for mismanagement. Revival of such a scheme would have done away with the necessity of giving increased dearness allowances every now and then. Less currency in circulation would have meant reduced inflationary pressure — a boon to the society.

It is difficult to see how such a versatile Commission could not recommend an improvised scheme to render Government employees assistance in kind.

Nothing new, sir

DEPOSIT MOBILISATION is the immediate task of banks, according to the Reserve Bank Governor, Mr P. C. Bhattacharyya. It is difficult to see why the RBI Chief chose to assert this in his recent speech at Calcutta. Are not the banks geared to deposit mobilisation by the very definition of their formation?

It is true that the banking industry in the country is facing a rather uncertain future. While there is competition among banks to open new branches, deposit mobilisation is their full-time business. In spite of this if the banks in the country are up against odds, the cause must lie somewhere else.

The resolution on bank take-over of the Congress Working Committee has served as a direct disincentive to the managements of banks. It has wrapped the employees in an air of uncertainty and suspense. Inevitably, the banking apparatus is slowing down.

Far more urgent things like feeding the people and giving them shelter await Government's attention. Bank nationalisation can wait. No economic disaster would befall if it is put off. True, Mr Bhattacharyya could do little about such political moves. But it is open for him as a top financial executive of the country to counsel the Government.

M. S. D.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Mao's railmen off the track

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

HONG KONG As the Mao-Liu struggle continues in Mainland China, almost daily the newspapers here carry reports of battles in various parts of the country and of hundreds being killed. Japanese newspaper correspondents in Peking are now forbidden to look at the wall posters which carry such news. Probably the authorities do not want it to be sent overseas.

There have also been strikes that have paralysed the railway system but the seriousness of this has been covered over with Communist terminology and wordiness. For after all, strikes cannot happen in a Communist State where only the will of the masses is done!

According to *Current Scene*, the Hong Kong publication about developments in Mainland China, railway and dock workers in Shanghai went on strike last January. This was the first known strike in 17 years of Communist rule in China. Peking, however, refused to recognise it as a strike. The authorities insisted that it was "anti-Maoist" elements using the lures of material benefits that duped workers into leaving their posts. The demands these workers made for better wages were branded as "economism".

They came to see Mao

Actually the Cultural Revolution and the converging of millions of Red Guards on Peking to see Mao Tse-tung sparked off the strike. The Red Guards travelled free. According to Peking, from August 18 (when the Red Guards were started) up till the end of the year more than 50 million Red Guards and other "revolutionaries" were transported between China's main cities. Eleven million alone went to Peking. About two-thirds of the country's railway passenger coaches and thousands of freight cars were pressed into service. The train crews began to wilt under the strain and the railway system was heavily overtaxed.

In Shanghai a general transport strike started on December 30. Although it was still in full swing on January 6 it had not been mentioned in the national press. Thousands of railmen and other workers pressed

grievances about wages, working hours and welfare benefits. They also asked for shorter working hours to compensate for time spent in Mao-study. The Shanghai authorities signed an agreement giving an increase in wages and welfare but three months later this was declared null and void by Peking. At least six other main railway centres in China had similar troubles.

The priority use of locomotives and rolling-stock for Red Guard travel, followed by strikes and slow-downs, may have caused a temporary delay in the trans-shipment of Soviet aid to North Vietnam. Public accusations by Soviet officials in January and February that the Chinese were stalling aid cargoes in transit may well reflect an incapacity of the Chinese rail network to make speedy deliveries at that time.

About the middle of March, shock forces of students, teachers, office cadres and others, were still reported to be loading, discharging and distributing rail cargoes at Wuhan, Central China, to get rid of the bottleneck caused by the strike. It is clear that the Communist regime in China had to put down a large and wide-spread labour upheaval which brought to the surface long-standing grievances over low wages and long working hours.

The outbreak and suppression of this massive demonstration by the workers indicate that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has been forced upon the masses from above. *Current Scene* says, "There is every reason to believe that the Maoists may have dug a ditch between themselves and a large section of the urban working class... Even

continued on next page

The week in ASIA

MOSCOW — Russia protested sharply to China "against incessant provocations" against the Soviet Embassy in Peking and against hostile acts of Red Guards. It demanded security steps for Soviet representatives.

PEKING — British, Soviet and East European diplomats walked out of a reception as Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi attacked Western and Communist Governments for their stand on the West Asian war.

KATHMANDU — A study team of the International Monetary Fund recommended devaluation of the Nepalese currency. This would be the first step to offset effects resulting from devaluation of the Indian currency.

HONG KONG — Many private firms and the Government sacked hundreds of workers in a joint crackdown on leftist agitators. The action came in the wake of repeated strikes and disturbances.

KUALA LUMPUR — For the second time within a year, India has been left out of the Afro-Asian seminar on development. 22 countries will participate in the nine-day Malaysian sponsored meeting from June 22.

RAWALPINDI — Government alleged that India was hampering trade between Nepal and Pakistan. Pakistani-Nepali trade could not develop due to denial by India of transit facilities for goods traffic, it said.

TOKYO — Japan and the Soviet Union began talks for opening a Polar sea route between the Far East and Europe. It will provide for Japan a quicker and cheaper route than the present one through West Asia and Suez.

DJAKARTA — Acting President Suharto said that former Foreign Minister Subandrio and two other Cabinet Ministers would soon be executed.

GANGTOK — Three councillors of the Sikkim Durbar suggested a round-table conference to strengthen the points of affinity between the two sides on the revision of India-Sikkim treaty.

East African Community launched

FROM VERE JAMES

though confusion may still exist in certain areas, in general order seems to have been restored to the nation's railways. But the causes of the friction remain. In addition, the labouring class has a new grievance against the leaders of China's 'dictatorship of the proletariat'."

NAIROBI The three East African Heads of State, President Kenyatta of Kenya, President Obote of Uganda and President Nyerere of Tanzania last week concluded a new treaty strengthening their economic association.

As pointed out in the *Daily Nation*, by pure coincidence—and perhaps a happy omen—it was precisely four years ago that the East African

"Big Three" first met to discuss co-operation.

In the new treaty signed in Kampala, Arusha (in Tanzania) becomes the headquarters of the new *East African Community*. Beginning on December 1, 1967, the agreement is to decentralise the common services at present enjoyed by the three countries while at the same time developing and expanding the East African Common Market.

The Post and Telecommunications administration will move to Kampala. Harbours administration will be centred in Dar-es-Salaam. The headquarters of the Railways, East African Airways and the East African Court of Appeal will remain in Nairobi.

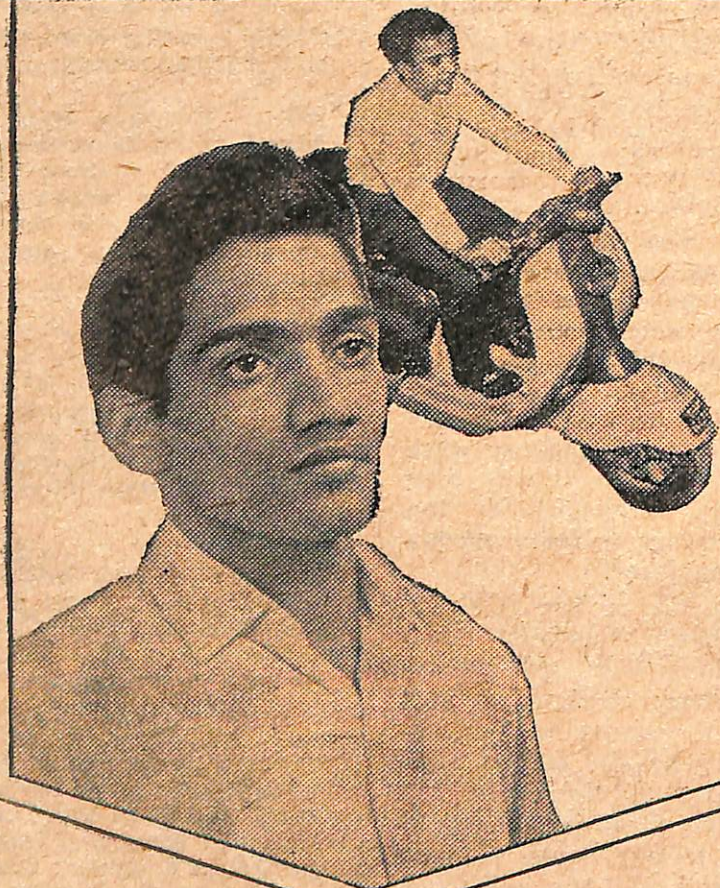
An East African Development Bank, designed to enable Uganda and Tanzania to develop as quickly as Kenya, will have its head offices in Kampala.

A new East African Legislative Assembly with nine members from each of the three countries, will replace the present Central Legislative Assembly. It will have its own Ministers and Deputy Ministers, Secretary-General, a Counsel and Chairman.

Among the main proposals accepted by the three leaders are to maintain a common customs tariff, to make excise tariffs uniform, and to have almost unlimited exports between the three countries.

Although taking second place to events in the Middle East and Nigeria, the news of this agreement has been enthusiastically received in the East African capitals. If the provisions of the treaty can be implemented, political stability and economic growth will continue and accelerate in this part of Africa.

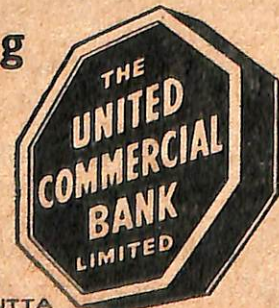
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Asian Highway will spur trade

FROM FUJIKO HARA

TOKYO While the world at large is becoming smaller all the time, nations seem to be grouping together in closer regional associations. While the top men of the Common Market meet over the question of British entry, Japan's Foreign Minister Miki proposes an Asia-Pacific Plan.

He has been elaborating upon this scheme for some time in the belief that by promoting the concept that Asia and Pacific share mutual interests, and a common future, regional co-operation and solidarity may be strengthened. Peace and prosperity of the Pacific nations, he maintains, cannot be made permanent without the proper development and stability of Asia. He believes, too, in the need for closer teamwork between the Pacific nations to develop the havenot nations of Asia. Noting that it is becoming the world's standard to set aside 1 per cent of the Gross National Product and that the loans are available at interests of 3 per cent or less on 25 year terms, he stresses the need of reviewing Japanese foreign aid policy. Temporarily, at least, he believes that trade interests and aid programmes must be considered separately in order to meet the rising requests.

While other developing nations of Africa and South America have been

more or less successful in attaining regional solidarity, it is yet a long way for Asia. While the stability and prosperity of Asia is the world's concern, it is primarily Asia's own responsibility to realise it.

The possibility of Britain entering the Common Market is prompting both Australia and New Zealand to seek not just the markets for raw materials but companionship and share of responsibility in the region.

If such programmes as an Asian Highway, running across the continent, and the development of the rich Mekong Delta which will benefit Burma, Thailand and the three countries of Indochina, are realised, they will undoubtedly contribute greatly towards Asia's prosperity. But as it is, nature's difficulties seem small before man-made problems that divide the continent. International railways, for instance, operate only between Malaya and Thailand, so that as a result freight costs between Asian countries are more expensive than those between Europe and Asia.

The week elsewhere

RUSSIAN AID TO N. VIETNAM

WASHINGTON — North Vietnam's dependence on Russian aid is indicated by the growing number of Soviet ships entering North Vietnam ports. Since June 1967, 267 Soviet ships came to North Vietnam—about 18 are now arriving monthly. In the same period 258 Chinese, 94 East European, and 210 free world ships arrived in North Vietnam. Soviet arrivals included 54 tankers, say US intelligence sources.

SANCTIONS HIT TOBACCO

SALISBURY—The Smith government told Rhodesia's 3000 tobacco growers to cut next year's crop to 132 million lbs—68 million lbs less than this year. Agriculture Minister Rudland said British sanctions had been effective—previously Britain had bought 40 per cent of Rhodesia's tobacco.

The UK Government chose this moment to send a new emissary, Lord Alport, to Rhodesia to negotiate ending UDI.

NEGRO JUSTICE APPOINTED

WASHINGTON—President Johnson appointed Thurgood Marshall America's first Negro Supreme Court Justice. Marshall, Solicitor General since 1965, was Attorney for the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.

SIBERIA—JAPAN OIL LINK

MOSCOW—Russia has proposed to a Japanese mission to build a 4000-mile pipeline from the oilfields of Tyumen in Siberia to Nakhodka on the Sea of Japan. If built, the \$2200 million pipeline could increase Japanese oil imports from Russia by 6 million tons within 3 years.

The week in INDIA

NEW DELHI — While Delhi stripped the First Secretary of the Chinese Embassy of his diplomatic status and ordered him and the Third Secretary to quit — in the wake of China's action against two Indian diplomats—there were open clashes between an irate crowd and Chinese officials in front of the Embassy.

CALCUTTA — Naxalbari continued to reel under mob violence even as a six-member West Bengal Cabinet team sought to bring peace to the area. People in several villages had fled in panic as a result of Left-Communist "kisan" movement.

KANPUR — The Government decided to form a panel to screen corruption charges against former Congress Ministers. The panel will be headed by a retired High Court judge.

JAIPUR — The Union Deputy Minister for Industrial Development, Bhanu Prakash Singh, said there were 127,000 prospective car buyers in the country. The annual production was only 30,000, he said, indicating the need for a small car project.

BOMBAY — The Maharashtra State budget proposed increases in sales tax on luxury goods, tax on trucks, entertainment duties and education cess and a new tax on advertisements in the cinemas.

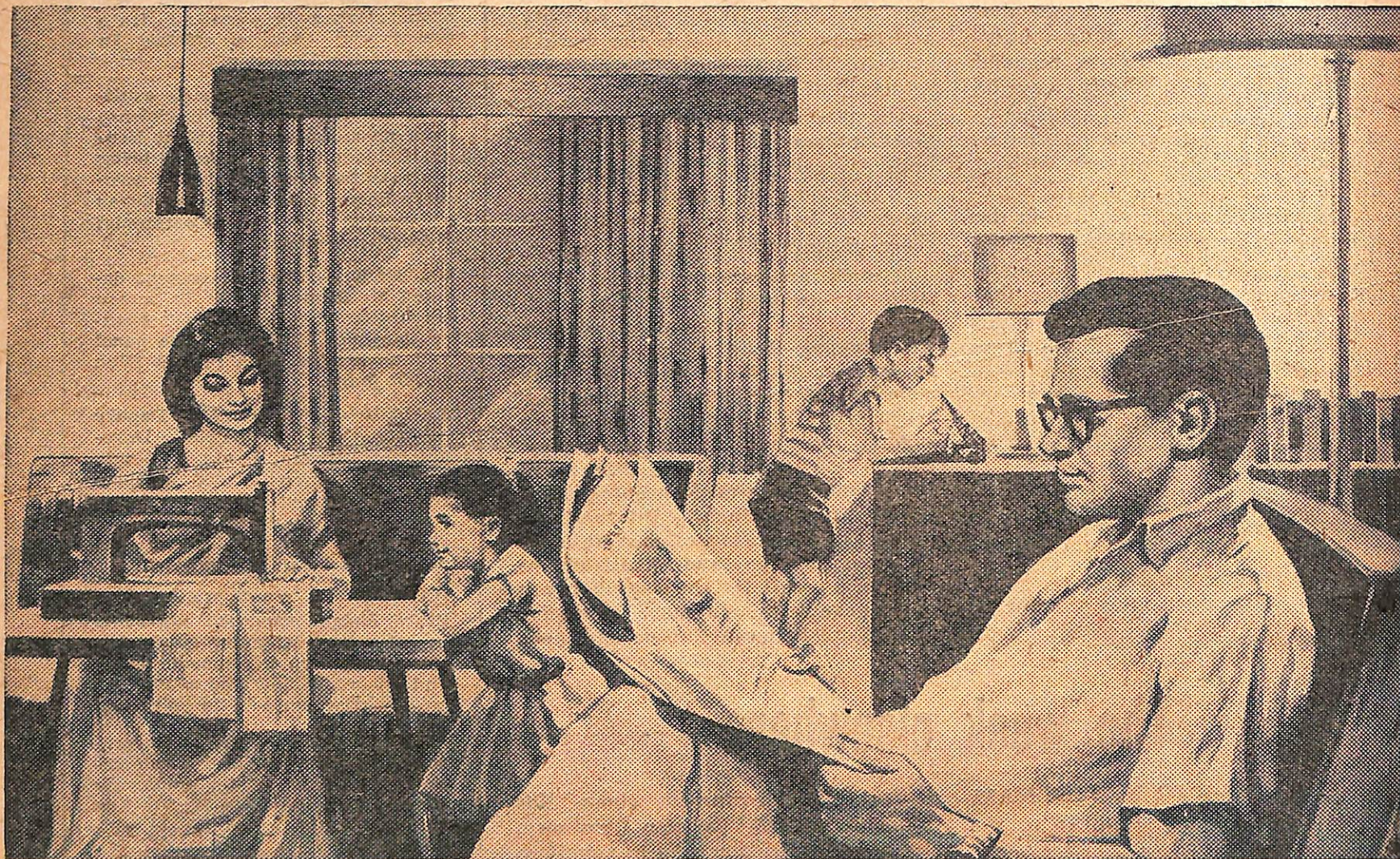
AHMEDABAD — The Government granted temporary increases in pensions of its employees ranging from Rs 16 to Rs 30. The increase would benefit 36,000 pensioners.

JAIPUR — Rajasthan Government employees were indulging in 54 types of corruption, according to the Vigilance Commissioner. The police department invented the largest number—which include summoning and detaining people for extracting money and demanding a fee for registering cases.

CHANDIGARH — The Government decided not to recruit any more staff until the strength of all departments was screened. This would save Rs 2 crores in staff expenditure.

NEW DELHI — Dr Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia, and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Marko Nikezic visited Delhi and held talks with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and External Affairs Minister Chaglia on West Asia.

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King Hussein of Jordan— courageous leader of his people

"WE WILL FIGHT to the last breath, until we face God. We will wash this Holy Land with the last drop of our blood." With these words King Hussein of Jordan tried to rally his army, shattered by the Israeli onslaught in the recent war. Soon after, his country was forced to accept the UN cease-fire call. But the words were typical of the man who has confounded prophets by his ability to get out of tight corners.

When Hussein I, ruler of the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan was 16, an assassin's bullet felled his grandfather, King Abdullah. Abdullah's successor, Tallal, was deposed because of mental illness. In 1952, a year after the assassination, Hussein became King.

"Before I was 18," as he said later, "I had to take a basic decision. Then, as a very ordinary person—which I hope I still am—I had suddenly to assume full responsibility for my country."

Educated at Victoria College in Egypt, then briefly at Harrow and at Sandhurst, the academy for British army officers, King Hussein assumed full constitutional authority in 1953.

Link in a chain

His family have been leaders of the Arab people since the time of the Prophet Mohammed, 1300 years ago, and descend from one of his disciples. "I feel I stand as a link in a chain," says Hussein of this continuing family responsibility, "a mile

on a road to a better future for the Arab people."

The land he rules was carved from the Turkish Empire after World War I. It consists of some 34,500 square miles of barren desert with a fertile strip on its western side along the River Jordan. To this was added in the Arab-Jewish war of 1948-9, 2500 square miles on the west bank of the Jordan—territory that has been conquered by the Israelis in the recent four-day war.

Hussein's people are largely Bedouin—the nomadic tribesmen of Arabia. With British help, these were forged into the Arab Legion. They are the mainstay of Hussein's throne.

Over 600,000 Arab refugees from Israel also live in Jordan. Frustrated, embittered, they are a constant danger to the stability of the kingdom.

Hussein faced his worst crisis in 1955-6 when rioters inside Jordan abetted by Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria, prevented the signing of a new treaty with Britain. General Glubb, British Commander of the Arab Legion, was dismissed and Major Ali Abu Nuwar replaced him. Jordan entered into alliances with Egypt and Syria. Nabulsi, the Prime Minister, wanted closer relations with Russia as well.

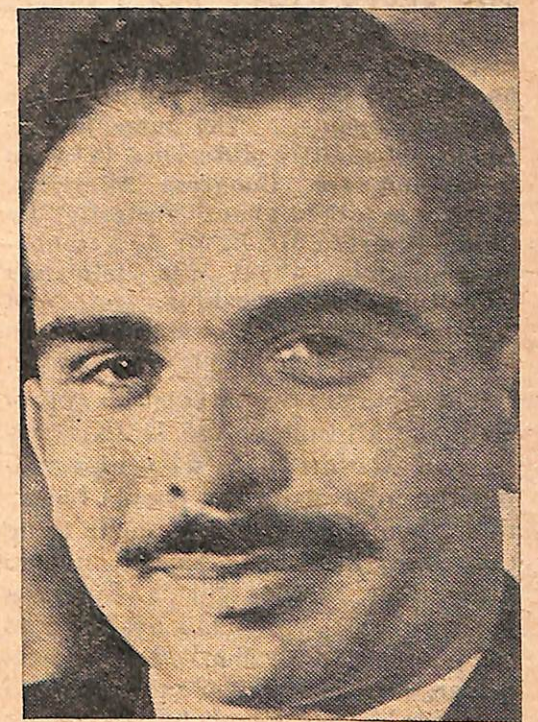
At this point Hussein intervened. He dismissed Nabulsi. Nuwar, backed by Egyptian and Syrian propaganda, threatened a coup against the King. When fighting broke out between loyal and mutinous troops of the Arab Legion, Hussein, with Nuwar in his car, drove to their camp. The Bedouin troops acclaimed him. Hussein's personal intervention stopped the fighting. Nuwar was sent into exile next day.

In the recent fighting with Israel Jordan's defeat and the loss of the West Jordan territories is Hussein's most serious reverse. Yet he has a way of surviving crises.

Hussein is tough both physically and morally. He is a crack pilot, water skier and miniature racing car driver. "Sports make me fit for my duties," he says.

From his grandfather's murder, writes Hussein in his autobiography,

ON THE Spot



"I learned that when you have to die, you die, for it is God's judgement. Only thus I found that inner peace granted to those who do not fear death."

"I fear no-one but God," he says.

Pitfall to sound leadership

On leadership, this 32-year-old monarch who for 15 years has held one of the most difficult jobs in the world, says, "Over-confidence is the greatest pitfall to sound leadership... One of the biggest weaknesses in our part of the world is leaders who have succumbed to this danger."

Hussein married in 1961 Miss Antoinette Avril Gardner, daughter of a British adviser. Princess Muna, as she is known, has born him two sons, Abdullah and Feisal, but Hussein has nominated Prince Hassan, his younger brother, as his heir.

Of Jordan's future Hussein believes: "We build only through our human resources and determination. We have not been blessed with material resources, but we are not sorry because that may have brought out the best in us. We hope we can influence others by demonstrating what determination, good example and hard work can achieve."

A. de L. F.

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KERALA:

When popularity dwindles

FROM G. S. KARTHA IN TRIVANDRUM

THE SEVEN-PARTY United Front's Ministry, headed by Marxist Communist Party leader Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad, is failing to impress the common people. The man in the street notes little difference between them and the Congress Ministers. Much was talked about "austerity" by Chief Minister Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad; and about the ministers travelling less, speaking less, and "inaugurating" less. But what is being preached is not practised so far.

The common people seem to appreciate the attitude of the DMK Ministers of Madras State who appear to put the interests of the people before their own. "It is not a small thing that the Ministers decided not to draw their salaries till 'a Rupee-a-measure' rice was made available to the people"; thus remarked a low-paid private-firm clerk, who said he voted for the United Front in the recent Kerala polls. He felt the "reactionary DMK" was much more loyal to the people of that state than the "progressive United Front" of Kerala whose Ministers draw their full salaries and all possible allowances, and yet fail to curb hoarding, black-marketing, and skyrocketing of prices.

The Ministers are aware that they are losing ground as they fail to fulfil the expectations of the common

people. The Right Communist Party has warned the Ministry about the people's growing frustration.

"Ministers of non-Congress Governments are victims of the occupational disease of seeking stability" said Dr Ram Manohar Lohia on a recent visit to Trivandrum. It is true, as Mr Namboodiripad has been saying wherever he goes, that the Coalition Ministry is stable and that nothing could topple it. SSP's Madhu Limaye's assessment was that the coalition laid "more stress on continued stability and status quo than on change".

It is very clear today that the Ministry, despite all pretension by individual ministers and leaders, faces much stress and strain. Some of the constituent parties have to do tight-rope-walking, while some of the leaders have to swallow their convictions, just for the sake of keeping the Front and the Ministry intact, and win public approval.

Strangely enough, the two Communist parties in the Front are perhaps more divided than any two parties in the ruling alliance. Both suspect each other, although both are committed to the same ideology with variations as to the methods. There are complaints that the Marxist Communist trade unions are eager to oust their Rightist comrades.

If reports are true, the Right Communists are not happy as they were not given the Police portfolio, which is now being held by the Chief Minister Mr Namboodiripad. The dissatisfaction of SSP over the "anomalies" in the allocation of the Finance portfolio has come into the open. The Finance Minister Mr P. K. Kunju (SSP) has no powers for taxation, and the party leadership has already requested the Chief Minister to rectify the anomaly.

On the question of "gheraos" also, there is difference in the attitude of the constituent parties of the Front. Rightist Communist Minister for Industries, Mr T. V. Thomas, openly said in a press conference while announcing his industrial policy that the Government would not encourage "gheraos". But Labour Minister Mr Mathai Manjooran (Kerala Socialist Party) strongly differs from this attitude. Observers feel that Mr Thomas may have to change his earlier attitude to gheraos if he has to fit in with the present set up!

Even in the Marxist Party, it is reported that things are not smooth. The division between the "extremists" and the "moderates" represented by the Chief Minister, is said to be becoming more and more pronounced.

There is a tussle going on within the Marxist Party for supremacy and control, as evidenced by the efforts of extremists to gain control of the Trivandrum District Committee of the Party. It was even reported that extremists would like Mr Namboodiripad to be replaced by one of their own nominees. But it is well-known that Mr Namboodiripad is the only leader who could perform the difficult task of holding the seven parties together in the United Front.



Labour Minister Manjooran YES to Gheraos



Industries Minister T. V. Thomas NO to Gheraos

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WEST BENGAL:

Naxalbari brewing for some time

FROM DAVID SASSOON IN CALCUTTA

TUCKED AWAY in the foothills of the Himalayas, Naxalbari has recently become the hotbed of West Bengal trouble. The area of ferment is roughly 10 square miles and all of it is in the Terai. This section is famous for its cultivation of tea, but, in addition, paddy is also grown.

Ever since tea was grown in this region, a barrier was set up between the *jotedars* (the owners of the tea gardens) and the peasants who worked on their land. It is a truism that the peasants were suppressed and cruelly treated by the rich landowners. Trade unions were formed and gradually the right of the downtrodden were somewhat established.

Fermenting discontent

The *jotedars* were cunning. They picked on certain peasants whom they counted on for their loyalty. They gave them land and asked them to look after all the property, so that it would not be stolen in bits and pieces. But to establish themselves as bosses, they evicted them and gave a new set of peasants the land to do the same job. They repeated this over again. The evictions naturally left a bitter taste in the mouths of the peasants, and discontent fermented.

Owing to trade union activity, in 1954 the Estates Acquisition Act came into being. Under this Act, the Government sought to relieve the *jotedars* of all their paddy fields, leaving them with their tea gardens. They intended to redistribute the paddy land among the peasants. The *jotedars* opposed this move and in 1964, the Government of West Bengal prevented this order being enforced.

Round about this time, the Krishak Sabha—an organ of the Left Communists in West Bengal—became effective. They organised a move to bring about a redistribution of the paddy land of the tea garden owners. They divided themselves into cells so that by 1967, in the event of the Congress coming to power once more in West Bengal, they would begin such a mass move that the Congress would find impossible to control.

As luck would have it, the Congress never came to power, but the potential for that agitation had been building up. How could it possibly go to waste? Peasants, under the direction of the Krishak Sabha, began illegally to occupy land late in 1966 and early in 1967. Several of them were arrested. Recently, the peasants began clamouring for their release, and a few weeks ago Inspector Wangdi was killed in a clash.

This was the spark that set off the gunpowder accumulating for a number of years. While the police tried to arrest a number of the miscreants the peasants became extremely unruly and they (the police) had to fire upon them, killing 10 villagers, most of them women. A hue-and-cry was raised, and the Government set up an inquiry commission.

The incidents at Naxalbari have brought into the forefront several important issues and developments. First, it is quite clear that there is a split between the CPI (Marxists) leadership and the members of the Krishak Sabha—who are even more extreme Left in their thinking. In fact, the leadership of the CPI (Marxists) has in a sense been alienated from the peasants at Naxalbari, so much so that the former group finds it impossible to convene any meeting in the Naxalbari area.

The eyes of India are on the strategic area of Naxalbari. Bordering on both Nepal and Pakistan, it has been disturbed by an agitation led by extremists among the Left (known as pro-Peking) Communists. Lives of landlords have been endangered and there have been clashes between the police and the peasants. The West Bengal Cabinet deputed six ministers to report on and resolve the situation. Members of Parliament in Delhi wanted to send a parliamentary delegation which has not been encouraged by State Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee. Repercussions of Naxalbari may be great for Bengal and India. The Union Government, which promised to lift the Emergency on July 1, (declared at the time of China's invasion of 1962), is reconsidering whether to extend it now. David Sassoon traces the roots of the Naxalbari trouble. —Ed.

Secondly, the United Front Government is badly disunited on this issue. Two divergent statements have been issued by Mr Ajoy Mukherjee, the State's Chief Minister, and Mr Jyoti Basu, the State's Deputy Chief Minister. The former has supported police action, saying that when they fired they were merely doing their duty. The latter maintains that the police should not have fired until they received orders from the Government.

Thirdly, a new Governor, Mr Dharam Vira, has been appointed, replacing Miss Padmaja Naidu. Mr Dharam Vira has much experience in the handling of such delicate situations, and he is expected to take strong action in case trouble at Naxalbari escalates further.

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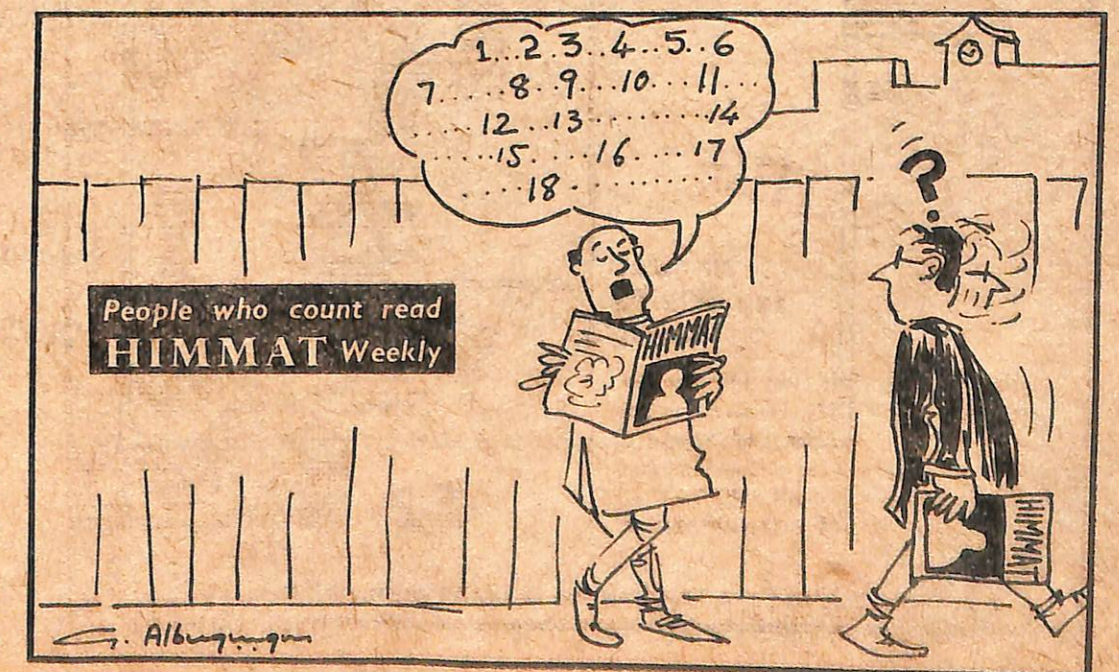
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LEEDS TEST MATCH:

"Victory to England, glory to India"

FROM T. C. "DICKIE" DODDS

CRICKET, cricketers often say, is a funny game. By this they mean you can never tell what is going to happen next. This was certainly the case in the first Test between England and India at Headingley, Leeds.

The critics were confounded. After two days they were writing off the Indian side as out-classed and the Test series a walk-over. Two days later, after India had scored over 500 glorious runs in their second innings, they were wondering whether England would really win. In fact England had to struggle to do so. One newspaper summed it up: "Victory went to England but the glory emphatically went to India."

Pataudi—a captain's part

Full credit must go to the Nawab of Pataudi who played a captain's part in every area of the game. Of his two magnificent innings the second will be ranked as one of the great fighting Test centuries. Pataudi was an inspiration in the field and he handled his attack — reduced to three effective bowlers through injury — in such a way that they were never "collared". He was splendidly supported by the whole side.

Engineer behind the stumps was superb. After his nine-hour stint in the first innings he then went in and lashed the England bowling with will and skill. His second innings was even better and, with Wadekar batting beautifully with him, the pair gave the side a great start. Thereafter, with the captain in the lead, each man played his part.

Epic recovery

It was an epic recovery. The Yorkshire crowd enjoyed it almost as much as the large number of Indians who turned out on the fourth day to cheer their heroes. Once, when Hanumant Singh jumped out and drove Hobbs majestically through the covers, there was broad Yorkshire accented appreciation "Luvly, luvly shot, sir," echoed by a "Bot tikh hai" from another quarter.

Of the Indian bowlers Prasanna put in a long stint with little luck. He bowled steadily with perhaps a little more turn than Illingworth, his English counterpart. Chandrasekhar bowled with great zest on this perfect Headingley wicket and was always treated with respect.

For England we had the marathon

crawl of Boycott. It was good to see that Barrington has regained his relish for runs. Graveney was as elegant as ever. It was a joy even to watch him practising before the game, as with liberal prodigality he sprayed the side of the nets with gloriously executed shots. D'Oliveira brings coolness and a rational approach to batting whatever the tensions of the game and he scored his first Test century.

Great Test

Of the English bowling, Hobbs in his first Test bowled with accuracy and now needs to add more spin to his flight and steadiness. His fielding was magnificent. A great Test. It has brought the series alive and done much for cricket everywhere.

Final Score:

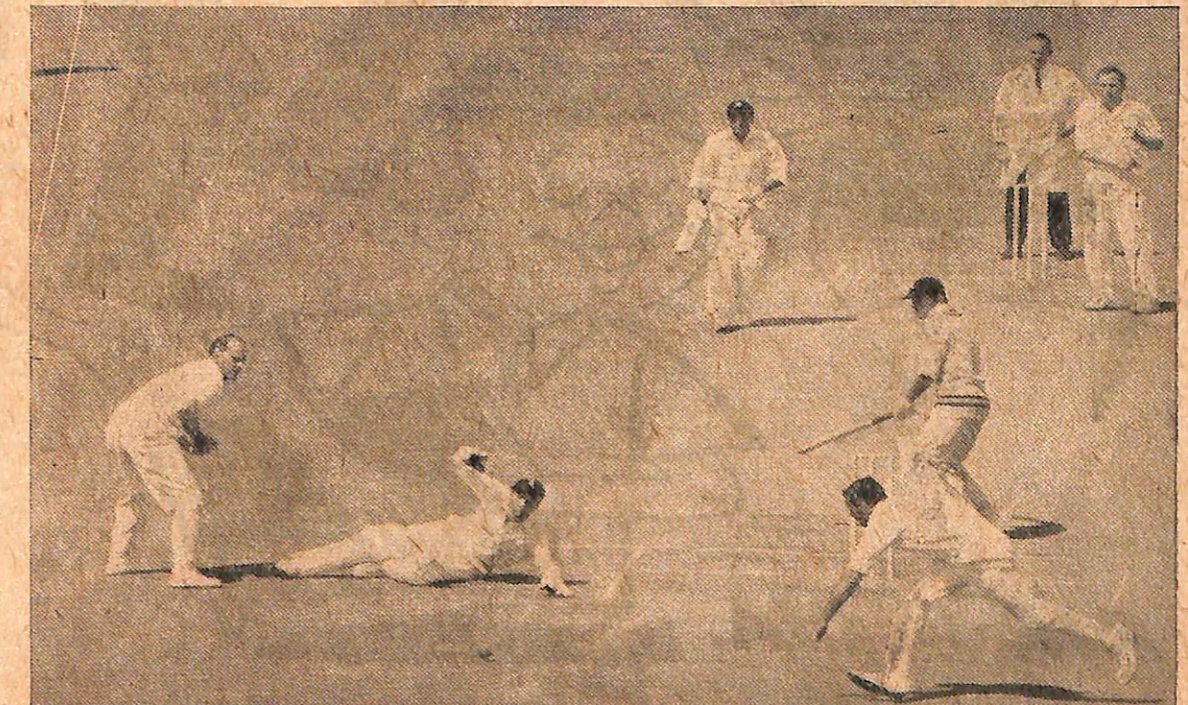
England: 550 for 4 (declared), and 126 for 4.

India: 164 and 510.

England won by six wickets.

BELOW, LEFT: Pataudi drives a ball from Snow.

BELOW: England's 'keeper, J. T. Murray, misses a catch from Pataudi.



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AIR-INDIA

Military skill was Israel's strength

BY MAJ-GEN. Y. S. PARANJPE (Retd)*

ISRAEL'S SUCCESS in the West Asian conflict has been a triumph of brilliant leadership, of a well-knit organisation of the armed forces and, above all, of the quality of the man behind the weapon.

Israel's fateful decision to attack first was taken because of certain positively provocative actions by Nasser and the negative attitude or, should one say, deliberate inaction by the Security Council. They were:

1 Escalation by Nasser of the local Syrian-Israeli border disputes into a general Arab-Israeli confrontation; turning it into a *jeihad* to "liberate" Israel.

2 Strangulation of Israel by closing the Gulf of Aqaba and the port of Eilat, which not only supplied her oil but was the only exit for Israel's trade with the East, Suez being already closed to Israeli ships.

3 Occupation of the Gaza strip by UAR forces and concentration of her armies in the Sinai, poised (as Nasser stated) for annihilation of Israel.

4 Evacuation of UNEF from the Gaza strip with unnecessary haste; an action which may have been legally correct but was certainly not according to the spirit of peace-keeping by the UN.

5 Deliberate adjournments of the Security Council meetings by friends of Nasser and procrastination in taking decisions about Aqaba and the Arab troop movements.

It was obvious to Israel that a sinister game was being played to give every military advantage to Nasser and his allies.

Israel hard to defend

Geographically, the State of Israel has the worst imaginable configuration for defence. It is an elongated strip of land, which in some places is not more than ten miles wide. There are no natural barriers which can be easily defended, except possibly in the North—the high ground between Naharia on the sea, across Mt Jarmaq to the Sea of Gali-

lee. The other possible operational areas are mainly treeless deserts or arid mountains, where any movement is visible from air and hence vulnerable. Defending herself along her borders was thus an impossible task. She could only save herself by going beyond her borders.

Success of the Israeli offensive depended on making full use of their superior training, particularly in their armour, their unimpaired mobility and their concentrations for a break-through in close co-operation with their air-forces. Gaining air superiority was thus a prerequisite to their success. They had neither the time nor the overwhelming air-power to achieve it by a slow process of attrition. Surprise air attack to inflict on the enemy maximum initial damage was necessary.

Maximum efforts against UAR

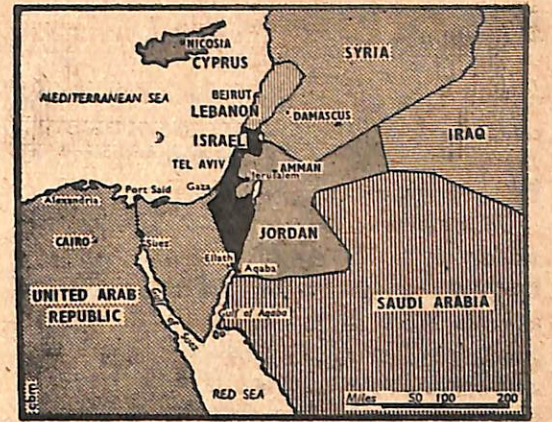
The strength of Israeli ground forces was also limited and they could not hope to establish a decisive superiority on all the fronts. One thing, however, was obvious. The "centre of gravity" of the Arab alliance was situated in the UAR forces; one may say, in the person of Nasser. The aim of Israeli operations thus became clear: to concentrate maximum strength against Nasser's armies, knock them out of the war and expose Nasser's bombast.

There was only one other danger area, the Jordanian-held territory north and south of Jerusalem which was too close to Tel-Aviv for comfort. Strong forces had to be left there to push Jordan back while the battle against Nasser was being won. The Northern front against Syria could in the mean time be purely defensive.

Finally, during the course of the combat, it was vital to retain the initiative all the time. If that were wrested from Israel, there would be no room for withdrawals or for any manoeuvre.

The Israeli plan that emerged was dictated by the above considerations:

1 "Surprise" was the basis of the operation. She had therefore, to resort to "aggression".



2 Establishing air superiority was vital from the start.

3 As UAR forces held the key to the concerted enemy action, maximum effort was to be concentrated against them for a decisive knock-out blow in the shortest possible time.

4 The Jerusalem salient was to be held by what may be called an aggressive defence.

5 The Northern front against Syria could be purely defensive.

6 Once operations began, their momentum must be maintained and initiative retained, keeping the enemy continuously off balance.

This plan was completely successful.

The collapse of the UAR forces so early in the fighting must have surprised the Israelis as much as it did the rest of the world. Obviously those forces were very poorly trained in the handling of the highly sophisticated equipment issued to them.

Will to fight

Above all, there was the matter of "morale" or "will to fight" that had a decisive effect in this war. Israel was fighting for her very existence as a nation. On the other hand there have been intense rivalries amongst the Arab nations for leadership of the Arab world. The only one slogan which could command a wide Arab allegiance was based on their common hatred of Israel. Whoever could whip that hatred up and lead the crusade successfully would be their unchallenged leader. This is what Nasser tried. To the Arab rank and file of the various Arab states it could not be a sufficiently appealing aim to fight for or to die for. The result was that as soon as the UAR and Jordan forces were roughly handled by the Israelis, demoralisation set in, resulting in their utter rout.

* Maj-Gen. Paranjpe is head of the Dept. of Military Studies, Poona University.

death in the course of the book being drafted I did not ask her assistance... in its final stages. I thought it would be too painful."

Miss Seton is a keen and ceaseless observer. Everything and everybody comes under her scrutiny. When asked how she was getting to the ghat for Nehru's cremation, typically she commented, "I was too deeply absorbed in watching people and wondering how they had assessed Nehru to want to make arrangements."

The shattering impact of the Chinese invasion on Nehru, his break with Krishna Menon and the collapse of all he had built up, is dramatically described. Yet Nehru could say: "If I were given the chance to go through my life again, with my present knowledge and experience added, I would no doubt try to make many changes in my personal life; I would endeavour to improve in many ways on what I had previously done, but my major decisions in public affairs would remain untouched."

Last weeks

Especially during Nehru's last weeks and days is Miss Seton's eye on all that happens. She watches the Prime Minister spend his ebbing strength in securing the release of Sheikh Abdullah and in talking with him about the way to peace with Pakistan. She shrewdly observes the loaded questions at Sheikh Sahib's press conference and it is characteristic of her that she notes what he said: "I'm first of all a human being. I have suffered for eleven years. I'm trying to overcome my bitterness. Don't push me to say things I don't want to say. You, too, are human beings first. Don't press me."

Miss Seton was in Nehru's bedroom a few minutes after his death and vividly describes the scene there and the arrival and behaviour of those who came to the house and, later, to the lying-in-state. Her intuitive feelings and unsupported assumptions are in full spate.

Miss Seton has her heroes and her villains. She professes no interest in politics and says she never engaged in political discussion at the "Big House". The pictures she paints of people are in terms of their character. The characters she likes, however,

are generally those of the same outlook as the subjects of the two biographies she has written—Eisenstein and Paul Robeson.

She is as unsympathetic to Morarji Desai as she is sympathetic to Krishna Menon. Almost every time Mr Desai's name is mentioned some snide remark follows. Evil is read into his every move—where he stands, whether he smiles or does not smile. On a flight she once sat in the seat in front of him and critically observed that the Finance Minister occupied himself the whole time with files. Then follows one of the *non-sequiturs* that chase each other throughout the book like leaves from an autumn tree: "It remained inconceivable to me that he could have any loyalty to the concepts of Jawaharlal Nehru."

Sympathetic portrait

Krishna Menon's motives, on the other hand, are seen as almost always pure and good. Miss Seton paints a sad and sympathetic portrait of Menon after his banishment from Panditji's house by M. O. Mathai and of his lonely isolation during his friend's final illness. "He knew a great deal about strokes for he had

surmounted one himself. But he hesitated to go and advise, lest any advances he made to Jawaharlal be misrepresented. Day after day he waited to be called. He would have liked to go and nurse Jawaharlal, but he felt that Indira Gandhi did not want him in the house."

Indira's relations with her husband and with her father are faithfully portrayed. Miss Seton with her warm-hearted, sympathetic, open and undemanding nature became the confidant of Indira and we are made Miss Seton's confidant. We see the development in Indira's character and in the independence of her thinking. When Syed Mahmud asked Jawaharlal whether Indira would become his successor, the answer was: "She does not agree with me any more on many things."

One lesson that Miss Seton learnt from her time in India is this: "Whatever you predict about India is the thing that is most unlikely to happen. Always at the last second of the eleventh hour, events will turn about."

Fifty well chosen photographs enrich the value of this interesting and intimate book.

R.O.H.

GIVE MORE NOW FOR DROUGHT RELIEF

"I APPEAL to your purse and even more to your heart. This is not a localized problem. It is the suffering of the Indian people. I appeal to those of you who have already contributed, to give more. I appeal to those of you who have not yet given, to give generously. I appeal to each of you to give now."

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davp 67/F-3

This was a Life

ALAUDDIN KHILJI Ruled 1296—1316

ALAUDDIN KHILJI was the second and greatest ruler of the Khilji Empire of Northern India. He was the nephew and son-in-law of Jalaludin Khilji.

Being ambitious, he was determined to establish power independent of the Delhi Sultanate, so he marched against Devagiri, in South India, and conquered it. When his uncle Jalaludin, came to congratulate him Alauddin had him beheaded and proclaimed himself king in 1296.

His next few years were spent in consolidating his empire. The New Muslims (Mongols who were allowed to settle in India during the reign of Alauddin's uncle), rebelled but were put down and massacred. Other Mongols, from Central Asia, attacked twice but were defeated and the captured leaders so severely tortured that they never dared to cross the North West Frontier during his reign again. By 1305, all North India was under his rule.

Alauddin was a brave soldier and a born leader of men, and his military campaigns were crowned with success. Having secured the North he looked to the South, which was conquered for him by his faithful general Malik Kafur. His empire extended from Lahore in the North to Madura in the South and from Bengal in the East to Sind in the West.

Alauddin thought that the abundance of money, the use of wine, too much intimacy between the nobles and the neglect by the Sultan of public affairs led to many rebellions. To curb them, he framed a code of repressive measures. First, he confiscated all pensions and endowments. Second, he established an efficient system of spies. Third, he prohibited gambling, drinking and taking of drugs. Lastly he stopped all social gatherings. At the same time he issued edicts regulating the price of certain necessities.

Alauddin died in 1316 of an attack of dropsy. He was a crafty, ambitious and self-willed despot. Besides being an efficient administrator and excellent general he was also a lover of art and architecture.

N.D.

PRINCIPLES OVERBOARD

WE have witnessed the absurd and unbelievable spectacle of the Indian Government trying to out-do Pakistan in its support for the Arabs, whilst vainly hoping for reciprocal support from the Arabs, which, in fact, has never been forthcoming, neither during the Chinese invasion of 1962 nor at the time of the Pakistani aggression of 1965, to cite just two instances.

It is also very surprising that India should seek to pin the blame on Israel for the creation of tension in the Middle East when it is an indisputable fact that the commando and sabotage raids from Syrian and Jordanian territory were responsible for disrupting peace in the area. In this connection it is pertinent to note that India herself termed the Pakistani infiltration of Kashmir in 1965 as aggression, and retaliated accordingly.

Furthermore, it is incredible that India did not perceive the aggressive intentions of the Arabs when they mobilised their forces, uttered belligerent threats, had the UN Emergency Force withdrawn, blocked the Gulf of Aqaba and by word and deed made plain their intention to annihilate Israel. Perhaps India naively expected Israel not to take appropriate steps to face the Arab threat and to let itself be dealt the "coup de grace" whenever it would suit the Arabs to do so. Thus we find India in the unenviable predicament of throwing overboard her much vaunted principles of justice, peace, non-alignment, neutrality.

It is high time that India recovered her moral courage and conducted her foreign policy without fear or prejudice and in accordance with the principles of justice, peace and brotherhood.

C.I. AGA, Bombay 1

RANK PARTISANSHIP

NOW that a cease-fire has been agreed upon by both sides, the main task before the UN is to ensure a rapid disengagement of forces to positions held before the commencement of hostilities. It is certain that Israel will insist on international guarantees regarding its frontiers and other matters being incorporated in a peace-settlement. However, friends and patrons of Israel would be well-advised to induce Tel Aviv not to press its claims too far—Gen. Dayan's declaration that Israel would not part with Jerusalem is a case in point—and certainly the USSR and others would set their face against any settlement that seeks to grant the victor all his gains regardless of the just interests of the vanquished.

The domestic and international repercussions of the conflict are going to be

Letters

enormous. President Nasser has suffered a serious deflation in the Arab world. New patterns and alignments are likely to emerge in West Asia. In this connection, the question whether Indian diplomacy has not been guilty of ineptitude, sometimes bordering on the farcical, in responding to the West Asia crisis in the manner it did, is now a subject of debate. If there were really strong and unassailable reasons for our vocal championship of the Arab cause, they need to be more fully explained. There is a widespread feeling that quiet diplomacy would have been far more effective in advancing the very objectives we had in view, including the protection of legitimate Arab interests, than the appearance of rank partisanship.

T. S. PRASAD, Mysore

STRICT NEUTRALITY

NOBODY IN INDIA wants Egypt to be openly condemned by the Indian Government. What the people demand is, the observance of strict neutrality in the dispute.

A. S. TATA, Bombay 26

INTERNATIONAL WATERS

MR CHAGLA has seen to it that India's foreign policy has willy-nilly supported the Arab cause in unison with the Soviet Union. In the course of this, India apparently does not recognise the Tiran Straits as an international waterway. Might I ask Mr Chagla, in advance, what his policy will be if Turkey decided to close the Dardanelles to Soviet shipping? It would be interesting to see him do a somersault then.

K. L. JOSHI, Poona 1

READING TEST AT RTO

ON ARRIVING in India last year from New Zealand, I thanked my lucky stars that our countries shared a common language. However in my dealings with government offices, I find this luck short-lived.

Last week, I had to fill in an official form at the Regional Transport Office. I was handed one in Marathi. "But I can't read this," I protested—"Then you'd better get an interpreter," was the reply. As my business was with a senior officer, whom I had found helpful, I took the form to him. "I'm afraid I can't read this form," I said. "Neither can I!" he replied, equally fed up.

I am not against regional languages, but it does seem a pity that the advantage of an international language understood and fluently used by so many of your citizens should be scrapped in this way.

P. M. W., Bombay-26.



A changed India

by Rajmohan Gandhi

WE SPEAK OF the clean-up, the revolution, the transformation that India needs. What kind of India do we want?

Most would like to see a starvation-free, slum-free, smell-free land. We want food, clothes and homes for all, and a chance for each person to go to school and earn a living. But we need changes in the way we Indians treat one another if we are to have these blessings and enjoy them.

President Zakir Husain said to Vinoba Bhave the other day that his movement of village and land gifts would not bring about a change in society unless people made sincere efforts to change themselves.

Here are some changes I would like to see.

Radically altered family life

A radically altered family life. I would like to see, first of all, families where there is love. Where husband, wife, mother-in-law and children want one another. Where there is complete honesty between husband and wife and between parents and children. Where all know what each is like and where each feels free to seek the others' advice and suggestions on how to solve his problems. Where husband and wife together seek God's guidance on how to train their children in discipline and character.

Where parents tell the growing boy or girl what they were like when they were that age. Where growing children find a climate to tell their parents frankly what they would like to do with their lives and where they solicit the family's help in discovering what God wants them to do. Where each wants for the other a life of service, risks and battle. Where instead of parental dictatorship and rebellion by children there is mutual respect and love in freedom, coming from common obedience to a higher Master.

A totally different way of life in schools and colleges. I want India to have schools and colleges where the aim of teachers is to produce unselfish, fearless and faith-filled men and women. Not the general desire, mind you, but the steady aim in all they do or don't do. And I want to see students who are more concerned about the training they get to serve their fellow men and less about a certificate that will bring within their reach a career or fame.

Real object of knowledge

Schools and colleges where teachers oblige students to think on their own and help them to grasp a subject's essentials instead of learning, by heart, answers to examination questions. Where students learn that India will become what they make of her. Where they decide that the world, too, is their responsibility and that more important than what the world could do for India is how India could serve and lead the world. Where they discover that the object of knowledge is service. Where they make the resolve that their lives will be used to bind the wounds and repair the spirits of our people, not vaguely of people at large, but of individuals one by one.

I would like to see a revolution in our industrial and business life. I would like our employers, managers, assistants, clerks and workers to work together in the knowledge that the purpose of their enterprise is to meet the country's needs, not just to create wages and profits. I would like to see industries where the worker takes as much pride in his product as the employer. Where the employer regards all he has—his factory, home, all his solid or liquid property—as God's not his, and meant to be used not for his comfort or glory but for the enrichment and development of other people.

I would like to see industries where the opinion of each person is sought and given attention. Where each encourages the other person's initiative and innovation. Where the employer not only pays the best wages he can but where he is as concerned about the housing of his workers, the schooling of their children and the medical care of their families as he is about his own family.

And I would like to see workers who feel the same overall responsibility for the economy and efficiency of their industry as their employer. Workers who love their boss's children as much as their own.

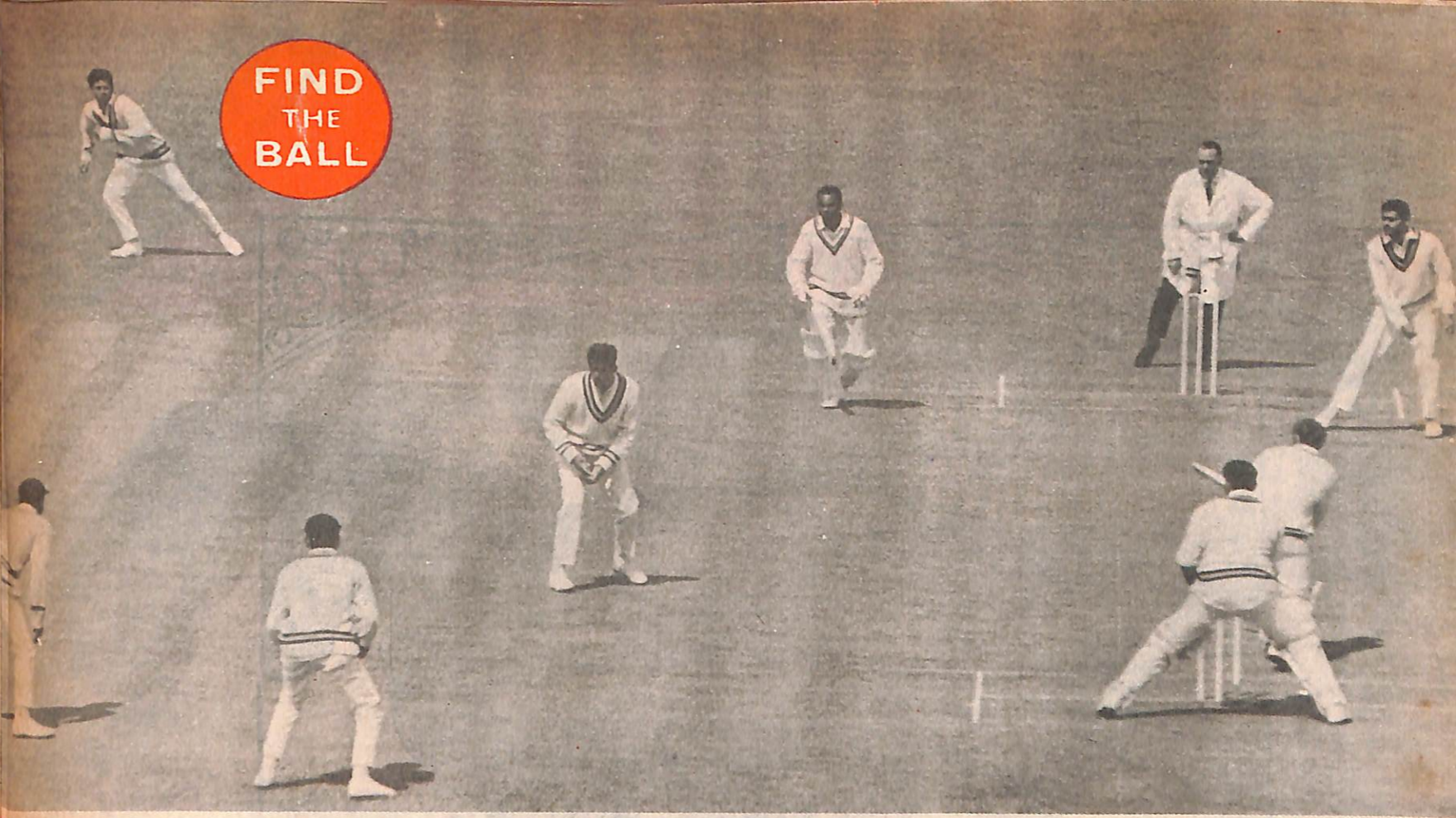
I would like to see our politicians become the most persistently selfless servants of our people. And I would like to see them fearless as well, promising our people not instant material comfort but participation in a tough, possibly unending but always fascinating and rewarding battle for renaissance. I would like them to use their brains in figuring out how God could use them for others instead of how they could use others for themselves.

I would like to see the ablest, most distinguished sons and daughters of our land giving their lives to feed our hungry and heal our sick. I want to see our men wanting to serve others as teachers and doctors, our women wanting to become nurses.

Defence and security

I want an India physically and militarily strong, with our soldiers and officers adequately rewarded and suitably honoured, but whose main passion is the country's defence and security, not their pleasure and comfort.

And I want an India where our people feel the hopes and hurts of the Pakistanis, Chinese, Africans, Europeans, Russians and Americans as much as they feel their own.



WINNER OF COMPETITION 23 is Miss Kamla Mirchumal, 51 Free School Street, 1st Fl., Calcutta 16 - Rs 25 for nearest entry (1 mm from ball). 2nd prize to P. Raju, B.Sc. Perungudi, Avaniyapuram P O, Madurai 12.

NEXT WEEK'S JACKPOT: Rs 75

FIND THE BALL Competition No: 25

1st Prize: WIN Rs. 50 or more
2nd Prize: HIRA LUXURY RAZOR (with magnetic stem for picking up blades)

HOW TO PLAY

The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to mark a cross where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1, by noon Monday July 3. The winner will be published in July 7 issue.

There is no limit to the number of entries you can make, but only one cross may be marked on any one picture. The Editor's decision is final.

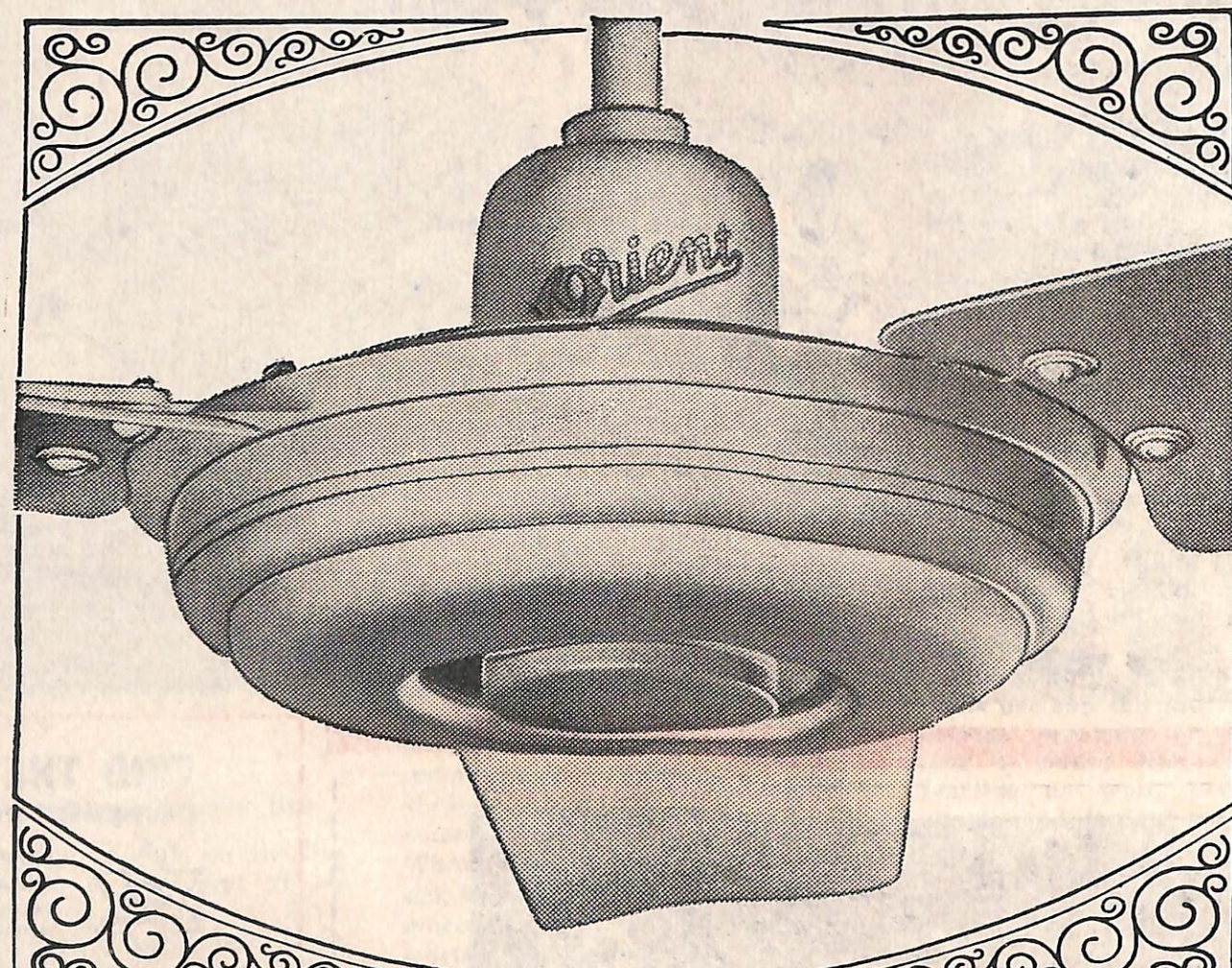
Nearest entry wins Rs. 25 On the ball wins Jackpot*

*Each week half the prize of Rs. 50 will be awarded to the nearest entry. The other half will be carried forward to a "Jackpot" to be won by the first competitor who marks the ball EXACTLY. This Jackpot will accumulate Rs. 25 per week until it is won.

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

PLEASE CUT HERE

Competition 22 Last week the answer photograph was inadvertently printed the wrong way round. Although this in no way affected the result we reprint the photograph, on the left, correctly.



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**What was hatched
at Hollybush? p. 5**

JOHNSON KOSYGIN

END "SHAMATEURISM" IN TENNIS