

# HIMMAT

25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



## CAN INDIA COUNTER CHINA ?

page 18

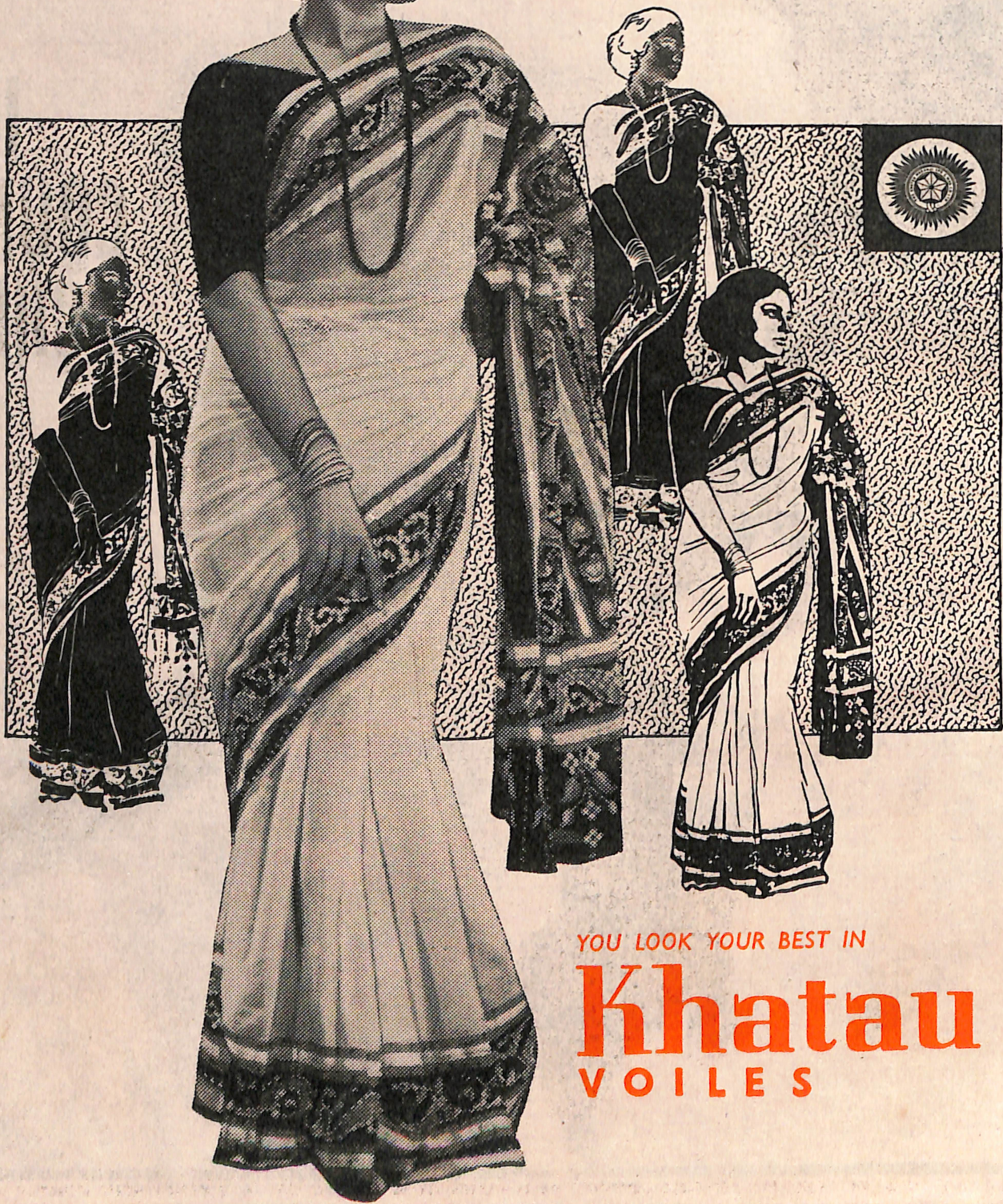
Friday  
November 6  
1964

DOG EAT DOG  
by C. Rajagopalachari

Peter Howard  
WILSON'S ROUND TABLE

①

any time ...  
any place ...  
any occasion ...



YOU LOOK YOUR BEST IN

**Khatau**  
VOILES

## Asia and the Bomb

THE CHINESE BOMB is with us. Asia has now to learn to live with it, reckon with its reality and safeguard against the aggressive designs it symbolises.

All of us knew it would come, yet few of us prepared for this day.

India and Japan stand squarely opposed to China's bomb. Only they have the manpower, potential and ability to deter China. They must now come closer together not only in economic development and in foreign policy, but also in a positive programme for Asia. A Delhi-Tokyo axis cou'd mean for those who love freedom what Peking today means for those who strive for Communism.

It is in Australia's interest to join such a partnership. An ideological union and economic and military co-ordination of India, Japan and Australia will bring fresh hope to Asia. It will cancel out the psychological gain of Peking's bomb.

Peking's growing nuclear strength may or may not be used. In spite of Mao Tse-tung's brave statement that the Chinese can survive a nuclear war, Peking will probably not want to invite nuclear retaliation from a bigger power.

But short of nuclear war, she will push her revolutionary claims in every possible way—conventional war, espionage, infiltration and ideological penetration. This is the greater threat. China's atom bomb calls for greater military preparedness in the conventional sense. Our armies must be strong and well-equipped and able to deal with a Chinese invasion bigger than the 1962 attack. This is our immediate priority.

China achieved her aim of causing inflation and high prices in India by her aggression two years ago. She will score a bigger success if our economy is thrown out of gear by any foolish attempt on our part to build a nuclear complex. Such an effort will not only be a huge strain on our economy, it will also be inadequate compared with China's growing atomic arsenal.

Making the atom bomb is not India's next step. Uniting all her people and giving them a national resolve is. In the meantime, it seems essential to obtain from the United States a guarantee of protection against Chinese nuclear blackmail. America owes it to Asia to provide such a guarantee.

Mao Tse-tung has said that the bomb is not the ultimate factor in modern war. He has said that the ideas which men have and fight for are more decisive. Certainly Mao's Communism is as dangerous to the world's freedom as his bomb. Any plan to find a military counter-strategy is bound to fail if it does not deal effectively with China's revolutionary campaign of hate, race-war and class-war.

This is India's task—to match China with an idea bigger than Communism.

## Unconquerable

THIS IS HIMMAT's opening issue. Every week it will comment on important national and world affairs. Truth will be its aim, and fear and tyranny its foes.

*Himmat* will not stop at explaining the world. It will try to change it. Today our land is in travail, menaced by internal and external enemies. But not just India. All nations seek firmer roads to walk on. Affluence does not satisfy capitalist countries. Communism does not unite Communists. Freedom does not meet the needs of African and Asian lands.

*Himmat* believes that there is a revolution which can bring about a new order for all men, races and nations everywhere. It believes that this new age will be carved out by courageous and humble men and women, who are honest about their natures but are unconquerable because God is their master. Mankind's wounds will be healed—and its opportunities used—in this spirit, not in the arrogance of men who scorn morality and set themselves up as gods in the eyes of others.

## Dangerous Doctrine

THE AGREEMENT between the Prime Minister of India and Ceylon for India to take back 525 000 Indians settled in Ceylon, for Ceylon to grant citizenship to 300,000 and to leave the future of another 150,000 in suspense, has been hailed in some quarters as a triumph of understanding.

With the agreement, Prime Minister Shastri has accepted the principle that Indians born and settled abroad for generations, can now be asked to leave and that the Indian Government, after some pressure and bargaining, will take them back.

Today we have yielded on Ceylon. Tomorrow it may be the turn of the Indians in East Africa, Fiji, Mauritius or Malaysia.

When, at the turn of the century, the white South African Government put pressure to oust Indians from South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi fought back and successfully prevented their expulsion. What he did without the power of government our Government in power fails to do now. If it was right to tell the white rulers of South Africa that Indians living there have a part in the future of the land, surely it is right to inform today's rulers—brown, black or yellow—of the same truth.

An obvious strategy of Peking is to have Indians all over south-east Asia and Africa thrown out.

No one will claim that men in Ceylon of Indian race are all unselfish. Neither are Indians at home. However, it is New Delhi's duty to find for the Indians in Ceylon a distinctive role in that country's life. This will surely be in Ceylon's own interest.

It is a dangerous doctrine which holds that because a man is of another race he should be expelled.

# Briefly Speaking...

## Labour Government and India

WHAT does the installation of the Labour Government mean to India? On the basis of past friendship and support, India's leaders have rejoiced at Labour's victory. Realistically speaking, however, the new Labour Government may be no more or no less pro-Indian than the Conservative Government. It is not impossible that it may adopt a weaker

line towards China, unless India makes her voice strongly felt in Whitehall. Mr. Shastri may be well advised to accept Mr. Wilson's invitation at an early date.

If the Labour Government wants to have its influence felt it will have to rescue Socialism from being a dry policy into a living ideology.

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## Verwoerd's "Trial"

*"You cannot conquer the enemy without learning to hate him with all the power of your soul."*

—Joseph Stalin

*"To Gandhi means and ends were like a seed and a tree. 'You may never choose wrong that good may come to it,' he said to Mrs. Polak years ago. Had not Jesus said, 'Of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes.'"*

—Gandhi's View of Life  
by Chandrashanker Shukla

God knows there is little to defend in Dr. Verwoerd or his policies. But to hold a public "trial" of him, as an international panel of jurists plan to do in New Delhi later this month, is a drama this nation might well be spared.

The first "hearing" of this so-called "trial" was held in Moscow. The jurists are planning to arrive in India for a "World Conference for Peace and International Co-operation."

Some of us self-righteous Indians who point accusing fingers will serve a better cause if we put our own house in order, rather than encourage trials reminiscent of medieval public hangings in the market square. Furthermore, let us not be too sure that one of our own leaders may not one day face a similar "trial" in Djakarta, Peking or Pindi.

## Our Lost Friend?

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN was a firm and loyal friend of India. When China attacked us his was the first bold Asian voice raised in India's support. His wife gave blood for our troops. He asked for nothing in return.

That was October-November 1962. Now two years later the Tunku congratulates China on the explosion of the atomic bomb and says that it is a matter of pride that an Asian nation can do so. In the intervening period we failed to raise our voice against Soekarno's aggressive "Crush Malaysia" policy.

There is such a thing as friendship. If a man stands by you in difficulty, you stand by him. India has failed to give that elementary friendship to the one firm friend she had in Asia. Is it surprising that he has chosen to placate China?

R.M.L.

# A Dog-Eat-Dog Way of Life

by C. Rajagopalachari

*HIMMAT invited some of the eminent leaders of India to write on what they felt was really wrong with the Indian nation and how it could be put right. This week we publish a contribution by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. Next week will be the assessment of Mr. J. B. Kripalani—Ed.*

THE SOCIALISTS want to standardise the people. Swatantra-ites want to encourage and assist each person to develop his own potentiality to the fullest. The Socialists want to restrict and control. The Swatantra Party wants artificial and man-made obstacles to progress and plenty to be removed.

No redistribution process has ever been able to create wealth. All that redistribution can do is to impoverish. Hope for the poor lies in the direction of freer and greater national production.

For nations to produce more than they now do, what is wanted is more capital. And this has to be secured either from the savings of the rich in our own country or from abroad in the shape of foreign private investment. Both are available in large measure but open and veiled threats of nationalisation and confiscation of profits encourage hoarding and prevent the flow of investments either from our own people or from abroad.

There is plenty of employment in Government service under socialism but this is unproductive parasitism and nothing more. Jobs in the real sense must be created by the expansion of large private business and industry.

## Attractive Facade

The directed economy of socialism means permits, licences and quotas, and when these are in the discretion of ministers, and of officials acting under their orders, with no court or other impartial authority to scrutinise the patronage, we have the natural consequence of extensive corruption. A people, who once paid genuine and universal homage to *dharma* and had been taught to treat all possessions as a God-given trust and to look upon money as of no great value, have now after a decade of Congress rule been effectively transformed by the ruling party into a crowd of unprincipled men, every one of whom is intensely concerned during day and dreaming by night as to how to get rich at the expense of others, by

obtaining one of these socialist instruments of monopoly, through the favour of some party-boss or by other corrupt practice.

This new dog-eat-dog way of life which has been established in our country, is covered by the attractive facade of a hypocritical concern for the bottom-dogs, and these bottom-dogs are made to believe that they are being helped to become rich at the expense of a hated class which has all the money, even when they see that the paper rupee they earn by sweat and toil is not now worth more than seventeen paise each. They have not realised the fact that this was brought about by the ruinous policies of the ruling party.

## Scape-goats

All commodities have gone up in price on account of direct and indirect taxes and the ill-balanced printing of money to make the foolish plans of the Congress government go forward. Scape-goats are found to explain the misery. The merchants are held up to hatred and are hunted down to appease the indignation arising out of government-caused distress. All stocks are called hoards, and scarcity of supply and soaring prices are called conspiracy. The poor are easily beguiled; and to the atmosphere of grinding distress is added the poison of jealousy and class hatred.

The Swatantra Party therefore asks the people of this sacred land to turn to God again and to throw out from power the men who have forgotten Him and seek to perpetuate their own ruinous regime of permits and controls and quotas. At the root of it all is godlessness. What is tyranny and what is good government are to be seen by testing the acts of the Government by the Fundamental Rights Charter incorporated in our Constitution in 1949 on the model of the Bill of Rights of the civilized nations of the world.

Swatantra was written into the Constitution in Part III of it. Part IV laid down goals to be achieved without violation of Part III. These

Articles of Part III have been repealed by the majority group in the guise and name of 'Amendments.'

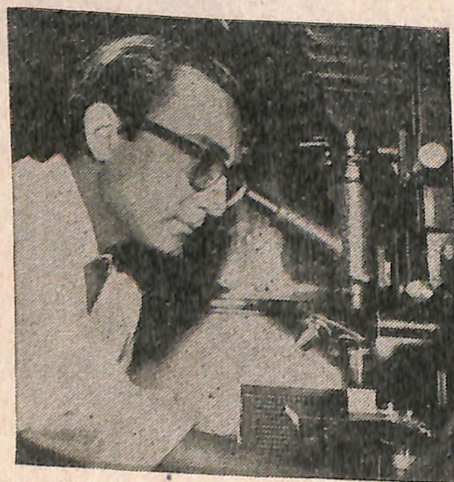
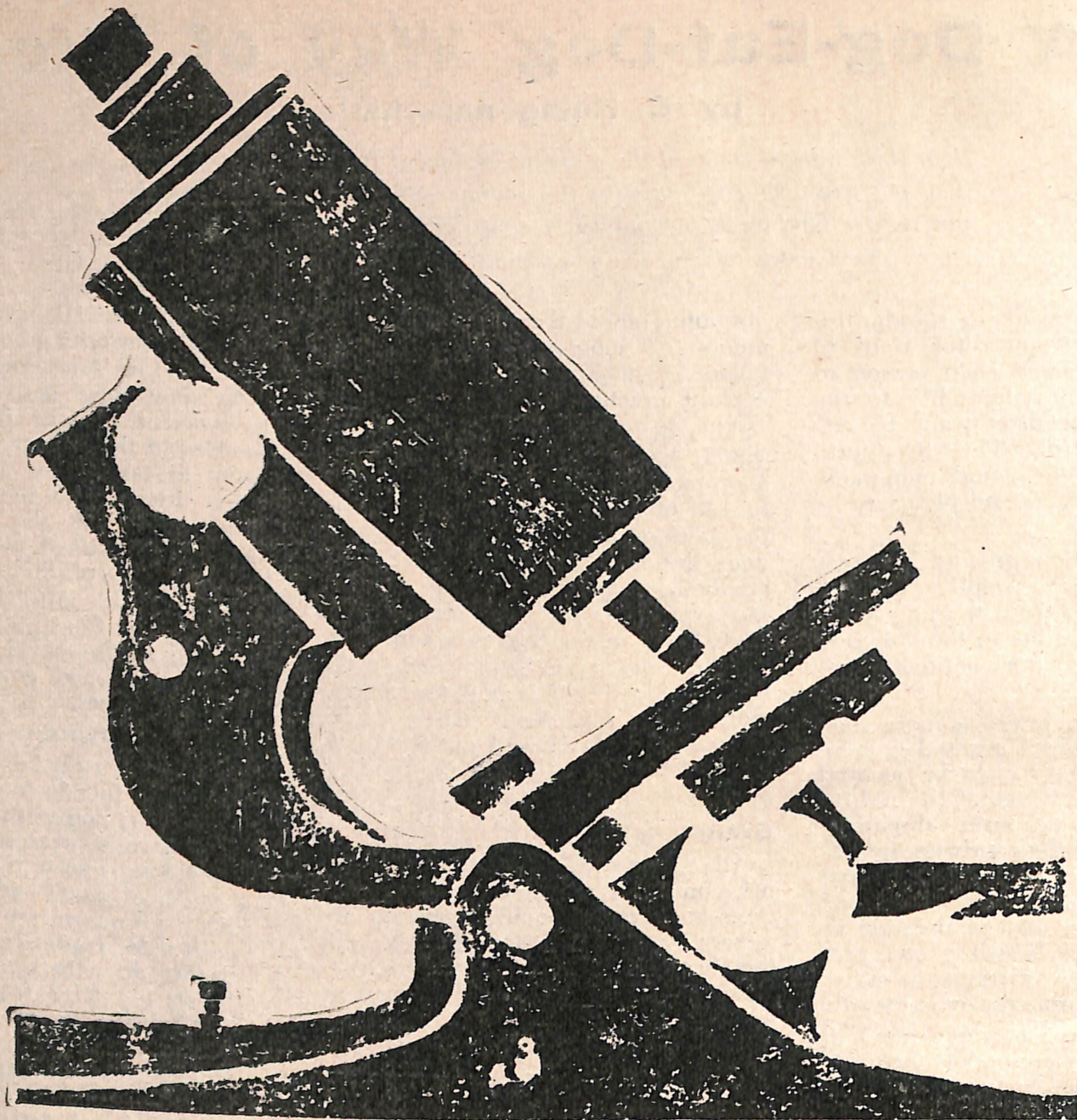
Tyranny does not become good government merely because of a decision of the majority of the ruling party to take away or reduce the rights inscribed in the Constitution. The consent of the members in Parliament obtained by the whip of the ruling party that other people should lose the inviolable rights enrolled in the Constitution, does not alter the nature of these tyrannical acts or make bad government into good government.

## Minimum Government

Majority rule has become the deceptive facade for all kinds of coercion committed against men by some persons, who have ganged up under the banner of a political party which having seized economic power has the facility to confer all kinds of benefits on whoever become its adherents. The framework of the Constitution of free people holds certain fundamental rights which are intended to be inviolable even if a majority, or a political minority that has somehow seized power, seeks to violate them. Absolute rule is substituted by Constitutional rule under which these rights are preserved for all, for minorities as well as for majorities.

The Swatantra Party seeks to restore these Fundamental Rights which were guaranteed under the signatures of Sri Rajendra Prasad and others who framed the Constitution, cleared of all invasions made thereon in recent years.

Real freedom means minimum government. This was what Gandhiji taught, which now has been wholly and cruelly set aside in favour of a new doctrine of total rule and the elimination of individual freedom. We should re-establish Gandhiji's doctrine and make the State conspicuous by its absence in our daily affairs, and call it for help only when we are in need of it.



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# THE TASK OF SOCIALISTS

by R. Vaitheswaran

*Mr. R. Vaitheswaran took part in the Telengana Communist uprising and was imprisoned for 2½ years. In 1958 he stood first in an IAS Examination out of 23,000 competitors.*

SOCIALISM is not only a programme; it is people. It is not only power for the working class, it should mean the character and selflessness that can exercise it in the interests of all men. It means not only economic prosperity, important as that is. The dynamic of socialism is the purpose it gives to men far beyond themselves.

We live in an age of socialism. Some sort of socialism is inevitable in India. Vast regions of the earth and hundreds of millions of people cry out for greater social justice, adequate food, clothing and shelter. The millions of many nations, as in India, demand a decent life. This demand has to be met. We must meet it.

Socialism is popular. If you are not a socialist, some think, you are not for the common man. So almost everyone calls himself a socialist. With the exception of the Swatantrites, all our political parties are wedded to socialism. The Congress Party, the Samyukta Socialists and the Communists all want socialism. The Jan Sangh want Hindu socialism. But, of course, all these people mean different things when they talk of socialism.

## BLOOD, SWEAT, TEARS

Which socialism shall the common man choose? Who are the people who will bring it about? What are the requisites of a socialist if he is to bring to birth a new society?

The early socialists like Robert Owen in England were far ahead of their time. They were idealists but, unlike modern idealists, they practised their ideals in their own lives.

Karl Marx had many faults, but selfishness was not one of them. He poured out his life to create the philosophy that was to transform the history of later times.

Different as they were, men like Robert Owen and Karl Marx were pioneers. They were fearless. They burned with a fierce passion against the inequities of their time.

The early socialists hid in the bush, starved, often they allowed themselves to be beaten. Some paid the final price with their lives. Every advance

forward was paid for literally in blood, sweat and tears. They were men of great compassion who loved their fellow men.

In their time, their heroism seemed foolish to lesser men. Today we know that these brave, bold men of an earlier age are responsible for the relative affluence of the workers in many parts of the world, their organised strength in trade unions and their great political power.

So respectable, indeed, has socialism become that vast forces are ranged against each other to win the allegiance of men in the name of socialism. So respectable is this word now that the man or group that calls itself

## Under the Lens

socialist must be dissected, studied, examined and watched in order to establish its bonafides.

We want socialism, but let true patriots watch out for the dangerous breed that turns nations into concentration camps and sacrifices the very people whom it is meant to benefit at the altar of national power. Such was Hitler's National Socialism. Such was Stalin's Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. And such is Mao's "great leap forward" to the socialist society.

Totalitarian socialism is not the only danger. There are those who call themselves democratic socialists who insult the dignity of the men in whose name they speak by assuming that he is an animal whose only needs are food, clothing, shelter and sex.

## POWER, PELF, PATRONAGE

Then there are those socialists whose only political philosophy is personal power. They talk about the workers but they only exploit them to get position for themselves. They even make deals with capitalists and the government against the workers' interests behind their backs. I know of many instances of trade union leaders who pull out their workers ostensibly for economic demands but really in a rugged battle for control.

A nation like ours with such tremendous need for social justice cries out loud for a great socialist movement led, even as the Labour Movement was in Britain, by pioneers like Keir Hardie. This is not what we have. The Congress Party, with its declared aim of democratic socialism, harbours many crooks and cheats in influential positions. The "United" Socialist Party is splintered into bits by egotistical men who will go their own way. Our trade union movement has few selfless men of character. Socialism is a bandwagon that leads to power, pelf and patronage.

## FOR ALL MEN

It is time that true Indian socialists took stock of the situation. We must fight for a new leadership that will not tolerate self-seeking and personal ambition for power. I know many friends who have been to jail, sweated for the workers' cause, who stand aside, frustrated. This must not continue. We want socialism that demands efficiency as well as equality, character as well as integrity.

Poor nations cannot go forward without hard work. Socialists must emphasise work as much as reward.

Socialism is an economic philosophy, but it is even more a means for providing the basis for the moral and spiritual development of man. The true end is a richer cultural and spiritual life.

Socialism is the antithesis of selfishness. It is tragic to see Indian socialists so engrossed with their own problems that when their Pakistani brethren were shot recently they did not even bother. Our movement was born as an international movement. We have become petty nationalists.

Our priority is the needs of the common man. We must demand a people-oriented plan. We cannot continue to advocate investment policies that create inflation and then protest against rising prices. We cannot vote for heavy industry and protest that there are not enough consumer goods.

The socialist movement must proclaim efficiency, greater productivity and harder work, as well as better reward, higher wages, lower prices as its goals. It must expel the corrupt self-seekers after power. It must unite in a common concern not only for the working man in our own nation but for all classes in all nations of the world. This is the only way in which genuine socialists can build a future for the movement.

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**RATH**

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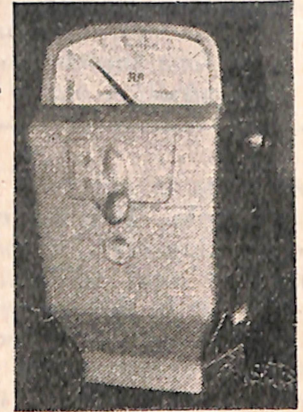
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# Kerala Re-Aligns for Elections

By Our Special Correspondent

"THE COMMUNISTS must be defeated at all costs," declared the Nair leader Mannath Padmanabhan five years ago when he led a united front of the non-Communists to victory at the polls. Today he declares with equal vehemence, "Congress must be defeated. It does not matter if the result is five years of Governor's rule." It reflects the change in mood and in politics since the Pattom Thanu Pillai ministry was sworn in February 1960.

The dissident Congressmen's support of the "no confidence" vote against the Sankar ministry was the final act in the slow disintegration of the united democratic front. Many see in it the isolation of a much weaker Congress Party.

The Congress High Command in Delhi are held by many to be at least partly responsible for this state of affairs. These people suggest that the Delhi leaders were never happy with the alliance with the Muslim League and gradually broke it. With the Muslim League out, many Kerala Congressmen felt that the Praja Socialist Party was getting far too much weight in the coalition. The Congress, which had an absolute majority in the house, felt increasingly averse to sharing power. The appointment of Sri Pattom Thanu Pillai as Governor was a simple manoeuvre that got the Praja Socialists out. The Congress was left to enjoy absolute power.

## Healing And Rift

The situation was stable as long as the Sankar-Chacko axis remained firm. The unity of rival groups of M.L.A.s in Kottayam district as a result of their encounter with Moral Re-Armament cemented the unity of the Congress. A "new chapter" seemed to have started in Kerala, especially as this union of M.L.A.s brought Sankar, P. T. Chacko and Mannath Padmanabhan closer together. The manoeuvres of the organisational group had no appreciable effect on the strength and prestige of the Congress.

Charges of corrupt practices and misuse of patronage had been made by the Communist daily *Desabhimani* against the then Chief Minister Sankar before the outbreak of the border war with China in 1962. They

were revived by the late C. K. Govindan Nair in 1963, but dismissed by Prime Minister Nehru as not serious. Some of the men who have now revived the charges, including K. M. George, leader of the dissidents, supported and stood by Sankar at that time.

The situation took a turn for the worse with signs of a rift between Chacko and Sankar. P. T. Chacko was nettled and angry when his erstwhile colleague demanded his resignation after a car accident which occurred when he was travelling with a lady. The quarrel between Chacko and Sankar brought a re-alignment of forces.

## Factional Fights

Communal bitternesses were revived as the Sankar-Chacko factional fight assumed the proportions of an Ezhava-Christian and Nair-Ezhava struggle. The leftist editor of *Kerala Kaumudi*, influential daily, joined Sankar. Mannath gave the full weight of his formidable name to the fresh charges made against the ministry and helped to bring it down.

The High Command's intervention at the last moment and the subsequent stand of Congress President Kamaraj seems only to have made matters worse. S. K. Patil, ostensibly on behalf of the Congress High Command, met Mannath Padmanabhan and is said to have assured him that if the dissidents voted for the ministry, Sankar would resign after obtaining a vote of confidence. He also told a widely publicised press conference that, irrespective of the fate of the government, the charges against Sankar would be enquired into. When Kamaraj subsequently disavowed this statement, he laid himself open to the charge of breach of trust. Even official Congressmen do not deny this, but they claim that Patil went to Kerala at the instance of Lal Bahadur Shastri and against the wishes of the Congress President.

The common factor of the opposition is their dislike of Sankar and opposition to the Congress rule. The dissidents have, for example, little else in common with the Muslim League or P.S.P. The Communists are also bitterly divided between the

old C.P.I. and the new Marxist-Leninist Party under E.M.S. Namboodiripad's leadership. In the large public demonstration that the left-wingers organised recently in Trivandrum, they combined anti-Congress slogans with anti-Dange group slogans. The lack of a positive uniting factor between all these elements will not, however, deter them from establishing electoral alliances to defeat the Congress.

## Little Kings or Patriots

It is certain that the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Marxist-Leninists will work together. They are also likely to have an arrangement with the Muslim League. The Dange group is against any alliance with the leftists and R.S.P. A drafting committee has already drafted an agreed programme. The friction will arise, however, not on the issue of a programme but on the distribution of seats. The leftists are quite convinced that the strength of the Dangeites is negligible and will not be prepared to give them more than a sprinkling of seats.

The S.S.P. has come out in favour of all types of electoral arrangements in order to avoid triangular contests that might help the Congress. It is certain that they will have formal or informal arrangements with all other opposition groups.

There are very few who venture to predict what the elections alone can prove. But all are agreed that the result is not likely to be the stability that Kerala has always needed so desperately.

Men like Sankar, Sukumaran and Mannath Padmanabhan can even at this late hour repair the damage bitterness has inflicted. They can and must stop competing for kingship over small groups and become fellow-fighters for a great India.

Anti-Communists console themselves that the Communists are no more formidable due to their divisions. The opposition are determined that the Congress shall not come to power. Most, including Congressmen, have probably reconciled themselves to continued Governor's rule. Very few have the will or the vision to rise above the immediate causes of division and their momentary interests. When the people of Kerala find the power to transcend the problems of their own state, as at some time or other they are bound to, India will see an explosive force—for good or bad—released from this lovely land of the south.

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### U.S. Waits and Watches

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Washington

AMERICA is confused without Khrushchev's star to tie her hopes to and is now challenged to make her own decisions. But the U.S. leaders are still testing the winds of change in the Kremlin before setting their own sails. Habits and hates are hard to break. The U.S. had become accustomed to Soviet initiative and reacts in trying to contain it, confront it or accommodate it.

China with the Bomb has become a greater threat to South East Asia's freedom. The U.S. is now faced with a difficult decision in Viet-Nam—whether to dig in deeper or get out altogether. Soviet Russia under new management may use a tougher line, the heightening of cold war, and the retreat of the peaceful co-existence policy.

Khrushchev is gone. Americans are compelled to take initiative in world affairs if they will or forfeit the game to Mao Tse-tung who has now moved into the position of Number One Personality of the Communist world. The accelerated speed of change, dramatized by last week's headlines, challenges America, if she is ready, to meet these new changes with challenges of her own.

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### Bomb Spurs Japan

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Tokyo

THE JAPANESE, who have displayed tremendous energy and skill in the XVIII Olympiad, are now seriously conferring on which way to take after the Chinese atomic explosion.

It seems that the Red Chinese bomb is more of a psychological effect than an immediate military threat. These consecutive events have been a healthy spur in the flank. The editorials here are carrying convictions firstly of the urgent need for a national purpose. Secondly the need for an adequate national defence in view of the expiration of the Japan-US Security Pact in 1970. Thirdly to snap out of the leisure mood created by the economic boom and to initiate definite foreign policies abroad.

One thing is clear. We cannot hope for long to confine 700 million people. Japan has close ties with China historically and culturally. It is her responsibility to show Asia, Africa, the world the unity and strength of her society that is more powerful than an atom bomb.

The criticism of the last government for not initiating any policies is strong. With Prime Minister Ikeda's resignation, whoever the successor, the Japanese people will demand guts, vision and clear leadership for the future.

### Britain Sets Course

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

THERE ARE a number of new faces in the Cabinet. They belong to men who represent powerful groups in Labour, but on the whole, the balance is still to the Right.

As for foreign policy, Labour have reiterated their allegiance to NATO and the American alliance, though they will give up Britain's independent nuclear deterrent, abandon the mixed manned force in NATO and campaign for nuclear disarmament.

Some countries have been concerned about British policy as it affects them—the Germans are worried that Wilson will want to give up Berlin, the Dutch see their hopes of Britain's joining the Common Market receding, the Vietnamese fear Britain will want them to negotiate with North Vietnam.

There were things said and done on both Labour and Conservative sides in the election that are well forgotten. There are some, however, that we would do well to remember. Two speeches, by men very different in outlook, may be closer to the mood of what the country wants, and needs, than is yet fully realised. They were made by Mr. George Brown and Sir Alec Douglas Home.

Mr. Brown, in a speech which some consider the best statement by any political leader during the election, said: "You do not live a full life just because you have a car, a washing machine, or a television set. It needs a sense of purpose. It has to have a moral basis. If you ask me what I would like more than anything else, it is to be a member of a Government which, whatever the risk of immediate achievement, whatever the cost to immediate rise in standards, raises again the flag of unselfishness."

Sir Alec Douglas Home, in his final television appeal to the country, said: "The purpose of earning wealth is to share it, not only among our own people, but among those less fortunate people overseas in the developing countries. For if we gain all the riches in the world and lose our feelings for religion, for service and for sacrifice, then we lose the soul and the character of Britain."

# Wilson's Round Table

by Peter Howard

BRITAIN'S NEW PREMIER, Harold Wilson, is like King Arthur and Camelot. Adventures await his land. Everybody expects the unexpected. Nobody knows what dragons he is about to slay. There is one difference. King Harold's round table will be far larger than that of King Arthur. He has given so many men so many jobs that it is almost safe to congratulate any Socialist Member of Parliament at Westminster. Everyone seems to have picked up something. Each man has some trophy dangling on his belt or donning his brow.

One paradox is the triumph of Wilson, whose prestige has grown greatly, coupled with the failure of the Labour Party after thirteen years out of power to increase its vote by more than four percent of the electors since 1959.

Among the Tories the long knives are out. There are few lasting loyalties at the summit of British public life. Home, they say, must go. He is blamed for defeat. The truth is that Sir Alec did something for his party no other man could have done. He restored the image of integrity and character to men whom much of the country had come to regard as conceited, complacent, incompetent and morally corrupt. Without his leadership the Tories would have done far worse.

Sir Alec is that rare animal, a politician without personal ambition. He is ready to quit the party leadership if Labour with its thin parliamentary majority holds power long enough to enable a new opposition leader to emerge without once more destroying Tory unity. Maudling is the present favourite. Behind the scenes he has come to terms with Iain MacLeod, the man who refused to serve under Home and supported the claims of Butler against him. This is still secret for MacLeod isn't at present acceptable to the Tories. Maudling would be so. MacLeod hopes to ride on Maudling's back to the sunlit peaks of power and perhaps to stride ahead of him after he has dismounted.

The Tories are tough in opposition. After a short spell in which King Harold's new warriors will be given a chance to settle in their seats of

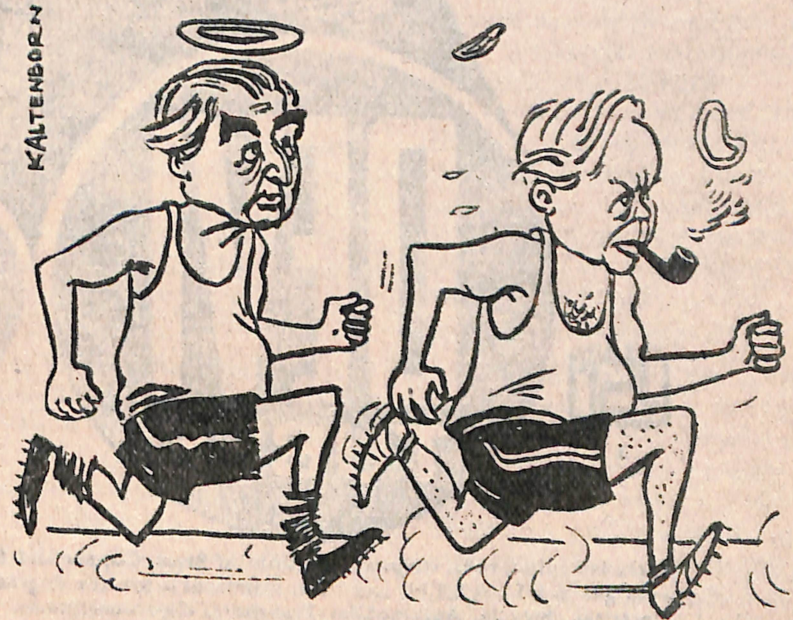
*Distinguished British journalist, author and playwright, Mr. Peter Howard is in charge of the world work of Moral Re-Armament.*

authority the jousting will begin. It will be bloody and relentless. The Tory party machine is already holding an inquest on the last election and preparing rapidly for the next. This could come within a year.

Meanwhile a new fear is whispered along the corridors of power, Labour and Tory, in London. It is that the emphasis of division in the world is shifting rapidly. East-West to Black-White. Men say that colour is be-

coming the new source of allegiance and of hate. If so the roles of India and of Moral Re-Armament are bound to increase. India, an Asian land linked with the West as well as with Africa, is a country prepared by history to be a reconciler of continents. India with the secret of reconciliation in her own cities and castes could pattern peace for the world.

Moral Re-Armament is a quality of life all British Socialists agree Tories need, while many Tories feel Socialism can never build a society free from class war without it. Both parties on this point are right. Moral Re-Armament, like truth, is feared by the ambitious, smeared by the corrupt, mocked by the proud, and hated by the Fascists and Communists who want to substitute the worship of almighty man for that of Almighty God. But its hour has come and behind the scenes many say so who are as yet too cowardly or too compromised to take a public stand.



## NEW BRITISH TEAM

*Prime Minister Harold Wilson (R) and Deputy Prime Minister George Brown assume office at a time when British teams won more Olympic gold medals than on previous occasions.*

## Australia Keen To Aid

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Canberra

THE AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENT has been asked to investigate ways to ease India's food problem. A petition to the House of Representatives requests the Government to ascertain the type and amount of aid needed. The petitioners also asked for expanded trade to help India's development. This is the second petition to Parliament within a week seeking to aid India.

An earlier petition had strongly

urged the Government to implement "the policy of giving one per cent of Australia's national income to underdeveloped countries, with India at this time as the particular recipient".

The Labour Opposition also support the demands for aid to India. Mounting concern for India throughout Australia is almost certain to induce the Government to give serious consideration to these demands. But they want assurance, before acting, that the aid will meet India's particular need and will be acceptable to the Indian Government.

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# What Is Wrong With Free India?

by K. Santhanam

*Mr. K. Santhanam was former Union Cabinet Minister and author of the Santhanam Report on Corruption which received wide attention in India and abroad.*

WHAT IS WRONG with Free India? Some may feel provoked by the caption of this article. It is intended to be provocative. There are too many people who are willing to delude themselves and others with wishful thinking that all is well with Free India. I think they are wrong. I am afraid that Free India is sick. I do not believe that her sickness is yet dangerous; but, unless it is properly diagnosed and curative action taken, it may become dangerous.

India is sick morally, politically and economically. Many may be inclined to reverse the order and seek to concentrate their attention first on economics, second on politics and only lastly, if at all, on the moral issues. I propose to deal with these aspects in this order not because I agree with their priorities, but because by disposing of the economic and political illnesses, I may be able to emphasise on what I conceive to be the most crucial aspect, namely, the gradual decline in the moral fibre of the Nation.

## Queues at 4 a.m.

The deterioration in the food situation is so well known that it is needless for me to say much about it. Madras is ordinarily self-sufficient in rice, often with surplus production available to Kerala. Yet, today, every morning when I go out for a walk, I see a queue of a thousand people before a single fair-price shop. Poor women and children assemble as early as 4 a.m. and go on sitting there indefinitely. No one knows when they are served or whether all of them get their rice for the day.

I am convinced that the present food crisis is due to two causes. There is systematic over-estimating of agricultural production in order to conceal the failure of our Planning on the food front. Secondly, there has been confused and half-hearted interference with the distribution arrangements. It is true that the private merchants tend to exploit the necessities of the people when the supplies fall short of the requirements even marginally. But, absolute free trade

has the merit of ensuring smooth distribution even though prices may go high. If prices have to be controlled and distributed through fair price shops, it is elementary commonsense that adequate arrangements should be made to supply these shops with sufficient quantities of food grains and steps should be taken to see that the distribution is quick and prompt.

## Authorities Hesitate

All fair price shops should have two shifts from morning 5 a.m. to 12 noon and from 12 noon to 7 p.m. But for the patience of the people which has come down through the centuries, the problem of law and order might have become serious. In this State, the first crop has been harvested; but, there is temporarily a breakdown of the distribution machinery with the result that though there is plenty of paddy in the villages, there is acute scarcity of rice in the towns.

There is a tremendous hue and cry about control of prices of food grains. Actually, prices of essential articles like, milk, dal, spices, cooking oil, vegetables and fruits are even more chaotic than those of food grains. Here again, the natural scarcities have been intensified by confused meddling which disturbs free distribution without achieving any system of controlled distribution. Adulteration of all essential articles has become a regular and well established business. We are told that there are stringent laws against such adulteration and Inspectors whose duty it is to apply those laws, but nothing effective is done. All these go to show that there is a near break-down of administration. In these circumstances, how can the people rejoice that during the Fourth Plan, there will be an expenditure of 21,500 crores which will somehow work a miracle?

In the political field, we are witnessing the strange spectacle of an ex-Chief Minister who was lauded to the skies, being forced to resign even from the Legislature of which he was the leader and of penal action taken

against members of his family. Another ex-Chief Minister has been imprisoned under the Defence of India Rules. Enquiries are being conducted by the Central Investigation Bureau against a third Chief Minister. Yet, there is so much hesitation regarding the acceptance of the simple proposals to deal with such matters made by the Committee on Prevention of Corruption! These and the political breakdown in Kerala and the almost permanent crisis in U.P. indicate the nature of the political sickness of Indian democracy.

I have no doubt that the root cause of all these ills is the fact that moral values have been ignored and too much stress has been laid on political tactics and economic strategies. No value is attached to the worth of the candidates put up for Parliament and the State Legislatures and money and intrigue dominate our public life. The vast bureaucracy created for the implementation of planning is lazy, corrupt and inefficient and leadership, both ministerial and official, is lacking in vigour and integrity.

Therefore, I consider that just as the injection of penicillin is today a preliminary step in controlling physical illness, a fresh and powerful injection of moral earnestness is indispensable for curing Free India of her present sickness.

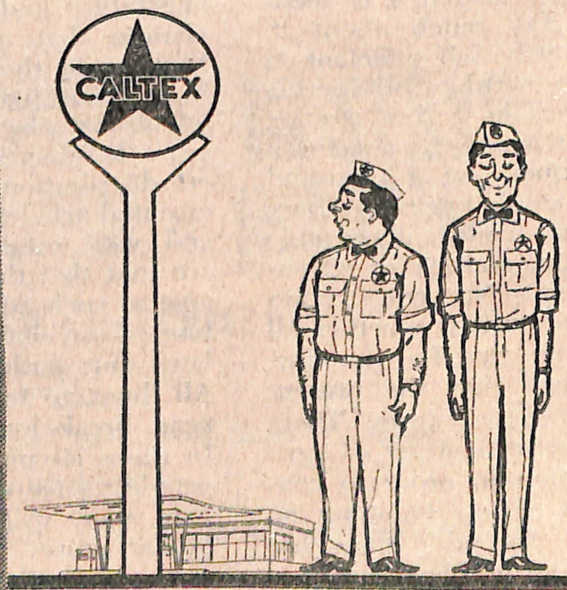
## Prune Ministries

If Ministries at the Centre and in the States can be drastically reduced so that they will consist of only the ablest and purest patriots and every Minister will have a full day's work, if useless and wasteful functions and ceremonies are given up, if all the superfluous and inefficient officials at the top are compulsorily retired and the whole administrative machinery forced to work hard and respond to the cries of the people, and if corruption and inefficiency are given no quarter, then, it can be hoped that in a few years, the country will recover its health.

While Planning need not be stopped, it may be confined to the most indispensable sectors and, in respect of others, earnest and persistent attempts should be made for consolidation, purification and efficiency. Progress in any field, especially for a Nation which has just achieved its freedom after centuries of subjection, is primarily a function of moral values. Organisation, staff, method and money are necessary; but without a sound moral foundation, they can only breed waste, inefficiency and corruption.



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## FOR WOMEN

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MODERN INDIA is crying out for the kind of women who will lead her into true greatness.

For too long we women have lived selfish comfortable lives—some fritter away their time in clubs and gym-khanas, in gossiping and shopping, while many others work and toil hard for their families. Most of us have forgotten to think and care for the nation.

Millions are hungry—they are hungry for food, for work, and for a better way of life. And they are angry, angry that even after spending thousands of crores of rupees in Five-Year Plans, we are as far from our goal as ever.

Many a housewife who has to feed, educate and look after her family feels there is a noose round her neck, growing tighter daily.

The hour is urgent, Lawlessness and violence are rife. Unless there is a radical change this state of affairs can only end in a revo'ution, bloodshed and finally dictatorship.

With the Chinese atomic explosion a new factor has come on the scene. Unless we match the passion and militancy of China with a greater passion, we face the threat of being taken over or wiped out.

## Something New

The outlook is grim, yet I believe the situation can be changed. Something new *can* be born. And everyone can and must have a part—*especially the women*. Through the sweat and sacrifice of women, the India of which we have dreamed and talked about, can become a reality.

We need to wake up, jump out and make a bold bid to secure the future for our children.

I have met many women who are afraid to face the future. Shutting their eyes to the truth, they merely hope, and sometimes pray, for the best. But neither hope nor selfish prayer will avail. Bold and intelligent action will.

I have met other women who plaintively bleat "But what can I do?" and promptly blame some others and expect them to find a way out. But

there is plenty we women can do if we set our minds and hearts to it.

Then there are women who think it is enough "to be good ourselves." They are horrified that the world is so evil but do absolutely nothing to cure it. Their goodness, of course, does not convince everybody. What we need is a dynamic purpose in our lives which lifts us right out of our smugness and makes us long and burn to set things right.

Think of the power locked in the heart of a woman. Think of the hell we raise when we do not get what we want. Think of the amount of planning and scheming that goes on when we want a husband, a home or a sari. Think of the amount of time and money we spend on clothes. And the energy and vigour with which we pull other women down.

What could happen if all that energy and power and determination went into creating a new society, a new India and a new world! Tremendous blessings in creativity, in research, in production will follow.

## What Can We Do?

We can raise the standard of living—by having perfect standards in our home—by rejecting and removing dirt, waste and sloppiness—by pioneering a clean new trend in fashion instead of following the existing one.

We can raise the standard of morality—by placing more emphasis on character, faith, integrity than having a social position, being successful or rich; by demanding clean theatre, clean entertainment, clean literature.

Let the men, if they want to, play around with old-fashioned ideas of atheism and immorality, we women will restore God to His rightful place in the human heart, society and nations.

Selfless, pure women can create this new society.

Patriotic, purposeful women can lead the nation.

And India's women can show humanity a new way.

Coming along mothers, wives, sisters, daughters?

FRENY R. LALA

## YOUTH

HIMMAT Weekly asked a number of students of schools and colleges all over India to write on "Student unrest—its causes and cure". The first prize of Rs. 15 goes to Miss Saraswathy Ganapathy, a final year medical student, Madras University.

## No, Thank You!

Everywhere youth in rebellion is hitting the headlines—Mods and Rockers, juvenile delinquents, Stilyagi, Blousons Noirs. All over India the youth are striking, protesting and demonstrating. And everywhere our "elders and betters" are throwing up their hands in horror asking "WHY?"

We have heard words like "God" and "country" used to whitewash some of the vilest deeds in history. We have been exhorted to honesty by crooks, to patriotism by near-traitors. We have heard sexual licence extolled and advocated by those who should know—and then seen what havoc it can wreak in us, in our homes, in our societies. We "know the price of everything and the value of nothing" because all values have been carefully and efficiently destroyed before our eyes. We pin our faith in men because we have not been given a faith in anything bigger—and when men fail, as fail they must, we are left bewildered and hopeless.

We rebel because we want a new order—where a man may stand up in the decency and pride that are his birthright—an idea occasionally so unfamiliar to us that we do not even recognise it as the cause we are fighting for; but this is why we rage and smash and destroy.

Enlightened self interest seems to be the guiding principle in the lives of many of our elders—and you want us to sweat, to fight, to live for this? Thank you, but we are not interested. Give us a cause big enough to challenge and demand all our energy and spirit—dare us to take on humanity, to change the world—and then come and help us remake it.

SARASWATHY GANAPATHY

The Editor welcomes letters for publication from HIMMAT readers.

Articles will also be considered. They should not exceed 900 words.

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## This was a life

Rammohan Roy

He lived at a time when the British were consolidating their hold over India. Using modern techniques of trade, politics and war, as well as time-tested trickery, they established their firm rule over our ancient and sprawling land. Yet if British rule took a lot away from India, it also made available to the Indian people a treasure of truth and knowledge collected over a period of centuries by Western civilisation.

Rammohan was quick to see that India could use with advantage many of the West's discoveries and techniques in science, education, politics, business and law. He ran into the ferocious pride, common to most races and nations, which screams against progress if the path to it is shown by a foreigner.

Rammohan was as proud as any of his contemporaries of the wisdom that lay in India's past, but he also went out to attack the evils of the India of his day.

"Rammohan had an elder brother named Jaganmohan. His wife, who was devotedly attached to him, burned herself on his funeral pyre. Rammohan had tried to dissuade her from it, but had failed. When, however, she actually felt the flames on her person, she made an attempt to get up and escape. But the orthodox relations, treating such escape as almost an act of heresy and sacrilege, managed to keep her pinned down to the pyre by means of bamboo poles while, with the noise of tom-toms and other instruments, they drowned her frantic shrieks. Rammohan, there and then took a vow that he would never rest until the inhuman practice of sati was abolished."

India in 1964 is different from the India of Rammohan Roy's time. Our women still have their difficulties with their relatives, but they are no longer forced to kill themselves when their men-folk die. There has been progress. Yet Rammohan Roy's spirit must regret and be pained by man's callousness to man in free India. His figure, undimmed by the passage of 130 years, wants perhaps to tell us that, like the Indian widow of his time, the Indian nation needs urgent relief.

## Q and A

*In our work of trying to establish a new society in India, I have often been asked the two questions answered below. Readers are invited to send me questions about our land or the world and I shall attempt to answer them as truthfully and intelligently as I can.—R.G.*

**Q—Why is our economic progress slow?**

**A—**First, we are lazy. We want more wages for less work, more profit for less effort. We prefer slogans to sweat and have more holidays than perhaps any other country. We have forgotten that only work produces wealth.

Second, we are cowards. We don't try new methods for fear of failure. We don't innovate for fear that a wrong move might cost us our job.

Third, we are dishonest. We don't, and frequently can't, trust one another. Crores of man-hours are spent on checking, double-checking and cross-checking facts and figures, filling up forms and obtaining receipts. Because we cheat and use inferior material, dams that should stand for a hundred years get breached in five.

Fourth, the interference of the State in every aspect of our life. It is, of course, the State's duty to prevent some individuals exploiting others. But today the State has become a huge machine, often oppressive, and many a man feels that only by bribing and cheating can he start or run any enterprise.

Fifth, we have no giant aim. We have ambitious targets but no hope of fulfilling them because, as individuals, our aims are puny. Our privileged, rich and prominent appear satisfied by popularity, status and sex. The sight is funny but also tragic. They have a

wish to serve the nation, but a will to serve themselves. They have no passion for India's greatness in the world, so they fail completely to win the partnership of the nation's common man and woman. Freedom was a goal that united and emerged us. Today, when our situation requires a more compelling goal than freedom, our leaders offer nothing.

**Q—Isn't Communism the same thing as the essence of most religions?**

**A—**Many Communists the world over, and for decades, have worked with sincerity and rare bravery to shake off oppression. They have wanted man to think, care and work for his fellow man. In this they certainly echo the call of religion.

Yet the fact remains that Lenin declared that Communism's aim was "to abolish the myth of God from the mind of man." The cruel and systematic hypocrisy of many who used religion's cloak to hide villainy, and religion's banner and shield to extend exploitation, persuaded many an embittered Marxist and Communist that God and religion were his enemies.

Having captured a third of the world, Communism realises that without morality there will be no stability or progress in the nations it controls. It preaches therefore a Communist ethic of discipline and solidarity, but its most determined and ruthless efforts, supported by the State's massive powers, to impose this ethic have failed.

Communism's error lies in blaming God for the hypocrisy of men who use His name, and its one hope is a revolution based on God's truth. This century's greatest tragedy is that nations that print God on their coins or swear by Him in a variety of ways, including our own, have failed to show the care and unselfishness which God wants and demands. Millions of Communists, uncertain today about their ideology, will march on a new road when nations that talk about God begin to live the truths they know.

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# Can India Counter China ?

By Rajmohan Gandhi

INDIA IS NOW in her gravest crisis since freedom, yet seemingly intelligent and responsible men refuse to think or act.

China and the Soviet Union have entered into a phase of partnership again. China is in firm possession of thousands of our square miles. She has not only exploded a modern atomic bomb but proclaimed her determination to close the nuclear gap between herself and Russia and America.

We have an unfriendly Pakistan to the west and east; also to the east is Burma, fully acknowledging China's suzerainty. South of us is Ceylon, whose present rulers are inclined towards China and Russia; south-east lies Indonesia, with her new-possessed submarines and air-force, linked with China and Moscow. The other south-east Asian nations seem in no mood to stand up to Peking.

To the west, across the Arabian Sea, live hard African nationalists who are not only anti-white but increasingly anti-Indian and pro-Peking and Moscow.

## Surrounded

In short, hostility surrounds us from all sides. Sooner or later, and it could be quite soon, India will have to decide whether she will give in and accept slavery again or be prepared to fight on many fronts against determined enemies.

India can, of course, buy peace. She can accept Chinese hegemony over Asia, cede the Indian areas China wants and install a Communist regime over our people. The bitter truth is that there are some people in this land who would plead this course.

The central issue, however, is our relationship with the Soviet Union. Our whole policy has been based on the assumption that Moscow will support us rather than China. The coup which displaced Khrushchev has knocked down this crucial pillar of our foreign and defence policies.

Strangely, and alarmingly, our Government seems unwilling to believe what has taken place. It clings desperately to the hope that, for India's sake, the Russian leader-

ship will destroy their understanding with China. It is, frankly, an unreal hope.

There is still time to face the truth, but the days are slipping by. The last Chinese invasion, which caught us napping, cost us a good deal. The price we may have to pay for our stubborn blindness of today might be the heaviest in our history.

## Singularly Unprepared

Things cannot go on as they are. We must seek the support of nations as strong as or stronger than China or Russia. And we must make our land united and resolute from within.

Today our nation is singularly unprepared. The change we require is deeper than most people will admit. If India is to exert her united weight, she needs a force which can end man's callousness to man within our borders and promote man's care for man. If India wants solid world backing, she needs a force which can end the uncertainty, hates and wounds in the relations among nations that believe that man is more than a beast and deserves more than a regimented society.

Moral Re-Armament is this radical force. It is tried, tested and available. India's spirit yearns for it. India's millions and leaders must seize it.

Our costly mistake was in making freedom our god. We failed to see that there were things more important than freedom—the character of our leaders and led, the unity and discipline of our people—without which freedom would destroy itself. In the India after Gandhi it seemed that integrity and unselfishness were irrelevant and often a handicap. Economic progress became the new god—and just as deceptive as political freedom. We worshipped this god, cheated and lied for it, and trampled on other people's toes and heads for it. The result is we have no economic progress.

The intellect, too, became a god for many Indians. "He may be a crook, but at least his company

is intellectually stimulating," was frequently our excuse for not taking action against a dishonest man.

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri is a sincere and impartial man. He wants to serve our people, and in his case "serve" has its original meaning. His small frame encloses a strong will. But his calling is greater than he may realise. Certainly his job is tougher than Nehru's or Gandhi's. Liberating India from British rule was a huge task. Maintaining India's stability and democracy after freedom was a trying task. Protecting India's liberty and honour from a nuclear-powered China is more difficult than both.

A defensive posture, however, cannot survive the pounding given by today's problems. If we are to counter China's bid to control the world, we must match it with our own bid to reshape the world, including China; reshaping it not to extend India's suzerainty but to end, under God, man's exploitation of man everywhere.

## Bad Enough

Inside India, things seem bad enough in both public and private sectors. Neither the extension of socialism nor its withdrawal will remove our misery.

We must halt our inefficient imitation of ways and goals which our experience has proved false and which the world found inadequate long ago. India's 450 millions can plainly tell Mao Tse-tung, as well as the other rulers of the world's capitalist, socialist and Communist lands, that they mean to pioneer the next stage of humanity's advance.

"We will resist you with our united will and might if you invade us. We shall seek the support of strong and friendly nations. Our revolution is superior to yours, and we expect all nations to accept it, including China."

Can this become our message to China? An India speaking, living, fighting this way will be the counter-weight to China for which the world has been waiting. A lesser India will be reduced to impotence and serfdom for a long, long time.

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