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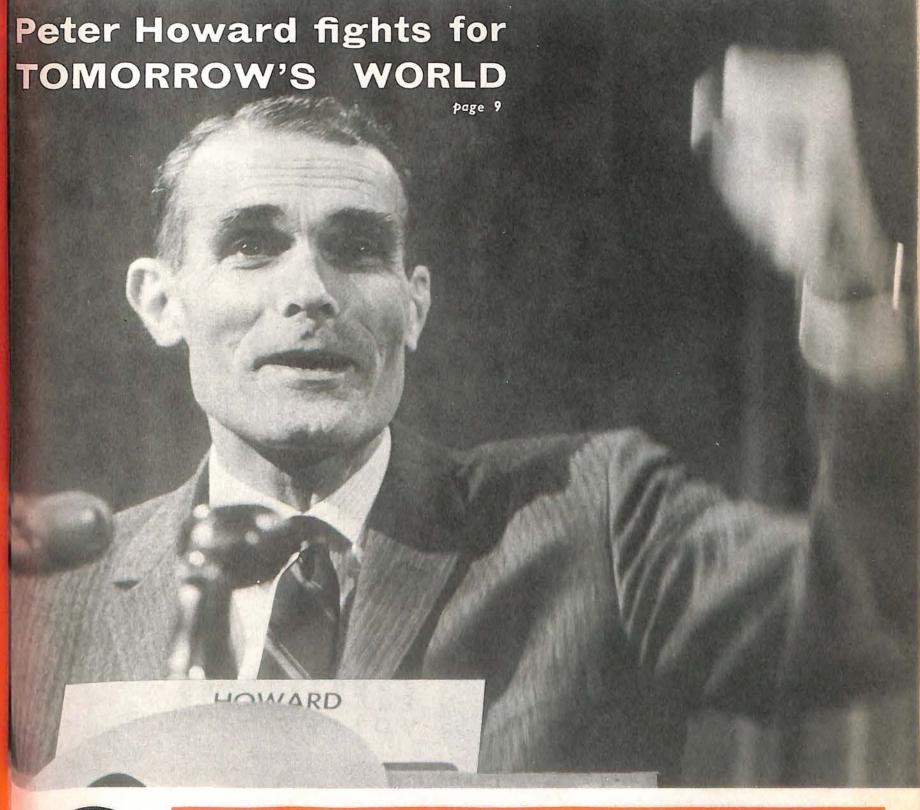
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# Asia's new voice WEEKLY



Friday December 25

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page 7 INDIAN STUDENTS ABROAD SISTA'S KMS-102



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Asia's new voice

Bombay

Friday, December 25, 1964 Vol. I No. 8

### Is There A Man?

THE FINANCE MINISTER, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, has privately told the Congress Working Committee that the national economic situation is "very grim."

HIMMAT agrees!

Mr. T. T. K. claims that if the Government took over the entire wholesale trade, prices would fall.

The issue is not one of Government or private control. We have wasted vast quantities of time, ink,

paper, energy and money discussing this false issue. Economics is simple. Only work produces wealth. It is impossible for all of us to work less and for the nation to produce more. No economist of the Kremlin or Wall Street can produce this magic.

Controls may sometimes be necessary, but they will never increase production. What guarantee is there that the clerks and officials of the Government will be more efficient and honest than today's private traders? In theory it is possible they might be. In practice it will take decades to train the lakhs of officials to do the job.

The "very grim" situation requires a drastic cure. Did Mr. T. T. K. or others in the Working Committee discuss what this drastic cure could be? Did they discover, or even attempt to discover, how millions of Indians could be challenged and inspired to work harder? To give more, and ask for less?

If our leadership can't achieve this, it will perpetuate economic misery and prepare the soil for dictatorship.

Is there a man in the Cabinet or the Working Committee who will face and proclaim to the nation the full truth? A man who will admit that his own selfishness, ambition and fear prevent our nation's march to greatness? A man like that will start a wave of honesty and hard work across the nation. Wealth and justice will follow fast.

## Go Back to It

"WE WILL WIN a hands down victory," claims a spokesman for the United Front of Leftists, talking about the Kerala elections in February. "Provided central leaders visit the States, Congress will win the elections," says Mr. S. K. Patil.

HIMMAT suspects that the people of Kerala are less excited over the elections than the politicians. That glorious State, with all its charm and literacy, has had a rough time ever since freedom. Congress, Socialist, Communist or coalition governments have, one after the other, failed the State's 16 million people.

For the next elections the pro-Peking and pro-Moscow wings of the Communist Party of India have made a deal. The Socialist Party, which had worked with the Congress in the last elections, is exploring an understanding with the Communists this time. The Congress Party is weakened by the defection of a powerful group which will contest as a rival party.

The Muslim League, possessing a major and sometimes decisive voice in Kerala affairs, is being wooed by the Communists and by the dissident Congress faction.

HIMMAT feels that prospects of a Congress victory are dim. Will the Leftist parties give what Kerala needs? Has there been a change in the aims of the State's Communist leaders since their rule five years

ago was brought down by the people's mass protest?

The only difference now is that the Communist leaders are divided. Their regaining power will not

satisfy the aspirations of Kerala's citizens.

Kerala's greatest tragedy has been that her Congress leaders who had the training and opportunity to revolutionize themselves, to discover new motives for their lives and to invigorate Congress all over India, said no to the chance. They knew that their jealousies and corruption could end. Some found a change in their lives for a time. Yet they chose the lesser road leading to power, prestige and indulgence.

Kerala still has a rare destiny. Her people must demand from their leaders-Congress, Socialist or Communist—that they go back to the moral revolution some of them experienced a few years ago.

### No Plan for Asia

THE DALAI LAMA has been officially ousted from his posts after five years' refuge in India, says a Peking announcement. There is a suggestion that even the Panchen Lama's future is now in doubt.

Yet another coup d'etat in Saigon replaces one set of nervous leaders with another, continuing the uneasy slide towards chaos and Communism which is

part of the unpaid price of Diem's murder.

The Ceylon Government has announced fresh elections for March 22 following the pressure of public

hostility. Laos is practically gone.

China is fast subverting Bhutan with streams of agents posing as refugees from Tibet. Burma is more and more becoming isolated from her traditional neighbours and more and more enveloped by China's shroud. Prince Sihanouk, whose top adviser has recently been in New Delhi, toes the Chinese line.

India's Buddhist neighbours are being bullied and

coaxed by Peking pressure. They are tottering.
China has a plan for these lands. India has none.
At last India has spoken up in support of Tibet in the U.N. But has the Government in New Delhi considered inviting the Dalai Lama and other responsible Asian leaders to confer together and work out a plan for halting China's offensive?

India does not want other Asian nations to accept any junior status. But India's unfulfilled responsibility is great for these Buddhist countries whose faith

found its genesis on Indian soil.

If, in spite of thousands of years of common tradition and important ties with these lands, India does not now grasp the initiative, but yields to Peking the whole of Asia, history will not forgive her.

# Red World After Khrushchev

DESPITE IDEOLOGICAL controversy and shifts of leadership, Communism continues to be a formidable force. Preoccupation with changes in Russia and the running dialogue with Peking did not prevent the Italian Communist Party from making significant gains in the recent municipal elections. The great schism between Moscow and Peking is no obstacle in the way of the Viet Cong in South Viet-Nam.

Since the Castro victory in Cuba in 1959 Communist rule extends to 14 countries, to 35.6 per cent of the world's population-a total of over 1,000 millions. Communist influence is exercised through 90 Communist parties with 44.7 million card-carrying members and hundreds of "front" organisations.

This is the legacy that Khrushchev leaves to his successors. He himself had done well. He had inherited power in a nation that over thirty years had known power only through obeying it and fearing its wayward whims. He shared it along with colleagues whose survival for many years had depended on guessing every mood of the Master.

Stalin left a monolithic Soviet Union. He had built up in the world, as in his own vast domain, a servile, dedicated movement. But already in the last years of his life, the edifice showed cracks. Yugoslavía's successful defiance demonstrated Stalin's inability to keep under control the nations that did not owe their victory to his armies. Even internally, he was said to be losing his grip.

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Khrushchev's task was to make ideology once again the cementing force of the USSR. Under Stalin ideology had become petrified through fear. Unity could no longer be a result only of compulsion. It had to come also from conviction.

Khrushchev and his colleagues replaced sycophants and inefficient yes-men with abler young go-getters.
They rejuvenated the Communist party. Gradually, they told the truth about Stalin. They gave the Russian people what they call "socialist legality"—which if more stringent than the Rule of Law in a democracy

### Under the Lens

was heaven compared to the jungle in which Beria and his men reached out and wrecked and rampaged.

Khrushchev, partly by his shrewdness and partly by the backing he secured among his colleagues, acquired first place. Any other might have done all these things for there were compulsions which no ruler in the Post-Stalin era could ignore. The urgency of the demand for freedom is greater with growing affluence.

It had its dangers. Once the crimes of Stalin were revealed to the world, enquiries about the origin of the Stalin cult were inevitable. As Palmiro Togliatti, the Italian Communist leader, wrote in his final memorandum just before he died, "To explain this solely through Stalin's serious

personal defects is not completely accepted.

Once the necessity for freedom is accepted, the demand to overcome "the regime of restrictions and suppression" becomes irresistible. The tensions of the Khrushchev era-the revolt of the writers, the demonstrations of the students of Moscow University in 1957, the unrest in Poland, the uprising in Hungary, were a result of this demand.

The successors of Khrushchev in their public declarations of policy are committed to greater freedom. One of the main reasons they advance for Khrushchev's removal is the latter's tendency to act arbitrarily and through his own men rather than through the chosen organs of Soviet Policy.

They are also committed to the autonomy of individual Communist parties. In his famous report on Sino-Soviet differences in February this year, Suslov declared, "International Communist discipline in the present conditions does not imply the execution of orders given by someone on top, but the assumption by the Communist parties-by their own free will -of definite obligations towards the world Communist movement.

#### Reason for Downfall

Brezhnev underlined this in his address. "Irrespective of the experience one or another country has to its credit in building socialism, the world socialist system is a social, economic and political community of free and equal people." It is hard to say whether this is a concession to the revival of nationalism or a recognition that only autonomy can check the centrifugal tendency in the international Communist movement.

One of the reasons for Khrushchev's downfall was his reluctance to sacrifice the leadership of the Soviet party and his readiness to reestablish it even at the cost of expelling the Chinese. The support that East European leaders give to the present leadership stems from their awareness that Khrushchev's exit gives them even greater auto-

Rumania is increasingly assertive of her independence both of Russia and China. Czechoslovakia, still slow to fall in line, is beginning to appreciate the virtues of destalinisation. Poland and Hungary, ahead of the others in the measure of freedom granted, are determined never to

lose it again. Powerful Communist parties like the Italian Communist Party are committed to the "autonomy of parties" as an "essential condition for our development under present conditions" and vehemently oppose any proposal for the creation once again of a "centralised international organisation". Even the Communist Party of India, Left as well as Right, are jealous of their independence and will not relinquish it easily either to Peking or to Moscow.

Polycentrism is thus a reality. In countries where the Communists do not have power this is likely to create a more favourable image of the party. The gains of the Communist Party in the national elections in Sweden and the municipal elections in Italy are an omen. The movement towards respectability will be accelerated as younger leaders, untainted by association with Stalinism, take charge of Communist parties.

Soviet leaders are prepared to accommodate China's rigid Marxist positions in the world Communist movement, without necessarily giving in to Chinese arguments. But the Chinese demand total acceptance of their ideological positions. In this way, they seek to create a new centre for international Communist control in Peking. Her immediate Communist neighbours like North Korea and North Viet-Nam support her not only because of their physical proximity to China but also because a militant Marxist war in the countryside is yielding better results. This is the appeal of Chinese Communism to the parties of South and South-East Asia, Africa and Latin America which depend on the mobilisation of the peasant masses for revolution.

#### Racial Overtones

The racial and nationalist overtones of the Chinese appeal strike a chord in embittered coloured Communists whose hatred of the white and obsession with colour have become pathological through years of race and class war.

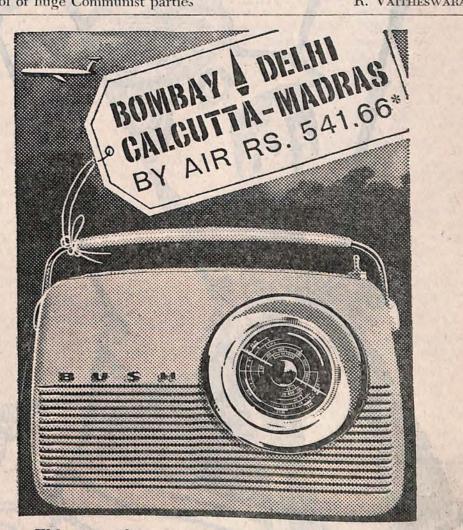
The Russians are aware of their weakness in the face of this twinpronged racial and nationalist attack against them. All they can do, however, is to reiterate as Brezhnev did that "our party has invariably been rendering support to the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against Imperialism and all forms of colonialism.

With Khrushchev's exit, the polemic between Russia and China is not

likely to make an open split inevitable. Togliatti's Testament, which has undoubtedly had a profound impact on the world Communist movement and played no small part in Khrushchev's removal, makes this absolutely clear.

Time is on the side of those who demand greater freedom and a more flexible interpretation of Marxism. The great men of the first phase of Communism are disappearing one by one. Maurice Thorez, for thirty vears undisputed head of the French Communist Party, and Togliatti passed away this year. Younger men are in control of huge Communist parties in many countries. China too must undergo the process of depletion and reinforcement of leadership as Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai and others leave the scene. Younger leaders, will perhaps be more amenable to the pressures for freedom than the fallen gods of Stalin's Era. They will face a decisive choice-What road will Communism take-the path of greater control, vigour, unanimity, or the way to a truly just society where all men have enough, exploitation of power as well as pelf has been ended, and the spirit of man as well as his body are nurtured in freedom?

R. VAITHESWARAN



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# Indian Students in Britain

#### From Michael Henderson

Our U.K. Correspondent reports on his interviews with Indian students in London and other parts of Britain.

Eighteen hours ago he was in Bombay. Hot sun beating down. A feast. Friends or family to speed him forth. Now he is in London-alone, or almost alone, among ten million strangers, a drizzling rain, the prospect of a strange bed and food, and Rs. 30 in his pocket. (Some of the precious sum allowed to be taken out of the country already gone on bus travel from the airport and a few cards.)

An over-gloomy picture perhaps, but one familiar to thousands of Indians who come to Britain for study. And yet most of them quickly clear the first hurdles for, after all, this is for them "a great adventure"-and the pathway to "greater recognition" on their return.

Acclimatization-literally and in spirit-is abrupt and therefore not always satisfactory. B. C. Nag, experienced Welfare Officer at India House, London, is pressing for students to come by sea. He remembers vividly his own student difficulties in Britain. He has little sympathy for what he calls the "chip on shoulder" boys who would grouch whatever was done for them. But with the speed of modern air travel, allowances, he feels, should be made. A ship trip would provide smoother transition to new foods, new climate, new customs.

#### Their Finances

The majority of Indian students here come from what, by Indian standards at least, could be called reasonably well-off families. They can afford study in Britain. A minority have Government grants or funds from trusts like Tata or Burmah Shell. Very few come from what one student describes as "the common people". Rs. 8,000 per person is what the Government allows annually to be exchanged into sterling. Out of this the student has to pay college fees, board and lodging, and clothing.

Because of the social status of the

average student at home, there are unexpected lessons to be learnt abroad. A common practice in Western countries may be new to him. "We have to learn to do our own cooking and laundering," says a 34-year-old telecommunications trainee.

The High Commission says there

are 3,650 Indian students at present in Britain (1,600 in London)-officially that is. Of course these figures cannot include those who come independently, with employment vouchers rather than as students.

The Department of Technical Cooperation estimates one in ten students in full time education in Britain is from overseas. And Indians are the largest number of overseas students enrolled for full time study or research at British universities.

Almost every Indian student who has come to Britain since 1961-62 has been a postgraduate student. Even those studying at the London School of Economics for a BSc will have graduated from an Indian university first. It is one of the reasons why command of English or mastery of the syllabus is seldom a problem. A law student, who has temporarily left his Calcutta law practice, says, "Lectures are fine, though we cannot always follow conversations between Englishmen."

#### Loneliness?

English at higher secondary level in India is adequate for study in Britain-though it may not equip you to cope with Cockney. In some technical facilities such as electrical engineering, students complain, "Text books in India are almost out of date," and that not enough opportunity was available at home for "practical study". Professors apparently seem to take more interest in their pupils in Britain ("That might be stimulated in India").

Two principal problems mentioned by students are accommodation and loneliness. Both are connected with race. Most will admit to having met some sort of racial prejudice. ("I'm sorry to say, but the British..." one will hesitatingly start a sentence). Most know someone else who has had worse experiences. This prejudice is in part deliberate, in part bound up with the British character. A student sees a sign up advertising "room to let". He enquires. "Oh it has just been taken." Sometimes the advertiser is more honest. The sign will then also read "no coloureds". A survey recently of landladies in Oxford (carried out by the Oxford University branches of the S.C.M.. IACARI and the Oxford political clubs) showed that 62% of a sample of landladies there were prejudiced against coloured undergraduates.

Accommodation is broadly speaking not so much a racial problem as one most students-or anyone for that matter in this overcrowded isleface. All want "digs" near where they study. And they just can't have them. The further away you are, the more has to be budgeted for travelling expenses. Some spend Rs. 2 a day just in travel to and from college. This is less a problem the further one is from London. In fact, you can get 17 Indian students together in the University Union in Leeds and not find one complaint. The same in Bristol.

#### Invited to Homes

Loneliness, homesickness, whatever it may be called, loses its grip on most students as they immerse themselves in studies. M. N. Sen, warden of the Indian students hostel, dismisses the issue as something a student can decide to end if he so chooses. "If you are lonely you have yourself to blame," he says. "It is wrong for a student to expect immediately to be invited to someone else's home. Let them first get into the student organizations." He adds that the offers posted on his and other notice boards for Indians to visit English families are rarely all taken up. "There is a fund of goodwill to our students," he

The work of organisations like the East-West Friendship Council and the British Council is appreciated. Invitations will come for students to spend Christmas with a British family. Even tutors ask them home. Of course such brief occasions can be superficial. "After 14 months I have no real English friend," says one student. "Even travelling throughout Britain I could not make any friends, as I would on a similar trip in India.'

The intimate relations of a family, friends, familiar customs-these are the most missed. And the difficulty in getting to know Britons aggravates this. "Stiff and formal"-"If you call you must go at the right time"-"It's

pretty tough. Everyone's so busy"are a variety of comments. A Bengali student says, "Many are friendly. Some refuse to have dealings with us. But we do not feel we are in the midst of them. Professors-we can mix with to a certain extent, but not students. We have got to go out to them. They never make the approach to

But there's another attitude that hurts most: "You are the best of the coloured people." This gratuitous insult "is the one thing that gives me pain" said a technician who'd been here seven years.

Your correspondent, whose most vivid memory of the Indian capital is the streets of Old Delhi, was interested in this comment of one 21-yearold girl on a secretarial course about the noise of London, "I sometimes long for a quiet corner of Delhi."

#### INDIAN STUDENTS IN BRITAIN - (Continued)

The students have a soft spot for a Socialist Britain. A socialist government, I was reminded, granted Indian independence. They have an admiration for Harold Wilson (though one felt "he's not as big as Attlee") "He will be more intimate with India's problems." They cite his "efficiency", "courage", "determination to get done what he said he would do". They contrast this with dithering in Delhi. "We could do with his policies in India-calling in experts, removing red tape," said one. But Britain is no ideal society.

Britain's economic downdrag does not encourage them. The new Chancellor's policies are held inadequate. "He talks of nationalization, but not of who will pay for it. He says there will be increased benefits and pensions, but not that they will be at the cost of the people." The

Conservatives, many felt, must be held responsible for the worsening trade gap. Students who have tra-velled on the continent find Britain lagging in hard work and modern techniques. "Isn't it an ignominy that the British Prime Minister had to fly to get Johnson's endorsement of his policies before acting," was one view.

"Britain has nothing to say any more. She is nominal head of the Commonwealth. That's all," said another. Gratitude was expressed on all sides for Britain's economic aid, but a 22-year-old girl student of sociology said Britain "thinks she has a larger place in the world than she really has." Britons on the whole were better informed about international affairs than those at home. This was put down to contacts and a universal language.

(TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK)



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# Peter Howard Fights For TOMORROW'S WORLD

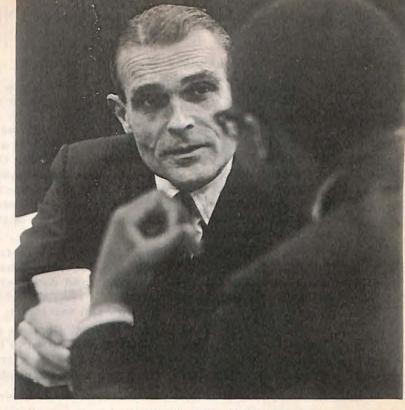
On every continent youth riot, march, sit down, sit in, strike, burn, gang up and hunt for a purpose, a thrill, an adventure.

Parents who give advice are deceived. Teachers who lecture them are booed. Politicians who moralise are stoned.

But one man who silences the interjectors, tames the bullies and startles the bored with his revolutionary and passionate ways is British statesman, sportsman and author, Peter Howard, the leader of Moral Re-Armament.

Last month, Howard travelled 19,000 miles to address 17 universities and colleges in the United States and Canada. He had urgent invitations from 54 more colleges to speak in the new year. Invitations press him to go to Africa. The leaders of Brazil have asked him to launch a "civic offensive for Moral-Re-Armament" early in 1965. The head of Brazil's largest chain of newspapers, radio and television stations says, "All our means of communication will be employed."

Today Howard is perhaps the world's most controversial, most sought after and the most attentively listened to public speaker. After his hard-hitting speeches questions and answers fly thick and fast for up to seventy minutes. Grubby, dull and defeated students file in; when they go out afterwards, many have a clear eye and a clean conscience. They get from Howard



"What colour is God's skin?" asks Howard of a student at Tennessee State College. "I do not say, 'Be patient." I say, 'Be passionate for something far bigger than colour, for an answer big enough to include everybody."



### HOW WISE IS INDIA? \_

Peter Howard's Message to the Congress of Tomorrow's Leaders, New Delhi, Dec. 24-31

"God loves India and so do all who know her mighty heart and character. She needs food, water, colleges, work, capital, above all the hope of a mighty purpose for the nation. She needs strength, wisdom and unity. She needs truth if she is to stay free. India is as strong as the character of her men and women. She is as wise as her sons and daughters. She is as united as her castes, her Cabinet or her House of the People. She is as truthful and incorruptible as her employers, workers, students and parents. Her wisdom and restraint in the face of the explosion of China's bomb excites the wonder of the world, but it must be matched by a passion and discipline in the face of the explosion of China's ideas.

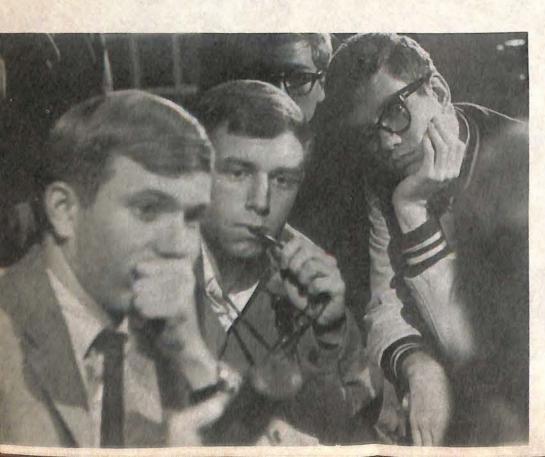
"When nations rob themselves of faith in God they race inevitably towards dictatorship. When individuals and nations talk of faith but live condoning corruption, division and dirt they destroy the quality of faith and open the gate to tyrants. The spirit of the Mahatma only exists insofar as it is lived by his heirs and successors.

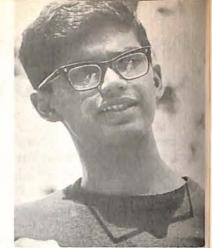
'You are going to marvel at what God can do in, by, with, through and for a minority wholeheartedly committed to the Moral Re-Armament of India. When God is our guru in all things, small and great, we shall see hungry minds and hungry hearts speedily satisfied."



At MRA training camps in Panchgani, Ootacamund and Nahan, 1000 Indian students were trained in character and leadership this year. Ravindra Kadam of Poona with Pankaj Shah (right) of Bombay

(below) The students caught Howard's revolutionary passion and plan for their own lives





Arun Mundkur of Bangalore



Padmini Kirtane of Poona



Jyoti Subramaniam of Poons



eerja Chowdhury of New Delhi

# Tomorrow's World -Continued

a blueprint for cleaning up their own lives and the building materials for shaping a new future for mankind.

What is the secret of this man's capacity to hold and enlist these young men and women?

"I am a revolutionary," he tells them. "By God, he is," said a student after hearing him. A 24-hour-a-day, 7-days-a-week revolutionary.

Howard's passion comes from purity. He makes no modest claim. He claims the whole soul and will of a man for the world's greatest task.

Recently he told 2,000 picked young men and women at the Conference for Tomorrow's America:

"If we decide to pay the price of a new society, to be honest about where God's will crosses our will in sex, home life, career, ambition, relationships with other colours and nationalities, and to choose God's will, then we can together turn the next page of history and usher in the greatest revolution man has ever seen. That is the choice."

In wealthy, strong America, where men are getting softer and women grow brassier and bolder, where more is spent on crime than on education,

this man speaks in the most revolutionary terms about the urgent need to turn the whole world away from the materialism of Communism as well as from the Godless "democracy" of the non-Communist world.

In New York, Howard said, "The people today in the free world who talk about God and who live as if He did not exist, in their board rooms, in their bedrooms, in their family circles, do more to further Communism than the most ardent Communist."

In Ottawa, Howard declared, "A civilisation built on dirt cannot endure. If men believe we can long last solely pursuing wealth, sex, comfort, dreading atomic desolation, in a climate which seeks to prove that evil is good, good evil—then men are mad. Those who concentrate upon the purse and the belly of a national economy but neglect the ideas in the head, the answers in the heart, the soul and spirit of nations, do so at their peril.'

Whether it is to the hard-core Goldwaterites of America, the anti-American Castroites of Latin America or the bitter Communists in Japan's famous Waseda University, Howard





(left) Militant young nationalist,
Andrew Peppetta from South
Africa, one of the organisers of
the Conference for Tomorrow's
Africa in Nigeria. "The youth
of Africa cannot afford to sit
back any longer while the freedom and unity of our land is
threatened," he says.



Leaders of Japan's Zengakuren students respond to Howard's conviction



"A boat load of talent" from the Conference for Tomorrow's America toured the Great Lakes of Michigan with their sparkling music and their bold ideas

### Tomorrow's World

-Continued

shows a way forward—beyond Communism and barren anti-Communism—to a world revolution. From the heart of America he invites the Communist world to look at a greater adventure, to change the character of men as well as the shape of the system.

In Africa, Europe, America, Australia and Asia, Howard's fire has caught ablaze. In all these places determined young men and women are meeting to plan their execution of his challenge to morally rearm the whole world.

Yesterday in New Delhi, a World Congress of Tomorrow's Leaders opened at the University Convocation Hall. Colleges and schools from all over India have sent delegations.

In their charter, the youth declare: "Half the world is under 25. We refuse to sit idly by and watch the promise of a new age of plenty and purpose be destroyed by the passions of man's nature. We are preparing to take leadership."

#### Makes Every Hour Count

Peter Howard's normal working day is 18 hours. And he makes every hour count. Graduate of Oxford University, Howard became the leading political columnist for Lord Beaverbrook's Express group of newspapers in Britain. His books in a dozen languages have sold four million copies. Howard gives the entire royalties from these sales to MRA and draws not one paisa of salary. His dramas are playing to crowded theatre audiences on four continents at this moment. London's Daily Telegraph writes about them, "Faith is the spur which pricks every show to success."

A magnificent rugby football player in his day, Howard played nine times for England and captained the international team in 1931. His bobsled foursome broke three world records for Britain in the winter games. His wife, the former Doris Metaxa of Greece, was tennis doubles champion at Wimbledon in 1933-34.

He has the discipline, energy and bold faith which youth want today.

They respect his fearless defiance of evil. They catch for their generation his infectious fight for what is right and straight. Unafraid of opposing and demolishing any human idol of power or control, Howard is unalterable in his commitment to a world society based on absolute moral standards and God's rule. He is giving roots to a rootless generation and faith to a Godless age.

## AMERICAN YOUTH

#### From Stewart Lancaster

Young Americans are in the throes of a titanic struggle. They are on trial. They are engaged in two experiments, one of which could shake the world should it succeed. Today's Americans are better educated, housed, fed than most of this earth's children. With rocketry and atom power their horizons appear limitless. But they are in deadly danger.

Of these two trends one is rebellious; the other is revolutionary. One might be termed the "dead" group, and the other the "dare" group, the disillusioned or the enthusiastic.

The first group has experimented with sex as the source of truth and satisfaction, leaving them listless, social casualties. The other has experimented with the Spirit as the source of truth and fulfilment turning them into passionate, imaginative builders of a new world.

Both groups crave a more active role in politics and in shaping their nation's future, but the first group wants to participate and dissipate at the same time. Two months of demonstrations at the University of California campus at Berkeley illustrate this. The students demanded a greater freedom to engage in political activity on campus while at the same time reserving the liberty to indulge in free love in the dormitories. They say they want action. But most of their time is spent in sitting about, doing nothing. They are characterized by their dirty, soiled appearance. A leader of this group looking over his shaggy beard said, "We refuse to have our civil rights limited and our sex rights controlled." They dance the twist, shake, shiver and shudder until they are limp with thoughtlessness. One girl said, "I like the new dances because they take my mind off my problems, off society itself."

Their bodies are overfed and over-sexed. They look as if their souls are screaming. They are afraid to be themselves. Tolerance of each others' indulgences and defeats has made them lethargic and lazy. "This is materialism carried to its ultimate," said a leading psychologist.

### Living off Others

The second experiment among the youth was first noticed nationally this summer at the MRA-sponsored Conference for Tomorrow's America at Mackinac Island, Michigan. Whereas the *twist* set tries to sidestep responsibility and live off the sweat and labour of others, this *dare* set have accepted the responsibility of tackling the national problems. They set their aims, mapped out their plans, divided the country into 11 areas of operation. They began with a moral revolution in their own lives.

This group equipped themselves with films, books, plays and music that propagates their aims and invaded the schools and colleges, television and radio stations, newspapers and political arenas. The fundamental issue they say is to decide once and for all that Almighty God and His absolute morality are to reign on earth rather than almighty Man and his relative amorality.

Society cannot long survive if there is a gap between what it believes and what it does. This dare group has set about to modernize the character of man. One young man said, "I want to get involved up to my neck in my nation's affairs." Another said, "We will only build a great society out of first producing great men."

### SOVIET YOUTH

### by Our Special Correspondent

"We know what material wealth we shall have in 20 years from now... But what will the people be like, what moral principles will they have?" In these words, Leonid Ilyichev, ideological expert, put the crucial question of Communism's future in his report to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

The Communist Chinese are also keenly aware of the problem. "Only by training a new generation of Communists to be as tough as the old ones will it be possible to ensure permanent revolution and prevent Khruschev's revisionism in China," wrote the Red Flag, Peking's Communist daily. Mao Tse-tung has launched a campaign "to cultivate millions of successors."

But the younger generation refuse to be inspired. "The young can still be affected by bourgeois ideologies and the force of inertia of the old society," comments the Liberation Army Daily (Peking) indignantly.

The phenomena of *stilyagi* and hooliganism, delinquent youth on the rampage, are as common in the streets of Moscow as in London or New York. Like their western counterparts, the Moscow teddy boys have their own special style of conversation and manners, their flashy clothes and impudent looks. "The female of the species wears dresses which reveal her figure to the point of indecency. Their philosophy is "I can do what I like. The devil take your regulations." They often become inveterate drunkards for lack of anything better to do. They indulge themselves in sex till they are bored, and finally take to violence in the streets at night.

#### Far from Revolution

Vigorous exhortations by parents, teachers and even jail terms have produced no results. The solution offered reads like a Y.M.C.A. programme: "We must make the leisure of our young people more interesting and varied." This is a far cry from the fire of revolution that burnt in the hearts of young Lenin and his followers.

The explanation for juvenile delinquency in the Soviet Union, as in all other countries, is the same—rebellion against hypocrisy in the elders, broken homes, and above all, a sense of futility. Three young women wrote in the Soviet youth newspaper, Komsomolskaya Pravda, "Often of an evening we discuss the meaning of life. Have we not turned into philistines? We realise, of course, that the main goal before us is the building of Communism, but surely every person should have his own tangible goal. We have no such goal." (Italics mine).

Sincere Communists realise that material progress is not an attractive enough goal for youth.

Communists who really care for their youth also know that 40 years of experience has proved that Marx was wrong in attributing the evils of human nature to the environment.

Morality cannot be dictated to an entire nation at the point of a whip or bayonet. Communists have yet to accept that if you take away conscience and God, man will only live for himself. Is it so foolish to hope that those who have outgrown Stalinism and are outgrowing Marxism in the Soviet world will not be afraid to make yet another jump forward, to a global revolution to bring humanity under the control of God, conscience and morality?

# Is Impurity Irrelevant?

by Dr. Paul Campbell, M.D., L.C.M.C.

Dr. Paul Campbell was formerly on the medical staff of the Henry Ford Hospital, Detroit, and for 19 years was personal physician and colleague of Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman

"THE FUTURE is for the nations that are chaste," said Mahatma Gandhi. Russian and Chinese policy now confirm the importance of this insight.

The total amount of energy of each one of us is limited. The more energy we spend on sexual activity the less there remains for creative work. Men and women cannot exploit each other for pleasure without paying a price in their own personalities.

There is also deep in the human

There is also deep in the human conscience a sense of guilt and remorse. A clear conscience is necessary for the normal functioning of the body. The increased sexual freedom in Western society has been accompanied by a serious jump in mental and emotional disorders, divorce, venereal disease, alcoholism, dope and suicide.

Says Pitirim Sorokin, the Harvard sociologist, "The traffic in sex partners through a widened sex opportunity, develops nervous wrecks, incapable of maintaining the basic integrity of their personality."

Not only is sex intimately related with the health of the individual, but also with the health and vitality of society. Unwin, the British sociologist, came to the conclusion after an exhaustive study of civilizations, that

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the sexual code productive of the highest level of culture was chastity before marriage and absolute monogamy within marriage.

During the first stage of the Revolution in Russia, free love was promoted by the official "glass of water" theory. If a person is thirsty, it is immaterial what glass he uses to satisfy his thirst. It is equally unimportant how he satisfies his sex hunger. The results in society were so disastrous that the government reversed its policy. The "glass of water" theory was declared to be counter-revolutionary, and its place was taken by official propaganda for premarital chastity and the sanctity of marriage.

#### Freedom

If present practices continue, the nations which are chaste are going to advance in cultural achievement and in national energy. In one sense the future of civilization will be determined not by the decisions of the few in the Cabinet room, but by the habits of the millions in the bedroom.

There is a deep drive in the human heart towards liberty. The next stage of freedom is to break free from the control of our animal urges. These urges face man constantly with the chance to choose. Absolute standards of purity, unselfishness, love and honesty sharpen and define the choice. They are the hammer for smashing the chains of man's enslavement to his past.

There are two voices which seek control deep in the heart of every human, the voice of instinct to do what I want, the voice of liberty to deny that instinct and do what is right. When man chooses to obey this voice he is given the power to break with the tug and weight of his animal ancestry. This is perfect freedom. It can come quickly. It can come to every man as he reads this article. Every man can consciously cooperate in this evolutionary process and enable humanity to conquer the gravitational pull of hate and fear and selfishness.

#### Perspective

Men who strike out on the highway to liberty are free to care enough and share enough so everyone has enough. They are free to change and to unite the most difficult in family and community, the most difficult in the other race, the other caste, the other class, the other nation. With this ultimate target of human liberty in mind, we have the perspective with which to deal with our present problems. The decision to be part of this evolutionary process brings the greatest dynamism, will to work, and sheer joy in living that man can possess.

If we were to foster this evolution in the spirit of man with the same intensity, dedication, faith and sacrifice with which nations now seek to put men on the moon and explore the stars, we would very quickly see a basic shift in the motives and standards by which the human family lives. Our needs for food, peace, work and purpose would be met. This is the ultimate future and is one which every man by his daily decisions can hasten.

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# FOR WOMEN

# 'Blessed Art Thou Among Women'

THE BIRTH OF CHRIST is the miracle of Christmas. This miracle happened because one woman said a wholehearted "Yes" to God.

According to the Apostle St. Luke, the Angel Gabriel "came in unto her and said, Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee; blessed are thou among women.

"And when she saw him, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be.

"And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary; for thou hast found favour with God.

"And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name JESUS.

"And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

"Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?

### "Be It Unto Me"

"And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.

"And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her."

Mary was a simple woman with a simple faith. She asked not for signs or proofs. She did not bargain or barter with God. She did not say "Why did this have to happen to me?" or "What will people think?" She said, "Be it unto me according to thy word."

Here was not a momentary obedience to God but a lifetime of dedication to His Will.

When the child was born, three wise men came and offered Him gifts of gold, frankinscense and myrrh, she was not surprised. She had expected them to pay their respects to Jesus wrapped in swaddling clothes.

The first miracle performed at Cana was when at a wedding feast His Mother told him that the hosts had run out of wine. Jesus asked her what she expected Him to do. It was clear she wanted him to perform a miracle. He was 30 years old. Jesus's time had come to emerge on the world scene and the only other person who knew it, was His Mother. Jesus performed His first miracle and converted jars of water into wine, to the delight of the wedding party.

#### Born in a Stable

Mary's Son was not born in a palace but in a stable. She was never resentful of it. And her Son died on the cross and she watched Him nailed to it and suffering.

Mary was unobstrusive as a mother and did not attempt to run the life of her Son. She knew He was a gift of God and she respected Him for it. She knew that Jesus belonged to the world and right from His birth she shared Him with shepherds and wise men.

When He grew up and went about "His Father's business," as Jessus put it, she did not try to control, run, or possess Him. She left Him free to fight His battle against evil in the world. She claimed no special relationship with her Son. Had He not

said, "Anyone who does the will of My Father who is in Heaven is my mother, my brother and my sister."

Mary did not try to establish a "kingdom of her own" seeking power or position. She was a part of the Kingdom of God her Son sought to establish.

Every Christmas the world is especially grateful to Mary, for the miracle of Christmas did not end with the manger in Bethlehem.

"Where meek souls will receive Him, still

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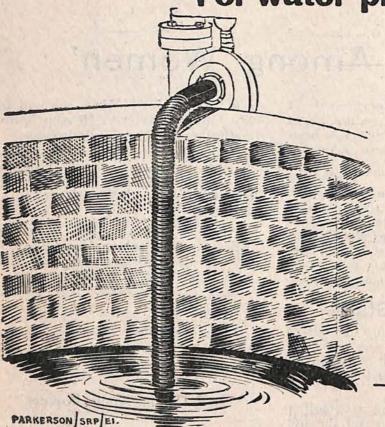
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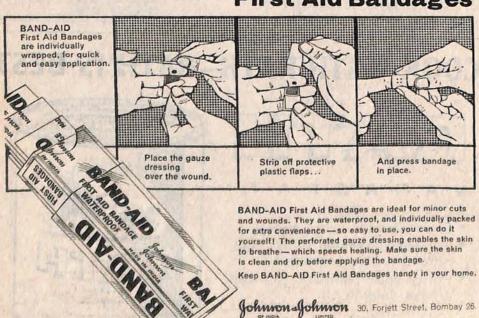
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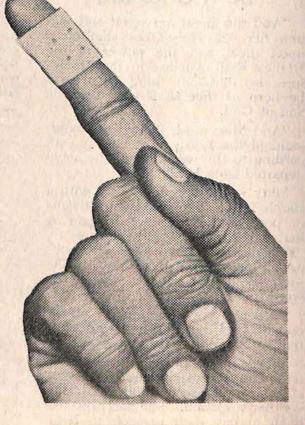
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# Q and A

Readers are invited to send questions about our land or the world and I shall answer them as truthfully and intelligently as I can.

Q — Is Indian diplomacy a success? If not, what are the reasons for its failure?

K. C. GOYAL, Jind.

A—It is a failure. I fear a very great failure.

The success of diplomacy depends not merely on the skill and training of our diplomats, but also on the condition of our Indian nation. If there is corruption, division and stagnation in our land, as there is today, it is extremely difficult for the finest, cleverest ambassador to prove that India is mankind's leading nation.

We cannot boast of agriculture. We cannot pretend we have a mighty industry. Our military strength is by no means imposing.

Where India can pioneer something mighty is in the realm of a moral renaissance. Supposing our Cabinet and leadership consisted of people who were fearless and who lived by absolute moral standards? Supposing there were to rise all over the land an army of tens of thousands of ordinary citizens who fought for good and hated evil? Our diplomats would have no difficulty in winning prestige for such a land.

Sadly, our diplomacy has a low posture. We are neither for this nor for that on most issues. I don't say India should choose either Communism or anti-Communism. India can and must choose an ideology superior to both and fight without compromise for it. Then our diplomacy will succeed.

Q—"Old age" says whatever youth does is wrong. Youth is never appreciated. What is the reason?

HARINAKSHI, Hyderabad.

A — "Old age" feels that whatever it does is never appreciated by youth.

Youth does a lot that is challenging and admirable. India's young people seem, on the whole, to have more courage than their older compatriots. When

#### NEXT WEEK

Special Himmat Reports on "Indian Students in America" and "Youth Give Leadership to Japan".

younger men demand a change in society and are not prepared to pay the price of discipline in their own lives, they create noise but, naturally, their voice is not heard with respect.

India needs courageous, fighting young men and women who oppose corruption and injustice of every kind but who also attack and cure the cheating, impurity and ambition in their own lives.

#### Q — What is the real reason for the debaring of People's China from the U.N.?

#### A. NARSIMLOO, Narayanpet.

A — Many nations, led by America, feel that if Red China is made a member of the U.N. she will earn more prestige and support and will become stronger to execute her wrong ambitions. They feel that her admission into the U.N. will destroy the freedom of South East Asian lands.

Others—the Communist nations and many Asian and African countries, including India—feel that membership of the U.N. will make China more peaceful. These nations think that it will be easier to discipline China if she is inside the world body.

I don't expect China's aims to change by preventing or allowing her admission to the U.N. Nations other than China do not yet have a revolutionary purpose that can persuade the leaders of Red China to give up their driving force.

The day other nations fight for Moral Re-Armament with the passion that China has for Communism will be the beginning of China's change.

# Q — In how many years will India achieve America's standard?

#### B. JANARDHAN, Hyderabad

A — If you are thinking of the economic standard, it may take us 100 years or more to reach it. The time taken will depend entirely on the capacity for hard work, unity and enterprise of our people.

America is a great country, but our aim needs to be much greater than wanting India to be like America. There is much in American society today which we do not want in India. One out of three marriages breaks up in divorce. Do we want that here?

Only God knows whether India's moral standards are lower or higher than America's. But I am certain that the real competition should be in the creation of a new type of man and a new type of society. If our families, business, factories and Cabinets have honesty, unity and peace, then Americans will want to reach India's standard.

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#### India Hungry Young

Young India is starved. Not just materially, although lakhs of our boys and girls, as dear to their parents as your children are to you, cry themselves each night to sleep for want of food.

Millions of our young men and women are going through spiritual starvation. They don't know why they are living. They don't know what they are living for. Their

hearts and minds are empty.

They hunger after affection.
The toughest, hulkiest of them love to get a smile from someone. They love prominence. They try to be showmen and to dazzle. They talk a lot, smoke a lot, drink a lot of tea and coffee.

They don't like to admit it to their parents, but they are frequently dead scared. Their security is completely in their parents, guardians or relatives. They are terrified that those on whom they depend and those who love them may die.

Like modern youth everywhere -and modern age?—they have made sex their goddess. They worship at the shrine of this goddess in different ways. They read pornographic literature. An unending stream of filthy books, magazines and pamphlets makes its way to students in every corner of our land. They see movies for sex. They crack dirty jokes. Nearly all of them fall into physical impurity of one kind or another.

#### Overdose

Sex has not satisfied the true longing of any man or woman, young or old. And Indian youth are by now tired and bored by the overdose of impurity.

Certainly they want jobs. They

want money and a place in life. But they want something more.

Before freedom came, libera-tion's call stirred the young heart. It brought unity and passion and gave purpose to the lives of youth.
Today most of them are without

a challenging aim. Freedom's failure to create a great forward surge has seriously damaged the faith and adventure of our young people. Cynicism is the fashion. You are smart, on many campuses, if you debunk patriotism, tradition and moral standards.

### by Rajmohan Gandhi

Mighty figures of yesterday, the highest in today's society, leaders in politics, industry, social service, education and religion, all are assailed and mocked.

They are not merely dissatisfied, they are angry. They strike, loot, steal, burn, threaten and intimidate.

Philosophies of life offered them so far leave them cold-Communism, socialism and capitalism. Who are the great men they wish to imitate? Most of them admire Nehru. Few of them know, or are told, what his philosophy of life would mean to them day by day. Gandhi they respect, but are at a loss to know how what they think to be his main principles can be applied in the space age.

#### Killed Consciences

Professors and teachers are greatly responsible. Many of today's educators formed their philosophy by feeding on the Karl Marxes, Bertrand Russells, Harold Laskis and Sigmund Freuds of life. These authors were doubtless brilliant, but they have provided respectable arguments to many in the world and in India who want to stifle or kill their consciences.

The generation before today's educators, the generation of Mahatma Gandhi, had men who obtained their wisdom from the adventures, books and struggles of men of faith and God, Indian as well as Western.

Parents, frankly, are above all responsible. "Son, stay straight until you are eighteen or twentyone," is not an appeal that will have any effect, especially when it is made by men or women who have no intention of living straight. The way parents live shouts more than what they say. And it is impossible to hide much from today's young man or woman.

Most parents complain that their children are not honest with them. This is true. Yet is it fair or realistic to expect children to tell parents what they do if parents do not want children to know what they do? A father who tells his son, in a specific manner, of the problems and temptations he had when he was young and of the problems and temptations he has now, will find his son telling him the truth about what he does, feels and thinks.

India needs a drastic transformation in her home life. Rich or poor, and whatever their caste, religion or language might be, most homes fail today in equipping their young men and women with the essential security of life.

Neither money nor property nor university education will guarantee the future of your son or daughter. None of these can be depended upon in this age of class war, violence, the decay of democracy and the retreat of character.

Is there something that will satisfy Indian youth? There is.

The Man born today, 1964 years ago, offers the most challenging, demanding, exciting and satisfying life Indian youth, or youth anywhere, can have. Can anyone attempt anything more stirring than to imitate the life of Jesus

Like millions of Indian children, He was born in poverty. There was dirt, overcrowding, the smell of animals and a biting cold in the stable where He was born. The country where God sent Him was full of corruption, hate, injustice and controls. Rather like modern India.

#### Do We Hate Sin?

And what did Christ do?

He launched the greatest revolution of all time. Men of all races, creeds, classes, castes and nations found that their lives could be made new if they accepted His challenge.

He loved sinners, but unlike many today who take His name, He hated sin passionately.

We create hell on earth with our passion to be kings and queens. We scheme, intrigue, flatter and bribe to enthrone ourselves in other people's hearts. We pray "my will be done, my kingdom come." We install ourselves as Christ's rivals and God's rivals.

Will we-Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian-face this Christmas our frauds and conceits? God knows everything, including our inner-most thoughts. Each one of us, young and old, in India and the world, needs a new heart, a broken and a contrite spirit.

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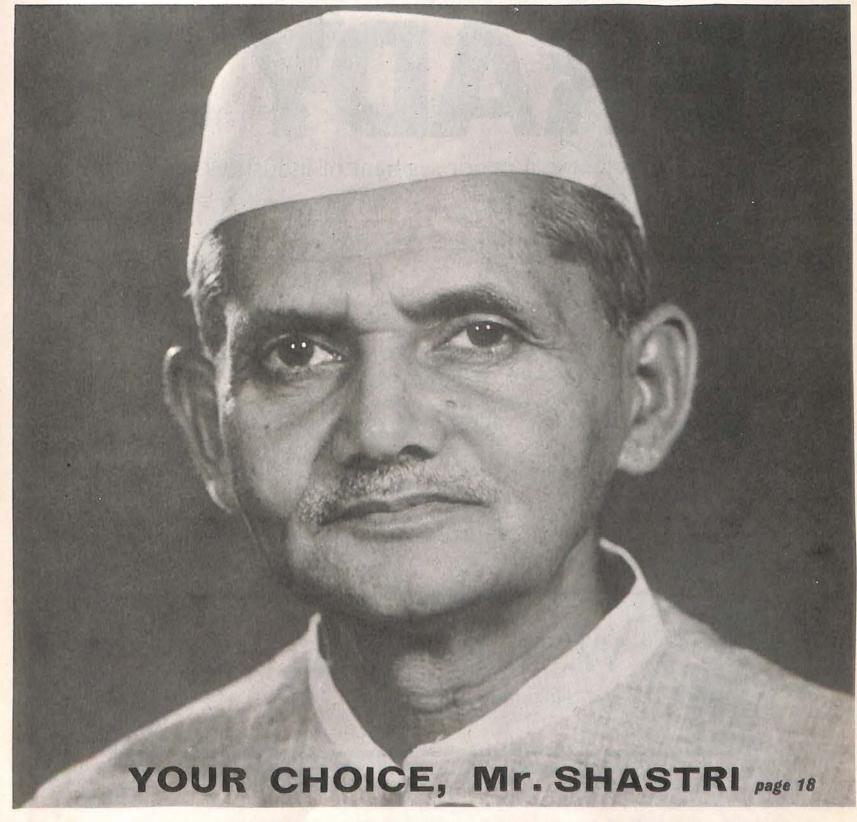
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