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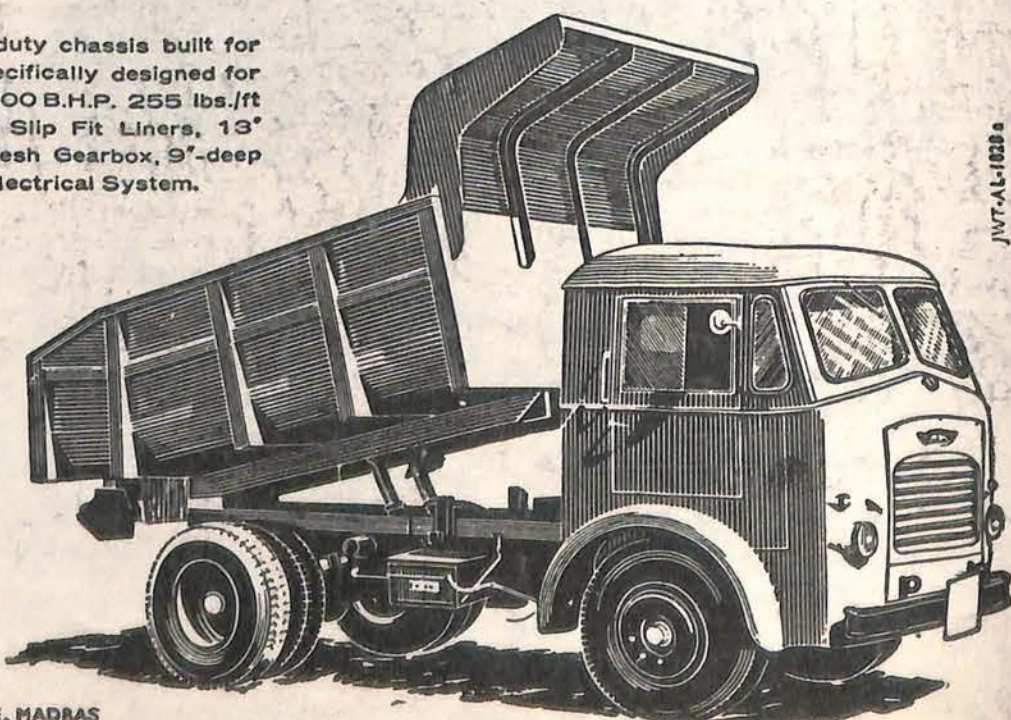
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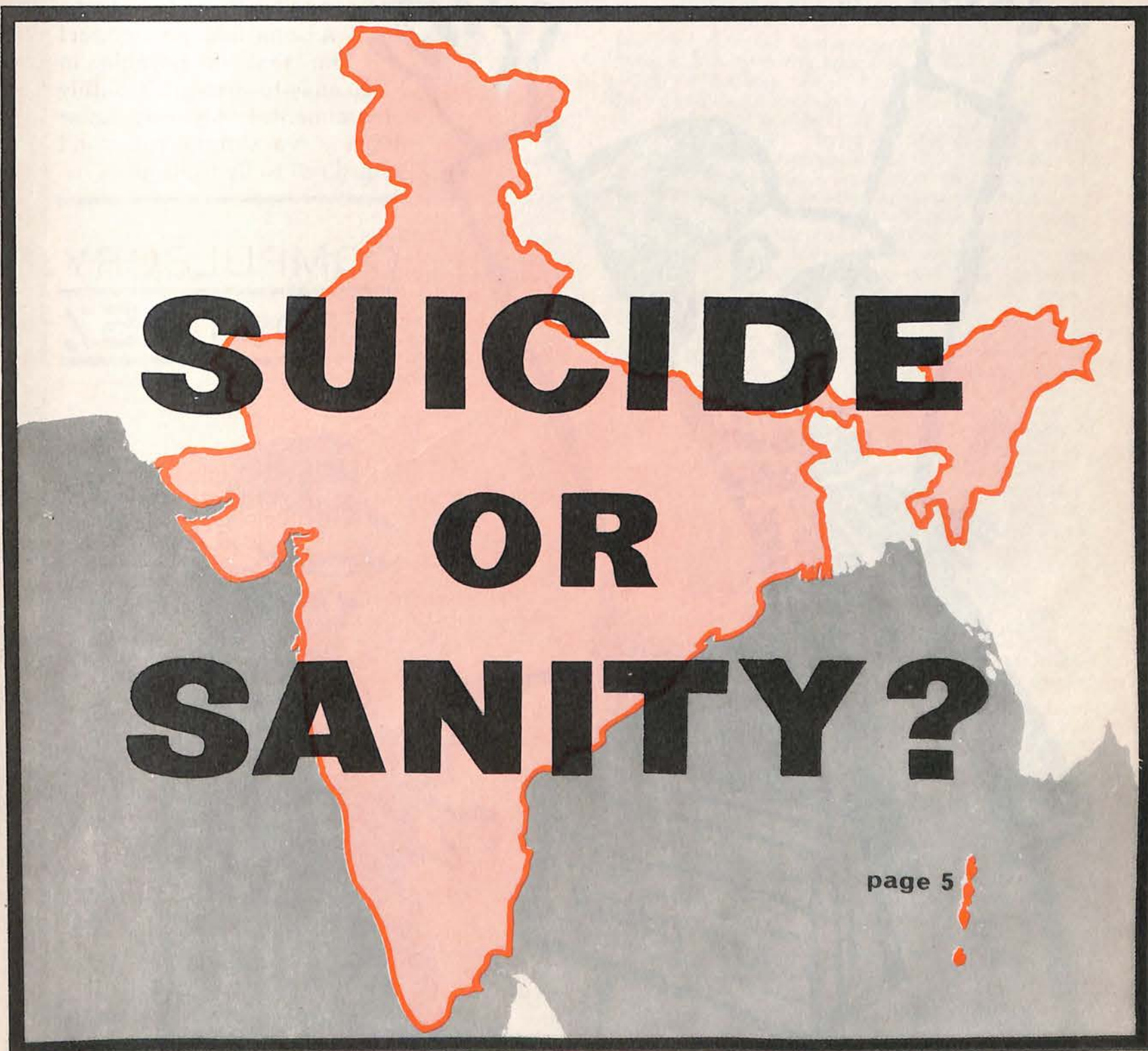
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# HIMMAT

25P

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



page 5

Friday  
February 19  
1965

OUR LANGUAGE POLICY  
Dr. K. M. Munshi

Roger Hicks  
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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, February 19, 1965

Vol. I No. 16

## Think Again

WHILE DEPLORING the wanton destruction of life and property in South India last week, President Radhakrishnan firmly declared on Sunday, "We have to ask ourselves whether we did everything in our power to avert such unhealthy developments."

This is a more honest and more helpful attitude to the language riots than that taken by those on both sides who are quickly trying to apportion blame. It is a more helpful approach than the superficial excuse of the Madras Chief Minister who said wealthy mill-owners were behind the "lawlessness". Mr. Bhaktavatsalam needs to realize that there may have been no "lawlessness" at all if, as the President in effect said, there had been better anticipation by authorities.

The Prime Minister says the orgies of violence were the result of a "misunderstanding". If a policy is misunderstood, responsibility lies heavily on the articulators of that policy. The Government must face this before it is too late.

With 54 now dead by police firing, hundreds more injured, Rs. 1 crore worth of damage suffered by the railways alone, and walls of bitterness piled higher between North and South, it is unbelievable how little preparation was made by the Government for the long-expected switch to Hindi on January 26.

Cabinet Ministers now even admit that they did not know about directives being issued from their own Ministries. Mr. Subramaniam, before his resignation as Minister for Food and Agriculture, said that far from being aware that his department was issuing orders for the use of Hindi, he himself did not even know the Hindi words for his portfolio.

The Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, when questioned about her own Ministry, replied, "The orders and circulars had gone out without our knowledge. That will not happen again."

This is not the first time that directives relating to Government policy on vital national issues have been circulated without Ministerial approval. Who, then, is running India?

The public will welcome Mrs. Gandhi's explanation that "our real intention was that Hindi should promote national integration. But if it fails then we may have to do some rethinking about it."

Mr. Shastri has summoned the Chief Ministers to meet on February 23 to try and resolve the crisis. But there is a lot of "rethinking" to be done before then. The language issue must be resolved and the nation must become one. But the greatest danger is that over language, food and economic needs, India will become concentrated too much upon herself.

The nation requires a new sense of national purpose in which every Indian—Hindi-speaking and Tamilian, Manipuri and Marathi, Bengali and Punjabi—is proud to play his part.

## Watch Gaullism

THE FRENCH Prime Minister's state visit revitalizes a valuable link with the continent of Europe. India's search for markets will lead her increasingly beyond Britain and the Commonwealth. The European Common Market, of which France is a leading member, is one natural outlet. India and Pakistan have much to learn from the statesmanship of German and French leaders like Adenauer, Schuman and De Gaulle which has united their nations after decades of bitterness.

HIMMAT pays tribute to De Gaulle for resurrecting France—the "sick man of Europe"—to a dynamic world power. But India must weigh carefully the implications of Gaullism in Asia. His policy of building up Communist China as a counterweight to Russia is dangerous to India and South East Asia.

Mr. Shastri's endorsement of French policy in Vietnam is therefore regrettable. India should know that French policy in S.E. Asia represents on the one hand the acceptance of the inevitability of Chinese control in the area, and on the other, an attempt to regain some influence in the region. In calling for a withdrawal of all foreign powers, Mr. Shastri is in effect handing over South Vietnam to the Chinese.

Will India even now understand that the India-China border war is being fought as much in the jungles of Vietnam as in the mountains of Ladakh and the steamy hills of NEFA? Let us be realistic.

## Stand By Him

TUNKU ABDUL RAHMAN, Prime Minister of Malaysia, has long known that behind the military threat of Indonesia's "confrontation" lurks an even more malignant foe: renewed large-scale subversion by jungle-based guerrillas.

For several years the struggling young democracy fought Communist-led rebels in a bitter jungle war which was only put down by the full might of British arms. The rebels then had no allies across the Straits.

President Sukarno has hoped that such a war could be started again.

With this possibility, last week's riots in Kuala Lumpur give cause for concern. Police needed tear gas, baton charges and a city-wide curfew to restore order. The demonstrators were protesting against further arrests of left-wing leaders who are reported to have been planning to set up a rebel government.

If the Tunku now finds himself faced with Sukarno's troops across the Straits and leftist guerrillas in the mainland jungles he will need even more than the military support already pledged. He will need an ideology more powerful than Peking's or Djakarta's to unite his Malay-Chinese population.

The Tunku said this week that only pressure from other Afro-Asian countries will deter Sukarno from his path of aggression. Will New Delhi have the moral courage to commit itself to such a stand?

## Briefly Speaking...

Democracy stands for a society which is courageous, compassionate, solvent, dignified, humane.

DR. S. RADHAKRISHNAN, President of India.

### Wanted — An Imaginative Opposition

THE OPPOSITION in the Indian Parliament and in the State Legislative Assemblies has for years specialized in the technique of protesting by walking out. Ceremoniously they all rise, collect their papers and quit. Next day, an obliging press assures them front-page coverage.

Last week they overstepped the limit. Both in the West Bengal and the U.P. Legislative Assemblies, the Opposition insisted on interrupting the Governor's speech. In West Bengal, it was the turn of the Governor to walk out—without delivering her address.

Now Mr. Raj Narain, Secretary of the S.S.P., gives an ultimatum to the President of India that he should address the joint session of Houses of Parliament in an Indian language, or else! The President of India is being dragged into a controversy.

It is time the Opposition parties of India learnt the ABC of political democracy. The job of the opposition is to oppose the government in power and not the heads of respective states of India or the President, who are doing their constitutional duty. There is scope for a more intelligent and imaginative opposition in what is called "the world's largest democracy". We need large-hearted men to run it.

### Welcome to V.I.P.

THREE WEEKS ago I referred to the visit to India of the Prime Minister of Mauritius, Mr. S. Ramgoolam. I asked at that time, "What do we do for a man like him?" Do we make him "feel that the Indian nation is solidly behind him"?

Last week, when he arrived at Santa Cruz Airport, Bombay, I un-

derstand there was no representative of the Union or State Government to receive him. The Prime Minister drove off in a friend's car!

### Presidential Panel Needed

THE UNION CABINET Sub-Committee spent enormous time on the charges levelled against former Orissa Chief Minister Patnaik and Mr. Mitra, his successor. Was it really necessary or desirable, or could there have been a better way of handling the investigation?

Mr. K. Santhanam, author of the well-known report on corruption, writes in the *Hindustan Times* that investigation by the Prime Minister or a Cabinet Committee on the actions of a Minister of a State Cabinet does not seem proper. At present, Ministers of the Centre and those of Orissa belong to the same political party. But it is possible that they could belong to opposite parties. In that case it would be obviously unfair that the matter should be investigated personally by one's political opponents.

Mr. Santhanam refers the Government to the Report of the Committee on Prevention of Corruption, which recommended that a Presidential Panel be established. From this panel, a committee of three could be set up to decide, in each case, whether any *prima facie* case has been made out against a Minister. Then, on the basis of their report, the Government should decide whether or not to order a proper judicial inquiry.

Mr. Santhanam's suggestions are sound and should be respected in the future. Let a Presidential Panel be set up now. Leadership lies in anticipating events and crises.

R. M. L.

## The week in India

**MADRAS**—To date 54 people have died in riots and police-firings as mobs rampaged throughout Madras State in protest against Hindi becoming the official language. Trains and stations were looted and burned to the ground. In many districts the Army moved in where police strength was not sufficient to control the crowds.

**MADRAS**—C. Rapagopalachari called on students to suspend their present agitation against Hindi in order to give the Central Government time to "repeal Article 17 of the Constitution" that authorizes Hindi as the national language. If action was not taken he would personally lead the renewed agitation, he said.

**TRIVANDRUM**—Students all over the state boycotted schools and colleges in protest against Hindi.

**CALCUTTA**—Chief Minister P. C. Sen said that any attempt to impose Hindi on West Bengal would be met by the united resistance of Government and Opposition forces.

**SAMBALPUR**—The Opposition leader in the Orissa Assembly, R. N. Singdeo, predicted anti-Hindi rioting in his state. "We cannot remain, as second class citizens. The Government's language policy is proving suicidal when the country is faced with Chinese aggression."

**NEW DELHI**—A communique issued jointly by General Ne Win and Prime Minister Shastri at the conclusion of their talks called for a government-level settlement of problems facing Indian residents and refugees from Burma. They agreed on frequent consultation between their Governments and the expansion of trade and technical collaboration.

**NEW DELHI**—Mr. K. M. Cherian, President of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society, has called on all member newspapers to suspend publication on March 3 in protest against Government policy to restrict the import of newsprint to last year's levels.

**NEW DELHI**—Prime Minister Shastri, inaugurating the International Chamber of Commerce's twentieth Congress, called for a stepped-up flow of private capital from advanced nations to those undergoing rapid development. 900 delegates from 45 countries attended. "It is quite clear that their own (under-developed countries) efforts will not suffice to achieve a tolerable rate of progress," the Prime Minister said.

## Suicide or Sanity ?

WE HAVE witnessed in the past weeks some of the most cold blooded and deliberate acts of murder and cruelty since the days of partition.

The shocking thing about the murder of former Punjab Chief Minister Kairon and his three associates, according to Prem Bhatia of the *Indian Express*, was that "in Delhi at least, quite a few people were even delighted that the former Chief Minister had come to a violent end . . . these were men who stood around in groups on the streets, in front of shops and at bus stands . . . the category going by the name of the common man".

In Madras State, in the town of Tiruppur, a violent mob of anti-Hindi agitators caught hold of two frightened, fugitive police officers, rolled the heavy wheels of a cart over them and burned them alive in the most bestial demonstration of inhumanity that South India has known for a long time.

### Orgy of Loot

Simultaneously in many other towns, mobs attacked trains, buses, post offices and railway stations and indulged in an orgy of loot and vandalism that is a disgrace to any civilized country. While there are obvious signs that these demonstrations, including the violence, were master-minded by some people, the saddest part of all has been the failure on the part of the principal opposition groups to accept responsibility and to condemn the violence.

On the other hand, the tendency of the opposition in Madras State has been to accuse the police of excesses and condemn Government violence, while condoning student and mob violence as an understandable, if regrettable, expression of the strong feelings against Hindi. There is no doubt that the police were restrained from taking necessary legitimate steps against mob rule for fear of lack of support from Government in the face of opposition criticism. This is a dangerous situation for the

maintenance of law and order in the country. The administrator and the police officer must have the confidence that unpleasant decisions taken by them, in all seriousness and honesty, will have the support of Government.

It is true that Government violence alone is no answer to the violence of any agitating group and that the deeper causes of "disaffection and ill-will" have also to be considered and answered. The blindness of Government leaders, including the Chief Minister of Madras, to the strength of anti-Hindi sentiment in the South, is a mark of the unreality

### Under the Lens

in which they live and move. It is understandable that the Congress in Madras did not want Republic Day to be tarnished by black flags flying everywhere. But the attempt to remove them forcibly, even from private residential buildings, was not only a serious miscalculation of the strength of anti-Hindi sentiment but an open provocation to retaliatory violence.

It is all very well for the Southern leaders to wax eloquent on the sentiments of the South, after the event, as Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, Iron and Steel Minister, Congress President Kamaraj and Mysore Chief Minister Nijalingappa did at Bangalore two weeks ago. But all of them and their protegee Chief Ministers in Andhra and Madras were a party to the decision involved in the transition from English to Hindi that began on January 26, 1965.

### Blissful Ignorance

In blissful ignorance of what was going on in the South, the Union Home Ministry efficiently prepared a series of orders and translations that would rapidly give effect to the switch over to Hindi. Whatever Mr. Nanda may have to say now, it is

clear that it was only the vehemence of Southern reaction that restrained his Ministry's zeal. He was able to act just in time and withhold many orders that were ready for dispatch, effecting the change in the official language of the Union.

The Congress Party as a whole was totally unprepared for the situation that faced them on Republic Day. As always, the problem had to force itself upon them before it would be considered. Can our leaders not learn to look ahead, anticipate difficulties, and formulate solutions? Must we always live from day to day, so engrossed in the affairs of the moment that we cannot see beyond our nose? This nation in which "Perspective Planning" is so much in vogue, must learn that we must plan ahead as much in politics, defence and ideology as we do in rates of economic growth.

### Slow to Act

The really dangerous aspect of our situation is the growing psychology that agitation and violence alone will evoke a response from the leadership. I heard it in Calcutta, even from leading businessmen, that Government took action on the bad food situation only after people had looted the shops. The responsible editor of a Malayali daily in Trivandrum told me that it was only after the recent student agitation that decisive action was taken by the Centre to dispatch food trains to Kerala.

To continue in this way is to invite national suicide. Sanity lies in a new responsiveness of the leadership to the needs and feelings of the people. Only in this way can respect for law and order and for the Constitution be engendered. Indifference on the part of the Congress leadership—often it may be laziness, sometimes it is just inefficiency—will play into the hands of sections in the right and left in the country who pay only lip service to democracy.

Hates fanned by bitter or ambitious men, fears fed by the threat of

insecurity and want, frustration of people and political parties who feel they are fighting against the stone wall of authority, only serve to strengthen the philosophy of despair. This is the breeding ground of totalitarian ideologies. Democratic opposition parties have the national duty of putting an end to the hate

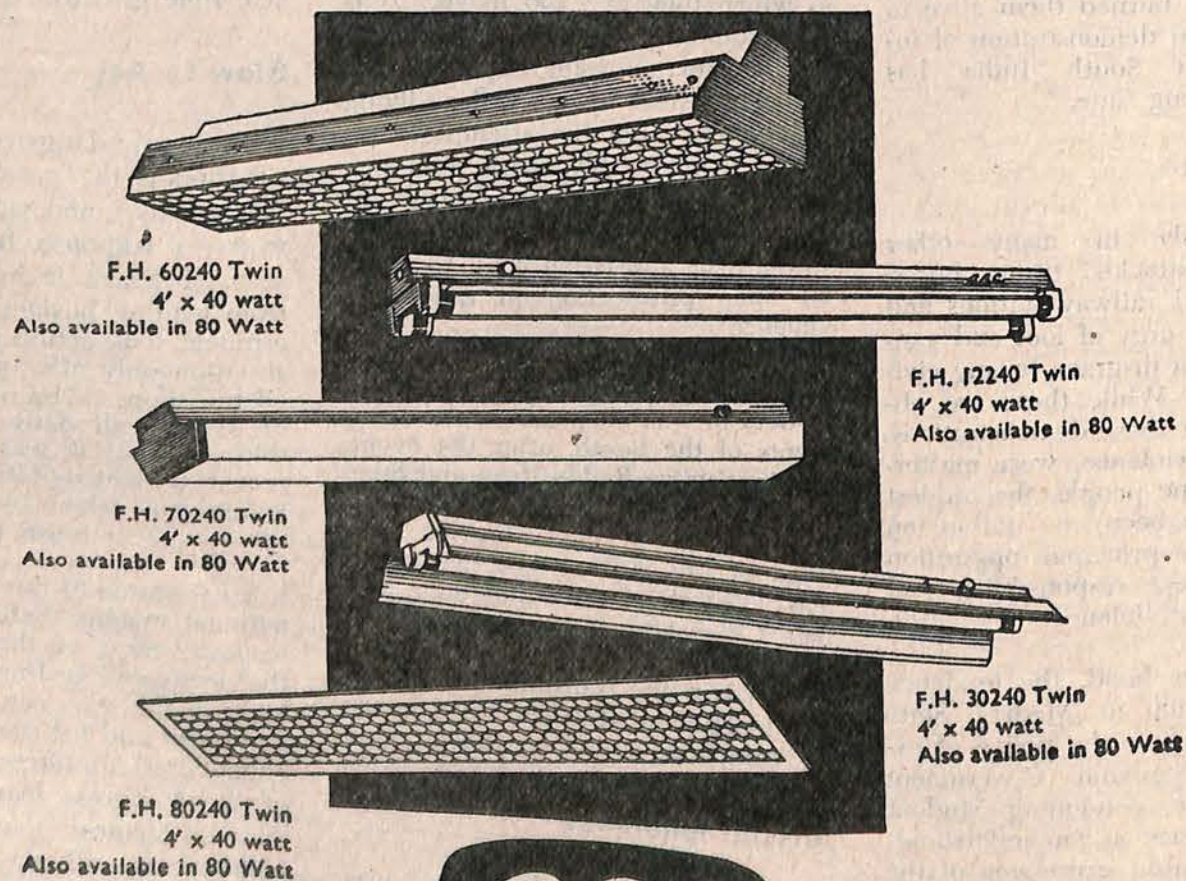
campaign that will only make them tools in subverting the unity and freedom of the nation.

The Congress Party has the even greater responsibility of being the conscience and the barometer of the mood and aspirations of the people. The Congress needs the opposition

just as the opposition needs to help the Congress. The democratic struggle for political power cannot blind both to their common interest in delivering to the 450 million people of this country a just and equitable society, united and free.

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## Language Formula to End Crisis

by Dr. K. M. Munshi

*While controversy is raging over whether to amend Part XVII of the Constitution, which makes Hindi the official language, HIMMAT invited Dr. K. M. Munshi, one of the architects of India's Constitution, to express his views.—Ed.*

ON NOVEMBER 26, 1949, when the people of this country gave unto themselves the Constitution, we were one in unity of purpose and mission to build up a great democratic Republic.

The sacrilegious manner in which the Constitution was amended 17 times in 14 years has led to the erosion of the sanctity and inviolability of the Constitution.

A policy of expediency and drift coupled with the surrender to linguism at every stage has fed the fissiparous tendencies in the country. As a result, in each State, the linguistic majorities have adopted an aggressively possessive attitude towards their State, coming to look upon it as their exclusive property, to be defended against other States and the Centre.

As things are, the Official Languages Act embodies a workable compromise acceptable to the general public, which, while it desires Hindi to develop as a National Language of the future, is, at the same time, keen on retaining English as an Official Language for an indefinite period.

### Take Note

We cannot but take note of the fact that Hindi is not yet ready and developed to be accepted as the exclusive National Language. Certain parts of the country are reluctant to accept it at this stage. It is equally true that, while it is essential to retain English as an Official Language, we must have Hindi as the national medium to permit country-wide participation of the people in the activities

of the National Government. The Act, therefore, rightly provides for an interim period of adjustment.

The intractable position taken up by the protagonists on either side is a sad commentary on our emergency consciousness.

The present crisis over Hindi is the direct outcome of the failure to drive home in unmistakable terms that the administration and educational and economic development of the country as a whole is an all-encompassing national concern.

### Linguistic Chauvinism

Apart from the growth of militant linguistic chauvinism, it is leading to disquieting North-South feeling and to the development of a secessionist outlook among some sections in the South. However unjustified such feeling may be, it should not be permitted to grow.

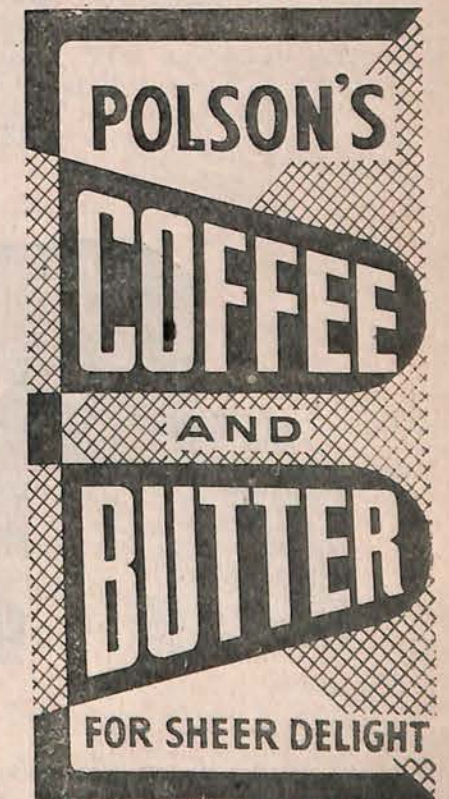
English, however essential to our growth, by itself, restricted as it is bound to be to a comparatively small segment of our people, cannot for ever serve the purpose of a popular common medium for the masses throughout the country. Part XVII of the Constitution was devised to give the country an inter-regional medium. If the country has to be one, it must have at some time or the other, a common inter-regional language which, in the nature of things, can only be Hindi principally drawn from Sanskrit. May be it may take a generation or two to achieve it.

In the interest of national unity, therefore, a suitable formula can and

should be devised within the framework of Part XVII of the Constitution, more or less on the lines enunciated by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, and should be given statutory recognition.

The paramount need of the hour is national solidarity, without which all our problems will remain unsolved.

It is high time that a national platform is created, composed of all political parties pledged to the stability and integrity of the nation to solve this language crisis. I plead that steps be taken to convene a National Convention to evolve such a formula.



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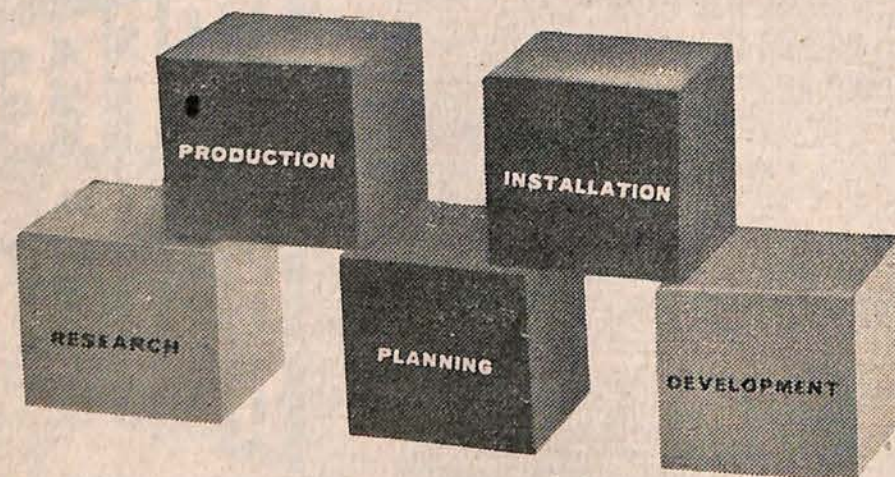
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## Will Development Aid Continue?

by Roger Hicks

*As estimates for the fourth Five Year Plan are coming up, Western nations are re-appraising their policy of aid to India. A high-powered German delegation led by Dr. Hans Kunze has explored prospects of German Aid. Last week the French and Indian Prime Ministers in New Delhi discussed France's role in aiding development. In this article Professor Roger Hicks gives an idea of what Europe is thinking.—Ed.*

LET IT not be assumed that Europe and America will, willy-nilly, go on giving Development Aid to India.

That the rich nations have an absolute and unconditional moral obligation to help the poor nations is a new thought in history. It may prove to be a temporary one. "To the victor belong the spoils" has ruled in the past. What will rule in the future is still unknown.

One thing is certain. The conviction is growing that to give indiscriminate aid to a nation may be as irresponsible, unwise and unhelpful as it is to give indiscriminate aid to an individual.

There is a story of a parson who gave money to a beggar who had obviously drunk too much. "Thank you kindly, sir," said the beggar. "If only there were more parsons like you there would be more drunks like me."

Sir Julian Crossley, Chairman of Barclay's Bank D.C.O., in a recent statement said, "Those who are seeking help should realize that it cannot flow freely, and indeed will eventually dry up altogether, if it is subjected to abuse."

### "Futile and Harmful"?

Some politicians speak more strongly. Mr. Enoch Powell, prominent British Conservative M.P. and a former Minister, said last December that Western aid to under-developed countries, which attempted to speed development or raise living standards, was "both futile and harmful" to the countries that received it and that if the West were to bestow all its goods on the world's poor, it would only disappear like a snowflake on boiling water. The outcome could be a common level of incompetence.

At the same time the wrongness and the danger of the world being divided into rich and poor is clearly recognized. Speaking before the United Nations General Assembly in October 1963, Lord Home (as he then was) said, "My Government believes that the greatest problem before the world today is the gap between the

rich and the poor countries." Mr. Harold Wilson, speaking at the memorial meeting for Mr. Nehru in London, said, "Our frontiers are the Himalayas and the standard of living of the Indian people."

The desire to help, and the responsibility for helping, are still there but the question as to whether aid is being used in a way that really helps is being increasingly raised.

First and foremost it is asked whether the huge sums of money poured into under-developed countries have not led to such an increase in corruption that the economic as well as the moral future of those countries is threatened.

### "Disservice in Disguise"?

The articles of Prof. B. R. Shenoy (formerly India's representative on the Monetary Fund) published in London and on the Continent have been widely read. He calls Development Aid a "white elephant" and says, "To go on extending aid to countries suffering from monetary, fiscal and other instabilities is a disservice in disguise. The aid-giving countries cannot divest themselves of their moral responsibility to ensure that aid does, in fact, aid."

He continues, "The object of economic growth is twofold—improvement in the standard of living of the masses and a narrowing of the gap between the incomes of the very rich and the very poor. Judged by this double

criterion, there has been little growth during the past twelve years."

Prof. Shenoy goes on to point out the increased opportunities for corruption and says, "Controls bring windfalls to the traders protected by them, and give rise to illicit earnings on the black market. These gains are ultimately collected from consumers and accrue generally to the better-off. Import licences, for example, fetch huge prices in the black market."

### "Erosion of Values"

The Professor estimates that about £565 million (Rs. 750 crores) a year is the total anti-social income shift and that this has gone almost entirely to the upper-income groups.

The Santhanam Committee's Report, that corruption is "galloping" in India, merely confirms the investigations of those sent from Europe to inspect the use of Development Aid money.

The following extract from the Report has been quoted in books in Europe: "The erosion of moral values and utter disregard of ethical standards has caused the tentacles of corruption to envelop the entire life of the nation. Moral values have slumped to the bottom. Truth and honesty have become things of the past. The common man has lost faith in the Government. Unless honesty at all government levels is insured, the country's social structure will

*Continued on page 12*

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Control on Commonwealth Visitors

FROM MICHAEL HENDERSON

London

COMMONWEALTH visitors will face closer scrutiny on arrival in Britain.

The authorities have known that some who posed as "students" or "visitors" made their studies and visits last a lifetime. But figures just released are startling.

The numbers who come to Britain and the numbers who leave, taking into account those allowed to settle, should be roughly the same. In 1963 the difference was 1,000, in 1964 it was 9,000.

For the first time those from Commonwealth countries may be asked to say where they are going to stay and prove their relationship to the dependants they name.

Details will be filed and possibly checked. Thousands will have time limits stamped on their travel documents. If they have not left the country when their permission has expired, the police will be informed. Conviction could lead to deportation.

Ultra-violet rays will be used to examine passports, entry certificates

and educational qualifications for forgeries. Immigration staffs are being strengthened at the 40 principal sea and air ports.

Controversy rages over new immigration legislation. But the Government is determined at least to enforce the existing 1962 Act.

The honest student or visitor has nothing to fear.

### Colombo Plan Author for New Delhi

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Canberra

THE MAN popularly credited with being the author of the Colombo Plan, Sir Arthur Tange, will become Australian High Commissioner to India next April.

Sir Arthur, 50, is the present Secretary of the Department of External Affairs in Canberra.

He has been the Government's principal adviser on foreign policy during the 11 years he has held the post.

The present High Commissioner in Delhi, Sir James Plimsoll, at 47 will take over Sir Arthur's post as head of the External Affairs Department in Canberra.

Both men are among Australia's most experienced diplomats and Sir Arthur's appointment is seen as a further extension of the Government's policy of rating New Delhi as one of its most senior posts.

Canberra's upgrading of Delhi came with Sir James Plimsoll's appointment when India was facing Chinese aggression on its northern frontiers.

Sir Arthur has led a number of Australian delegations to overseas conferences and is popularly credited with the authorship of the Colombo Plan.

He is said to have worked out the broad outlines when flying from Sydney to Colombo to attend the meeting which led to the establishment of the plan.

He has played a key role in negotiating three major planks in Australian foreign policy—the Colombo Plan, the SEATO Pact and the ANZUS Treaty.

More recently Sir Arthur has been vitally concerned in the development of Australian relations with Malaysia and the consequential change in relations with Indonesia.

### Opinion Poll Trends in France, Germany

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Zurich

THE STATISTICIANS succeed sometimes in doing amazing things. They pull out facts and figures that completely

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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS—cont'd.

destroy false ideas, which years of propaganda have imposed on us.

One such myth in Europe is that West Germany is a nation which is just dying to go to war. The German Gallup Institute asked recently if there was anything in the world worth dying for. 49 per cent of the men and 59 per cent of the women answered "yes". But the reasons for which they were ready to die, were quite unexpected. 29 per cent of the men and 42 per cent of the women were ready to die for their family. 15 per cent of the men and 9 per cent of the women were ready to die for religious or ideological reasons. Only three per cent of the men and one per cent of the women were ready to die for their nation.

A similar inquiry was made in France. The question put to the French citizens was slightly different: "What is today the most important problem for you and for France?" 58 per cent of the people asked answered that the living standard and the rising prices were their major preoccupation. Only 5 per cent considered the highly political question of France's independent nuclear deterrent, and 4 per cent the aid to underdeveloped countries to be their major concern.

A similar trend is shown in the statistics of the future of Europe which are being prepared by planners and statisticians all over the continent.

Reflections for 1985, prepared at the request of the French planning commission, is the classic example of such a study. This 160-page book knows everything about the men and women of 1985: what he will eat, how he will live, where he will work, how he will spend his holidays, etc.

"But what is the aim of this whole drive forward?" asks the French weekly *L'Express* in its review of *Reflections* for 1985. And it continues: "What will the aims of this society be? What values will it have?" And the reviewer deplors the fact that the statisticians and economists who prepared the report consciously and clearly indicate that these questions do not concern them.

### More and More Prosperous

But neither economists nor governments can avoid anymore the issue pointed up by these facts. The peoples of Europe have grown more and more prosperous since the war but they seem to be less and less satisfied. The more the governments do for them, the more they demand.

The economists and statisticians do not dare to express it in so simple words as they do not seem to be ready to bear the consequences of such conclusions but the European economy needs badly a purpose bigger than itself which it can project on the peoples concerned. Otherwise, in spite of all the expansion, it will create more problems than it solves.

## The week in Asia

**HANOI**—Soviet Premier Kosygin pledged to "strengthen the defence potentiality" of North Vietnam on his departure. As the Hanoi regime possesses large land forces it is believed that Soviet aid would be in terms of aircraft and artillery of which Hanoi is very short. A joint communique labelled "American imperialism" as the major aggressive force in the world.

**SINGAPORE**—The Labour Government of Harold Wilson is giving "full support" to the American policy of reprisals against North Vietnam. A British Foreign Office spokesman said, "Our general policy in Vietnam coincides with American policy and we shall give it our full backing."

**TOKYO**—Prime Minister Sato told the Japanese Diet that the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam was a "retaliatory measure and an act of self-defence".

**SAIGON**—President Johnson ordered the withdrawal of all American dependents and the installation of air defence missiles as South Vietnamese and American planes continued raids on military installations in North Vietnam. Two U.S. nuclear submarines armed with nuclear-tipped polaris missiles with a 2,800 mile range are cruising in the area as are three aircraft carriers instead of the normal one.

**PEKING**—Soviet Premier Kosygin's second conference here with Premier Chou En-lai in a week following his visit to Hanoi is regarded as a major development in bridging the long-standing differences between Moscow and Peking. His subsequent visit to North Korea which has taken Peking's side in earlier disputes substantiates this view.

**GANGTOK**—Chinese troops were continuing their build-up in Chumbi Valley across the Sikkim border. They have begun missile testing operations in the area.

**COLOMBO**—Chinese diplomats have bought Rs. 1000 worth of maps showing electoral districts in Ceylon in a demonstration of unusual interest in the forthcoming election.

**KUALA LUMPUR**—Violent anti-Government demonstrations broke out following the arrest of four left-wing Socialist leaders accused of plotting against the country. Indefinite curfew has been imposed on the capital city.

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**DEVELOPMENT AID** — Continued from page 9

crumble, bringing in its wake chaos and anarchy."

A Report of a committee sent out by the United Nations in 1959 to examine its community development plans is also quoted. It said: "A whole series of grave defects are placing in jeopardy all the country's development plans... Irrigation channels and field drains are not being dug, with the result that water coming down from the great new concrete dams in the mountains is saturating, not rescuing, the arid land and now threatens 'a national calamity'."

On a recent lecture tour in Europe these points were put forward and I was asked in influential circles whether the whole policy of giving Development Aid should not be re-considered. The taxpayers wanted to know why money should be taken

from their pockets to enrich the bank accounts of corrupt men elsewhere. Nobody supposed that corruption was limited to the countries that received. It is a disease in every country, but for a poor country it can be fatal.

Is it not a terrible thing that a world renowned industrialist like Shri J.R.D. Tata has to say to the Central Advisory Council of Industries (January 28, 1965) that the price of honesty is economic ruin, and that the reward for dishonesty, on the other hand, is great? No wonder he calls for a reduction in the incidence of taxation in the corporate sector.

**Substained Effort**

Most of all I was asked in Europe whether India was making a determined and sustained effort to deal with the corruption all these reports substantiated.

The Home Minister, Mr. Nanda, may have earned criticism from some in India for talking so boldly of the corruption in the country, but he has won respect abroad for his country and himself by tackling the problem that all know to exist. In Bombay, on February 2, 1965, Mr. Nanda called for volunteers to launch a country-wide "struggle" on the lines of the freedom fight to free the nation from the "disease" which was impeding economic development and worsening the condition of the already hard-hit masses.

But how is this to be done? It will only come about when people are inspired by an idea big enough to

change their values so they care more for their country than they do for themselves. They need to begin, not by exposing others, but by putting their own house in order and then letting others know what they have done.

Again and again in Europe I was asked to tell of the revolution of national character that is being led in India by Rajmohan Gandhi. In this work of Moral Re-Armament people see the only root solution. The question asked was whether it could be multiplied in time. People and governments wanted to know what kind of support MRA was receiving from men in government and industry. They felt the measure of support given to MRA was the best indication of the real intention of India to deal with corruption. In fact, a leading member of the Parliamentary Committee for Development Aid of one important country, after expressing this view, said and underlined that his Government "is hesitating to go on with Development Aid for the next Five Year Plan on the same old basis".

**Act Fast**

The world has already been warned of what happens when the right action is not taken in time or on a wide enough scale. John Bullock's report from the Congo in the *Daily Telegraph* illustrates this. He says, "The revolution, which is now being suppressed by the guns of the mercenaries, was not something arranged by Communist agitators, however much they may have fomented it once it started. The rising developed from the chaotic administration of the Central Government, the venality of officials, disputes over tribal boundaries and rage at the blatant difference in conditions of the haves and the have-nots."

What wide and joyful support there would be for a nation and a Minister that threw their energies into bringing about a revolution of national character and the moral re-armament of their nation! What a response they would get and what a lead they would give to other countries if they stood up to the pressures of vested interests and materialistic ideologies and stood four-square for what is right! India, and not China, would then have the dominant idea for Asia.

**LETTERS**

**HINDI AND ENGLISH**

Sir,

I am a South Indian. I thank you for putting this issue of Hindi in its correct perspective. I agree fully that the real and, in fact, the only solution is for India to assume responsibility for the world.

What I fear most is not that I will be exploited, or that I will be at a disadvantage. The real danger is that this language issue may divide North from South at a time when of all things we need unity most.

As a South Indian I refuse merely to react to the "imposition of Hindi", as some call it. I am deeply concerned about the situation in Asia. Also, in this age when food can be grown in sea and desert, millions in India and Asia are starving. I want to change this. I want South India to take on this job. We need to work closely with North India to do this. The language issue will then get no attention. I believe the language issue will die if it is starved of attention.

Will South Indians fight for "Anti-Hindi" and North Indians fight for "Pro-Hindi"? Or will both unite and fight together for "Pro-India"!

A. V. R. MUNDKUR

Trivandrum

**YOUTH**

**"We Must Bury the Hatchet"**

by James Gay

*Former President of the Student Senate of Virginia State College, and a committeeman of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People.*

MY DAILY ENCOUNTERS with the evils of segregation, discrimination and prejudice produced bitterness and hatred towards certain white people in authority. I wondered how we could produce an America able to answer the hatred, division and injustice in the world when we could not unite our own country.

Last summer at the Conference for Tomorrow's America I found the formula: change. I wanted the segregationist to stop hating, but reserved the right to hate if I chose to. I saw that if I want others to change, I had to first change myself. I decid-

**MEN OF DARING**

Sir,

India needs men to match her mountains. Who are the men who will give the clarion call to pull the nation together? Where are the men who fought alongside Mahatma Gandhi with guts and daring, to turn the tide today?

Out of chaos and impurity may still come unity and sanity. Now is the time.

MRS. Z. F. TALEYARKHAN,

Bombay.

**INDIA CAN MAKE IT**

Sir,

Your editorial, "India Can Make it", made me sit back and think. Personally I feel there is nothing our country cannot accomplish, provided our people are willing to make a sustained effort and use their God-given intelligence. Our ancients did wonderful things, but subsequently went into a decline mainly because of selfishness and sheer indolence. Later, Gandhiji led us to independence and gave us a fresh start. Since then, as you point out, we have made good progress and will continue to do so, provided our people unite as brothers for the improvement of our country and the betterment of the world.

You are right when you say: "Making other people grow is an art that Indians need to learn..." Leadership devoid of even a trace of selfishness is the answer to this need.

B. G. R. KRISHNAMA,

Secunderabad.

**INDIA'S PRESTIGE**

Sir,

Today everyone is keen for a better functioning of the Government, for a standard price level, for a solution of languages, for a home for each one, and all this we want the Government to do. But what can the Government do when people keep heaps of black money, when the workers and students strike?

Some men make it a point to go to their temples and churches to worship the Lord, but have they ever made it a point to do at least one thing that the Lord wants them to do? Has a businessman decided to be honest with his dealings from now on? Has a worker decided that from today he is going to work hard and not go on strikes? Has a student decided that from now on he will be honest in his class and not cheat the teachers and parents? Has a politician decided to be honest with his work and lift the country out of the present situation? Yes, many have decided, but many, many more have to decide.

Even today if people decide to work and fight, there is hope. By fight I do not mean going about breaking buses and trains which are our own country's property made for our benefit, but to fight for truth in one's own self. If everyone is willing there is hope to regain India's prestige, hope to drive back the Chinese, hope to show them that there is a better ideology than hate.

(Miss) RASHMI BAGGA,

Madras-17.

backwash of a totalitarian, anti-God world.

America gives other countries money, the Communists give them an idea, a philosophy of life. With our multi-racial society, wealth, technology and know-how we should show the world how to live.

President Johnson talks about the "Great Society", where everyone has enough food, work and an equal chance to develop his abilities. This is the American dream, but it can never be realized unless we create the new type of American.

The new type of American is honest, unselfish, cannot be bought with dollars and is concerned for the needs and welfare of others. He loves his country so much that he is willing to discipline his own life to ensure its greatness. All of us have some of this new type of American in us, but we must increase this level by changing human nature on a vast scale.

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## FOR WOMEN

### Stop These Filthy Films

by Dorothea Parfit

*Mrs. Parfit is a screenwriter from Santa Barbara, Calif. Her father, the late Hermann Hagedorn, was the official biographer of Theodore Roosevelt.—Ed.*

THE MAN who invented the phrase "peace at any price" must have had three ulcers, a game leg, and a yearning to be six feet under.

Six months ago I decided to wage war, hot war, on the deliberate scheme, cooked up by a few, to pump garbage into the minds of our children. The daily dawn has never hit with such bounce and expectation in my life before. Of course, the attacks that come when you step on someone's underground plan leave an odd feeling in the stomach. But it's worth the final outcome.

The question was: how to start? I looked around, grabbed hold of what I thought was a mouse's tail and discovered an elephant at the other end.

A filthy film, which had been refused by all but one theatre manager in our city, was finally booked in the remaining theatre. We went to the manager and said the exhibition of such a film was an insult to his patrons. Sandwiched between determined women and his boss far away, the manager reached for his phone.

The film executive at the other end, seeing the dollars in jeopardy, drove a hundred miles to confront us and force his point.

#### Purple and Green

In his purple jacket and green waistcoat he argued with us about the "great art" of the film in question. His arguments were contradictory. In one breath he extolled the film and in the next complained about the vandalism of youth in our city's theatres which he said was worse than any in his chain. We inquired if the "new art" films helped the situation. He shrugged and said it was up to police to arrest young seat-slathers.

After three hours the film boss



Dorothea Parfit

said, "I will compromise a little, you will compromise a little and we will reach a happy solution and everyone will be pleased."

We replied, "But we don't intend to compromise one inch."

He said, "Everyone has to compromise."

"I have a son of seventeen," I replied. "He knows why we are here tonight. He's with us one hundred per cent. There is no middle road between what is right and what is wrong. If our children are to have a future, this may be one of the unshakeable truths America needs to live out more than any other."

The film was cancelled.

A film was shown in the nearby university. It had to be smuggled into the country. It was a film subversive in intent, blasphemous and sickening. Why is a film like that searched out and chosen to be shown at a high-grade university? We saw it, then wrote a strong letter to the newspaper suggesting the university publish an apology for imposing such a film on the public.

The day after the letter's publication the phone began to ring. "Thank

God someone has spoken," said the voice at the other end. The phone kept ringing. "We have been angry at the same things; thank you for voicing what we feel." That was the tone of every call. I fired back. "The point is, what are you going to do now?"

The television station called. Since I was a controversial subject would I appear on TV? Certainly. The filmed interview went out five times that weekend in the middle of the newscast.

#### Raise a Ruckus

And the phone calls went on: "No one is discussing anything else in my swimming club," said one. "We've been chicken long enough," exclaimed another.

People who had been lulled to sleep for years began to perk up—some to the extent that they realized danger has one foot in the door. We had raised a ruckus about one movie and the resultant howl seemed astonishingly out of proportion. Or was it? Had we threatened the plan of some who were not keen to be discovered? Is there a purpose behind the filthy films? People began to question themselves on this point. What happens to a generation who day after day view a distortion of good and evil, cynicism and despair?

#### Not Prudes

This past year the smallest percentage of films in the history of the Legion of Decency were awarded the "Family" rating. The highest percentage of films ever were condemned.

Women are frantically afraid of being thought prudes. I say prudes are those too prissy to shout from the house-tops what their conscience tells them to say.

We are not fighting for a point of view. We are fighting for the life of our nation. A nation whose youth are mealy-minded and sexually self-centred have neither the vigour nor inclination to resist tyranny of Left or Right.



## VIEWPOINT

### Education: For Intellect or Character?

by V. Ramesh, Bombay

*Consideration must be given to the question, what constitutes education and what is the proper way to be educated... whether... studies should be regulated more with respect to intellect or with regard to character.*

—ARISTOTLE (*Politics VIII. 2*)

A PROMINENT Bombay paper suggested that after schooling was over, every boy and girl should undergo a screening test. This should decide the selection of those who hold promise. To the remaining, technical training in any craft should be imparted. This is worth considering. The Employment Exchange has on its list thousands of graduates who cannot find a job.

Unfortunately this system cannot work with our present outlook on employment. In our country a degree is often the only passport to a job. A good degree (the more the better) ensures the student and often his family financial security. The craze for degrees and diplomas is obviously great. It is here that we come up against a contradiction.

Economics tells us that when the supply is much more than the demand, the price of commodities falls. This applies to degrees as well.

An ideal university should be situated at an isolated place, free from noise and traffic. The teacher-taught relationship should be sincere, warm and based on mutual respect and understanding. The ardent teacher should nourish the enthusiasm of students and take full interest in their progress. The classroom should be a forum of free exchange of ideas. Barring solitary cases, this is rarely found. The teacher pours out information like an electronic machine and the student takes copious notes like a stenographer. And both are satisfied that they have done their jobs.

While examinations may be used to assess the calibre of students, they should certainly not be the sole criterion. Full credit should be given for class work, records, laboratory experiments, tutorials, seminars, symposia and other activities. These should be supplemented by *viva voce* questions. Besides eliminating mug-

ging, this will generate a healthy environment.

Some of the problems faced by students must be appreciated:

- 1) *Ill-equipped libraries* where books are either not available or are limited. Many of them are kept in a bad condition, with torn pages, scribbles, etc. To avoid this, text books should be published at a reasonable price and book banks should be maintained.
- 2) *A single examination* at the end of the course; this is a considerable risk as the entire future of a candidate is decided in a few hours.
- 3) *Overcrowding of classrooms* whereby personal contact between the teacher and the taught is hampered.
- 4) *Long journeys* to be made between home and "varsity". In a place like Bombay this alone costs the student two to three hours every day, thus draining his energy.
- 5) *Limited number of scholarships, stipends, etc.*, whereby the deserving students are kept away.

All these deserve attention. Besides these, education should be rationalized. The medium of education could be either Hindi or English but certainly not a regional language. Fresh thinking on the part of educationists, administrators, students and citizens is called for.

I have often conjured up the following picture in my mind. Raghu, a young boy, enters the university. He learns various things about the world, the different cultures, civilizations, etc. He is taken on excursions to villages where he sees for himself the life led by farmers and peasants in the country. He is also taught elements of science, education, economics and other branches of knowledge. When he comes out he can face the future with confidence.

Contributions to the Viewpoint Column representing the personal views of readers on important topics should not exceed 500 words.—ED.

## This was a life

ASOKA

300—232 BC.

THE BATTLE of Kalinga altered a civilization. A victorious Emperor toured the scene of his conquest. One hundred thousand men lay butchered. Thousands more were dying of disease and wounds. So stunned was Asoka at the enormous cost of his ambition that he changed his life.

The Maurya dynasty, to which Asoka belonged, rose out of the remains of Alexander the Great's eastern empire. Soon after the Greek's departure in 324 B.C., Chandragupta, Asoka's grandfather, overthrew the King of Magadh, India's largest kingdom. His father, Samudragupta, extended the empire. Asoka inherited a powerful, centralized kingdom which covered a great part of India.

Immediately after the Kalinga War, Asoka joined the Buddhist community. For two years he served as a lay brother before taking the oaths of a monk. But his greatness lay in the fact that he remained king. Not content alone to alter his own values, he set out to alter drastically the direction of an age. On stone pillars across the country he inscribed edicts instructing his people how to live. He demanded the highest standards of himself and his officials.

"There are certain dispositions which render success impossible, namely envy, lack of perseverance, harshness, impatience, want of application, indolence. You should desire to be free from all such dispositions," he instructed them.

In dealing with minority groups within his empire or with the wild tribes on his borders, he commanded that the least necessary force be used. He told his army, "Do your duty, inspire these people with trust so that they may be convinced that the king is unto them even as a father, and that as he cares for himself, so he cares for them."

For the forty years of his reign there is no record of any attempt at civil war, no hint of trouble with neighbouring states.

He sent forth missionaries of Buddhism throughout his kingdom and to Ceylon, Nepal, China, Syria, Egypt, and even Europe. "And this is the chiefest conquest in his majesty's opinion... the conquest by the law of piety."

If Asoka is most remembered among Emperors, it is because he built an Empire of the Spirit.

## Q and A

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

Q — Who is the founder of Moral Re-Armament and what is its concept?

KRISHAN CHAND,  
Jind, Punjab State

A—Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, a Pennsylvanian from America of Swiss descent, was the initiator of Moral Re-Armament. In a speech on his birthday on June 4, 1950, in Germany, he described the origin of Moral Re-Armament thus:

"Twelve years ago I walked in the woods of the Black Forest near Freudensadt (in Germany). The world was on the edge of chaos. Just as today, everyone longed for peace and prepared for war.

"As I walked in those quiet woods one thought kept coming to me, 'moral and spiritual re-armament. The next great movement in the world will be a movement of moral re-armament for all nations'."

He launched Moral Re-Armament in the East End of London among the workers a few weeks later. They responded. Moral Re-Armament went out to the world. It has become a world force, of which Moscow Radio said, "Moral Re-Armament is a global ideology with bridgeheads in every continent, now in its final phase of total expansion throughout the world. It has the power to capture radical, revolutionary minds."

When Frank Buchman died in August 1961 at the age of 81 tributes rolled in from all parts of the world. A leader of the Buddhist Abbots said of him, "Such a man comes once in a thousand years to show humanity the right way." The greatest tribute of all was the countless men and women in many nations who carried on his work, with undiminished vigour.

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In a recent article, *Time* magazine wrote: "Many a spiritual movement has expired with its founder, but Moral Re-Armament is made of more durable stuff."

As early as 1915, Frank Buchman told his friends, "I want you to live for continents. I want you to think for continents." He believed in the necessity of world revolution. The world would have been saved much tragedy and suffering if men had seen what he saw—that unless materialism is cured, human hates and selfishness dealt with and answered, democracy would degenerate into the jungle of anarchy and tyranny would take over.

"Human nature can change," he once said. "That is the root of the answer. National economies can be changed, that is the fruit of the answer. World history must be changed, that is the destiny of our age." The four-fold programme of revolution is—change yourself on the basis of the four absolute moral standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love, change other people, save a crumbling civilization and reach the millions.

"The world has the resources, technology and skills to answer poverty, banish unemployment and guarantee security. But these potentialities are pitched against man's selfishness and national vested interests. A revolution in motive alone can realize our immense possibilities.

The spirit of moral re-armament can bring to birth a world development plan that goes beyond "Great Society" capitalism, "welfare society" Socialism and even "consumer-goods-oriented" Communism.

But we must plan beyond affluence to a society where work is not only rewarded justly but considered significant; in which higher standards of living will lead not to more indulgence but to greater discipline; where assurance of security frees men not to do what they please but to make peace with their conscience and rediscover their Maker.

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# Where Hate Can Melt

by **Rajmohan Gandhi**

TO SOME, patriotism has become a dirty word. A Bombay lawyer told me that he treats as frauds all men who say they are living for the country.

I disagree with the lawyer. It is not easy to love others the way we love our families. But it is essential to have millions in our land loving India with a real care. Millions who will learn not only to die for India but also to live for her, day after day.

You love your land deeply when you are away. At least, your feelings come to the fore.

I love India as she is—with all her dirt, smells, overcrowding, inefficiency and frustrating bottlenecks. But I fight for her to become the country she is meant to be. Clean, united and strong—with food, clothes, a decent shelter and the chance of a real education for every son and daughter of every mother from Kanyakumari to Kashmir, from NEFA to Bombay.

## We'll Reach There

We are a long, long way from it, but by God we shall reach there one day.

Here I am in lovely Montevideo, capital of Uruguay. On Sunday, nearly two million out of the country's three million were on the magnificent beaches. I am glad they can enjoy their lives.

Yet it is strange that in this nuclear and ideological age the bathing suit should become the Uruguayan national costume.

The Uruguayans justly take pride in their tradition of democracy in a continent where dictatorships are as common as *bhel-puri* stalls in Chowpatty. But democracy will not last here without a moral revolution. Prices are galloping. Inflation is rising by 50 per cent yearly, while salaries and pensions stay steady.

The leadership is divided and indecisive. Thinking people expect dictatorial rule here before too long if a radical change does not come about.

Mr. Peter Howard summed up the situation aptly when he said that a nation is a cow that dries up and dies if it is milked by many and fed by few.

The only Indian news in the papers here is about two men who apparently have burnt themselves in Madras State to show their opposition to Hindi.

This is sad and serious. And men in Delhi, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, as well as in Tamilnad and the rest of the South, need to face what lies behind it and what it could lead to.

People in the North are understandably keen on Hindi. But they need to be aware that a man from Coimbatore, Kottayam, Mysore or Vijayawada finds himself as confused by the language in Kanpur, Varanasi and Patna as an Indian in Montevideo.

It should also be clear that it was more popular to teach Hindi in the South during the freedom struggle as part of the campaign for national unity than it is now when there is no foreign rule we all wish to remove.

Today Hindi spells political suicide in the South. Mr. Kamaraj knows this and will not push it down the Tamilian throat.

## End This Feuding

Even now it is popular in parts of the U.P. and Bihar to fight against the English language. It is far more popular in the South to be anti-Hindi.

But nothing can justify the Madras suicides. They will only make matters worse. It will be entirely possible now for men in the North to excite a few people to burn themselves to demand a firmer pro-Hindi stand from the Government.

And if suicides are praised today, murder will be encouraged tomorrow.

A way must be found to end this feuding and hating over languages. Leaders of South and North can, if they want, find it. Hindi and the other Indian languages and

English will also find their place if our nation finds a great goal to work unitedly for.

The absence of this great aim is India's major weakness. The result is we spend our time, energies and passions in fierce clashes over issues that are irrelevant to the true needs of our people.

Freedom was a challenging, stirring aim. It united our millions, shook them from lethargy and indifference and brought out of them qualities of courage, sacrifice and sheer hard work.

We must again have a goal that is equally concrete and stirring.

Why can't we tell all our people and the world that our aim now is to produce on Indian soil Asia's most dynamic land?

## Dynamic Society

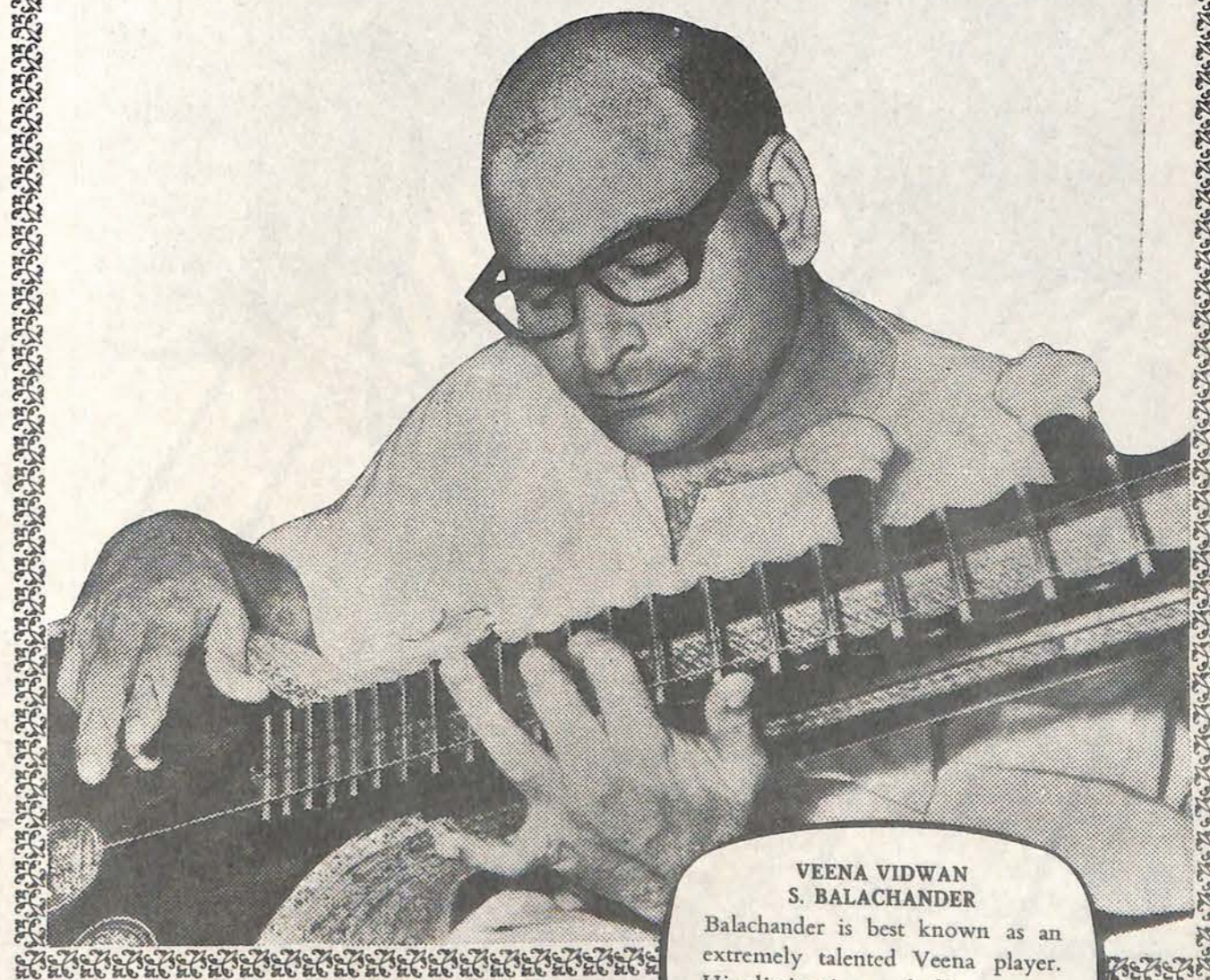
The characteristics of this dynamic society will be:

- 1) An increase in productivity much greater than the increase in population.
- 2) A swift march toward providing food, clothes, shelter and education for all our citizens.
- 3) A cure for corruption at all levels.
- 4) An end to jealousy and division among politicians.
- 5) Industries where employers are honest and pay a fair wage and workers earn a fair day's wage by putting in a fair day's work.
- 6) Homes where parents are honest with each other and with their children and children are honest with their parents.
- 7) A mounting army of fearless, selfless youth who pay in their lives the price of the new society they want.

I have no doubt that if our leaders present this challenge to our masses they will respond to it with a devotion and sacrifice greater than anything they gave Gandhi or Nehru.

The heat and hate over smaller issues will melt in the passionate pursuit of this dynamic society.

*"The Veena is capable of producing an incredible range of tonal variations, surprising at once for their depth and delicacy; the Veena makes one extra-sensitive to subtle nuances of sound. And fidelity of reproduction is one reason why I like a Philips radio best"*



VEENA VIDWAN  
S. BALACHANDER

Balachander is best known as an extremely talented Veena player. His distinctive melodic patterns reveal the immeasurable possibilities of this ancient Indian instrument.

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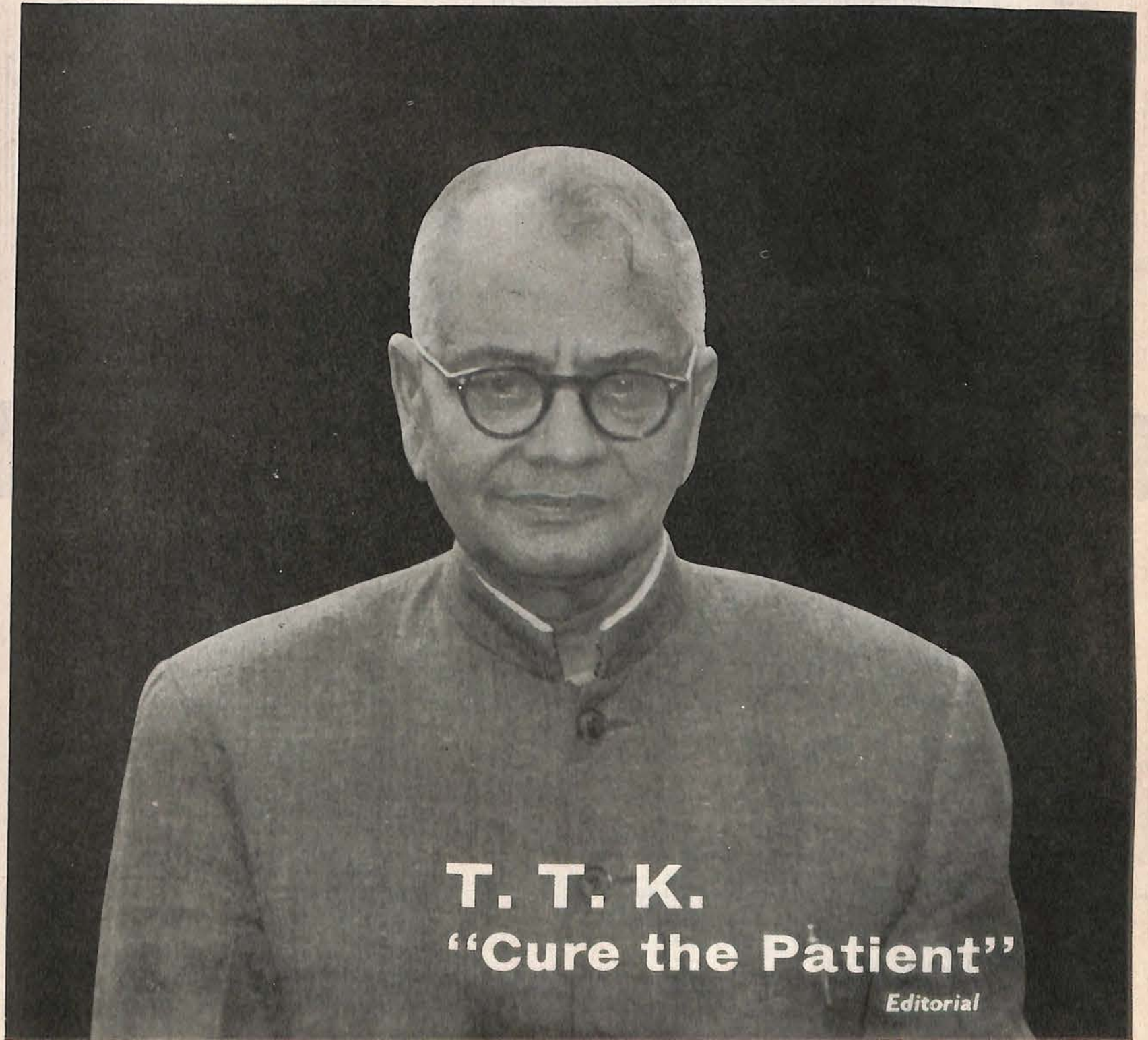
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**T. T. K.**  
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*Editorial*

Friday  
February 26  
1965

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