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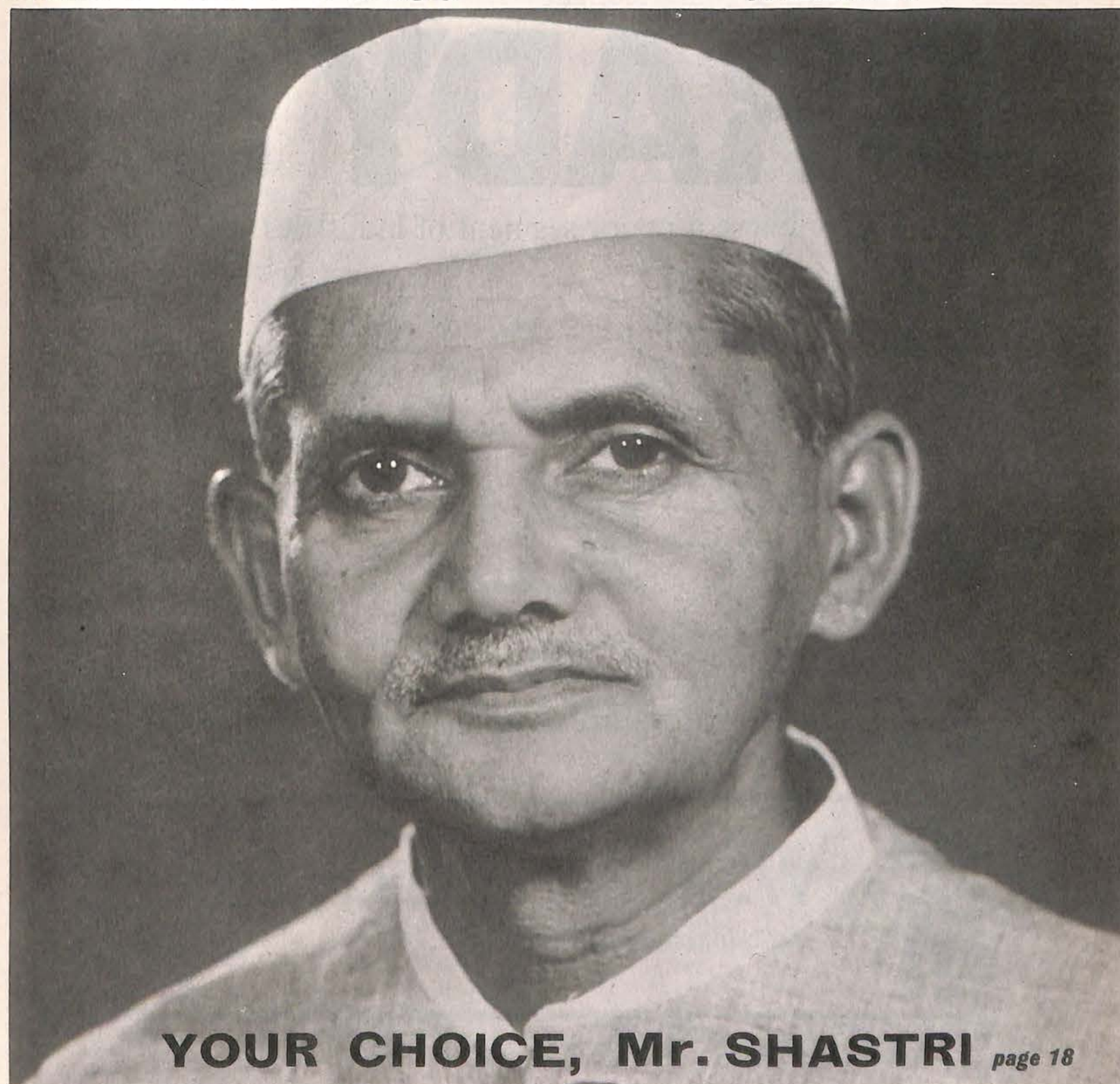
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HIMMAT

25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



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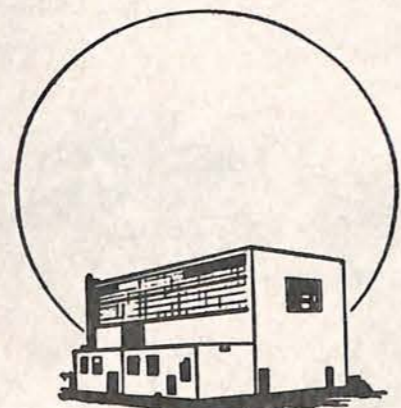
Friday
January 1
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DELHI RETHINKS FOREIGN POLICY? | CAN A COMMUNIST CHANGE?
R. Vaitheswaran

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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, January 1, 1965

Vol. 1 No. 9

Inadequate, Mrs. Pandit

Mrs. VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT told a meeting of Congress Workers that if Asia did not accept Socialism it would be enmeshed in Communism. The choice, according to her, is between Asian Socialism and Chinese Communism.

Mrs. Pandit is to be congratulated as one of the few people who is even contemplating an alternative to Chinese Communism. She is right in her assessment of the danger. She is laudable in her passion to end poverty. But she is wrong if she thinks Socialism, or even the ending of Indian poverty, will stop Communist China.

It is not even a clear ideal. It is all things to all people. It is a convenient slogan for aspiring politicians, a ladder to climb to the top by fooling the masses with a phrase; but above all a weapon to increase the money and power of the already powerful men who run the Indian Government.

But even the sincerest Socialist is no match for the dedicated Communist. For the Socialist wants only to win a higher wage, "end poverty". The Communist wants to win the world.

Mrs. Pandit, Communism is an ideology. What is Socialism?

Besides, it is an insult to the masses to assume that all they want is a little more food and clothing and shelter. We have to give them these, though the truth is that the corrupt and self-seeking who use Socialist phrases will never deliver even these. There are other forces in the heart of every man—love of country, fear of God, longing for integrity and a sense of fulfilment through a great aim which Socialism has not taken into account.

This is the weakness of "Socialist" Britain where affluence has increased selfishness to the point where even growth has stagnated.

Nearer home, the Burmese Socialism of U Nu succumbed to Ne Win's military dictatorship. Today China dictates Burmese policies.

India needs to do far more than end poverty, though the Congress Party have proved themselves incapable of doing even this. She must proclaim to the whole world an ideology greater than Communism. She must oppose the anti-God of Peking's leaders with the reality of God's spirit running this nation's people and Government.

Will America Think?

AMERICA "has now decided to pull the rug from under General Khanh". The quote is from an American news report from Saigon.

When will America learn? She has assumed an economic and military responsibility for other lands in an unequalled manner. Hers has been a thankless task. Yet something is seriously wrong if American policy in other lands has to be to remove, install, fire, isolate and remove leaders one by one.

The U.S. State Department has never understood Asia. It played the leading role in destroying Diem. There were many wrongs in Diem's rule. His relatives frequently behaved selfishly. But he *was* passionately keen to give Vietnam something better than Communism. Instead of making his regime better the Americans fell into the trap of ambitious, hate-filled men who decided to murder Diem.

America must pause and reflect. How is it that a huge, incredibly rich, fantastically powerful and amazingly generous country like America fails completely to win over the friendship of a few million people of Vietnam? Could it be that the human spirit wants more than money, guns and pleasure?

A cure to corruption, for instance? The Viet Cong arm and finance themselves out of U.S. aid that slips into their hands through corruption and subversion.

What the people of Vietnam, and all Asia, want to know is, does America have an ideology, a way of life that can cure corruption and also the hates among classes, castes, tribes and sects? Without such an ideology America can ship all her wealth to Vietnam and explode all her bombs over the Vietnam jungles, but she will still fail to win the people.

Prepare For Algiers

BEHIND the scenes, China is stepping up the pressure prior to the second Afro-Asian Conference due to open in Algiers in March. Premier Chou En-lai is soon to pay his second visit to Africa.

Last week Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio began a tour of Arab and African countries. Cairo circles described it as "a joint Sino-Indonesian diplomatic offensive in preparation for the Afro-Asian Conference". The belief is current in Cairo that China will time her second atomic explosion with the opening of the Algiers Conference.

President Sukarno of Indonesia and Chou En-lai are urging Japan to send a high-powered representation at Foreign Minister level. It is subtle flattery. Coupled with the tantalising market Peking flaunts before trade-hungry Japan, it could be intoxicating. Foreign Minister Shiina is known recently to have modified Japan's firm stand against the admission of China to the U.N. Japan is doubling its aid to under-developed countries and Sukarno is delighted. Sukarno continues to act as middleman for Chou En-lai, and both hope to move Japan to a more non-aligned position.

Is India paying sufficient attention to Japan? China woos her. India ignores her. Surely their common interests dictate that at Algiers they should together project a counter voice to Peking?

What will be India's policy? It would not normally be to take the offensive. HIMMAT suspects that India would be easily satisfied if the Kashmir issue were kept off the agenda. India's policy is defensive. She is leaving the offensive to her enemies.

New Delhi: Tomorrow's Leaders Meet

The World Congress of Tomorrow's Leaders opened at New Delhi on December 25. Students from 16 cities of India representing 50 educational institutions planned how youth could participate in the creation of a new India and a new world. Below are excerpts from some of the statements made by youth leaders at its inauguration.—Ed.

MISS NEERJA CHOWDHURY, President, World Congress of Tomorrow's Leaders.

We have called this Congress because we feel the seriousness of the situation in our country and right across the world. Things are terribly, terribly, terribly wrong in the world. Half the population today in the world is under 25 and tomorrow's world—what it will be—depends on us.

We want to present a new picture of the youth—youth who will bring back guts, character and backbone into our nation. This is part of a world-wide action. There are congresses being held in Mexico, Africa, Nigeria, ten in different parts of America, in Europe, Japan and all parts of the world.

Youth are absolutely sick of the way things are going. Our country's freedom is in danger. If politicians are going to be too busy holding on to power, businessmen too busy making money, we youth will do the job. We will not let our country go down the drain. We will work hard, we will sacrifice, we will sweat and we will make our country what she is meant to be—a country which will give a new lead to the world. We want to create an army of youth, tens and hundreds of thousands of youth who will not be bought, bullied by money, men, success or power or anything. Nine hundred have already been trained at summer camps for a new India. We will live straight but we will also demand it of our leadership and we are not going to tolerate any evil or sin around us.

ARUN MUNDKUR, Bangalore

Today is the day of hope. Man is conquering space, learning to grow food in the deserts and risking danger getting bread from the sea. All this hope depends on what we do today to build tomorrow—whether tomorrow is going to exist or not. I believe we, the young today, are going to be the leaders of tomorrow. Is the world of tomorrow going to be a place where you do your best for the country? Will the factories of to-

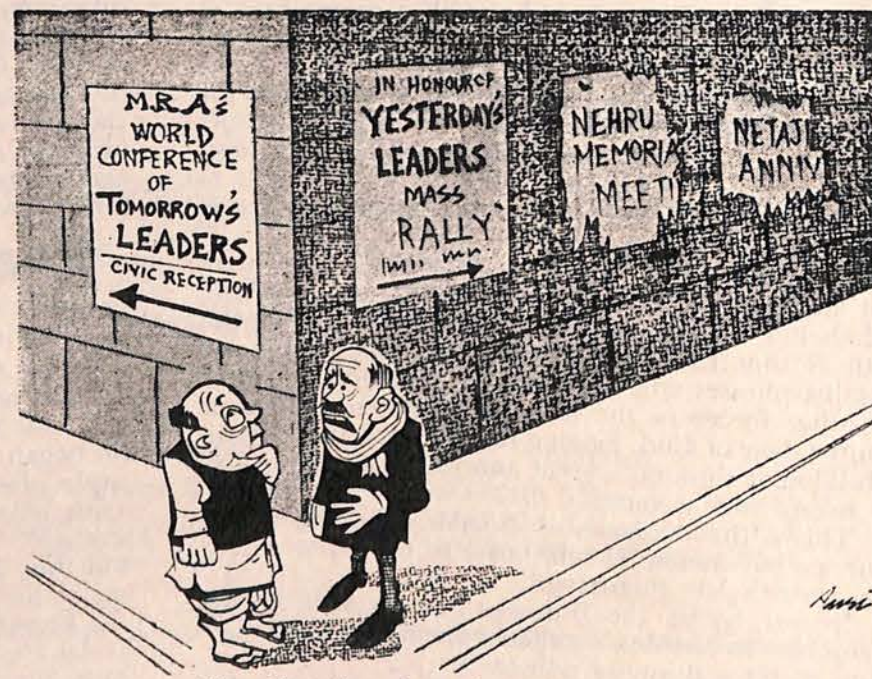
morrow be the hearts of industry— hearts which pump out steel or places of struggle for power? Will the shops be places where people do their best to make money or to satisfy the needs of every person? What about the parliaments of tomorrow? Will they have ladders where people try to get to the top or people who make the right choice for the country?

If we are going to make the right choice tomorrow we must make the right choice today. Only people living absolute standards today will be

thing much more than roads, hospitals, schools, generous economic and financial grants to tribes like mine is needed to meet the explosive situation building up along the border from Ladakh to Assam. Raise a leadership who are incorruptible and who truly live for aims beyond their selfish interest and position and you will have a mighty answer to the situation that is rapidly developing today in Nagaland.

We on our part need to face the fact that, enslaved by ambition, pride, hate-filled impurity and wedded to the idea of an independent state, it has become impossible for us to view the situation calmly as we should. But we shall ignore the gigantic con-

The Hindustan Times, Saturday, December 26, 1964



"Any idea where I can find today's leaders?"

Courtesy: The Hindustan Times

incorruptible tomorrow. Only that kind of man will be fit to be a leader tomorrow and only those who today learn the art of changing people will be able tomorrow to lead the world in the right direction. Only those who today learn to be guided by God will be able to lead the world tomorrow. With this Congress we want to build an army of revolutionaries like that all over the world.

NIKETU IRALU, Nagaland

Today I want to say to the leaders and the people of India that some-

flicts and upheavals around us only at our own peril.

I want to say to our leaders, Mr. Phizo, Mr. Shilu Ao, that they owe it to their people and the generations coming, not to be guided by the hate, pride, ambition in their own lives but by the wisdom of Almighty God in the decisions they are making today.

I am determined on my part. No matter what it will cost, I will see that my people rise up to their true destiny which is to be the bridge between India and her neighbours.

Delhi Rethinks Our Foreign Policy

by The Editor

THE YEAR 1964 will go down as a watershed in post-war history. In those two days of October when Khrushchev was dismissed and China exploded its atomic bomb the course of world history turned 90 degrees.

In 1964, too, the Nehru era ended after 17 years. Mr. Shastri, who inherited the crown, also inherited the added burden of some of his predecessor's policies.

The keystone of India's foreign policy is its link with Moscow forged by Mr. Nehru. The consequence of Mr. Khrushchev's exit is added pressure from Moscow on India to make up with Peking. India's Foreign Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh, after a visit to Moscow is convinced that nothing should be done to annoy China lest China and Russia be drawn closer together. This is an indication of the tacit acceptance by the Indian Government of the fact that Moscow's support against Peking is not forthcoming, that Indian policy should not be firm with Peking.

Paid Dividends

Mr. Nehru's policy of non-alignment was based on a sharp division in the world between the United States and the Soviet Union. It paid dividends when the Communist world grew further divided between the Soviet Union and China. The more relations were strained between the Soviet Union and China the safer was India's position.

Now a double thaw has set in. Khrushchev's successors appear to have continued his policy of easing tension with the United States but they have not followed his policy of hardness towards China.

Furthermore, the policy of the United States towards China is not what it was in the time of John Kennedy. Although it is true that President Johnson said the U.S. would not permit nuclear blackmail by China, the Peking lobby in the United States has gathered considerable momentum in the last three months. The so-called liberal organs of public opinion like the *Saturday Evening Post* have advocated that the United States should give technical and other assistance to Communist China. Political commentator Walter Lipp-

mam has openly suggested that democracy is not safe in Asia and that the best way to have peace is to have around China in South-East Asia, a ring of Communist governments. (HIMMAT, December 18).

The one hope for freedom in Asia is the strong public opinion in India and the United States. U.S. public opinion is still strongly against expansion by Communist China.

Public opinion in India is already worrying the Shastri Government. Whilst the present decision not to manufacture the atomic bomb remains, the inner circles of the Cabinet are not sure how long the Indian Government will be able to hold this line with the Indian public.

India needs a counter strategy for China, both militarily and ideologically.

The United States today is the only power willing to offer nuclear protection to India. U.S. public opinion being what it is today, Washington will have to defend India against China. Today America is in no danger of retaliation from China. But when China perfects a delivery system which, in military terms, is even a "minimum deterrent", will the U.S. risk the destruction of her cities for the freedom of Asia? If we get this point, we will understand why De Gaulle wants France to stand on its own feet. How long will it take China to perfect its delivery system?

China's Delivery System

Mr. Shastri and Western experts have estimated ten years but Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, whose Intelligence sources in Communist China are better than that of most other powers, declared the other day that he expected three to five years.

Just as China surprised nuclear experts by skipping a step in the production of the atomic bomb so she may similarly jump a step in perfecting her delivery system.

It is believed by the highest circles in Delhi that the blueprints for the manufacture of the atomic bomb were stolen from the Soviet Union by Chinese Intelligence, if they were not supplied outright by Moscow.

There is no doubt that the present Soviet leadership, though it likes to

have friendship with India, will sacrifice India as willingly as it sacrificed Khrushchev in order to satisfy Peking.

The Indian Government has therefore to face a pro-Peking Soviet Government. The United States Government which is anti-Peking will be willing to protect India against nuclear destruction in the immediate present; but in its own long-term interests will not hesitate to recommend that India softens its stand.

Only Old Maps

The Congress Members of Parliament who last week suggested that the Chinese invasion was a territorial dispute arising from old maps and that India should now consider accommodation with China, proved useful to the Indian Government for testing Indian public opinion.

Indian parliamentary and public opinion has vigorously opposed any compromise thereby balancing Mr. Shastri on the horns of a dilemma. If he tries to compromise with Peking, Indian public opinion will not stand for it and will not stand with him as Prime Minister. If he turns to Washington he will lose support of leftist forces in India. To be absolutely firm with China he has to ask Washington for a nuclear guarantee. Mr. Shastri, knowing the temper of the people, has, according to diplomatic practice sent feelers to Washington. On knowing the response of Washington and being sure that his offer will receive the response of the U.S.A. he can then officially ask for the guarantee.

Mr. Shastri is also preparing India for it. For example, he said last week in Benaras that India could not afford to spend on war. What Mr. Shastri then has to face is that if America gives a nuclear guarantee, he has to reckon with vigorous opposition from the Communist Party and other leftist forces. Will the Shastri Government then take a firm line on Communism? This would mean a major shift in the Congress Government's policy. With such a nuclear guarantee the honeymoon with Communism will have to end.

Mr. Shastri has to choose between the policy of accommodation with China and openly asking for American help. He is weighing both.

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Can a Communist Change?

POVERTY WAS NOT the reason for my joining the Communist Party. Very few dedicated Communists of the world have had a background of real poverty. Like many Communists, I considered myself an idealist who wanted a new deal for humanity. But my idealism had its roots in an experience of personal humiliation, jealousy of others better off than my own family and frustration at real or imaginary obstacles to my ambition.

A sense of personal injustice ends often in an irrational bitterness which Marxism transforms into a revolutionary battle against the exploitation of the capitalist system. The fact that my friends in college laughed at me because of my shabby clothes, or a richer family friend treated me like a servant boy, had much more to do with the passion of my Communist convictions than the ideas of Karl Marx. Karl Marx rationalised my bitterness and made it a social passion. He gave a destiny to those like me who felt for some reason or other that they had no place in their society. Marxism gives them a place in history.

Twinge of Conscience

In all men, especially those who feel left out, there is a deep urge to be included, to be wanted, to play "God" to other men. This urge Communism satisfies, as it replaces the faltering vision of the failing men of God with the prophetic plan to make Man his own Master.

I accepted consciously the need for violence to transform society. Every Communist does.

All of us rejected God. Though sometimes a twinge of conscience or a childhood faith fought for survival. But with longer years of activity during which expediency was the only rule of morality and violence a method of public action, conscience and God disappeared.

It happened to me. From a raw youth of conservative Brahmin background, who was ambitious but not inordinately so, bitter, but not to the point of cruelty, I became a callous, inhuman rebel.

I was fortunate in meeting Moral Re-Armament as a member of the Communist Party. There are many factors that disillusion a Communist

and make him leave the Party. Apart from Moral Re-Armament there is nothing that offers the Communist a better alternative.

The first step in change is the realisation that there is something better than Communism.

It came as a revelation to me that economic exploitation is only one of the many forms of exploitation, and often it is not the worst kind. Power leads to tyranny of one man over another, far worse than the exploitation of capitalists over the workers.

As a Communist who had some opportunity to witness the transformation of the Telengana struggle in 1947-1949 from a mass movement for the rights of peasants to a terroristic

Under the Lens

instrument of a minority for political power, I am deeply convinced that the roots of Stalinist and Maoist dictatorship lie in the exploitation of hate and bitterness and the use of violence and terror.

I was a little Stalin to those over whom I had authority, just as I was an obedient yes-man to those above me. We were all little or big Stalins according to our position in the Party. Our one aim was power and greater power. From being saviours of an exploited society, we became its most pitiless exploiters.

Communists who have seen this Communist reality do want an ideology more satisfying to the individual and more effective in ending exploitation. I certainly did. Moral Re-Armament satisfied me because it put me on the road to:—

1. My own personal integrity in terms of the absolute standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love.
2. A bigger national effort to build a new society that would mobilise the best, rather than the worst, in man—in terms of work, character and conscience.
3. A global struggle to end evil and immorality and to make the work and wealth of the world

available for all and for the exploitation of none.

There were three stages in my evolution. The first was when my conscience confronted me with the forces that really directed me—ambition, impurity and dishonesty, all of which derived from my selfishness. At this stage I believed in conscience, but did not believe in God.

I decided I was going to start afresh. I put things right which I had done wrong.

Soon I had to face the overwhelming power of bitterness which dominated all aspects of my life. I know many people, rich and poor, who feel helpless against forces like impurity, bitterness, dependence on other men, etc. I did too. Man is powerless against his nature without the power of God to cure it, and an aim to sustain his change. This was my road to God. I had travelled the full circle—faith—anti-God—God.

Power of Intellect

My faith in the power of my intellect and in the resources of my will was shaken by my inability to do anything about my own nature. An even more terrible experience was the revelation of utter meanness, utter selfishness and utter impurity about my own nature. "Thou art the lowliest of the low." Faith in God had to wait for this final realisation of my utter incapacity without God.

The Communist world is going through the cycle. All Communists know the need for morality in a more absolute sense than is permitted by official Marxist doctrine. No man, however great, can be a god. There must be some in the Communist leadership who must be groping towards the true God who will hold their society together in spite of disappearing Stalins and Khrushchevs, who will give a basis for absolute moral standards to their rootless society and bring new life to a cynical demoralised generation. The sincere Communists who find this road may yet lead a new revolution in the Communist world that will far out-match Lenin's.

R. VAITHESWARAN

Mr. Vaitheswaran was a member of the Communist Party of India. For his part in the Telengana uprising he was jailed for 2½ years.—Ed.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

After Erhard, Who ?

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Our European Correspondent

Bonn

LATER THIS YEAR the German people will elect a new parliament which in turn will decide on a new Chancellor.

The Socialists pretend that all is clear except for the small formality of voting and that their leader, Berlin's Lord Mayor Willy Brandt, will, of course, be the new head of the German government. At the recent party convention in Karlsruhe, the well-oiled machine of the SPD (Socialist Party of Germany) showed how much it had learned from the election tactics of President Kennedy. All had been thought of and well-prepared. The slogans and party declarations had been well rehearsed. And on the last day, Brandt presented to the nation his "shadow cabinet." There was only one small flaw in the calculation: two of the twelve university professors who were announced as "scientific advisors" to the new

Chancellor-to-be, protested in the newspapers against their appointment as they had never been asked before their names were published.

The most interesting thing about the attitude of the Socialists this year is that the Party has completely lost its proletarianism and its class-war image. There is also no question any more of pacifism or the traditional fight against atomic weapons. And in its foreign policy, the SPD has become the most pro-American of all the German parties, trying very hard to protect even Chancellor Erhard from his own pro-de Gaulle comrades.

If the Socialists act as if Brandt were already the new Chancellor—and the Gallup polls indicate that they have the best chance since the war—the Christian Democrats have not given up. They think they know who the next Chancellor is going to be, and officially his name is still Professor Erhard.

But there is no doubt that Chancellor Erhard has disappointed even some

of his closest friends during his first year of office. There are many people who did everything to push out Adenauer. They admit now that the "old man's" hesitation in making Erhard his successor was not wholly unfounded.

Erhard's many failures have revived the secret hopes of many Christian Democratic politicians of "having a go" themselves at the Chancellorship. Three of the most prominent candidates are the Speaker of the Parliament, Dr. Gerstenmaier, Foreign Minister Schroeder, and finally the black sheep of German politics, former Defence Minister Franz Josef Strauss. Schroeder today is the exponent, with Chancellor Erhard, of the "Atlantic Wing" of the CDU, while both Gerstenmaier and Strauss are considered to be closer to General de Gaulle's conception of the future of Europe.

But even more important than "after Erhard who?" is the question, "during and after Erhard what?" If the present Government parties cannot agree on what principles the future of Europe should be built upon, victory will almost automatically go to the Socialists.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS—cont'd.

Erhard is conscious of this fact. And during the last weeks he has tried to restore good relations with his predecessor Adenauer. Both these men are convinced that West Germany cannot afford to lose either

the friendship of France or the friendship of America.

If the unity of the "old man" and Professor Erhard were to continue, there could be only one possible successor to Chancellor Erhard: Chancellor Erhard.

Resolution or Revolution ?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

It is the season of resolutions—made sincerely, unmade swiftly. British management, Unions and Government have just made a big one—a Declaration of Intent on productivity, prices and incomes. It is the new Government's first major success. Will it be of more permanent stuff?

In this document all three promise to ensure that British industry is dynamic and that its prices are competitive. Management and Unions undertake "to encourage and lead a sustained attack on the obstacles to efficiency whether on the part of management or of workers and to strive for the adoption of more rigorous standards of performance at all levels."

The Declaration may help to reassure foreign bankers of this country's intentions. They will be watching closely to see if performance matches promise. For Britain is at the moment suspect—financially, politically, morally. Not because of a Socialist Government but because of the unanswered question: Has Britain the guts to come through a crisis that everyone seems to see except Britain?

Spending Spree

The Prime Minister calls for sacrifice. There is not much evidence of it this Christmas. The country is having the biggest spending spree ever. For every man, woman and child there is an average of £58 spending money in circulation.

Harold Wilson also evoked the "spirit of Dunkirk." But rescuing your countrymen from continental beaches is more real than rescuing the pound.

The Christmas resolution will have to be followed by a New Year revolution if it is really to become what George Brown called "a demonstration that the British people are still prepared to respond to the needs of the country in peacetime no less than in wartime."

Cyprus—a Second Cuba ?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Nicosia

WITH THE Cyprus question on the agenda of the UN General Assembly, and renewed diplomatic activity of the UN Mediator, Senor Carlos Plaza, are we on the eve of dramatic decisions on this scene of world interest? The apparent quietness on Cyprus itself, and the silence on Cyprus in the world press, may give rise to hopes that a solution is in view.

However, the establishment of the UN peace force, if it has prevented both communities from clashing, has not been able to solve the basic problem of the enmity of the Greek and Turkish communities on the Island. It is urgent to achieve some positive results now, otherwise the situation will deteriorate and Cyprus could well become a second Cuba.

It is exactly one year since the bloody conflict started. Clever moves by the Russian Ambassador in Nicosia and by a number of well trained Greek Cypriot Communists, some of them close to the President, and at the same time a complete lack of consistent, constructive policies from Western nations have pushed Archbishop Makarios towards the Communist line.

Makarios' Government now hopes

the General Assembly will give the Government the right to unfettered independence. It will then be a question of either becoming a part of Greece—Enosis—or finding a new kind of independence, without the guarantees of Greece, Turkey and Great Britain. In this matter the Cypriots are not all of one mind. They don't dare to be against Enosis, the national cry of Cyprus for decades. But, in private, the businessmen, the traders, will tell you that they don't want to invite dependence on Greece, having ended a struggle to get free from Britain!

Time Is Up

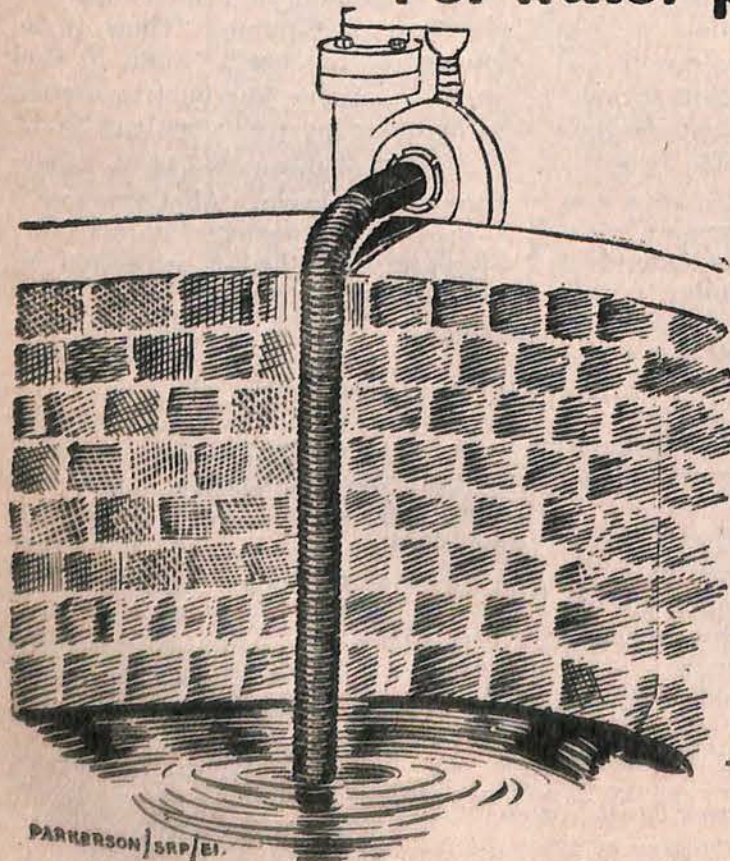
It is clear, however, that the time to decide is nearly up for the Greek Cypriots. The near future may reveal some bitter rifts, this time not between Greeks and Turks on the Island, but between nationalist Greeks and the left wingers. The latter do not intend to let go their chance of having one day the lead in that country; and Greece has been known to deal firmly with Communism in the past.

Turkey, for its part, would like to see the Turkish flag flying on Cyprus, protecting her southern flank.

Recent months have shown that only the men and women of both communities who have refused to be dragged into the slavery of hatred and bitterness, have been the architects of peace in whole districts of the island: men and women trained in Moral Re-Armament who have made theirs a purpose far greater than the narrow interest of their own community. The establishment of a lasting solution depends, to a very large measure, on the ability, and the willingness of government and people, to multiply that spirit of sacrifice, reconciliation and justice.

"But that," as the first Mediator of the UN in Cyprus said to your correspondent, "the UN will never do. It is the work of MRA."

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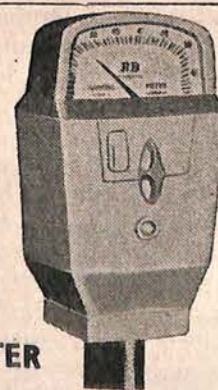
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Indian Students in Britain

From Michael Henderson

Our U.K. Correspondent concludes this week his report on interviews with Indian Students in Britain.

ON THE OTHER hand, the average working Englishman knew little about India and appeared not interested to know. Or his knowledge was wrong, taken perhaps from the recent television series based on Kipling (Indian students protested at the time). "They think of a country of starving millions but forget the growing industry, the culture."

British youth are a disappointment. "Very sad," was a spontaneous comment. "Britons may be patriotic when needed but they are immoral. In India we may not be patriotic but we do have some sense of moral standards." They are appalled by the lack of respect to elders, though an engineer assured me, "We overdo it. We must find a way in between."

Naturally views on morals depend on the individual, and, like views on politics, are varied. Two Hindu girls were horrified, as let me say most British are, at slot machines to sell contraceptives, at some universities.

Devil's Workshop

Another girl thought there was "more freedom of sex" here. "But we don't go as far as the English. We believe in chastity before marriage." Though she'd heard of students with much money who kept mistresses. "Sex is a sacred desire," confided one student, but said no more. Another was forthright: "Better to have it out in the open, as in Britain, than priggishly subdued as in our country." A commerce student commented, "An idle mind is the devil's workshop."

Most disapprove of mixed marriages. They rarely worked out well. Some mothers, fearing the worst, pressed their sons to marry before coming. "There should be no sex involvement before marriage," said one who had been brought up a strict Jain. He prays every day. His friend, ill at ease without a cigarette, would not express a view.

"We never talk about religion or God," one student informed me. To some He was not a personal God, "not a superhuman who shaped destinies", rather "a spirit of goodness". "God is in every human heart." "We live on through our children and our in-

fluence on other people." "I'm a Hindu but don't practice my religion."

Lots of work and little money limit leisure (though those with rich relatives will spend a holiday on the continent). Sport, parties, painting, coffee bars, movies (Indian ones are not the first choice—"They're always either out of date or bad or sometimes both") are ways some use any spare time. 50% or more work during the holidays. It brings in money and is a novelty—for a time.

A favourite hobby might be listed as: "criticism of the Indian Government."

The present Indian Government has not yet ("I'm fed up with Congress.") fired their imagination. "If we want to prosper and remove poverty and hunger, corruption must go," I was told. "He needs to be much harder on corruption," says one who listened to Prime Minister Shastri in the Hilton Hotel. Too many politicians and government servants were having a good time at the expense of the country, feathering their own nests and providing trips and good jobs for the family. One student attacked what he called the philosophy of "Nehru put his hand on my shoulder, or Gandhi slept in my house so I..." Another felt too much time was spent politicking, not enough in service.

The behaviour of Indians abroad was also raised. "We don't accept another country as ours even if we live there a lifetime and earn a handsome fortune. No wonder the Burmese are sick of us—and the Africans."

China's Bomb

China's bomb is in the students' minds, the Chinese-Indian struggle regarded as "a serious threat to world peace". The bomb explosion was an action "against humanity". "It won't make much difference if we have a strong conventional army".

Some are resentful that money has to be spent on defence that could have gone to improving the lot of the masses, others that China should exploit India to conceal her own shortcomings. "China has failed at home and therefore tries to divert the attention of her people from bad

food and treatment by expansion across her border."

Certainly the bomb, and probably more so the Chinese attack on India, has led to new thinking about Communism. ("China was one of our great friends but she did not hesitate to stab us in the back.") Also the split in the Indian Communist Party ("the Chinese wing is gaining ground"): An anti-Communist claimed nearly all the Indian students were either Communist or Communist-inclined.

The students do not always look forward to the problems they will face in India. They are not always very knowledgeable about job prospects, but they are not worried. "For once you have a European qualification, you are given preference over those with Indian degrees."

Better Jobs

Publicity was given recently to a statement in the annual report (63/64) of the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan that of 324 Commonwealth students whose awards ended last March, 108 asked to stay on for periods of up to two years. (The majority of students on the plan are Indian and most studying in Britain—but the figures relate to the Commonwealth as a whole.)

They wanted to stay, the report stated, because they could get better jobs in the countries they were in than at home.

There is no indication here that this means an unwillingness to return eventually. At the High Commission and among students here the problem is discounted. One student might come and join his family who lives here and stay on. Another might be involved with an English girl and delay facing the issue of bringing her to India. But such cases are unusual. Almost all go back.

Families and sponsors rightly put much store on these students. They are "somebody". They gain valuable skills. They also can win a view of the world and of India that may be denied those less fortunate. They are young. They know that things can be done better. Given the right challenge, may they one day do what is needed for India.

Youth Give Leadership in Japan

From Toshio Hara

"HIGHER, stronger, further" was the Olympic motto. Nothing less than that will now satisfy the Japanese youth.

The student movement whose demonstrations shook the world in 1960 and forced the resignation of the government and the cancellation of the visit of President Eisenhower, is but a legend today. It lacks leadership, unity, and a common goal.

The inauguration of the second branch of the Zengakuren Student Movement took place a few days ago. It was formed in opposition to the existing one. But division and a

tractive to the youth. Today rallying the youth "against war" or "against American imperialism" proves out-of-date and too small. It does not satisfy them.

The National Investigation Committee of the Japanese Government reports that only 6 per cent of youth showed enthusiasm in "using their lives to do something worthwhile for society." The rest were primarily interested in their own private plans for building a career. Educators sighed and criticised the youth as selfish, lacking a sense of responsibility towards society. But they did nothing to cure it.

tion—change in men and society." Mutual Broadcasting Corporation in New York reported that this exactly represents the feelings of youth from Teheran to Tokyo.

This is the voice of a new generation. Yoshinori Sakai, a 19-year-old university student and the final torch-bearer in the XVIII Tokyo Olympiad, told your correspondent, "China now has exploded the atom bomb. Japan, who knows more than any other nation about the reality of nuclear war, must give the world an answer to war by her bold leadership."

"Youth Say Not Shameful to Put Right the Wrongs" was the front-page headline in *Sankei Shimbun*, Japan's popular national daily. This is the story of high school students who started a national campaign to clean up the nation. They have been going to the national railways to pay back unpaid fares and returning stolen books to shops and libraries. One student alone returned 60 books. They, and thousands around the country, are now calling for "a massive reawakening of national conscience."

Demand Clean Politics

Prime Minister Sato recently challenged Japanese youth "to be responsible citizens of the world." Youth trained in Moral Re-Armament drew up a charter for tomorrow's leadership and presented it to the Prime Minister. In part, it reads:

"Too little is demanded of youth. We want a kind of leadership that demands everything of us, the ability, the sweat and the dedication.

"We demand that politics be clean, healthy and clear, where black is black and white is white. In order to draw a clear line in society, individuals and nations must accept as the direction of life the absolute moral standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. We have decided to live on the basis of not what I want, or what is convenient, but what is right. We have decided to think big, live straight and work together."

The Prime Minister told them, "That is it. We must carry the nation on the basis of what is right." Japan awaits Mr. Sato's lead.



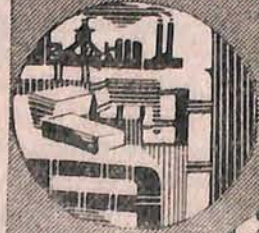
Youth marching the streets of Sapporo with banners, "Kick out corruption", "No more dirty films", "Be a conscience of the nation".

power struggle are symptoms of a movement without a positive goal.

Communism has little appeal. The recent survey of opinion pointed out that a growing number of Japanese youth are sympathetic towards the conservatives rather than the progressives. The age groups between 20 and 30 that used to support the progressives are now turning against them. It is hard to say that the Japanese youth are conservative, but it is safe to say they are becoming more and more separated from progressive slogans. It shows clearly that the revolutionary requirements set out by Mao Tse-tung are not at-

During the Tokyo Olympics an "Open Letter to Olympic Athletes from the Youth of Japan" was published in a full page of *The Japan Times*, largest English daily. The letter says, "Western democracy is not giving us an aim big enough for humanity, nor is Communism giving us an aim big enough for humanity though we admire the passion and dedication of the sincere Communists. Any idea which excludes any class or race is too small in this atomic age. We need to answer the selfishness, greed and bitterness in men that destroys our effort to build a world that works. We need a total revolu-

New Horizons



In pre-Independence era, India had plans and programmes for social and economic betterment of the people. But there was a fundamental weakness—the weakness of their belonging more to the Government than to the people.

Independence came, and with it a new awakening, and people's plans, for the people, by the people. The results were tangible—more and more of better and cheaper things; a better way of life for more and yet more people of our land.

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What Is Nationalism ?

by R. Vaitheswaran

"It is a terrible truth that it costs more strength to maintain freedom than to endure the weight of tyranny. Many nations, past and present, have borne that yoke; few have made use of the happy moments of freedom and have preferred to relapse with all speed into their errors."

SIMON BOLIVAR, Liberator of Venezuela

NATIONALISM is the explosive force of our time. It has roused the peoples of Asia and Africa to a new consciousness of their rights and destiny. It has altered the maps of continents, split the monolithic Communist world, and shifted the political centre of gravity from Europe. It is the invisible god to whom elements as diverse as rioting students in Panama, bullet-facing demonstrators in Poznan and Budapest and self-immolating monks in Saigon, pay equal homage. It is the enigmatic force that has turned France against the United States and China against Russia and plagues the struggling nationalists of yesterday safely ensconced in seats of power today with headaches such as Kashmir and the Naga problem.

Haphazard Unions

There are few peoples in these struggling continents who can be considered to be nations in the sense in which Britain and France are nations. India was an agglomeration of linguistic groups and quite arbitrarily-formed Moghul provinces, fighting against each other. The new states of Asia like Indonesia and Malaysia are equally haphazard, political unions of diverse peoples whose only common denominator has been subjection to foreign rule. The states of Latin America followed the administrative divisions of Spanish Vice-regal rule and the fortunes of the liberation struggle in the nineteenth century. The new states of Africa are fluid combinations of tribe and territory that followed the accidents of imperial conquest.

In the initial stages, nationalism in Asia was a reaction to the nationalism of the Western powers and expressed resentment against the humiliations of alien rule. It was the blind and brutal reply to forces only dimly understood such as the Indian Mutiny and the Boxer Rebellion. But increasingly, it becomes a growing



R. Vaitheswaran

consciousness of the need for change to keep one's place and greatness in a fast-moving world. The enlightened nationalism of the leaders of the Meiji revolution made Japan the equal of the most advanced Western nations.

Mahatma Gandhi in his drive for modernity and nationhood desired the best elements of India's heritage and religions. African nationalism is a curious mixture of marxism and

This is the first in a series of features dealing with great issues of the day.—Ed.

liberalism and more primitive urges, a tendency to return to the past as well as vague longings for the future.

Leaders of nationalist movements from Chou En-lai and Ho Chi-minh to Jawaharlal Nehru and Habib Bourguiba are a product of the inter-war period—the humiliations of life in a foreign land in the superior West, the aspiration for freedom in a democratic world as well as the disillusionment with democracy that gave strength to fascism and Communism. Nationalism thus became inextricably linked with the ideological struggle

in the world. Where nationalist movements did not become subject wholly to Communist leadership, as in Vietnam, it led to the dangerous illusion among non-Communist nationalists of the moral superiority of the Communist East as against the imperialist West. It was responsible for grave mistakes of policy as in Nehru's India and even led to eventual surrender to Communism as in Sukarno's Indonesia.

The major factor in African and Asian nationalism today is anti-colonialism whipped into frenzy by race-hatred and class-hatred. Sterile and negative, this kind of nationalism can destroy the world.

In an age of interdependence, it turns states into a suicidal exclusiveness. In the name of economic independence, it drags people down to economic chaos such as has turned resource-rich Indonesia into the poorest of Asian nations.

Agents and Slogans

Organised forces that cloak Communist aims in slogans of national liberation and economic independence are active all over the so-called underdeveloped world. African "nationalists" under the direction of Chinese agents using these slogans are in control in Zanzibar and wield great influence in the seats of power in Mali, Guinea and Algeria. They direct fresh struggles in the Congo and East Africa.

It is the task of sober nationalists to rescue the movement out of this purely negative anti-struggle. Otherwise, nationalism, which welded peoples together in the 19th century will further disrupt them in the 20th. The smouldering seeds of conflict between south and north in India; Malay, Chinese and Indian in Malaysia; Javanese and Sumatrans in Indonesia; Somalis and Ethiopians in East Africa; Arab and Negro in the Sudan

Continued on page 14

and hundreds of similar tribal, racial, linguistic conflicts will reap a harvest of blood and violence across entire continents. The senseless slaughter of different tribes in the Congo and Burundi, the violence of the so-called border conflicts in East Africa indicate the potential inflammability of nascent but narrower loyalties.

Every newly created African or Asian state is full of such problems. There are two types of solutions to them. One is the forcible suppression of these differences such as under the dictatorship of Nkrumah in Ghana or the genocide in Tibet.

The other is for Nationalism to find a purpose greater than the Nation. Those who would

answer Nkrumah and Communist China must understand that the Ghanaian's appeal derives not from his ascendancy in his own country but from his Pan-African aims. The power of Chinese nationalism stems not only from its aggressive nationalist character but from its *global ideological aims*. Nationalism, equipped for its international role, with superior ideological aims, alone can create a dynamic positive force to counter the divisions fostered by this wrong breed.

There are many instances of associations which have possibilities of such greater aims. Where Nkrumah and Sekou Toure have failed to make a success even of the limited union of Ghana and Guinea and Keita of Mali and Senghor of Senegal have been forced to abandon the federation of their territories, the plan of Maghreb (union of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria) founders on the ambitions of national leaders, Western European unity based on the rock of Franco-German understanding and the British Commonwealth of Nations offer the basis for ideological unity and action.

With leaders who understand the opportunity and danger that the idea of nationalism presents in the modern world, they offer a means of enriching nations as well as uniting the world in freedom, and under God.



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FOR WOMEN

What is a Woman's Most Precious Possession?

A WOMAN'S most precious possession is her heart. She can keep it to herself and keep the world out or she can open it wide and let the world walk into it.

Today the world needs women who have wide open generous hearts to care, to cure, to heal the hurts of humanity. So many women are living selfish lives—centred round their family, or even round their country. Very few think and care for the world.

A lot of women are afraid to use their hearts. They are afraid of being exploited, of being hurt, of being thought foolish. Some may have made mistakes in the past and do not want to make them again.

Many use their hearts impurely to draw people, to lure them on, to break hearts and become queens.

A woman is meant to use her heart—not keep it frigid through fear, nor use it wrongly through impurity. She is meant to keep her heart wide open and use it freely to bring people and nations to God.

That actually is the whole secret of purity. That is what the world is crying out for—women possessed with a pure passion to remake the world.

A woman with a heart makes a home. She does not have to be rich, or have a big house or a full larder. It is simply a matter of opening her heart to receive the additional guest, to make people feel welcome, to give them her best. Such a woman changes the people who walk through her home.

It also takes the women to give the nation its heart power. If we women felt deeply enough about the moral rot in our country, the loss of character of our people, the hates tearing people apart and the determined attempt by ruthless men to abolish God, then we would burn and strive to cure these things.

Where are the women who will take on this job, the biggest in history? It will mean death to self, an end to living by feelings, fears and reactions. It will mean a total laying open of our life for 24 hours a day to caring, thinking and living for other people. And it will mean thinking and living for the world.

And such revolutionary women will lead humanity on to God's paths and bring sanity and peace to this earth.

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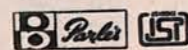
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This was a life

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

1809-1865

IT WAS February, 1809 and winter was past when Abraham Lincoln was born in a log cabin in Illinois. Young Abe followed his star to the White House, and in 1860 was inaugurated 16th President of the United States.

Lincoln believed in the worth of ordinary people. He said once, "The Lord prefers plain people. That is why He makes so many of them."

Much of his life was spent as a country lawyer. He held to a rigid honesty, saying, "If you cannot be an honest lawyer, resolve to be honest without being a lawyer."

Lincoln served four terms in the Illinois State Legislature before being elected to a term in Congress in 1847. In 1849, jobless, Lincoln returned to his Springfield law practice.

But passions were stirring the land over slavery. "If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong," he said. When finally the House of Representatives passed a law permitting slavery in the new territories of Nebraska, he plunged back into politics.

He changed from a benevolent country lawyer to a statesman of vision. In 1858 he warned the nation, "A house divided against itself cannot stand... This Government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free."

On November 6, 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected President. Throughout the Civil War, which started in April 1861, his fairness towards opponents was a counterweight to the bitterness in the land. In 1862, Lincoln gave an edict, warning that all slaves in the rebellious districts would be freed. Later that year, at Gettysburg, Lincoln outlined his profound vision, "That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

In March, 1865, with the Civil War drawing to a close, he called for vindictiveness to be laid aside: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right; let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

But there was malice abroad. On April 11, the Civil War ended. Four nights later, Lincoln was assassinated. Lincoln, the man, was dead. But his ideas live on.

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.
—R.G.

Q—What do you think of the proposal to convert All-India Radio into an independent organisation?

SESHKAR, Vizianagaram.

A—It would be a splendid idea to have independent men controlling A.I.R. But there is no prospect of this happening in the near future.

The radio is the greatest means of reaching people in India today. It reaches many times more people than the press or even the cinema. It can and should be used to make our society great as well as to give news and entertainment.

Nobody wants long speeches of exhortation. But why shouldn't A.I.R. give hundreds of men and women who have changed their lives through the revolution of Moral Re-Armament the opportunity to speak to millions of Indians?

If millions could hear how these men and women have ended cheating, stealing, hates and impurities in their own lives, the spirit of our land would change swiftly and massively.

Q—Is there any idea of publishing "Himmat" in Hindi?

M. CHUGH, Delhi.

A—Yes, we want to! And, God willing, we shall have a Hindi "Himmat"

before too long. We need money to start it, although once it gets going it should finance itself. And we also need a few dedicated men who can bring it out.

Q—What is the extent of the freedom of the Indian press?

R. C. PAL, New Delhi.

A—Thank God the Indian press is still free! Anyone who wants to can start a paper and write his views freely. The Government can, of course, exercise control in many ways. By refusing to grant newsprint, which it can do, it can influence newspapers. Also today the Government is a huge advertiser and by giving or withholding advertisements it can affect the policies of newspapers and magazines.

India's free press is her one chance of preventing the growth of tyranny. We must and will fight for it with everything we have.

Q—Should India continue her non-alignment policy?

R. SAPRE, Poona.

A—India should be truth-aligned and India-aligned. To be non-aligned between India and China when China wishes to invade us would be fatal and insane. Some people actually advocate that.

If Russia and China get closer together as they seem to be doing, it will become more and more difficult for us to maintain our appearance of "non-alignment". We will either yield to these two strong powers and become a Communist land or we shall have to discover ways and means of strengthening our links with the Western world.

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Your Choice, Mr. Shastri

by Rajmohan Gandhi

THE TWO Congress M.P.s who urged that India should yield to China were shouted down in Parliament. But there is no doubt that step by step pressure will be mounted by certain powerful people for India to acknowledge Chinese supremacy.

The speeches of the two M.P.'s were not isolated acts. They were the first shots of a campaign to convert Indian public opinion as well as Government policy.

These men argue like this. China is many times more powerful than India. Russia's support to us against China is unlikely. Pakistan will prefer China to India. Many Indian Communists will also use their strength in China's favour. Our deteriorating economy is making defence preparations tougher than ever. The best course, these men argue, is for India to make a deal.

Influential men close to the Prime Minister are trying to win him to this view. Four months ago Mr. Shastri would have rejected this advice outright. The great difference now is the new attitude of the Soviet Union.

The most significant news in recent days was the disclosure that the Indian Government has not asked for Moscow's support should China threaten India with her A-bomb.

Weakened Will

Our Government may or may not wish for a nuclear umbrella, but it would like American and Soviet assurance of some kind to restrain Peking's finger on the nuclear trigger.

Why has India not asked for Moscow's assurance? Moscow would be embarrassed by such a request. Russia is now engaged in a serious bid to repair her breach with Peking. She still wants India's friendship but if she has to choose between China and India she would choose China.

Russia's advice to India, therefore, is to come to terms with Peking.

What is Washington's position on all this? Many Indians have deluded themselves that all that is needed to get an American commitment to defend India with guns, bombs and men is to make a sign that we want it. This is,

frankly, an assumption based on the highest folly.

Strong American sections, represented by men like Walter Lippmann, have already urged a partitioning of the world between America and Communism. They hope to buy peace and comfort with this surrender. If these sections gain the upper hand, America could hand over India to Chinese authority without too much fuss.

Roll It Back

The hour is of deadly danger. Slavery may not be far away. But the tide can be rolled back, and our liberty preserved.

The key man in this life-and-death struggle is Mr. Shastri. He has worthy qualities of humility, reasonableness and persistence. Yet he is in danger of failing India. Many fail their country, but if Mr. Shastri fails at this moment the cost will be very heavy.

Mr. Shastri's greatest weakness is that he does not understand Communism. He thinks it means a redistribution of wealth. He knows that its sway is marked by violence and regimentation and he is against them. But he still thinks that its main aim is to force the rich to share more with the poor.

No, Mr. Shastri, Communism is much more than that. Communism is an attempt by ruthless, clever, determined men to abolish God from the minds and hearts of men, women and children. It is the replacement of the rule of Almighty God by the rule of almighty man. It is the anti-God dictatorship of a group of men who would mould and hammer the lives of millions.

Don't encourage it, Mr. Shastri. It will kill India's spirit. It will crush the hopes we have for our crores of children.

China's ambition is great and her hate is strong. A few thousand square miles of India will not satisfy her. She will demand a movement of India towards Communism. She will insist, directly or through Moscow, on the inclusion of Communists in the Indian Cabinet. She will demand, too, persecution of certain classes in India and an anti-American, anti-Western stand by New Delhi.

Indians may not practise all the standards they believe in. Yet

India will still prefer death to slavery. Any Government that tramples on this conviction will not long survive nor deserve to.

So many decent men and women are bullied by people who say, "If you want to resist Communism then you are just a dirty anti-Communist." I am not an anti-Communist. I want to help Communists. I want them and Communist nations to discover something far better and more satisfying. I shall certainly fight with all I have to prevent Communism capturing India. And most Indians in their hearts will want to do likewise.

India must not only battle to prevent her Communisation. She must wage the right revolution to make God the ruler of Peking, Moscow and Washington.

Rajaji and Kripalani

We must defend ourselves in every way, including militarily. We must seek and take Western support for this. We must fight for the West, and especially America, never to shirk their responsibility for Asia. And we must go on the attack ideologically. Millions of Indians living, sweating, praying, working, fighting to establish God's rule all over the world will be more than a match for Mao's armies and bombs.

This is your task, Mr. Shastri. And on your own you will not be able to do it. You will need the help of all those who love, and have served, their motherland. Even, and in fact particularly, the help of men like Rajaji and Acharya Kripalani. You should meet them.

But these three, and hundreds of others like them, will not by themselves do the job. They will need a wisdom greater than theirs. They will need to say to God, "Forgive us for where we have been wrong. Tell us what to do to strengthen and unite India and to win the firm friendship of other lands. Help us to use our lives as You direct, boldly and fearlessly."

India knows you love her, Mr. Shastri. She now waits for you to make the greatest decisions of your life. She waits for you, Rajaji, Acharya Kripalani and others like them to do together and under God something greater than what Gandhi, Tilak, Bose and Nehru did.

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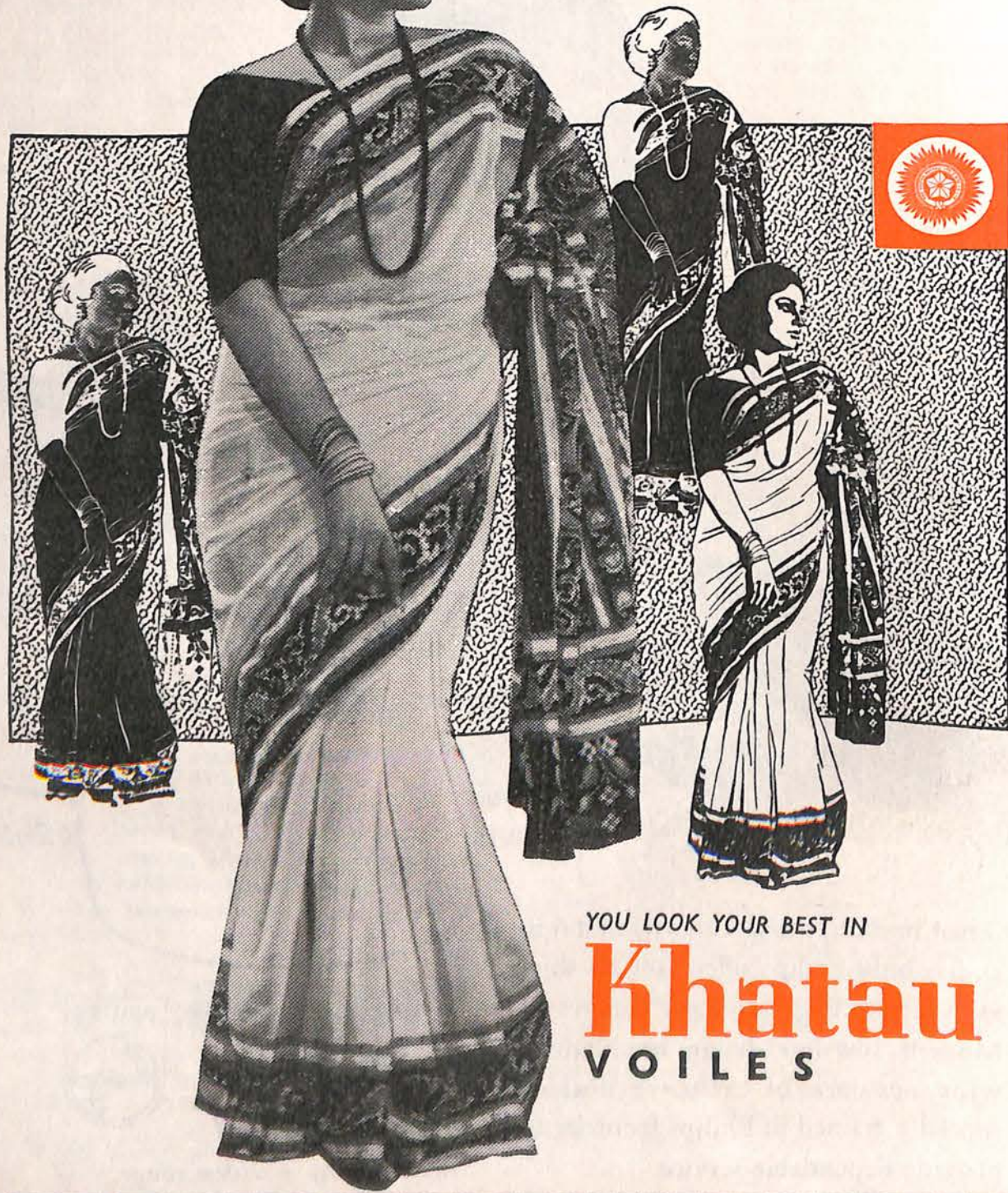


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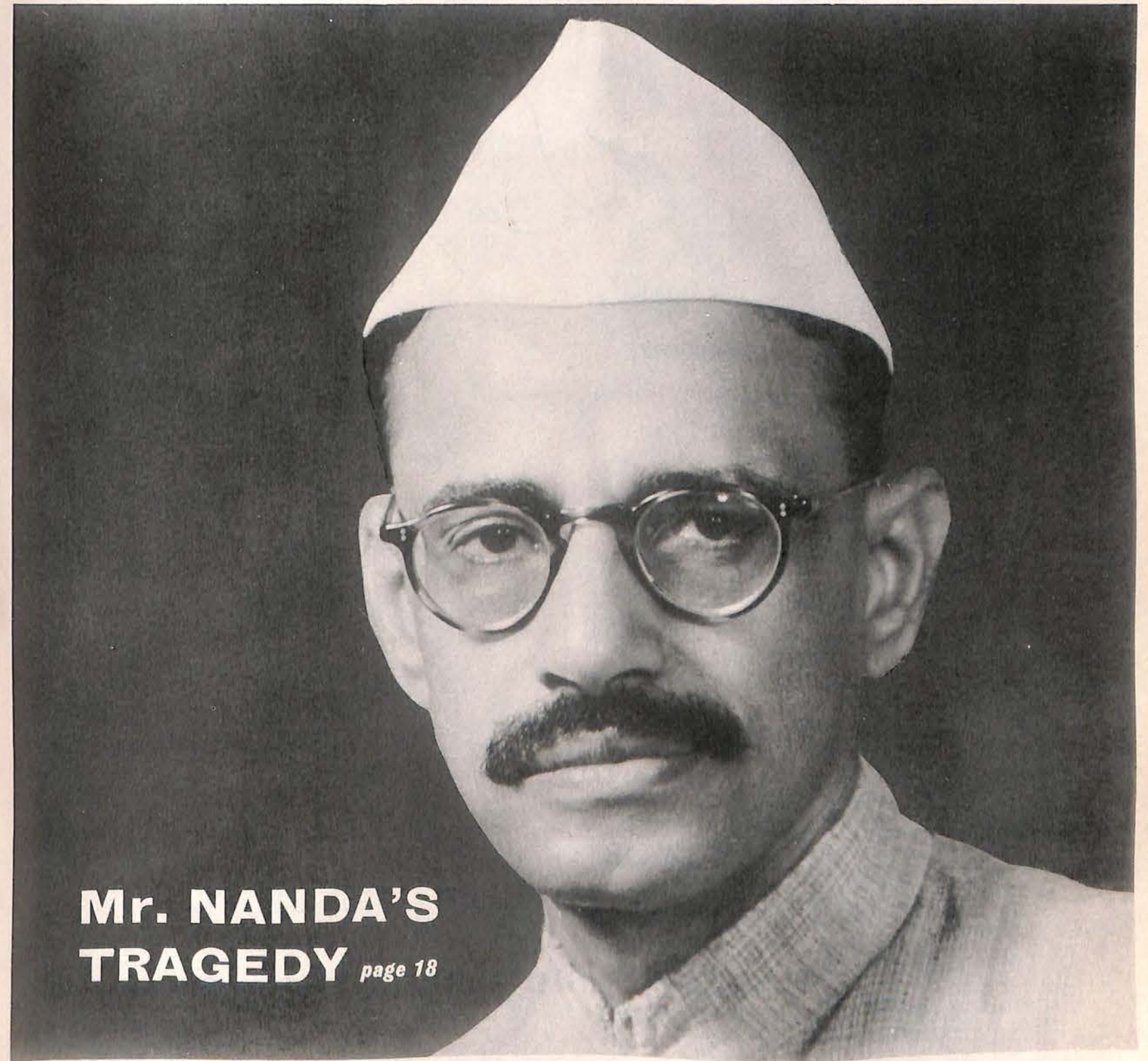
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