

HIMMAT

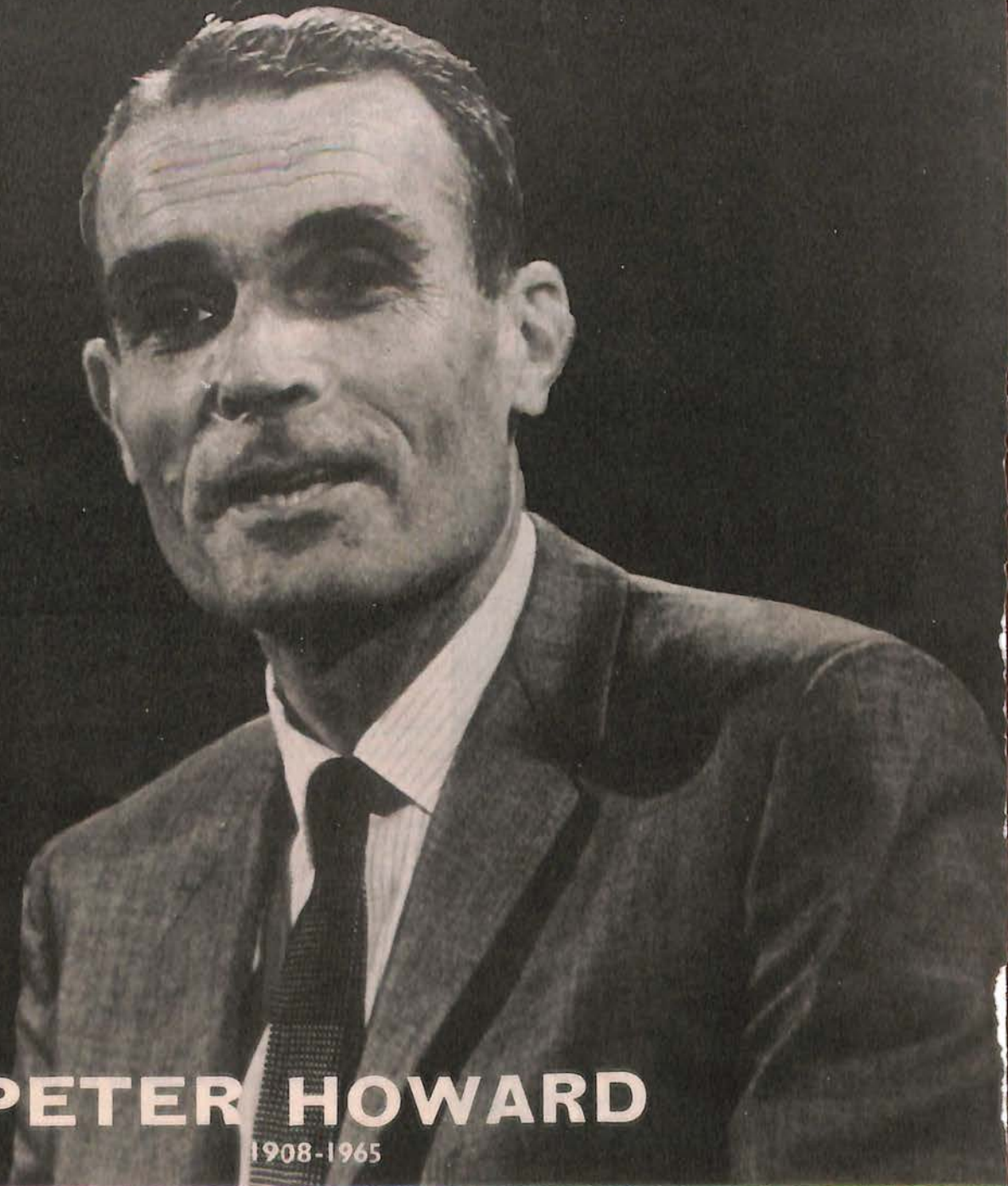
25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

A TRIBUTE

to the author
sportsman
and
revolutionary



PETER HOWARD

1908-1965

Friday
March 5
1965

KERALA VOTES: *Pictures and Story*

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.

We of DALMIA ENTERPRISES have been constantly endeavouring to produce more and more of such goods that contribute towards improved living standards of our people. We are doing this not only since Independence but almost for a quarter of a century. The task is not so easy. Yet we are going ahead, undauntedly, in the hope of seeing a brighter tomorrow.... a new dawn.... along the new horizons.



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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, March 5, 1965

Vol. I No. 18

Great Leader

IN THE PASSING of Peter Howard last week, Moral Re-Armament loses a great leader and India a true friend. Speaking at the Vigyan Bhavan in New Delhi over a year ago, he gave a prophetic warning:

"Violence never remains long a servant. It always becomes the master of those who use it. And men who plan violence against others cannot complain if others start to plan it against them. Violence, like peace, is indivisible."

Sportsman, author and playwright, Howard visited Asia ten times. In 1952-1953 he spent six months in India. The friendships he built with India's leaders and her people then, endured to the day he died. In his honour HIMMAT publishes a special supplement in this issue.

Many have been the tributes that have been paid to Mr. Howard by Presidents and Prime Ministers. But a proof of the abiding place he has in the hearts of Indians comes from Kattanam in the state of Kerala. It is a sandy village with little huts and tall palm trees. The social centre there is run by a man called George Mathew, who does not move much beyond his village. He met Mr. Howard when the latter was in Kerala. He sent the following telegram on hearing of his death: "Much grieved. World lost a great leader and I my best friend."

Many across the world feel the same way.

Realistic Budget

THE Union Finance Minister's budget for 1965-1966 is practical and realistic. It reverses the trend towards ever-increasing taxation and expenditure that has been a consistent feature of post-independence budgets. It balances within the limits of prudence the demands of development, the needs of defence, as well as the mounting pressure for some relief from all sections of our heavily taxed nation. The salaried people in the middle and lower brackets in particular will heave a sigh of relief. Small though the ultimate gains may be, they come at the right moment.

It is true that Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari had taken away the sting by presenting his more unpleasant proposals in a "little budget" a few days earlier. But even the general Customs duty of 10 per cent on imports and the measures to restrict credit are not likely to affect the mass of people.

The budget will restore a minimum of business confidence at a time of a continuing foreign exchange crisis and an unrelieved regime of scarcities.

It will arrest the growing sense of despair. But it won't work miracles. The budget can determine directions, offer incentives where needed, discourage investment where undesirable, yet as T.T.K. himself points out, "more production and restraint of consumption, avoidance of waste and efficient use of scarce resources are the only ultimate instruments for promoting higher savings and investment."

Welcome Stand

THE STATEMENT of the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, on the Vietnam war is welcome. There can be no settlement of the Vietnam question without some assurance of a change of attitude in Hanoi and Peking. Mr. Rusk rightly emphasizes the need for these two countries to stop the supply and direction of "essential military personnel and arms for a systematic campaign of terror and guerrilla action aimed at the overthrow of the Government of South Vietnam and the imposition by force of a Communist regime."

The words of the Secretary Mr. Rusk are almost identical with those of Home Minister Nanda's statement in Parliament on the aims of left-wing Communists. "They have announced," he said, "the doctrine of a militant world revolution that they not only have adhered to in theory, but have backed up in practice on more than one occasion."

American policy in South Vietnam has its share of costly mistakes. But the recent firmness by her present leaders under difficult conditions is commendable. India, which expects America to come to her help against Chinese aggression, should ponder the fact that her present Vietnam policy will only strengthen those in the United States who want to hand over South East Asia, and India, to Chinese influence.

The U.S. should recognize that the war in Vietnam is only partly a military conflict. Essentially it is an ideological war. Only by countering China on the level of ideology can she keep her interests as well as the freedom of this part of the world safe.

Sick Nation

ELSEWHERE in this issue HIMMAT's correspondent gives an on-the-spot analysis of the situation in Kerala. It is a stark, sobering spectacle of a people divided.

There was a time when people referred to Kerala as the problem state. But after recent events in state after state, can anyone point an accusing finger? Can Orissa? Can Madras? Can the Punjab?

The truth is that the situation in Kerala is by virtue of its many mid-term elections a more spectacular symptom of the sickness that grips this democracy. The issues are deeper than the contest between rival political groups, conflicting communities, or even Communism and anti-Communism. The basic struggle, understood by some but unheeded by most, is whether freedom shall survive or perish from the land, whether our society based on the supremacy of moral order shall endure or whether, so obsessed by our hates and corruption, we lose our nationhood.

It is a dangerous hour that demands a leadership more honest, more decisive than so far demonstrated.

From where in India, will come leadership that honestly faces the situation without trying to play one group off against another or appease some interest; that seeks solutions, not scapegoats; that holds before the nation the aim of building a new Asia?

Briefly Speaking...

Character is like a tree and reputation like its shadow. The shadow is what we think of it; the tree is the real thing.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1809-1865

Free the Press

LAST WEEK HIMMAT advocated that the Government give to newspapers a rebate of central excise on paper other than newsprint. The Finance Minister in his latest budget has obliged by withdrawing the excise duty. His withdrawal, however, is with a reservation. The duty is withdrawn for printing paper used in the publication of "registered dailies including their weekly issues."

Why has Mr. T.T.K. not extended this benefit to weekly newspapers as well? Weeklies have to work with much less capital but are essential to maintain freedom of the press.

Good News

BAD NEWS usually gets the headlines while the good news is often tucked away in a corner. The statement of the Tamilnad Anti-Hindi Agitation Council calling off their agitation appears to deserve wider publicity.

The Council declared that it had come to its decision to call off the action "bearing in mind as well the external situation, namely the standing Chinese menace, and the existence of unpatriotic elements inside the country bent upon abetting Chi-

nese aggression." The Council said they had planned their action on peaceful and non-violent lines, but other elements had taken control of the situation. The students say, "We are sincerely sorry this has happened and we do not want to risk it again." Here is the voice of sanity.

Landslide Halted

There has been a landslide in our educational standards, but the landslide in our moral standards is even more frightening.

The Railway Board announced that nine million passengers were detected during 1963-64 travelling without tickets.

A campaign launched in Madras schools last year to eradicate corruption yielded encouraging results according to an editorial in *The Times of India*. "The erring students went to the General Manager of the Southern Railways and apologized to him for their uncivic behaviour and also reimbursed the treasury."

The Times of India forgot to point out that this specific instance was the result of Moral Re-Armament action in the schools of South India.

R.M.L.

The week in India

New Delhi — Prime Minister Shastri stated that there was no question of modifying the basic decision that "Hindi is the official language of the Union and English is to continue as an associate language." However, the Government was considering several amendments to the Official Languages Act to implement Mr. Nehru's assurances to non-Hindi states. These amendments include the right to take examinations for the All-India Services in Hindi, English or the main regional languages; an equitable share for all states in the Services; a proposal that business with the Centre be transacted in English until Hindi was widely known.

Kohima — The political wing of the Naga underground has agreed to seek a resolution of the Naga issue within the framework of the Indian Union, provided Nagaland is given extended autonomy. Military chiefs of the underground still hold out for an independent Nagaland.

Trivandrum — The Left Communists have omitted any reference to the defence of India's northern border in their election manifesto. The original manifesto of the Communist Party before the left-right split assured unqualified support to the Union Government for all measures to strengthen border defences.

New Delhi — After ten years of family planning propaganda the birth rate has declined only 0.4 per cent per 1,000 head of population, despite expenditure of crores of rupees. The present rate stands at 41.3 per 1,000.

Memorial Meeting

in Bombay for

MR PETER HOWARD

at Green's Hotel, Apollo Bunder

Thursday, 4th March, 1965,

at 6.30 p.m.

Dr. K. M. Munshi will preside

HIMMAT, March 5, 1965

Peter Howard Lived and Fought to Build a New World

From Our Special Correspondent

PETER HOWARD who died here in Lima on February 25 was the most sought after, respected, and best loved Englishman of our time. The reason is not far to seek. He was the finest revolutionary of our day.

His skills were exceptional. As Samuel Johnson said of Goldsmith, there is no field of literature he didn't touch and nothing he touched that he didn't adorn. Peter Howard participated in an amazing range of human activities.

His speed and agility on the football field made him the captain of England's Rugby team. His bobsleigh team won the world championship in 1939.

He wrote brilliantly and at astonishing speed. His political columns in Beaverbrook's *Express* group of newspapers in the thirties were the delight of millions of readers and kept politicians on their toes and scared.

His plays are a permanent addition to the world's literature. Some have compared them to the works of Shakespeare, Ibsen and Shaw. They are far more than literature of course. They portray reality with candour, but they also proclaim hope and faith and show how man can increase his stature. Millions on every continent have witnessed them in 32 languages. No one has calculated the number of people whose lives have been changed by watching these plays, but they must add up to an impressive figure.

Crowded with People

His books have had similar triumphs. Nearly every play and book of his was written in the early hours of a day. His days were crowded with people who wanted an answer for their lives, with interviews, conferences and sessions of strategy to plan the world-wide advance of the revolution of Moral Re-Armament.

His speaking was as effective as his writing. Cardinal Cushing of Boston called a recent series of speeches by him "some of the finest addresses I have read in modern times".

He was a gifted farmer. The animals he raised on his farm 65 miles

from London won national prizes to the envy of some and the pleasure of many. His was a superbly successful life, yet his greatest quality had nothing to do with his human achievements. "I don't belong to myself," he said to some of us a month ago, "my life is God's. It belongs to His revolution." That was his secret.

For 25 years, ever since he met MRA (he was sent by his newspaper to investigate it), he lived for a society that would satisfy the longings of mankind, and not for his pleasure, fame or comfort. He made the decision then that he would obey God, no matter what He told him. He was prepared to give up writing and to surrender all the things he loved and made the heart of God's revolution his permanent home.

Available to Everyone

His talents multiplied and were sharpened year by year as he used them to bring a new spirit to millions.

He had the thought once to love every child in the world as his own and every country as his own. He obeyed that thought and from that moment every family, race, class and nation became his consuming concern. He forgot Peter Howard and became permanently available to everyone else.

The results were extraordinary. He became the trusted friend of coalminers and kings, Communists and Wall Street bankers, Mau Mau leaders and white settlers, slum dwellers and absentee landlords.

Asian statesmen said he understood them and their nations better than anyone. Africans said the same. Latin Americans felt likewise. Communists were convinced that here was a man more interested than they were in resolving their contradictions and showing them their next step forward.

Students everywhere felt he understood their needs and desires and were fascinated by the picture he drew of what they could be and do.

Politicians felt in him they were dealing with the most realistic of men.

Workers found in him the impassioned enemy of injustice and oppression.

Industrialists respected him for his practical down-to-earth approach.

Whether he was with his family, or friends, or addressing a meeting, the other person was the sole object of his conversation and interest.

Sometimes he talked about himself. This was when he felt he could use his own mistakes and experiences to help another man see the truth about himself and his nation.

He loved liberty and was always ready to die for it. He was unshakable in his faith and ever ready to die for it, yet he was convinced that free men and men of faith who choose to live selfishly were more dangerous to liberty and faith than any dedicated tyrant.

He believed faith was unreal and inadequate if it did not create in a man a passion for a new society where every family had enough to eat, clothes to wear, a decent home and a satisfying purpose.

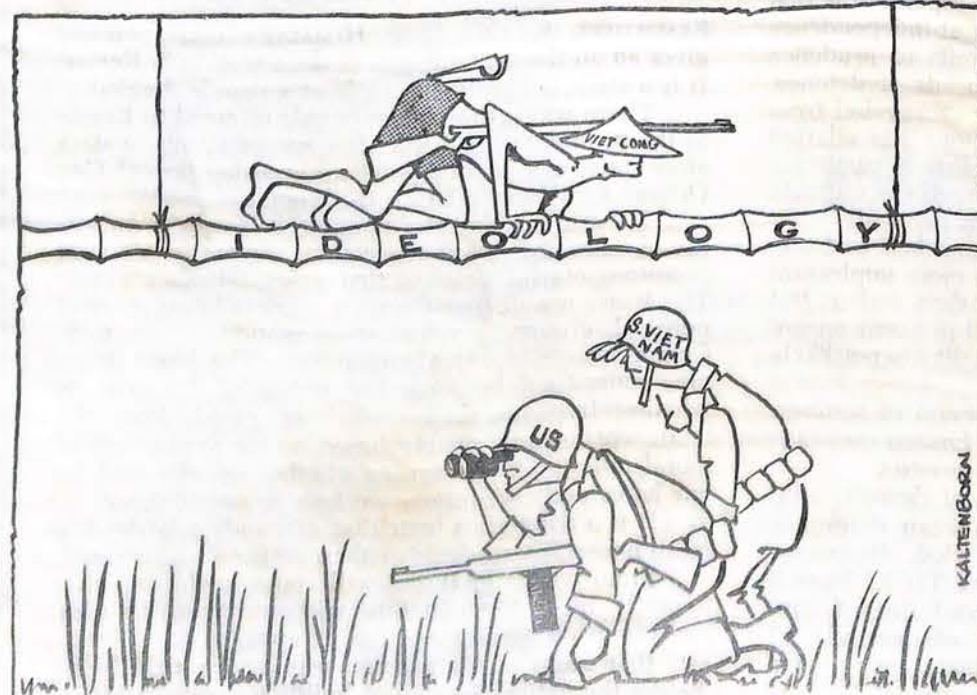
He felt licence was old-fashioned—and dangerous. "Licence which masquerades in the guise of liberty is actually the murder of liberty," he said. He knew if men did as they pleased, and disregarded their conscience, they not only had nothing to say to a Hitler or a Stalin who also did as they pleased, but made it inevitable for a Hitler or Stalin to rise in their society.

Common Man's Friend

He understood and anticipated world events because he knew men's feelings in their hearts. He spoke with strong yet loving passion to men in comfort and power of the need for a revolution that could cure the greed that created hate and Communism. He believed Fascism and Communism were wrong, but spent his life to answer the selfishness that created them.

The common man everywhere felt here was a friend who understood his aspirations and fought for him, yet

Continued on page 20



"You take the high road; I'll take the low road."

Peter Howard lived and fought to build a New World

Moscow...
romantic city
of music
and history,
home of the
Bolshoi Ballet...
the Puppet Theatre.

MOSCOW

ON YOUR WAY TO LONDON!

See
Lenin's Tomb,
the Kremlin.
See a new world
for the same fare.

Air-India is the
first airline
in the world
to fly
Delhi,
Moscow,
London.

DELHI
MOSCOW
LONDON

AIR-INDIA
IN ASSOCIATION WITH
B.O.A.C. AND QANTAS



HWY-A1-2429

Life in the Year 2000

by Peter Howard

It is worthwhile trying to see what kind of world may exist in the 21st Century. I assume that Almighty God in His mercy will spare man from his infinite unwisdom and we will still be on the earth.

What kind of a world will it be? Will it be a white world? If the birth rate continues as before, two-thirds of the people on this planet will be Chinese. Shall we live longer? And how much longer? Today most people believe in birth control. But if birth control is all right, why shouldn't death control be all right? It is a question that is bound to raise itself very soon. If men and women are allowed to decide whether or not a baby is to be born into this world,

speaking as a farmer. And what about the climate?

Attempts are going to be made to control it. They may be successful because God is opening up levels of knowledge that so far have been undisclosed to man and there is very little doubt, from what I understand of science, that it may soon be possible, at least in certain areas of the earth, to control the climate.

What about reading and writing? I have seen machines in Japan—machines very little bigger than my hand—that you can carry about and which will show you people talking with you at a great distance. Supposing it is possible at any time of day or night if you want to learn about

ordered to look after itself. And in that situation you will not need wages.

It is a bold statement. Do you realise the extent of the regulation that involves? Nobody will have the choice of deciding what they will be in life. Can you tolerate a situation which goes like that? You cannot. You try and take God's earth and animalize it. You decide how many doctors, scientists, cleaners are needed. You decide the families that are going to raise them. You decide how many children each family is going to have and which families shall not have children. You decide how long people live. You decide how long they die and you live in a glorious state of human animal contentment.

Grim Picture

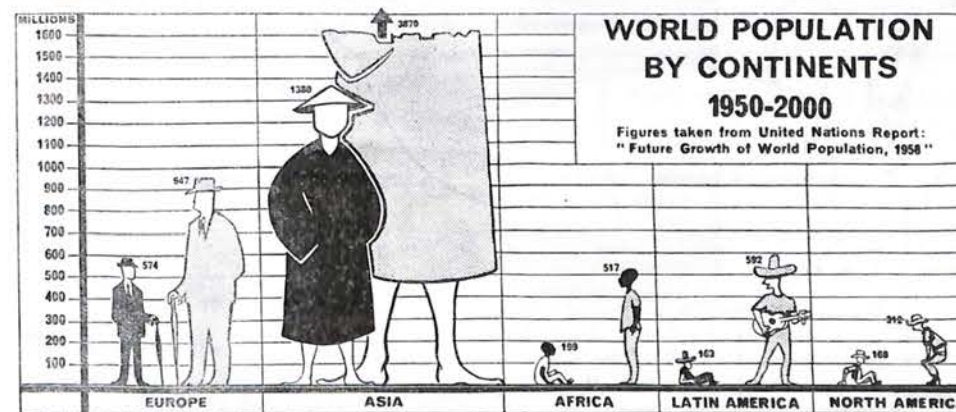
It is a grim picture. But that is the picture that those people say they are going to achieve. And mark you this, at this point in history, the Communist world is a more purposeful and probably more moral world than a country like Britain. I am not a Communist. I think Communism is evil. But I say that those people have a purpose and a morality of a kind to back that purpose which far exceeds our lack of purpose and our rationalized amorality in the West.

I believe that in real education there will be a return to what is called the humanities. Man is not an animal and God in His infinite mercy will allow enough people in His time to realize that. Men will have to learn once more the genius of real art. Not the kind of art that takes dirt and sex and projects it into the people and tells them to like it or else they are squares. I do not mean that kind of art.

I mean the gracious art. The art that built the great cathedrals of the Middle Ages. The art that painted those supreme pictures that, if you have any feeling in you, still stir you, though the hand that painted them is now stilled.

I do not think those things are going to pass away. I think, oddly

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they certainly can be entitled to decide whether or not somebody no longer ought to live in it.

We will have a longer life. We may have people who will decide, quietly, kindly, but definitely, whether we have lived long enough and need to go on to somewhere else, or to nothingness as they all believe.

Food, Clothes, Climate

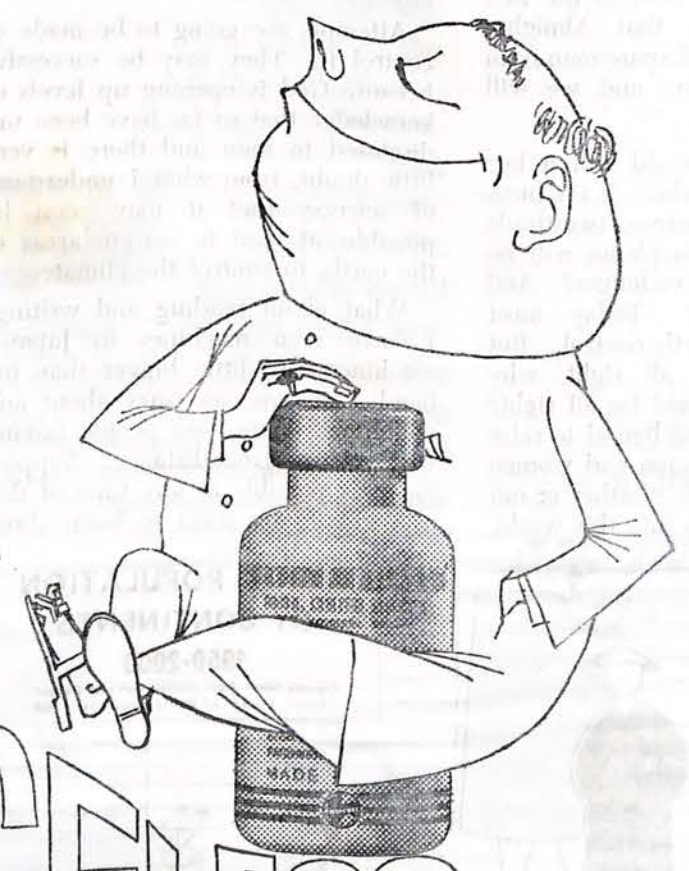
What about our clothes? Will they be the same? I wouldn't think so. If you look at the way some young people dress today, when I was a young man I would have thought they were lunatics. Now they look at me and think I am a lunatic. By the time we get into the 21st Century I imagine the whole of humanity will be wearing different garments. What about food? I think it will be different and I am

philosophy to get in touch with some well-known man. The whole era where you have to read books, in order to acquire knowledge, may go. There may be an age coming up where to learn to read may not be anything like so important as it is today.

Shall we still have a variety of different coins all over the earth? I doubt that very much. A common coinage will come.

The Russians say that in about thirty years from now, 1995, they are going to reach a stage in Soviet society where no wages of any kind will be paid for any service. They say that they will have a nation living so that men will grow enough food for the nation, enough people will be there to distribute it for the nation, there will be enough teachers, doctors, there will be a whole society

by Peter Howard



What makes
HOECHST
medicines

PRICELESS

EXPERIENCE!
What kind of experience?
Experience that extends over a century of pioneering work in the field of medicines.
That makes you rather ancient, doesn't it?
Ancient, but not old-fashioned. Our outlook is modern: ceaseless research, up-to-date automatic equipment, fierce testing, and stern quality control. These are the invisible ingredients which make HOECHST medicines—

Priceless. I see.
What's more, this experience goes behind every medicine we make—wherever we make it. Whether in Germany or in our plant in Mulund near Bombay.

Does my doctor know this?
He certainly does. That's why he prescribes HOECHST medicines with confidence. So, uncork that bottle and drink to your health...cheers!



HOECHST PHARMACEUTICALS
HOECHST generally pronounced HEXT

HP. 77 (R)-140

Last Days in Lima

LIMA, PERU, FEBRUARY 20—Peruvians thronged across the tarmac of the Lima-Callao airport today as Peter Howard stepped from an Air France jet from Santiago, into the blazing sunshine of Lima.

Government and labour officials, representatives of industry as well as leaders of the Japanese and American Indian communities welcomed Howard, and children thrust flowers into the hands of Mrs. Howard.

Howard held a press conference at noon at the Bolivar Hotel. All major newspapers, television and radio representatives kept up a rapid fire of questions going over an hour and a half, concerning major economic, political, social and ideological problems of the world today.

Howard said, "I am all for legislation to end economic and social injustices of our times, but we have also to deal with the steely selfishness and the flame of hate that destroys

humanity. Laws alone will not do it. Education and environment, essential as they are, are not enough. Anti-Americanism is as futile as anti-Communism. What is needed is a revolutionary programme for all nations. No revolution is adequate which does not deal thoroughly and drastically with human nature. Everybody in Cuba and out of Cuba, in Russia and out of Russia, ought to take part together in the right revolution to lead humanity forward."

"We Share Your Aims"

FEBRUARY 24—Mr. Peter Howard and 25 personalities from 11 countries who are travelling with him have fulfilled a crowded schedule of engagements. This has included interviews with the Minister of Education, General Ernesto Montagne, and with the Foreign Minister, Dr. Fernando Schwalb Lopez Aldana, who said, "We in Peru, especially in the Government, are very pleased about this

The World Pays Tribute

As HIMMAT goes to press, news of messages to Mrs. Howard and MRA centres across the world pours in.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama: "The news of Mr. Howard's untimely death is a great regret but his noble work for a better world will not die. Kindly also convey my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Howard. We all share her sorrow."

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, President of Nigeria, and Mrs. Azikiwe: "We were greatly saddened to learn of the passing of Peter Howard. The ranks may be thinned but the indomitable spirit of Frank Buchman and the eternal truths manifested in his teachings shall continue to be a beacon to guide humanity."

General Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang, Taiwan: "We are exceedingly sorry to learn of Mr. Howard's sudden death in South America. He made invaluable contributions to MRA during all these years."

Prime Minister Eisaku Sato of Japan: "We have a great respect for his distinguished career. Please accept my deep sympathy."

Prime Minister Keith Holyoake of New Zealand: "I am distressed to

learn Peter Howard passed away. This is a terrible blow."

Former Chancellor Adenauer of Germany: "News of the unexpected homegoing of your husband has moved me very much. I must express to you my heartfelt sympathy. Peter Howard gave his life for his ideals and in so doing did the greatest thing any man can achieve. In this confused world Peter Howard has won great benefits for millions of people. They will all honour his memory."

Cardinal Angelo Rossi, of Sao Paulo: "I had the pleasure of knowing your husband personally. When he visited Brazil, he spoke and held conferences in our country and we learned much from him and he created a deep impression. When he visited me I gave him with my whole heart my benediction. I thank God for his marvellous spirit and to you and your family I extend my deepest compassion for the pain of his loss which is a universal loss."

Students of San Marcos University, Lima (the oldest in Latin America): "Peter Howard gave his blood for Latin America. He was the most revolutionary man we ever knew. He lives in the heart of each one of us."

extremely important second visit of MRA to our country. We subscribe to the principles of MRA and share your aims. We know we still have much to do to set our own house in order, but I hope we can make a contribution not only to Latin America but to the whole of humanity."

FEBRUARY 25—Peter Howard died here today after a short illness of virus pneumonia and heart failure. His body is being flown to London.

Seven hours after the passing of Mr. Howard, members of his visiting party were received by President Belaunde of Peru who expressed his profound sorrow. The President sent his personal Aide to Mrs. Howard to express his condolences.

Dr. Morris Martin told the President how even in the ambulance as Mr. Howard was going to hospital he expressed his conviction that Peru's President would go the furthest with Moral Re-Armament.

FEBRUARY 27—Today Peter Howard will lie in state in the Spanish baroque City Hall of Lima in the Salon Atahualpa (named after the last Emperor of the Incas). The City Hall stands on the Plaza de Armas, flanked on one side by the President's Palace and on the other by the Cardinal's Palace.

At 10.30 p.m. in the Basilica San Francisco, whose tile-lined cloister is part of the oldest building in the city, Father Fray Jose Mojica will celebrate a Requiem Mass. Father Mojica was a famous actor who, on becoming a priest, wished to desert the theatre and stage. But Pope Pius XII personally said to him, "You must use your talents to capture the modern world through theatre." He rejoices to play his part.

Lying in State

FEBRUARY 27—Peter Howard today continued in death the battle to which his life was given. His body lay in state for 13 hours in Lima City Hall, where a uniformed civic guard was placed on special duty. The President of Peru and the Lord Mayor of Lima arranged this as a tribute to his life and work.

At 8.30 a.m. crowds gathered at the main entrance, to see the black

A Salute from the Press

A Classless Man

Britain

ALL NATIONAL and many provincial papers and the B.B.C. Home Service and Overseas Services reported Howard's passing.

Howard's old paper *The Daily Express* writes: "He brought to Fleet Street the considerable learning and prestige of one who had captained England at Rugby, and abounding high spirits and an unsparing wit. One gift he brought to journalism was an astounding memory. At times he remembered facts about public men which they might have preferred to be forgotten. His pen was feared in Westminster."

The Times details his books and plays: "Many of them were presented on several continents simultaneously."

The Daily Telegraph reports his criticism of the Edinburgh Festival and says: "He urged people to call the bluff of beatnik bishops and intellectual tricksters who use their brains to destroy the conscience of the country."

The Scotsman carried an article: "Howard's writing was geared to a revolutionary purpose. He had a love for people that issued in a blazing determination they should rise to their full destiny. He was a classless man equally at home in an Indian village or a president's palace."

Continued from previous page

mahogany casket carried up the marble staircase by eight men representing several Latin American countries and including former Communist students of San Marcos University.

The casket was placed in the Salon Atahualpa, flanked by six tall silver candlesticks and a ten-foot crucifix. Sunshine flooded in through the windows overlooking the tree-lined Plaza de Armas.

The casket was covered with the Union Jack and surrounded by banks of floral tributes from the people of Lima. Nearby was a leather-bound book bearing the Arms of Peru for the signatures of hundreds of visitors who filed by all day long. The Peruvian flag was displayed in the room by special permission of the Foreign Office.

Brilliant, Provocative Dedicated

U.S.A.

AN EDITORIAL in the *Journal-American*, which goes through the whole chain of the Hearst papers, states: "We of the Hearst newspapers knew and admired Mr. Howard as a brilliant, provocative and dedicated man." It ends, "His death is untimely, but he died fulfilled."

The New York *World-Telegram* states, "The essence of MRA is just what its name implies, the conviction that the triumph of freedom and the answer to Communism lies not in materialistic oneupmanship, but in active moral commitment to the ideals of absolute purity, absolute honesty, absolute unselfishness and absolute love. To the fulfilment of this vision, Mr. Howard committed vigorously and productively most of his adult life."

The Eternal Pilgrim

Peru

ALL NINE PAPERS in Lima carried Mr. Howard's death as front-page news with a further nine articles on other pages. Headlines describe him as "The Eternal Pilgrim", "Intellectual and Man of Action", and "Chief of Moral Re-Armament". *La Prensa* devotes a whole page to Howard, with three pictures. Staff writer Jenny Wasquez reports:

"The death of Peter Howard is a harsh blow for thousands of men and women all over the world who, like himself, believed and expressed forcefully the need for a peaceful revolution which could engulf five continents. He believed it was possible to achieve without bloodshed a better world without poverty, without wars in which Communists and non-Communists could live in peace."

La Prensa continues, "He had great vitality and convincing power. Leader Peter Howard, a man who always said that as a good player he had to play an all-out, up-to-the-last-minute game, played his last match in Lima and, though it was brief, he played it well."

Example to Humanity

Argentina

ALL PAPERS of Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, carried stories on Peter Howard, five with pictures. *La Nacion* saluted him as "a man who captains a crusade for the regeneration of man, for the full observance of ethical values and opposition to evil in every form."

La Prensa says: "With Peter Howard, disappears not only a leader of a movement of singular significance but also a personality of many facets who had earned an international reputation as a journalist, politician, lecturer, farmer, dramatist and writer."

Carry on the Fight

India

THE NEWS of Mr. Peter Howard's passing was widely covered by India's English and Indian language press. Many papers carried the news front page. Largest circulation paper, *The Sunday Standard*, in its popular column by "Ariel," says: "Over the years 'Ariel' had occasion to meet him in various places. Peter had always had a fire in his belly and he gave to MRA all the faith, ardour and devotion that burned within him. He was a gifted and endearing individual who enriched the lives of those he knew and worked with."

Mr. K. M. Cherian, Managing Editor of *Malayala Manorama* and President of the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society, in a message says, "Deeply grieved by the news of the sudden death of our beloved leader, Peter Howard. He was a world force and now he belongs to the ages. His passing away is an irreparable loss to the moral and spiritual forces of the world battling against evil. But his message to the people is to carry on the great fight undaunted, putting our entire faith in God who gives the ultimate victory. Myriads of his friends will have to spread his message throughout the world."

HIMMAT will carry a coverage of the funeral and other news in the next issue.—Ed.

HIMMAT, March 5, 1965

PETER HOWARD

1908-1965

"I AM A REVOLUTIONARY"

These words sum up the remarkable life of PETER HOWARD, world leader of Moral Re-Armament. In these pages HIMMAT pays tribute to this dynamic personality.

Right—Mr. Howard talks with a Kikuyu chief in Kenya. After addressing hard-core Mau Mau detainees, one said, "If we had dreamed there were Englishmen like Howard, there would have been no Mau Mau."

Below - Peter Howard's books have sold 4 million copies. His 16 stage plays have been seen by millions on every continent. Despite a phenomenal mail every letter was answered carefully and promptly.





Below - In the United States recently, Howard told heads of business and industry they needed to create a bigger revolution than Communism. He added "Then we can say to the Communists, 'We want to revolutionize the world...Come, help us do it in the right way.'"

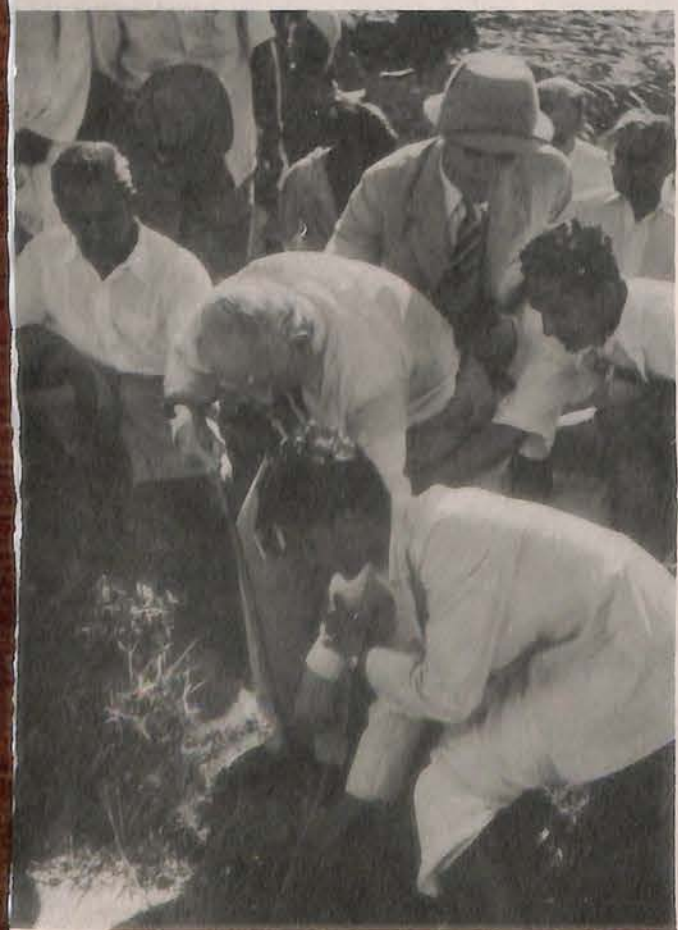


Below - Ichiro Hatoyama, then Prime Minister of Japan, told Peter Howard that the revolution he was spreading "shows a practical way of rebuilding our relationships with neighbouring countries."



Below - At the start of his South American tour Howard was received at Brazil's Foreign Office. Foreign Minister Vasco Leitas da Cunha (third left) introduced Howard to civil and military leaders. Beside him are Transport Minister Juarez Tavora and Mons. Sebastian Baggio, Apostolic Nuncio.

Below - Peter Howard, in sun hat, accompanies Dr. Frank Buchman, pioneer of Moral Re-Armament, to a ceremonial planting of rice in Ceylon. Howard was a frequent visitor to Asia, whose leaders he knew well.



Left - Mr. and Mrs. Howard enjoy a football game in Milwaukee, U.S.A. Howard captained England in Rugby.



Right - Peter Howard greets HIMMAT Chief Editor Rajmohan Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi was with him in Peru at the time of his death.



Below - In the port of Rio de Janeiro, Howard addressed militant dockworkers. Workers all over the world responded to his revolutionary aims. In Lima on the day he died the Secretary-General of the Confederation of Workers said, "Never before have Peruvian workers heard words more important than his."

KERALA ON EVE OF ELECTIONS



R. Sankar,
leader, Congress Party
Chief Minister, 1962-64



E. M. S. Namboodiripad,
leader, Left-Communist Party
Chief Minister, 1957-59



Above - Left-Communist, K. Anirudhan, contests the election in Attingal from gaol.



Above - Processions by the numerous parties contesting the election fail to rouse much interest. Many would vote for continued President's Rule if given the chance.



Left - The sign on the wall reads "Beware of the yellow spy."

Right - 85 per cent of the people can read and so understand the campaign issues.



Kerala Goes to the Polls

THE PEOPLE of Kerala will cast their vote once again on March 4. By all accounts they will do this without enthusiasm or hope. If they had their way they would vote for continued President's rule. To the extent that they do not exercise their franchise, they will in fact, be voting against rule by any political party.

Party workers are enthusiastic. Roads and walls all over Kerala are neatly written up with slogans and symbols. Taxis flying party flags blaze forth propaganda from one end of the State to the other. Yet the elections is a rare subject of discussion among the people. They don't seem to be interested.

For the political parties and the contestants it is not so much a fight for forming a Government. It is a trial of strength to establish their *bona fides* to speak on behalf of certain sections of the people.

The Congress Party, under the leadership of Shri Kamaraj and Shri R. Sankar is out to demonstrate its support among the masses independent of, and even in the face of, the opposition from powerful community leaders like 87-year-old Mannath Padmanabhan of the Nairs and Bafaki Thangal of the Muslim League. The latter are determined to prove their right to speak in the name of their communities which was challenged by Kamaraj's pointed refusal to meet them and his desire to establish a "purer" Congress based on "the Socialist ideology", free of what one leading Congressman described as the "communal taint".

Leaders Without Following

E.M.S. Namboodiripad, General Secretary of the Left-Wing Communist Party of India wants to show the overwhelming mass support enjoyed by his party. The Right-Wing Communist Party of India, accused of being a party of "leaders without a following", know that unless they win a sizeable number of seats in the present election, their existence as a party is threatened through the country.

The Samyukta Socialist Party are fighting a struggle for survival and turn to any alliance that will keep them above water.

It is a desperate, bitter, naked struggle for power and control. Principles have been thrown to the winds. The interests of the masses in whose name everyone claims to speak, figure the least. The Congress, for example, which under Kamaraj's leadership set out initially to destroy all communalism, is said to be making a sectarian appeal to one of the communities. Many incidents have come to my notice of Left-Wing Communists of the Ezhava community offer-

Under the Lens

ing their co-operation to the Congress. Such co-operation is wholeheartedly accepted (Mr. Nanda please take note) even though they declared openly that they are doing this only to defeat the "reactionary" Christian-Nair alliance of the Kerala Congress. Considerable pressure is being exercised on the Christian Bishops to declare themselves in favour of the official Congress.

The tri-colour of the Kerala Congress flies everywhere with the green Muslim League flag in Central Travancore. Often these two fly together with a red hammer and sickle and the star of the Left-Wing Communist Party. In prestige contests such as in Attingal constituency, where ex-Chief Minister R. Sankar is being opposed by a Left-Wing Communist, there is an unwritten understanding that all opposition parties will vote together to defeat the Congress candidate. Everything is grist to the Opposition mill including the sanctified image of the late Home Minister, P. T. Chacko, who is exploited in death more than he was followed in his lifetime. No one really knows where each candidate or party stands and how meaningful are the alliances and antagonisms.

To expect the elections to produce any solution to the tangled web of hate, pride, jealousy, bitterness and ambition is to expect the impossible. The election will solve nothing. It will drive the wedge deeper, increase bitterness and freeze existing divisions. Men like Mannath Padmanabhan and R. Sankar, who have been

kept apart by power and pride, will find it even more difficult to bring their people together into the Congress where they belong.

Pride and bitterness made inevitable the defection of the fifteen MLAs who voted against the Congress, making the present election necessary. The defection in turn made any rapprochement impossible between the two sections of the Congress. It was a matter of discipline with the official Congress and honour with the Kerala Congress. Sankar and Mannath Padmanabhan who should have had the vision and statesmanship to work together, find themselves opposing each other bitterly. Others who have the wisdom and experience to know that this kind of division will only destroy all the values they hold dear, are too faint-hearted to intervene or too involved in their hates and loves to bring a cure.

Pattern not Problem

No one expects the elections to result in a mandate for any political party. It is possible that Mannath Padmanabhan vindicates himself by winning twenty or twenty five seats for the Kerala Congress. It is more than likely, however, that the Left-Wing Communists will emerge as the strongest force in Malabar and a not inconsiderable force in Central and Southern Travancore. It is equally possible that the Congress emerges stronger having eliminated its communal rivals. Whatever the outcome it will need wisdom of the highest order to bring unity where there is division, healing where there is hate and hope where there is despair. Otherwise the frustration of defeat may drive one or other of the democratic political groups into the Communist camp and help the polarization of forces in Kerala between Right and Left. This will play into the hands of E.M.S. Namboodiripad who wants to emerge as the sole champion of the common man. He will not succeed if Shri Sankar, Mannath Padmanabhan and others like them leave the past behind and unite in the common task of making Kerala the pattern instead of the problem of India.

R. VAITHESWARAN

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Brinkmanship on the Nile

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Beirut

NASSER CONTINUES the familiar game of playing off Communist and non-Communist countries against each other. He told the U.S.A. to "go jump in the lake" after the American Ambassador suggested that requests for aid supplements would be more favourably considered if the U.A.R. were not supplying arms to the Gbenye-led Congo rebels. This was followed, first by the obvious reluctance of the Cairo police to interfere with the mob which burned the USIS Centre, and then by the shooting down of a private American plane for alleged violation of regulations.

The American Congress threatened to curtail aid grants in retaliation. But they then shifted ground.

Having rounded a tricky corner with Washington, the U.A.R. President then successfully attacked West German arms shipments to Israel. The shipments were stopped.

Bonn, in its turn, objected strongly to the visit of East German leader Ulbricht to Cairo. Dr. Schroeder, West German Foreign Minister, told the U.A.R. Ambassador in Bonn that "serious consequences" could result. It was further announced that, if Ulbricht were received, Bonn would cut off her aid. Nasser's reply was that in such a case he would seek aid from East Germany. In fact, trade and aid agreements with East Germany worth £ 28 million sterling have just been initialled.

The Times of London said: "President Nasser had good cause to smile. Another exercise in brinkmanship has paid off. Without budging an inch he has cut off West German arms for Israel, kept West German aid for himself and still has Herr Ulbricht coming as a guest bearing not inconsiderable aid. All this has been done in the name of all Arabs everywhere and so has sent Nasser's stock up further."

Nasser's stock has undoubtedly gone up. But the popularity of such moves in the Arab world is not as widespread as many believe. The countries, notably Saudi Arabia and Libya, which are wealthier and more conservative in their outlook, view such international juggling with misgivings.

Soviet Arms Base

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Algiers

A DOZEN Soviet transport planes, based at an airfield near Boufarik, 20 miles south of Algiers, have for

some time been flying Russian arms to the Congolese rebels. The four-engined, long-distance Antonov-12 aircraft are flown by "civilian" Soviet pilots with an Algerian co-pilot. They fly under Algerian markings.

It has been known for some time that the "Simba" rebels in the Congo received large quantities of arms via the Sudan. The aircraft, with a cargo capacity of 10 tons, fly their loads to Khartoum. There the arms are transhipped to smaller two-engined planes for the onward flight to the small airfield at Juba in the Southern Sudan. Large truck convoys have frequently been observed driving out of Juba over the Congolese border to the rebel-held areas.

300 Tons of Weapons

The planes are maintained at the Boufarik airfield by more than 150 Russian technicians or "development helpers", as they are locally known. Boufarik is not the only African supply base for the Congo rebels, as it is known that weapons are also being shipped from Egyptian airfields. But it is now believed to be the largest Soviet air-supply-base in Africa.

According to recent reports from the Algerian capital, more than 300 tons of Russian arms—mainly rifles, machine guns, mortars and ammunition—have been flown into Khartoum and on to the Congo in the last few months.

"Tanzania Not for Sale"

FROM VERE JAMES

Dar es Salaam

THE NEUTRAL stand of India has often been put forward as the political basis to guide the Afro-Asian "third world". Leaders like President Nyerere of Tanzania and President Kaunda of Zambia have aspired to bring about political, social and economic revolution in their own countries through non-violence. It would have seemed more logical therefore had Nyerere, a champion of African "non-alignment", chosen India as his first major visit overseas since Independence rather than China where he was welcomed last week.

Less than seven hours flying time away from Bombay lie Zanzibar and Tanganyika which now form the United Republic of Tanzania. From the sea to the Central African lakes

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS—cont'd.

is a vast, mostly undeveloped area, approximately equivalent in size to the Indian peninsula below a line drawn eastwards from Bombay.

The population of Tanganyika numbers only ten million. These are mostly Africans of Bantu origin; leavened by coastal Arabs, Indian traders, European farmers and besieged by technicians and advisers from the four corners of the world.

Except for a thriving sisal industry (threatened by synthetic inventions) cashew nuts and some diamonds, Tanzania is only beginning to develop its natural wealth. Coal exists in the south. Agriculturally, irrigation and conservation would work wonders.

But any honest British administrator or sincere African nationalist agrees it was a country ill-prepared for independence. Needing considerable outside financial and technical assistance it was left a prey and a prize for the unscrupulous "neo-colonialist".

As President Nyerere himself expressed it in Peking: "Our whole people is united in the decision that the co-operation we get from abroad must be without strings. Those who give us loans, or grants, or who send technicians to work with us, must do this because they wish to take part in man's human development, not because they wish to control our young state. Because Tanzania is not for sale."

This is a clear and bold statement of policy; but one which in present day Africa is difficult to follow. Accompanied by his left-leaning Minister for Commerce and Industry, Sheikh Babu (a leader of the Zanzibar revolution), and the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Oscar Kambona, the President's Peking visit has created a wave of speculation in Dar es Salaam.

Reports indicate that among the subjects featured in his talks with Mr. Chou En-lai were increased trade relations between the two nations and more Chinese aid (likely to be of a military nature following the West German withdrawal).

What could lie behind the intense Chinese interest in this part of Africa and the granting of loans and aid that China can ill afford?

Dar es Salaam is the gateway to the riches of Central Africa. The Katanga-Zambia basin is rich in copper and other valuable minerals—including uranium and cobalt. A country which is embarking on the military and industrial use of nuclear power would find this area a prize of vital importance.

With China's ability to produce a nuclear bomb, however crude, new strategic aspects arise. Intelligence information published recently suggests that the Peking Government will be able to launch rockets within five years. A base for such weapons on the east coast of Africa with nuclear warheads, could confront India with a serious military threat.

The week in Asia

PEKING—Premier Chou En-lai declared China's continued opposition to Soviet participation in the forthcoming Afro-Asian conference and its refusal to attend the world conference of Communist parties in Moscow. Russia is continuing efforts behind the scenes to repair the breach with China. She has recently offered to renew the economic aid that was cut off by Khrushchev. Chou said China's relations with the United States hinged on American withdrawal from Indo-China and Formosa.

SAIGON—American jet bombers were thrown into combat with the Viet Cong for the first time on South Vietnamese soil to head off an attempt by large guerilla forces to cut South Vietnam in two. American Secretary of State Dean Rusk declared that as no indication exists that Hanoi intends to cease sending supplies and men into the south, no negotiations were possible. America plans to increase the Vietnamese Army by 100,000 and American advisers by 1,000.

HANOI—Five teams of the International Control Commission have been forced out of North Vietnam by the Government. The Commission was set up by the Geneva agreement to guard against any inflow of foreign arms and men into North and South Vietnam. Diplomats believe the teams were expelled because of the expected arrival of large-scale Russian military aid.

JAKARTA—Indonesia has taken over all American-owned rubber estates and closed the U.S. Information Service operations.

SAIGON—Former Chief of South Vietnam's armed forces, General Nguyen Khanh, was sent into "diplomatic exile" as his country's observer at the United Nations.

COLOMBO—With national elections three weeks off campaigns are proceeding without posters, banners or processions. These were banned by the Government. The Opposition has been denied time on the national radio. Scores of public meetings take place daily. Three new newspapers have appeared in Colombo since the campaign began, all supporting the coalition of Prime Minister Bandaranaike.

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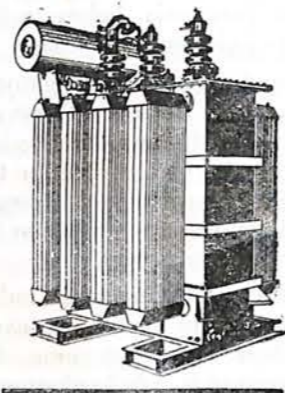
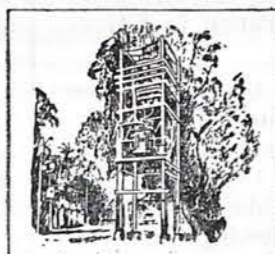


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FOR WOMEN

Families and Nations—II

by Mrs Roland Wilson

TWO YEARS ago a group of young teachers, all under thirty, became increasingly concerned about what was happening to the children of Britain. They saw a teaching profession becoming more and more self-centred and materialistic, turning out more and more self-centred and materialistic children.

One of them had a class of 8-year-old boys and girls in a rough part of London. She started to make them proud of their area. First she looked up all the famous men who had lived in the borough, and told their stories to the children. Milton and John Bunyan are among them. The children were delighted to know they were the inheritors of a tradition of greatness, and set about thinking how they too could do something for the world in their life-time.

"Stop Thieving"

The teacher suggested that they should make their borough the pride of London, which the children thought was a wonderful idea. So she asked them how they thought they should set about it. They said, "Stop thieving, and stop fights."

All of them had at one time or another stolen something from somebody, and they decided that in order to make their plan work they would have to put the things back, or pay for them. After a time several of the children had saved up enough money to pay for pens and other items that they had nicked from Woolworths, and with the teacher they went to the manager and re-funded him.

He was staggered. He said that he had lost hundreds of pounds through shop-lifting by schoolchildren, and four stores had forbidden children to come in. The children saw that they had begun to answer a national problem.

The head-master saw the problem children being transformed under his eyes. The parents came to ask advice, and as they talked to this young teacher many family worries and problems began to be healed.

That brings me to point three—the last. The first was, "We face a problem." The second was, "Whose responsibility is it?" The third: "If it can be done, why don't we do it?"

Nearly everyone sees the world as divided into two camps, WE and THEY. And, generally speaking, WE don't like what THEY are doing. The problem is to turn everyone into WE.

WE are a free people, we say. WE won't do what anyone else tells us. WE will do what we like. That, we say, is democracy. But is it? Public ownership is said to be a great thing, because everything belongs to us. I remember the first day that the railways were nationalized. How have we treated the railway carriages? We pull out the electric lights, rip up the seats, and leave banana skins on the floor. Of course, WE don't do it. It's only THEY who behave like that. Though WE own the railways, THEY are responsible for them.

The only people who ever answer this kind of deadlock are revolutionaries. They resolve it by one or two people stepping into the arena and saying, "Follow us. THEY are wrong. WE are right. WE will take over. WE will put THEM in prison, kill THEM, get them out of the way and WE can get on with the job."

This is constantly being done, and up to a point it's effective. But it still leaves us with WE and THEY. It's one kind of revolution, but it doesn't tackle the real problem.

Upside Down

A revolution is a way of turning a society upside down. The power is transferred from one set of people to another. Moral Re-Armament means that the power is transferred from people to God. Does that sound vague and unattainable? It's eminently practical. It's the only way democracy can be made to work.

What we can do is to create the answers. My friend the young teacher did not wait for an act of Parliament before she started her experiment in honesty. Suppose the children she

teaches grow up into honest and productive citizens, instead of spending part of their lives in prison at the expense of the tax-payer. Suppose some of the boys become policemen rather than thieves, workers rather than spongers.

If there were no longer a need for unmarried teenage mothers to take up beds in hospitals, might there be more girls available to nurse, to teach the children of the nation?

In a world crying out for medicines, we spend millions on sleeping pills. In a world where there is hunger and homelessness we spend millions on drink, gambling and smoking.

People say that you can't produce honesty and unselfishness by passing laws. But revolutions don't wait for laws. Those who fought for independence did not wait for permission.

We have a seventeen-year-old daughter who certainly wants to be independent. We want her to be independent too. But we have the same aim: to build a world that works. We have no unbridgeable gulf between the generations in our family.

We talk of younger nations and older nations. Why can't the same thing be true for them?

All in the Same Boat

Human nature is much the same wherever people come from.

We are bitter. Labour and management hate each other, often because of old wounds far back in the past, and which are never allowed to heal. It's like me and my mother. We are really all in the same boat. When you add to that hate between young and old, husband and wife, black and white, it's a much greater burden than imperialism, Communism, fascism and all the things we blame.

Whatever our forefathers did or didn't do, they have brought us to this point. If we keep our hates and our hurts as weapons, we shall destroy each other, and set civilization back for several hundred years. If we decide to treat each other as human beings and children of God we could move into a new age surprisingly quickly.

It won't be painless. It can't be easy because there is an awful lot to be done. But it's nothing like as complicated as getting to the moon, which people used to think was impossible.

Concluded

he avoided the modern snobbery of despising or excluding a man because he was rich or white or aristocratic. Everyone, he was convinced, had a unique part in building a new society and was needed whether black, white, Communist or an aristocrat.

He shared the Kerala worker's rice and sat at table with statesmen, princes and capitalists. He was out to enlist everyone in a global revolution.

"What the world needs," said Peter Howard, "is an idea big enough to include Moscow, Peking, London and Washington and powerful enough to change all."

Pace was his watchword. He hated the laziness, cowardice and love of safety of men who knew the world's need, but were determined to move at their own comfortable pace.

What he did himself to reach this world's millions was phenomenal, yet reaching the world, its rulers and masses was only half his life. The other half was training a force of men and women who could multiply his impact on the world and complete the job.

He enjoyed life. His humour was inexhaustible. He was a deeply satisfied man, yet happiness was not his aim. "I go through pain and pleasure both," he used to say. "I don't like the pain, but pleasure is not my aim." His aim was to build a decent world for the masses where all men and women lived as God's sons and daughters.

He captured, challenged, impressed and changed men. He had enemies, of course. All those, right, left and centre who were opposed to moral standards hated his fight and passion. The enemies were and are in a minority.

Yet the greatest success of his life is that he gave so many men and women a root, a faith in God and a revolutionary purpose that was independent of him. These men and women who will forever miss the friendship of this extraordinary man who fought so daringly, and has left so swiftly, will carry forward his revolution until it reaches every corner of this globe, every hut, every hamlet and every seat and citadel of power on this earth.

LIFE IN THE YEAR 2000 *Continued from page 7*

enough, that the increase of the scientific age in itself means that more and more people will have to concentrate on the spirit of man, because fewer and fewer people will be needed to look after his flesh. We are not there yet. The sufferings of our present time are still beyond belief in many countries, and we have got to get that right.

The last forty years have seen a titanic, sometimes cruel but on the whole sincere attempt to change man by changing his environment. The changes in environment over the world that have happened in my lifetime are extremely good. They ought to be accelerated. But we have got to face the fact that in the Communist and non-Communist world the change in environment has not actually changed the nature of man. I very, very much doubt whether today we are a more moral, a better or a better-educated community of humans than

we were some years ago. Basically that change in environment has not worked in the changing of men.

In Russia the fourth generation Communists are showing atavistic tendencies. They are having to shoot young men now for rape. They are sending people to gaol for long stretches for stealing money in industry. This is in the Soviets. Their main problem publicized is a drink problem in seventeen-year-olds.

Shape a New Man

The old animal has not been conquered. If you are convinced that man is an animal, the old animal never will be conquered except by force. If the old animal is never to be conquered except by force, Mao Tse-tung is right.

There has been destroyed in the minds of hundreds of millions of people any belief in the living God.

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March 1, 1965

(Sgd.) **R. M. LALA**

It has been done deliberately. Lenin, who in my view was sincere, said, "We shall never succeed until the myth of God is removed from the mind of man." Yet the people who do most to destroy God in the minds of humanity are the people who say they believe in Him and live their lives as if God never lived.

What have we done in the West during my lifetime? We have steadily raised our material standards and steadily lowered our moral ones.

A very noted commentator said not long ago that we were becoming like goats and monkeys. Is that what nations who still say they have a faith in God are meant to become? Why shouldn't the remaining half of this century be spent in a stupendous effort, in which East and West can join if they will, to shape a new type of man, who will be worthy of living in the world of wonders that science is opening up for us.

This was a life
SUN YAT - SEN
1866-1925

AT FIRST SIGHT, Sun Yat-sen, the American-educated Christian doctor, cuts an odd figure as "the architect of revolt."

He was a life-long revolutionary, organizing his first Secret Society while still a medical student in Hong Kong. From his first unsuccessful uprising against the Manchu dynasty in 1894, he led or inspired from abroad no less than thirteen rebellions.

The sudden uprising in Hankow, which swelled into the famous revolution of the "Double Ten" (October 10, 1911), seemed to see his dream come true. He hurried back from exile in America to be elected Provisional President of the new Republic.

"We are initiating," he proudly boasted in his inaugural address, "the example to Eastern Asia of a Republican form of Government: success comes early or late to those who strive, but the good are surely rewarded in the end. Why then, should we repine today that victory has tarried long?"

But victory—in the form of the genuine freedom and unity he desired—was still to prove elusive. The former Imperial General Yuan Shi-kai, whom Sun had caused to be elected President in his place for the sake of national unity, soon turned against the reformers. Sun found himself once more in exile and hiding.

Bitter disappointment at the West when the terms of the Versailles Treaty of 1919 became known (foreign concessions in China were not abolished as expected) gave fresh impetus to Sun's revolutionary cause. Basing himself on Canton, he established an alternative Government in the South and in 1921 was again proclaimed President.

Shaken by the ruthless power struggle waged by political generals and war-lords he attempted in the last years of his life to formulate a clear ideology around which to build a dedicated National Peoples' Party (Kuomintang) and unite the country. Today both the Communist and Nationalist regime, embattled against each other across the Taiwan Straits, claim him as forbears and father.

Q and A

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

Q — Why should the U.S. on one side and the U.S.S.R. on the other help the fight between South and North Vietnam? Cannot the dispute be settled peacefully by the U.N.?

J. BARMAN, Madras.

A — The present war in Vietnam is a direct reflection and consequence of the ideological war in the world.

The Viet Cong in South Vietnam are Communist guerillas trained in North Vietnam and Communist China. Their aim is not the independence of South Vietnam but its incorporation in the Communist North. They are supported with manpower and material by Communist China. Russia's entry into North Vietnam is more recent.

The U.S.A. has to help South Vietnam militarily as her departure would create a vacuum which will be immediately filled by Communist China. Her task is made immensely difficult by the divisions and jealousies among South Vietnam's rulers and the lack of a leadership which will inspire her people with a will to fight. The answer is not the defeatism that hands over South Vietnam to the Communists but the determination to give

that war-torn country not only modern weaponry for her defence but also an ideology that will unite her people in giving an answer to corruption and Communism.

The U.N. can of course try to resolve the dispute peacefully. But if the solution is not to be an "honourable" surrender of the South to the North (in the name of a nice-sounding word like neutralization), Communist China must be forced to give up her expansionist aims in Asia.

Q — Will it be possible for the outgoing nations to form a parallel organization to the United Nations?

MOHINDER CHUGH, Delhi.

A — So far only Indonesia has chosen to go out of the U.N. Though China supports her, the chances of a large breakaway from the present world body are slight. China, herself, would like to be admitted to the U.N. She can pursue her world aims much better through such a broad-based world body. That is why she endorsed fully the proposals of General de Gaulle for a conference of Big Powers, including Communist China, to consider the revision of the U.N. Charter.

Even the extremist nations of the pro-China group in Asia and Africa do not support the formation of a rival body to the U.N.

Should Indonesia succeed in pulling a few nations out of the U.N., it will be quite unlike the parent body. We shall have a new Peking-based Communist international.

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Behind the Upsurge

by Rajmohan Gandhi

I PRAY our leaders understand that behind the violent upsurge in the South lies a malady more serious than the Government's mishandling of the language issue.

The Government is bound to yield to the popular demand in the South and give legal constitutional guarantees to protect the jobs, status and promotion of those who don't speak Hindi.

But any peace that is restored will be purely temporary unless the bigger malady is diagnosed and cured with intelligence and determination.

The mighty disease we are suffering from is the selfishness that produces hate and the callousness that produces anger. Millions all over India are bitter and angry today—and not just in the South.

The disease is not the language we employ—or don't employ. It is the attitude we have to one another. Unless we can show a drastic change in the way we treat one another we are in for an epidemic of violence that can only end in dictatorship and tyranny.

Wars between students and soldiers have to be fought because we don't engage ourselves in the greater battle to make India Asia's most dynamic land.

Students Hate Hypocrisy

I have talked, worked and lived with thousands of students. They hate the hypocrisy and selfishness of the society they live in. It is true they themselves often lie, steal or bribe. But they respond unflinchingly and spiritedly to an invitation and a challenge to revolutionize India and make her Asia's leader. And to this end they are eager to accept discipline and standards in their lives.

Will our leaders have the wisdom to try this approach? If they do, they will find that where everything else has failed this patriotic way of Moral Re-Armament will succeed. The leaders will, of course, have to pay the price of change in their lives, like the rest of us. Otherwise it will be a flop, and deservedly.

Yet the days of the freedom struggle are proof that our leaders and our people can be unselfish.

This revolution will need the

passion of every angry man and woman in India. And it will have the power to cure his hate as well as the causes of his hate.

We moved into freedom with many illusions. A grand one was that all Indians loved one another, that the imperialists had created any divisions that existed and that their exit would reveal once again the unity of the Indian people.

Facts have forced all sane men to bid goodbye to this charming notion. We know, after 17 free years, that we are a nation torn from top to bottom and side to side by hate and division.

Mao is Amused

We hate others because of their caste, language, religion or class. If we don't halt this hating we might as well cry halt to our defence efforts against China. Our internal divisions will destroy and enslave us before China has to.

Mao Tse-tung would have happily spent thousands of his soldiers and vast sums of money to achieve the damage to our economy, unity and stability caused by the events of the last weeks. We can be sure he looks at the Indian scene with amusement.

One reason for our hates and divisions is that we don't feel we need one another. Does the South feel it is needed and wanted by the North? Some in the South feel, rightly or wrongly, that they are exploited. Yet I am sure the deeper resentment arises because they feel they are not needed.

National unity will not just happen because it is necessary. Seminars and festivals for "national integration" will not create it. Some of us will have to *live in such a way* that we make everyone in every corner of India and everyone who meets us feel that he is needed and wanted in a supreme task.

What humans react to most is the callousness and cruel indifference of others which makes them feel that everything would go on just the same if they did not exist.

Last Divali in Bombay some of us invited about sixty students to explode crackers and also to plan how to change India. A lad of the street stood outside, watching the fun with excitement and envy. He slipped away before I could get

to him, but I shall never forget him. Unless someone fills his heart with a new purpose he will grow up to be a hater of society.

The underprivileged are soon going to rule India and the world, because we have entered the age of the common man. And thank God we have. It is long overdue.

Can we help them, serve them and fight for them in such a way that they build a society free of violence, fear and greed? Those who have had the privileges so far have not built it. Yet we must, for the sake of that Bombay lad and millions like him all over India and beyond—brown, black, white or yellow.

Each one of us can bring a cure from exactly where we are. Everyone can ask himself simple questions. Do I take time and thought to give people around me, my family and those I meet, a task that satisfies and invites them?

"Am I as Honest?"

If I am a Delhi-wala, do I selflessly care for every man I meet from Madras, Andhra, Kerala or Mysore and include him in a programme of transforming India?

If I am a capitalist, am I as honest as I want my workers, or sons, to be, as pure as I want my wife and daughter to be? Do I invite my partners, friends, family, workers and servants in the home to take part together in a revolution to end our land's misery?

If I am a politician, is my eye on the next post or the next election, or do I plan for the next generation? Am I as honest and just as I want the capitalists to be?

If I am a teacher or professor, can I say that India's future would be secure if all my students lived the way I live? Do I educate the whole man, brain as well as spirit, or do I neglect character?

It is possible to change India. A resolute minority can do it. But today we are in serious peril. Mother India needs to wake up. And all fathers, husbands, wives, brothers, sisters as well.

May God give us the passion to leap forward to a place where the world will say, "Behold how the Indians love one another."

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