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HIMMAT

25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



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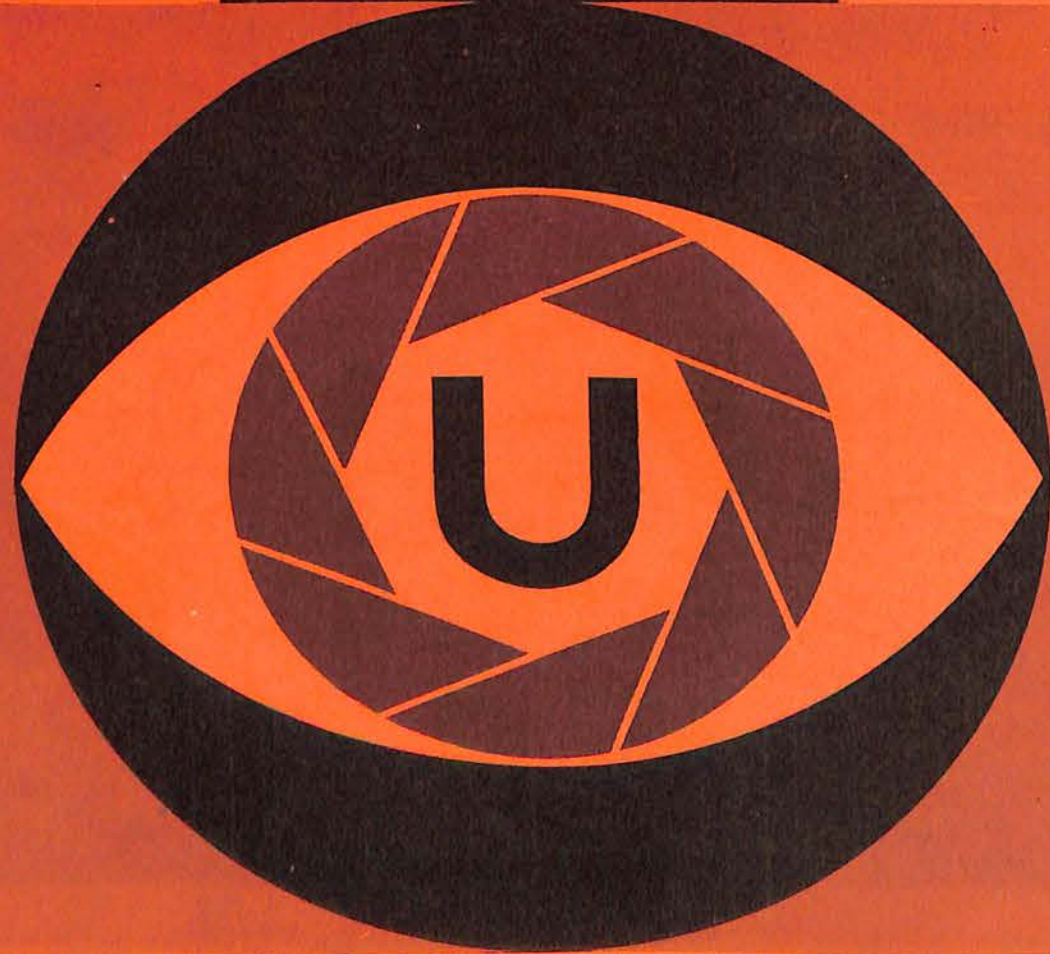
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HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, December 18, 1964

Vol. 1 No. 7

Heed Him

DEFENCE MINISTER Chavan has announced a 5-year defence programme that will cost Rs. 5,000 crores. This works out at Rs. 1,000 crores a year and is double India's defence budget three years ago.

Mr. Chavan says that the best way to raise this revenue is an all-round increase in production. But the question is, "How?"

India's third Five-Year Plan fixed the target of an 11 per cent annual rise in industrial output. Last year the rise was only 9 per cent and this year it has fallen to 6 per cent. More money is pumped into the economy and fewer goods emerge; inflation grows.

We cannot expect to say, "Let there be production," and find that there is.

There are two ways to obtain higher production. The first is the method of the whip which none of us want. The second is to give the right incentives to all sections of the people, to encourage their ability and spirit to work in a society where the leaders set the example.

President Radhakrishnan said the other day that our politicians—far from giving this lead—have gone astray. It is pertinent to ask whether the Indian Cabinet has discussed President Radhakrishnan's important diagnosis seriously. If so, what conclusion have they reached?

If Gandhi was challenged by a statement like the President's, he would have thought seriously about it. He may have undertaken a fast for self-purification. HIMMAT is not asking the Cabinet to fast, but they can be honest about where they have contributed to the lack of moral standards and put their own house in order. That is the least they can do if they truly want to save and serve the country.

It Weakens Us

MR. LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI made clear last week to the Congress Party in Parliament that he had raised during his U.K. talks the moral responsibility of the major nuclear powers to protect the non-nuclear countries from nuclear threats. He further said that India's U.N. delegation would seek the views of other non-nuclear countries in this matter.

According to a *Hindustan Times* report from New York, Foreign Minister Swaran Singh does not consider the proposal for a nuclear guarantee workable. Nor, says the report, is the Foreign Minister aware of any direction from New Delhi that the matter should be probed at the U.N. It hints at "a lapse in consultations".

Will the Prime Minister swiftly resolve the question and discover why, and how, New Delhi often speaks with one voice at home and another abroad?

Mr. Swaran Singh also stated on a television programme in New York that any heightening of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union or between the United States and China would

bring Russia and China together "as a matter of necessity".

In this statement Mr. Swaran Singh seems to be suggesting that America should be careful in standing up to China lest China and Russia get together. Such a plea has not yet been made on Indian soil by Mr. Swaran Singh or Mr. Shastri. Why is it made in New York?

If Mr. Swaran Singh's statement reflects the considered policy of our Cabinet, then it means that a fundamental decision regarding India's future has been taken without the approval or even the knowledge of the people and the Parliament of our land. New Yorkers have received precedence over the Lok Sabha.

To press America to placate China will not increase our chances of getting American—or British, European, Canadian or Australian—military aid against China. It will also have the effect of weakening the national resolve to combat China.

Certainly India must consider the changing relationships among the U.S., the U.S.S.R. and China. And it is plain that India needs more than guns and bombs to deal with China. But before our Government decides that its task is to persuade the rest of the world not to displease China, even while China prepares to capture all Asia, it must obtain the nation's approval. This the Indian people will never give.

The Difference

ELSEWHERE in this issue a recent Indian visitor to East Europe describes the loosening of restrictions that he saw. He says that, in fact, these Communist lands are gradually becoming capitalistic.

Many who sincerely turned to Communism to end the injustice of society would, in truth, be unhappy at this development. They are disillusioned when they hear that all that Communism does, after a period of dictatorship and regimentation, is to re-establish capitalist society.

Freedom is essential to man's growth. But we love East Europe, and the rest of the Communist world, poorly if our vision for them is that they should adopt the materialist, and consequently selfish and unjust, society of today's non-Communist nations.

One reason why certain Communist leaders today encourage more contacts with the West is their conviction that the West has no superior ideology to win over Communists. The real test of a change in the aims of Communist leadership is their attitude to the spread of Moral Re-Armament. Will they allow unrestricted expression of the ideology of Moral Re-Armament in East Europe and Russia? The day they do that will be history's turning point.

There is hypocrisy and hate among Communists, anti-Communists and neutralists, in nations that are Communist, capitalist, socialist or mixed. The difference is that in lands that are not Communist, there is freedom to speak out for Moral Re-Armament.

Briefly Speaking...

Callous

AN ESTIMATED 300,000 people sleep on the streets of Bombay alone. Multiply that across the nation and you have an idea of the homeless millions of India.

Governments often complain of lack of funds for housing. Now the Union Housing Minister, Mr. Meher Chand Khanna, states that out of the Rs. 79 crores provided for housing under the third Five Year Plan, States have utilised only Rs. 27 crores during the first three years.

At this rate, more than half of the funds allocated for housing will have to be either utilised in the final year of the Plan or remain unspent.

At the same time, in the cold wave last week, over a dozen people died of exposure because they had no home.

When HIMMAT asked the Maharashtra Housing Board for certain facts on housing, the Public Relations Officer regretted, after a week, that he could not furnish any information unless it was passed by the Chairman of the Housing Board, failing him the Housing Commissioner, both of whom were out of Bombay.

If this is any sample of efficiency, is it surprising that our housing is where it is?

B.B.C. in the Red

THE BRITISH Broadcasting Corporation in its annual report for 1963-64 baldly states that it will continue broadcasting plays about sex and violence. The report adds that the Corporation is in the red and that unless the taxpayer or the licence-holder foots the bill, it will be on the rocks.

The B.B.C. is the concern of the British people. Many of them already

NEXT WEEK

HIMMAT will carry a special survey of youth in action around the world.—Ed.

question whether, with the programmes it is putting on, the B.B.C. is still a public service.

Commenting on its plays, the *Daily Telegraph* has rightly pointed out, "Estrangement and loneliness may be the mood of the writers enlisted by the B.B.C., but it is assuredly not the mood of the nation. Could not the immense patronage of the Corporation be used to find and encourage a different school of dramatists who will hold up in a mirror before the people a more enlivening image of themselves and their world?"

In contrast to some of the boring garbage on the B.B.C., an enlivening image is presented at the Westminster Theatre in London, where a series of plays by Peter Howard has been running for the last three years. Writing on the pantomime *Give a Dog a Bone*, last week, the *Daily Telegraph* says, "Faith is the spur at the Westminster Theatre. It pricks every show to success." Not one of these plays has been put on yet by the B.B.C. to my knowledge, in spite of public demand.

Will B.B.C. Governors care to inquire why?

Saying of the Week

"WE ARE marching from crisis to crisis. This shows we have defaulted grievously at some point. It is not easy to locate the point, but this is no time for analysis, as this is no time for brave talk. We should take remedial action, though extremely cautiously."

U. N. DHEBAR,

Former President of the Indian National Congress.

China in Algiers

THE FRENCH Department in charge of Algerian Affairs has revealed in Paris that the People's Republic of China has bought out all the book shops of Algeria. Does our Government have any information on such moves? Is China's move related to the Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers in March or April? China is also giving every financial support to the Conference. Has India a strategy for this crucial meet?

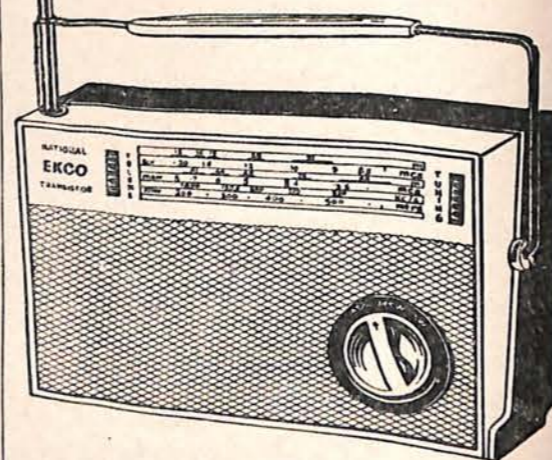
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Dangerous Thinking in the West

by the Editor

THERE IS DANGEROUS THINKING in the West. In U.S. magazines and on television they are beginning to discuss the possibility of pacifying China by accepting her suzerainty over South East Asia. China's nuclear blast and the failure of U.S. policy in Viet-Nam has encouraged this thinking. Asians who believe that we have to ask U.S. help and it will be surely given may need to think again.

The American political commentator, Walter Lippmann, openly advocates the "neutralisation of South-East Asia." In an interview with *The Sunday Times*, London (November 22nd) Mr. Lippmann states:

"The best we can hope for in what is the natural sphere of influence of China especially as she gets more powerful is the gradual development of national Tito-type Communist regimes. You can't make democracies out of these countries."

Sell Out

Mr. Lippmann then goes on to state his second point. "What we ought to aim at is guaranteed independence, a guarantee in which China, the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, France and perhaps Australia and New Zealand would all be the participants."

Mr. Lippmann concludes: "The representatives of the Western civilisation cannot expect over a period of time to remain on the mainland of Asia. Our natural power is not on the mainland anyway, it is at sea. I realise that such an evolution might open the Indian Eastern flank to very considerable uncertainty. But can anyone tell us what the future of India is to be? It has this superstructure of parliamentary government and Civil Service—very good, very impressive—and this foundation of tribal caste, of village life which seems unaffected by it."

Mr. Lippmann's thinking is in line with that of "progressives" of the West who believe that Communism will win and the best that they can do is to surrender peaceably to it. Some of them see in Communism the seeds of its own destruction and hope that it will wither away over the years. They think that by softening it up and corrupting it with material comforts, its fire and passion will go. Instead of a red world, they argue, we will have a tolerable pink world.

Mr. Lippmann is free to expound his ideas from his remote position. But there are 450,000,000 people of India and many millions of South East Asia who, in spite of the basic defects in the structure of their society—which need to and must change,—will not permit themselves to be traded in the drawing rooms and cabinets of the Western world. The spirit of India will not tolerate it and nor, we hope, will the conscience of the Western world.

There is in the Indian people a will to live, to grow and to fight and not alone to seek material rewards as some of our patronising friends in the West appear to believe. There are other values India has, in some cases learned from the West, of life, liberty and the dignity of the individual and freedom of worship.

There is arrogance in Mr. Lippmann if he condemns millions of Asia to be satellites of China as East Europe has been of the Soviet Union; and when he states democracy cannot work in this part of the world. This is an insult not only to India but also to Japan and to Malaysia.

Chinese Hegemony

After China's explosion of the nuclear bomb, some in the West have decided that they cannot allow China to drop the atom bomb on her Asian neighbours. Yet to avoid Western involvement in a nuclear war, they feel that the best policy is to urge Asian governments to accept Chinese hegemony as East Europe has accepted that of the Soviets. They believe that if China is ringed by leftist governments she can dictate to, the prospects of a nuclear war over Saigon, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and New Delhi will recede.

If America perchance falls into the trap of this thinking, not only will she sell Asia to Communism but she will not get the peace and security she seeks either.

Chamberlain hoped that if he offered Adolf Hitler Sudetenland, Hitler would be satisfied. Mr. Chamberlain declared after Munich that there would be "peace in our time." A year later the jackboots of Germany marched into Poland.

If America compromises on this vital issue of freedom in Asia, she will have to pay the price dearly—and on American soil.

When India is striving to strengthen her defences and is doing her best to get adequate aid from the U.S. and the U.K., it is alarming that a responsible commentator of the West should talk so lightheartedly about leaving India's Eastern flank to the dangers of Chinese invasion.

The caste system which worries Mr. Lippmann is dying fast. India's greatest sin, however, has been that since Independence she has concentrated only on her own improvement. She has not thought adequately for the world. She has failed to take responsibility for the freedom and security of South East Asia.

Spur to India

The West should spur India to assume the responsibility which the West has taken for so long in Asia. Otherwise "neutralisation," as Mr. Lippmann admits, means the Communisation of South East Asia and India.

Mr. Lippmann's counsel of retreat to the West is certainly not what Asians want. We want and need their presence on Asia's land and sea. The West alone can provide the power to balance China, until such time as democratic nations like India and Japan can provide it.

The alternative for the West is not either to risk a world war with Chinese Communism or surrender China's neighbours peaceably to her; there is a third way, and that is to help India and Japan to pioneer a new path in Asia. Where India is concerned, Western capitalism has failed to appeal. Chinese Communism holds less appeal than Mr. Lippmann credits it with. India needs one thing that China has and that is the power of an ideology.

The idea of a new society superior to Communism, based on absolute moral standards and the direction of God, appeals to the Indian mind. Indians in an increasing number are resolved to tell Mao Tse-tung and other rulers that they mean to pioneer this type of society in the whole world in which even Peking can have a part.

Mr. Lippmann notwithstanding, India can become the counterweight to China for which the world has been waiting, and may well help in ensuring the safety of Mr. Lippmann's own grandchildren.

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This Language Business

ON JANUARY 26, 1965, India switches over to Hindi as the official language of India and of administration. Anyone who chooses can make official comments, put up notes, etc., in Hindi and the clerks and secretaries and joint secretaries who don't know Hindi will be in the happy position of having another excuse for delay in dealing with papers—"They are being translated." Government machinery, already slow, will become slower still as Sanskritised Hindi, Urduised Hindi, just plain Hindi and English compete with each other for the loyalty of our administrators. It will be a glorious holiday for some and a horrible nightmare for others.

For fifteen years the country knew this day would come, yet we postponed, protested and procrastinated; our leaders vacillated between one policy and another. The administrators hoped the day would never come when they would have to learn another language besides English. The change-over, as a result, finds the Government completely unprepared.

It is not inconceivable that for some time total confusion will prevail in the secretariats. It would be an enjoyable farce were it not so tragic.

Switching Over

The State Governments are entitled to carry on in their own respective regional languages. They are themselves at various stages of switching over from English to Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil, etc. How the national leaders reconcile government in regional languages, English and Hindi at the same time, they alone must figure out. But that is what they have prescribed. How, again, they reconcile the existence of All-India Services such as I.A.S., I.P.S., etc., with such linguistically localised administration is also something they don't seem to have considered yet.

Parliament has in the Official Languages Act made provision for continued use of English for business in the House. Some states have also passed laws enabling use of English in the legislatures. But Bihar, U.P., Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh will do business exclusively in Hindi.

High courts and the Supreme Court will continue to use English, without time limit. Even here, there is con-

siderable room for future linguistic agitation, as the President of India is empowered to grant permission to any high court to transact business in the state language or Hindi.

The same kind of chaos prevails also in education. With the formulation of linguistic states, the way was open to make the regional language or mother tongue medium of instruction up to the secondary level. English is taught as a compulsory language from the 3rd standard in some states, from the 5th standard in most and from the 8th standard in Gujarat.

Since the teaching and learning of Hindi is often nominal or at best half-hearted in most non-Hindi-speaking states, after 12 years of schooling boys and girls know only the regional language well enough. Many are

Under the Lens

not proficient even at this. That is why one finds the curious spectacle of education ministers who impose the regional language in schools, withdraw government grants from English-medium schools, and yet send their own children to the latter.

So far, most universities have resisted the pressure to change from English to Hindi or to the regional language. But with the "weighty" recommendations of learned bodies like the Radhakrishnan Commission behind them, the Government will be unable to resist the pressure much longer.

The outlook is thus one of total chaos.

Back-door Methods

A minimum guarantee of good administration is uniformity. There can only be one language of administration both in the States and the Centre, especially if it is in the hands of All India Services who are transferable from state to state. The same applies to the scheme of an All-India Educational Service and the High Courts and the Supreme Court. The Central Government has not had the will or the strength to implement such a uniform policy. Hindi is recommended as the official language by all bodies of government and yet no

adequate efforts are forthcoming to make it suitable as a "language" for administration as well as higher learning.

There is no clarity about the place of English in administration and education. English is sought to be maintained by inertia, inaction and the slowness to change to any other language. It is sought to be re-established and retained by back-door methods rather than as a matter of clearly enunciated policy.

Jungle of Jealousies

In the absence of an English or Hindi policy, regional languages assert themselves with the result that, instead of one or two official languages, we have sixteen. Instead of a universally accepted, single, national medium of higher education, we are in danger of having sixteen. Instead of moving forward to integration, we move backward to disintegration, to the jungle of jealousies and parochial interests of the pre-British era that led to the victory of a handful of foreigners from 5,000 miles away over a land of 300 million.

The truth is that the language problem is insoluble in a purely linguistic framework. Everyone accepted Hindi as a national language in the days of the independence struggle because it was a symbol of a greater aim. As a matter of fact, it was precisely during the freedom struggle that we witnessed, also, a renaissance of regional language, unsurpassed till today.

With petty aims, it is not surprising that we refuse to rise above regional language. Our politicians no longer think even in terms of India. They are matched by the ordinary citizen who does not think beyond his job and the industrialist who refuses to be concerned with anything but his business.

If our thinking were any indication, we have already ceased to be a nation. Educationists, however able, and politicians, however sincere, can never make India accept a common language if they will not also teach India to think of and for the world. If Indians were truly concerned about India's part in the world, they would quite easily come to an agreement on a national language which they would readily learn.

R. VAITHESWARAN

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Peking vs. Tokyo

FROM TOSHIO HARA

Tokyo

PEKING is hitting hard at Japan's new Prime Minister Sato accusing him and his Government of being "reactionaries who consider China as an enemy."

Peking is annoyed because: (i) Sato gave a flat refusal to the proposed visit of Peng Chen, Mayor of Peking, who wanted to attend the Japanese

Communist Party Convention; (ii) he criticised China's atomic explosion while admitting the U.S. nuclear submarine to a Japanese port; (iii) Foreign Minister Shiina expressed his belief that the entry of Communist China to U.N. will serve no practical purpose when U Thant had suggested having Red China at U.N. as an observer; (iv) Mr. Sato sent his brother, Mr. Kishi, former Prime Minister, to Taiwan with his message



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Mr. Sato considers the China issue a major diplomatic task of his new regime. He plans to meet Johnson in Washington early next year and hopes to establish his own line of policy on South East Asia and China.

China appears as a vast potential market to Japan's ever-expanding industry. Japan's trade with Communist China is still no more than 2 per cent of her international trade (her trade with the entire Communist bloc is 6 per cent), although it has doubled in the last year. Japan has no diplomatic relations with Communist China and therefore all trade is done through unofficial channels. Japanese trade circles are now eager to establish contracts with Red China for 1965.

Mr. Sato seems to believe that the separation of economics from politics



Prime Minister Sato

is the best solution. Communist China, however, is bound to bargain hard.

Although taking a hostile attitude towards Japan's new regime, Peking gave a thunderous welcome to the Nichibo Kaizuka volley ball team, that beat the Russians in the Olympics and won the Gold Medal. Chou-En-lai cancelled previous engagements to see the match. He made a bid for the top Japanese coach, "Daimatsu the Demon." Premier Chou said to Daimatsu, "Your spirit is what we need" and asked him to stay and train his Red Chinese volley ball team. The President of Nichibo Textile Company, which employs the volley ball team, happened to be in Peking and agreed to the coach training the Chinese.

Mr. Sato, more than anybody, feels the urgent need for a clear-cut China policy. His policy needs to be convincing enough to enlist businessmen, opposition parties and public opinion.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS—cont'd.

Elusive European Unity

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Paris

PRESIDENT de Gaulle has done it again. In his inimitable style he has forced the European nations to choose, and he has told them that if they do not go along with him, he may leave the Common Market and even NATO.

Speaking at 20th anniversary celebrations of the liberation of Strasbourg, capital of a province disputed between France and Germany for centuries, he told Germany in unmistakable terms that the Franco-German alliance was meant to be the cornerstone of the new Europe, which according to him, is meant to go "from the Atlantic to the Urals."

The two issues which have threatened the whole evolution towards a united Europe during these weeks were also mentioned by him in his speech. One issue has been the refusal of the German government to accept a common price for wheat with the other Common Market nations because the lowering of the German wheat prices would antagonize the German farmers before next year's elections. This caused de Gaulle to give an ultimatum to the Germans to accept the common wheat price or to expect France to leave the Common Market.

de Gaulle Refuses

The other issue has been the American plan to institute inside NATO a Multi-Lateral-Force (MLF) through which a number of surface ships with mixed crews would be equipped with Polaris missiles and would thus be a common effort in the atomic defense of the West. America, of course, would still keep the veto power on when the missiles would be launched. This is, of course, the point where de Gaulle refuses to go along with the plan.

In his Strasbourg speech, he said on this issue: "To place one's life in the hands of another power, friendly to be sure, but living in another world whose destiny cannot be identified with Europe's geographically and historically, would be to cripple seriously a great hope."

Both the wheat price issue and the MLF issue show that the attempts to create a united Europe have reached a crucial phase. The men who started to re-construct Europe after

the disastrous Second World War (and of whom only one, Dr. Adenauer, is still alive), had very clear ideas why they wanted to create a united Europe. Between France and Germany there had been three deadly wars in seventy years. There was not one family on either side who had not lost a father, son or other relative. Schuman, Adenauer and their common friend, Dr. Frank Buchman, had a clear vision of what a united Europe, built out of the ruins, could do for the whole world. And in spite of colossal difficulties, starting with the Coal and Steel community through Euratom on to the Treaty of Rome establishing the Common Market, they built up the structure which was to be the foundation of a truly united continent.

The aim of men like Schuman was not to build up a system where prosperity for one country or even for the six Common Market nations would be the prime reason of association. But there is no doubt that as economic miracles happened in the different nations of Europe, the preservation of the economic boom and of course the political consequences of continuous prosperity, became factors that weighed more and more heavily on the mind of the European leaders.

De Gaulle, with his very strong ideas of what Europe should be and do, has re-opened the discussion on the fundamental aims of European unity. And from the other side of the Rhine and even from the other side of the Channel, even the men who do not agree with him, have to take his ideas into account.

Chancellor Professor Ehrhard, who until a few days ago had adamantly refused to budge on the issue of the wheat price or on his full support of the Multi Lateral Force, expressed before the German Parliament on December 2 what had led him to reconsider his stand. He said: "What we are attempting to do is to relaunch European unity.... The old Europe is not dead; on the contrary, once

united, she will experience a renaissance."

After outlining the concrete measures he and his government were undertaking, Professor Ehrhard stressed once more that Germany and France had a common destiny for Europe and the world and that this would remain a cornerstone of his policy.

Cops Under Fire

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

THE IMAGE of the friendly "bobby" has taken a pasting. An official enquiry found that five policemen lied and probably planted razors and a cosh on three men who were sentenced on this evidence—and are now pardoned.

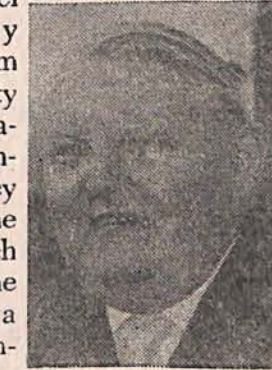
Justice has belatedly been done. But the cynical comment of David Frost on TV—"We have the best police force money can buy"—is undeserved. Complaints against a metropolitan policeman average one in ten years.

An over-worked, under-staffed force is trying to cope with a crime rate that has gone up since the war, in the case of violence, 500 per cent.

A former chief constable writes in the *Sunday Times*: "The protection racketeers and the human cesspool of the underworld are having a whale of a time. They never had it so good and they will continue to unless the whole problem is recognised by the nation and ruthless and determined steps are taken by a strong and confident police force to put a stop to it. And that cannot be done with soft soap and kid gloves."

Last week a young M.P. had to go to the rescue of a policeman being beaten up by a thug. Others did not want to get involved. "Policemen are working today in a society where the sense of right and wrong is less to be relied on than ever before," wrote another M.P., W.F. Deedes, in the *Daily Telegraph*. "From many citizens they cannot count on even a minimum moral sense to meet them half way."

The battle against excessive police powers has been more successful than against the excessive crime. It is to be hoped that the events of the week will not deter the police from their determination nor the public from regarding the police as their allies.



Chancellor Ehrhard

JOMO KENYATTA

MAN OF DESTINY

by Our Special Correspondent

"WHAT HAS HAPPENED to Kenyatta?" is the most frequently asked question in Kenya. Incredulous white settlers, hostile extremists, cautious diplomats, sceptical journalists and eager students join in the chorus of ordinary people who repeatedly pose the question.

Kenyatta, former Mau Mau leader who for 9 years suffered imprisonment, emerged from jail to say, "You are going to see a new Kenyatta. The past is past. We are one people. We have all suffered, not the least myself. Let us leave the past behind and start to build our nation anew."

His first statement as the President of the Republic of Kenya, is: "Kenya can offer a new philosophy and a practical challenge to a world wrapped in deadlock between two massive systems whose proudest boast is their capacity to annihilate mankind."

One of Africa's most colourful personalities, Jomo Kenyatta has, with this statement, made a bid to establish himself and his ideas on the world scene.

Loves His Farms

Jomo Kenyatta is first of all a farmer. He loves his cows, his sheep, his chickens. He worked in his early years as an interpreter in a law court, as a farm clerk and a farm foreman. Many an African leader has built sumptuous palaces. But the Presi-

dent of Kenya, until the other day, lived in a simple country home 40 miles from Nairobi. There, surrounded by coffee, maize, pineapples and cattle (as well as roses, which are the prize of his garden), he made crucial decisions affecting his people and country.

From 1931 to 1946, Kenyatta studied anthropology in London, wrote his book *Facing Mount Kenya* and dreamed of the day when his country would be free. In 1952, the Mau Mau rebellion broke out that was to cost the British Government £50 million and the Africans alone 11,000 lives. Mau Mau oaths were savage. White and black alike were massacred. It was a cruel rebellion and the British dealt with it firmly.

In October 1952, Jomo Kenyatta was arrested and kept in detention. His family home at Gatundu was ripped to bits. Each piece of it was carried away and dumped or sold, destroying all traces of his influence on his people. His car was dumped in a nearby field. It is still there, battered, rusty, overgrown with weeds.

For 9 long years in detention, up till August 1961, Jomo had time to read, think and listen to the radio. Often he was tuned to Radio Peking or Moscow, it is said. Yet when he emerged out of detention instead of coming out a bitter Marxist he em-

erged as a true statesman of his people.

His only brother, James Muigai, was asked what lay behind the transformation of Jomo Kenyatta by the well-known British journalist and author, Mr. Peter Howard. His brother replied, "One of the important factors in the new thinking that is coming to the country has been the showings on a massive scale of a film. You might well ask how a film can affect the future of a country. Well, this one has. It was written and acted by Africans from all parts of the continent who had seen in Moral Re-Armament a new way for Africa. This film is called *Freedom* or, in Swahili, *Uhuru*."

Get Up And Go

"My colleagues made a long journey to show this film to my brother while he was still in detention. They spent 7 hours with him discussing the needs of our continent and how they could be answered. When he saw the film, he urged them to put it into Swahili so that it would reach every village in East Africa. Since then it has been seen by 600,000 people in Kenya. It has brought a new thinking to my nation."

One of the first problems that Kenyatta had to deal with was the tribalism and the hate in his own people. For, once the white man was ready to leave, Africans appeared to have turned on each other. His ringing call to them was, "Harambee!" ("Let's get up and go!") The Opposition Party, K.A.D.U., at the time of the framing of the Constitution, wanted greater power for different regions in a federal set-up. Jomo and K.A.N.U. were clear that unity of the country was priority and that any compromise on this issue would weaken and divide the nation. Kenyatta won.

He next turned his attention to the white people. Addressing 400 white farmers in the White Highlands last year, he surprised them all when he said, "We are all human beings. We all make mistakes. But we can forgive. That is what we need to learn in Kenya. Where I have harmed you I ask forgiveness. We want you to stay and farm, and farm well. We

Continued on page 12

WHAT NEXT IN AFRICA?

by Our Special Correspondent

TEN YEARS AGO three countries spoke for Africa in the United Nations—Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia.

Nine times the size of India, this vast continent with only seven per cent of the world's population today controls 30 per cent of the votes in the world body. It also provides this year's U.N. General Assembly President.

Chess board and treasure trove for wayward colonial powers over many centuries, Africa is today largely in the hands of her native sons. But beyond freedom she has been confronted with a dilemma. Which way will her passions turn? What sort of leader will her revolutions throw up?

"Revolutionary prospects are excellent throughout Africa," said China's Premier Chou En-lai to a mass rally in Mogadishu, Somalia, last February. And soon he goes again to spin his wheels of revolution a little faster.

Will yellow rule replace white imperialism which is rapidly retreating from Africa? That is China's aim.

Will red rule triumph over the missionaries of Mao? So hope the men of Moscow.

Will black rule enthrone leaders whose solution to opposition is gaol or exile and who will tolerate torture and tribal massacres far worse than the greatest excesses of colonial rule? That is the compulsion of hate and ambition.

Will the stubborn rule of white men in South Africa, Rhodesia and the remnant colonies plunge the continent into war? That is the danger of Verwoerd, Smith and Salazar.

Africa could choose another route. Could it be that from her soil is harvested a crop of men—black, brown, white or mixed—who will develop a new theme for the whole continent?

More Than a Racist

Who is the African? He is the fellah of the Nile Valley; the black South African and the white Afrikaner of Capetown whose ancestors settled there four centuries ago. He is the Asian merchant in Zanzibar who has lived there for generations, and the Hausa warrior from Northern Nigeria. He is the jungle pygmy and the giant Watutsi. He is the aristocrat of Morocco's court, the rebel "major" in Stanleyville.

The true African needs to be more

than a nationalist, more than a racist. He needs to love Africa enough to pay the price of integrity and purity in his own life. He needs to admit his mistakes and relinquish small ambitions. His leadership will need to master the internal hates and external pressures which threaten to swamp the continent in blood.

The attitude of Nkrumah, Ben Bella or Verwoerd cannot do the job.

It was Nkrumah, alone in the British Commonwealth, who would not support India when China invaded. Instead he attacked Macmillan for rushing British arms to India.

Would Ben Bella fill the bill? Ask his comrades. Ask Abbas and the men who risked their lives and left their homes to win freedom for the Algeria they loved. Many of them are in gaol, in exile or in the grave.

Assassination

Verwoerd's *apartheid* has alienated not only 200 million non-whites in Africa. It has made South Africa a pariah among the nations of the world.

What leadership does the world expect to see in Africa? Here is the voice of one revolutionary:

"I thought of assassinating many whom I regarded as obstacles between our country and the future. . . . However, I did not feel at ease within myself to consider violence essential for the salvation of our country's future. . . ."

"Is it possible that the future of our country could change by getting rid of this one individual or another? Is not the question far deeper than this? Which is more important? That some one should pass away who should pass away, or that someone should come who should come?"

President Nasser wrote these words in his "Philosophy of Revolution". Nasser is one leader in Africa who may well refuse to go along with Russia and the United States if they together pursue a policy of appeasing China. He could and should be an even louder voice out of the heart of Egypt challenging the small caesars and parish revolutionaries south of the Sahara.

Chou has said he sees good prospects in Africa. President Nyere of Tanzania is said to be making concessions to the Chinese-inspired left in an effort to buy time and rebuild

his authority after last January's mutiny. Officially, China has granted aid worth £15 million to Tanzania.

Unofficially, every fortnight or so in Dar-es-Salaam a Chinese or Russian arms ship arrives. A security guard is thrown round the port and during the night lorry loads of arms and ammunition are driven away on their overland journey to the Congo rebels across the border.

Prime Minister Banda of Malawi has felt the hot breath of Peking. He says he was offered £25 million in aid if he would recognise China and press for her admission to the U.N.

Sane Voice

What about Stanleyville? A chorus of bitter white-haters did Peking's bidding when they chanted "imperialists, go home" as Belgian paratroops dropped from U.S. planes to rescue over 1,000 foreign hostages held by "President" Gbenye.

A voice of sanity was heard from Nigeria, in terms of population the largest nation of Africa. Mr. Jaja Wachuku, Nigerian Foreign Minister, boldly declared that the Congolese Government had the right to call in outside help whenever necessary. He said he would have done the same

Continued on page 12

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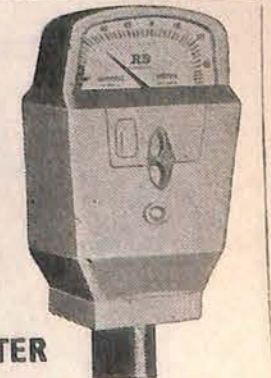
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KENYATTA — Continued from page 10

must work together and try to trust one another." It created a new climate in Kenya, and had the Verwoerds of Africa the common sense to grasp his hand at that time, the history of the African continent would have been different.

Now Mr. Kenyatta needs to show his statesmanship for the Asian people. There are 183,000 of them, mostly running small shops or big businesses. In the last two months, his own

Ministers have spoken out against the behaviour of Asians. Mr. Mboya said that Indian were arrogant and went on to say that Kenya Ministers would not accept invitations to tea by the Indian leaders.

Asians in Kenya must face that their aim has been too small. They have lived for themselves and their businesses. But they do respect and look up to Kenyatta. They expect him to create in Kenya a society where the

African finds his due share in the economy and the Asian his place.

Mr. Kenyatta will solve this challenge and problem of the Asians in a much larger setting of what he wants to happen in Africa. Will he permit some men to stir the pot of hate, or will he dare to challenge all men—black, white, brown and yellow—to yield their hates and make Kenya the pattern country of Africa? He has the love and support of his people to do so. He is not their Mzee, "father," for nothing. Kenyatta's can be the sanest voice on the African continent, a voice that can drown the belligerence of Ben Bella, the hate hymn of Nkrumah and the vicious race policies of Verwoerd.

Last year Jomo Kenyatta is reported to have told a visitor, "The world is made up of people. People matter. If we can change people, we can change the world." White, brown, black and yellow will all back President Kenyatta in fulfilling his vision.

WHAT NEXT IN AFRICA?

Continued from page 11

had a similar situation arisen in his country. Of course, some African leaders who spoke against the rescue or took a silent stand, had, themselves, not long ago, called up British troops to save their own regimes from mutiny.

President Kasavubu of the Congo reported to the Organisation of African Unity that the rebels already had killed 80,000—mostly their own countrymen. He claimed that the swift rescue and withdrawal saved thousands of African lives apart from the bulk of the non-Africans in the area.

In Nigeria militant students are meeting this week to plan "Tomorrow's Africa." They declare in their charter:

"We cannot just shout for socialism and criticise imperialist exploiters while we ourselves continue to exploit sex and the less privileged and mortgage our conscience to achieve position."

"We do not aim at a utopian state of impeccable saints. We are human and will remain so, but with the absolute standards of Moral Re-Armament as our guide and measure, we will create incorruptible leadership."

These are the winds of change which men like Kenyatta, Nasser, President Azikiwe of Nigeria and Selassie, Ethiopia's "Lion of Judah" should fan. They could sweep the continent with a revolutionary fire that burns away the wreckage of the past.

A New Type of Indian

family jewellery, such as he had, in the early stages of his struggle.

Unless African Indians produce from their number a regiment of men and women who fight for an African and Asian moral revolution with Mahatma Gandhi's passion, they are finished.

Totally different is the outlook and spirit of a girl in Delhi who, with her friends, has been meeting Cabinet Ministers, principals and newspaper editors and challenging them to make India as dedicated to Moral Re-Armament as China is to Communism. She makes mistakes. She frequently wants a human response and appreciation, and is disappointed and hurt when she doesn't get it. But this is what she says:

"I do want to learn to stand alone with God and not to be affected

whether people approve or respond.

"India's disease is that many of us go against God's calling for our lives in order to prepare ourselves in case God fails. My decision is to bring back to this nation the blazing faith that those who, without reservation or hesitation, have pledged themselves for God and decided to obey His will without a shadow in their heart, will be fully satisfied by Him.

"Give me any instance in history where God has let down men who decided to obey His will unconditionally."

The girl is dead right. Ten thousand Indian young men and women with this spirit will challenge, unnerve and change the rulers of Peking.

R.G.



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JWT GFM-2021

AN INDIAN inconsistency is to weep and mourn for years when some-one close to us dies, but to be callous and indifferent to the suffering of large numbers of our countrymen.

When Indians are pushed out of neighbouring lands, some—though not enough—ask the Government to do something. Not many think, plan or toil to arrange a decent living for those who are thrown back into India.

Millions have come from Pakistan and lakhs are coming from Burma and Ceylon. Unless an extraordinary change takes place, lakhs will also be expelled from Africa.

The Indian Government and people need to prepare themselves to receive the influx. More important, we need to help the African Indians to do something in and for Africa that will prevent their ouster.

What can the Indian in Africa do? Clearly, Africa has no room today for the old type of Indian. The man whose main interest is cash will receive no quarter from the militant new leaders of Africa.

This does not justify Indian Government officials attacking and denigrating members of our race who live in Africa.

DEVOID OF PASSION

The African Indian must, for his own survival, become a selfless revolutionary, a type of man whose help Africans will seek to solve their own problems of hate, impurity and greed.

I was saddened and disappointed at a meeting with forty young Indians from Africa, studying in Bombay. They are splendid and decent people, but seem totally devoid of a passion to transform Africa. If they don't change, their days on the continent to our west are numbered.

"I am interested in my career, in my security, in my comfort." This was their theme. Men with this attitude will collapse in no time before the fiery hate of modern Africa.

I challenged them to live by absolute moral standards, to think and plan more responsibly for Africa than was their theme.

One said he was willing to try, but would someone guarantee his and his family's economic security? M. K. Gandhi was an Indian in Africa, too. He was beaten, jailed, threatened and humiliated. He did not ask for financial guarantees before he launched his struggle. Instead, he used up his money and



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VIEWPOINT

Is East Europe Changing?

by a recent Indian visitor

MY FIRST impression was that there is indeed a considerable amount of liberalization in these countries, particularly in Hungary. Unless one is actively conscious of a Communist Society and looks for the signs and forms of Government control, one does not notice a difference from West Europe, except for the fact that the standards of living are lower. While these countries are far from reaching the level of an Affluent Society of the West, they are succeeding in their aim of achieving self-sufficiency in the basic needs of the people. Whether they would have reached much higher standards were they allowed to develop under conditions of a free society is a hypothetical question.

With such economic progress the original revolutionary fervour and sense of dedication are giving place to rational thinking and planning. The rigid and tyrannical powers of the Government of the Stalin era are being replaced by controls which are less visible and more subtle, but probably more effective for the purpose now in view.

Lower Salaries

People in these East European countries look cheerful, well fed and fairly well clothed. Many modern apartment houses are under construction and are available at cheap rents. Salaries are lower than in Western Europe but food and drink are cheap and particularly in the cities there seems to be enough food, although I was told that in the rural areas food supplies are not adequate. Clothing, shoes and luxury items are very costly and are available only to very few who can afford them.

Latest American music is now very popular in Eastern Europe. In fact for entertainment the night-clubs and dance halls of countries like Hungary or Czechoslovakia are even more attractive to tourists than those of some Western countries. The restaurants in Hungary have a cuisine and variety not inferior to those of Paris or Rome. In Hungary, churches and cathedrals are open and the clergy is becoming a recognised part of society.

With all the developments and changes, it seems difficult to reconcile the conditions in these countries with

the ideology of Karl Marx or Lenin and Stalin. The classless society still remains a mirage. Whereas, theoretically, all people have equal opportunity, the fact remains that those who are in the Communist Party have much greater opportunities.

A new class has come into being. Instead of tycoons and industrial magnates, a new hierarchy of state officials and partymen has captured the positions of power. And power is wealth in these countries. There was a time when those in power were in constant fear of purge.

Now there seems to be a closing of the ranks to preserve stability and continuity among the newly-risen ruling class. An important government official or a director of a government organisation looks prosperous compared with a porter in a railway station or a clerk or worker. The peasantry still look impoverished compared with a party official or a militiaman.

Perhaps it can be said that a Communist country in Eastern Europe is the mirror image of a capitalist country in the West and the Right of the latter is the Left of the former. This may be an over-simplification but is meant to convey the impression of the writer.

The detente between the East and West does not appear to be the result of any one man like Khrushchev. It is the result of the changing conditions in both the East and West which has created a keen desire for such stability in both Eastern and Western Europe. The leaders in the Communist countries are no longer the fiery Bolsheviks who "have nothing to lose but their chains and have a whole world to win." They have already won their world and having won it wish to keep it.

Another sign of self-confidence is the increasing sense of independence in these countries from the Russian domination. Rumania is a striking example of independence in political, economic and foreign policies.

Contributions to the Viewpoint column must not exceed 500 words.—Ed.

The problems of a free society are also appearing in a Communist society. With no objective greater than self, with no goal higher than materialism, with an inward look, commencing from nationalism and ending in narrow self-interest, the problems of the capitalist and Communist countries become similar in nature. The need for a revolution in mental, moral and spiritual attitudes is felt everywhere.

The enormous gulf between material and technological advancement and moral values has to be bridged, for an effective rapprochement between East and West Europe, between affluent countries and poor nations and for the sharing of the tremendous prosperity in this world for the good of all. So, while Communism as it is now practised in Eastern Europe is less of a danger than before, the seeds of world conflagration will be with us until the contradiction between material prosperity and moral poverty is effectively overcome.

See the editorial
"The Difference" on page 3.

LETTERS

NARROW-MINDEDNESS

Sir,

You have rightly said that India's greatest sin is her refusal to live for the world. Had this not been the case with us in the past, the people of this country would have been more prosperous today. Your thought-provoking writings will do the job and Indians will shed their narrow-mindedness.

KRISHAN CHAND

Jind (N.R.)

ASIA'S VOICE

Sir,

HIMMAT is magnificent. For some weeks we have been conducting a news stand on Main Street on Saturday mornings. We may have been the first news stand in the southern hemisphere to feature it! Surrounding the news stand were copies of HIMMAT. Capping the stand was an enlarged colour replica of HIMMAT title with a map of Asia at base—featuring the triangular concept of India-Japan-Australia. All in technicolor. A real "shopper-stopper".

We have been tremendously heartened by HIMMAT's leadership.

JACK KENNEDY

Broken Hill
Australia

FOR WOMEN

Race Horse in the Office

by a Secretary

THE AFFAIRS of the world flow through millions of offices. Secrets of state, plans of industry, details of business and other concerns are to be found in files, on desks and clattering through type-writers on every continent.

Many office workers sparkle with efficiency and love their work; others sit entombed among dusty files working at half capacity and watching the clock. Very few realise the importance of what they can do for their country. In these tumultuous days secretaries and stenographers, cashiers and clerks have a much bigger task than they realise.

Every office worker can help put backbone, grit and gristle into the nation. More important than the letters is the spirit which goes out from an office. Corruption, flirtation, frustration and all manner of villainy often have their beginnings in offices and spread their dirt across the nation. But honesty, purity, unselfishness and the fire of patriotism can also spread from offices if those who work there are determined it shall happen.

Files and Phone Calls

Efficiency, the god in many offices, is important, but it is too small an aim. The aim of every man and woman in every office can be: to build a society which is clean and straight, where the needs of people for food, work and faith are met.

How does this aim fit into a busy life among files and phone calls? Take honesty. Office workers could bring honesty back into this nation. If there was absolute honesty about the office telephone, the office stationery, no mistakes hidden, every confidential item kept confidential, it would have an electric effect. And punctual office workers can set an example for Cabinet Ministers.

In many offices there is a scramble for power and position. The resulting rivalries poison the office air. But hates are to be cured, not used. The passion to prove "I'm best" can be replaced by a selfless concern that others do their best. Seeing the ten-

sions caused by selfishness, is it not plain commonsense to try unselfishness for a change?

What about purity? Women, pure in their motives and ways, want nothing for themselves from the men and women with whom they work. Office flirtation is an old story and it's not funny. The woman who lives for a bigger aim than what she wants out of life doesn't flirt; nor does she dominate her colleagues or suck up to them; she is neither dragon nor doormat.

Those who live purity do not tolerate evil, they have the courage to tackle it. Secretaries often see nation-weakening corruption, swindles, tax-evasion, and they go along with it or look the other way. We need to speak up. Whether the nation takes a crooked path or a straight path is our responsibility as much as anyone else's.

Today the standard is often "the least I can get away with". Determination is needed to bring in standards of hard and perfect work and willing service. Thousands who find their office work boring would be agreeably surprised to find what a difference that determination makes. Anyone who finds their work dull is living for too small a purpose.

We can set the pace where we work. We must be like race horses, setting the fastest pace, fit in every way and always ready to go.

Nowadays men badly need a higher authority and wisdom. Any worker, in an office, can have it if they want it; they can seek God's ideas for what their industry or undertaking should contribute in the nation and then fight intelligently for that contribution to be made.

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This was a life

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

1856-1920

THIS mighty leader of India's liberation struggle, once called "the arch leader of sedition", was born unconscious nine months before the 1857 struggle, the son of a headmaster in Ratnagiri.

Because he was candid and outspoken his college mates called him "Mr. Blunt".

With two other revolutionaries, Agarkar and Chipulunkar, he founded the New English School in Poona. They planned it to be a school of "thought, action and energy", dedicated to national service. The young teachers established a new Maharashtra tradition of selflessness in education.

Tilak and his co-workers challenged the lukewarm policies of the old guard. With the school, and later with a college, Tilak moulded the younger generation. He confronted the older generation by launching newspapers in English and Marathi.

Elected to the then Legislative Council, he was called its "most fearless, outspoken, dreaded and detested member".

Gandhi called him "the first militant mass leader of modern India. He struck terror into the hearts of the bureaucracy and instilled a new spirit and a new life into the hearts of the people."

In one of his jail terms he showed skill in painting walls and furniture. In his famous six-year imprisonment in Mandalay jail, where he went because he loved his country more than his life or liberty, he wrote his monumental work, *Gita Rahasya*.

When his wife died he wrote his sons from Mandalay, "Misfortunes should press us for further self-dependence."

The Lokamanya died in Bombay on August 1, 1920, but not before he had lit every freedom fighter's heart with his signal, "Swaraj is my birth-right and I shall have it."

The generation after him won the fruits of his struggle. It is up to us to keep this freedom and give it meaning and value for the generation after us.

—V.T.C.

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 — I read every issue of HIMMAT studiously. Why do you so often refer to Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy?

RAMESH SAPRE, Poona.

A — HIMMAT refers to Gandhi not because he was perfect. He was not. Not because every single thing he said is necessarily valid for India today.

HIMMAT quotes him because at the heart of all his gigantic campaigns was his emphasis on the discipline and character of man. HIMMAT believes that modern India is suffering from cancer and that the cancer is the retreat of character. Gandhi's fight for purity and fearlessness brought out an ageless truth which India sorely needs today.

HIMMAT does not want anyone to make any man a god, however great he may be. It wants each person to obey without cowardice the Voice speaking in his or her heart.

Q — "Ministers may come, Ministers may go, but corruption goes on forever." Any comments?

A. VIJAYA BHASKER REDDY, Hyderabad.

A — There is some truth in what you say. But also a good deal of cynicism. I agree with you that our Ministers need to be first in bringing about a moral revolution in their lives. They are not doing that today.

The question each one needs to ask himself is, "Am I doing my best with my life to change India?" If enough of India's citizens, especially the youth, live absolute moral standards, without fear of losing popularity and career, life would become extremely uncomfortable for corrupt Ministers. Today most of them are able to point to the crookedness of others. That way they excuse their own corruption.

We may never see the day when all Indians are perfect. But we can see a day in which corruption's grip over our nation is removed. That day will come if enough of us fight evil wherever we

see it and pay the price of change in our own lives.

Q — What does living straight mean?
VINOD KUMAR, Hyderabad.

A — It means living by standards of absolute honesty, purity and unselfishness.

It means looking at my past honestly to find out where I have cheated, lied, hated, been jealous or impure. It means putting right my life by apologising or by returning things that don't belong to me.

It means using my mind in such a way that I would be happy for all my thoughts to be flashed on a movie screen and seen by everybody.

It means thinking, working, sweating and praying for the remaking of the world and India. It means wanting absolutely nothing from anyone. It means, in every contact I have with other people, a passion to make them revolutionaries.

It means being willing to go anywhere and do anything that God asks through the Inner Voice.

Most of us know where we can begin.

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Mr. Shastri's Strategy

by Rajmohan Gandhi

MR. SHASTRI is trying a twin strategy to counter the Chinese nuclear threat.

One is to get an understanding from the U.S., the U.S.S.R., the U.K. and France that they will protect all non-nuclear nations—including India—if China threatens with her A-bomb.

His second strategy is to work for total disarmament of all nations, including China, so that the atomic powers dismantle their bombs voluntarily, and, he hopes, permanently.

Mr. Shastri's two aims are vitally important. But they are not likely to be achieved. And they are not enough.

Is it reasonable to expect the Soviet Union to join America in giving a nuclear guarantee to nations threatened by China? It is difficult to know for certain what is going on in the minds of the new Kremlin rulers. The truth perhaps is that Sino-Soviet relations since Khrushchev's eclipse have yet to crystallize.

Even if—and today this is most unlikely—the U.S., the U.S.S.R., the U.K. and France give a joint assurance, will that be sufficient to deter China? It is difficult to answer this. Pride, ambition and anger can reach such a pitch that even the certainty of the annihilation of one's own country is unable to restrain its aggression.

What are the prospects of all-round disarmament? As long as the feeling, based on experience, exists in the West that Soviet moves for military disarmament are not backed by a decision to abandon the fight for world Communist control, it will be idle to expect the Western world to disarm.

Within a Week

Even if America and Russia were to agree on disarmament—and this is still remote—there will be no guarantee of a lasting peace because the knowledge of making bombs will still be retained in the minds of men. With the huge industrial and technological resources of modern states, atomic bombs can be made almost instantly from scratch. Supposing, therefore, that all the atom bombs that

exist today were dismantled by nations acting upon a disarmament agreement, nations could make more within a week, if they wanted to.

As long as hate and fear and ambition remain in the hearts and minds of clever, modern men, it is impossible to guarantee peace. And this is precisely why powerful nations have no wish to disarm themselves.

Mr. Wilson, we hear, is going to make a much stronger bid than his predecessor, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, for disarmament. He and Mr. Johnson have just met in Washington. It seems certain that Washington and London will more and more make disarmament their theme.

The Real Reasons

The world is in need of leaders who get to the bottom of the war-and-peace issue. Can it be that the leaders of the Western world, genuinely anxious for peace, have failed to see the real reasons for war?

There has been no reference in the Wilson-Johnson communique to materialism, to the amoral, caveman mentality of many of our age which will make war inevitable. In fact, men close to Johnson and Wilson appear to propagate the belief that a scientific materialism, an organised, well-planned way of catering to the selfishness of all sections of mankind, is the way to reduce tension and avert war.

Never before was high idealism—shown by Washington's and London's desire to end war and enrich this planet's poorer parts—combined with such an unreliable and dangerous formula for peace.

The Communist world is officially dedicated to materialism—unlike America and Britain, where God is printed on coins. Yet among many Communists there is a better understanding of the need for a new type of man to live in the atomic age. Their weakness, fatal to their aim, is in thinking that without God a few clever men can, using the mechanics of the state, make other men moral and spiritual.

"Unless we change human nature drastically and on a colossal scale," said a great revolutionary, "nations will still follow their historic path to violence and destruction." This is the truth Mr. Shastri must face—and Mr. Mao, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Brezhnev.

Military disarmament, atomic or otherwise, will remain a dream without moral re-armament.

Mr. Shastri must certainly attempt to get an assurance from America—which he could—and from Russia—which he might or might not—that India will be protected from Chinese nuclear blackmail. He must also fight, with all the energy and wisdom at his command, to achieve voluntary, world-wide disarmament. But he cannot get it, nor can Johnson, Wilson or Brezhnev, unless there takes place a gigantic transformation in the aims and motives and desires of men and nations.

Without such a transformation, military disarmament is not merely unlikely. It can frequently be dangerous and harmful. Not everything America does is liked by Asians, yet it is a fact that without America's military presence in Asia—actual or potential—Asian countries, including India, would be provinces of Communist China today. The physical disarmament of nations that believe in man's dignity and God's supremacy may only encourage the wrong designs of those men who, backed by the power of States, plan to destroy this belief.

Peking's Passion

What India needs is (a) a promise of military backing from those who can give it and whose word can be relied upon, (b) a dynamic strengthening of the moral fibre of her people as well as her defence, and (c) a relentless global programme for the extension of Moral Re-Armament in the Communist as well as the non-Communist world.

This last, backed by adequate defensive measures in all lands that are threatened by aggression, is the only phenomenon that can raise to a higher level the passion of Red China.

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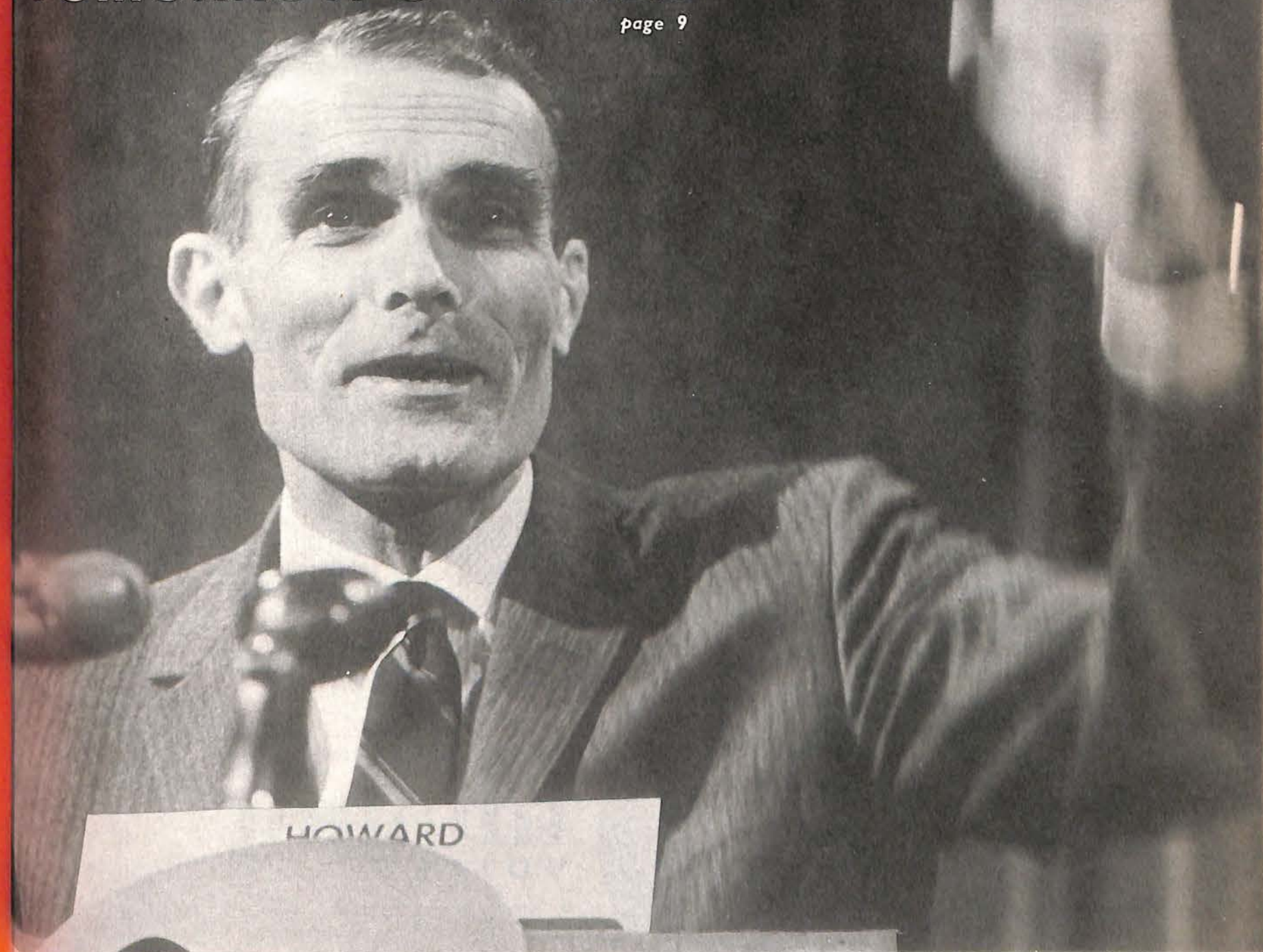
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