



An aerial view of L&T's Powai Works

## OUT OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST A PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE...

Consider almost any field of national development. Food and agriculture? Oil and mining? Power and irrigation? Steel? ... Larsen & Toubro is in it ...

Blast furnaces at Rourkela. Mining lignite at Neyveli. The first oil refinery in the Public Sector. A power station for Madhya Pradesh. A complex dairy, meeting the daily needs of a large city. A mammoth irrigation scheme changing near-desert tracts into arable land.

These are but a few of the major projects where L&T's manufacturing skill, technical know-how and engineering experience have been effectively utilised in the service of the nation.

L&T's Fabrication Shop and Switchgear Factory at Powai is a dynamic industrial unit where many ideas originate and take shape. It fabricates and manufactures specialised plant and equipment for a variety of major industries; chemical and pharmaceutical, food processing, oil distribution, dairies, switchgear, fertilizers, petrochemicals and

paper. At Sion, the Drilling and Mining Division manufactures drills and diamond bits used in mining enterprises all over the country.

Tractors, trailers, cranes and dredgers, supplied by L&T's Earth-moving and Agricultural Equipment Division, are busy at many of India's major projects. Other important L&T Divisions are: Heavy Plant, Instruments, Industrial Appliances, Cooling Towers and Engineering Projects.

Behind many L&T undertakings is the collaboration from world-renowned manufacturers: GHH, Voith, Koppers, Caterpillar, Laur. Knudsen, Silkeborg, Christensen, Longyear, Audco ...

With such varied activities, experience and worldwide contacts, L&T has steadily grown over the years. These significant achievements of the past hold a promise for a still brighter future.

### LARSEN & TOUBRO LIMITED

Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, New Delhi, Bangalore, Bhopal, Ahmedabad, Lucknow, Hyderabad, Panjim, Rourkela, Ernakulam

IN SERVICE



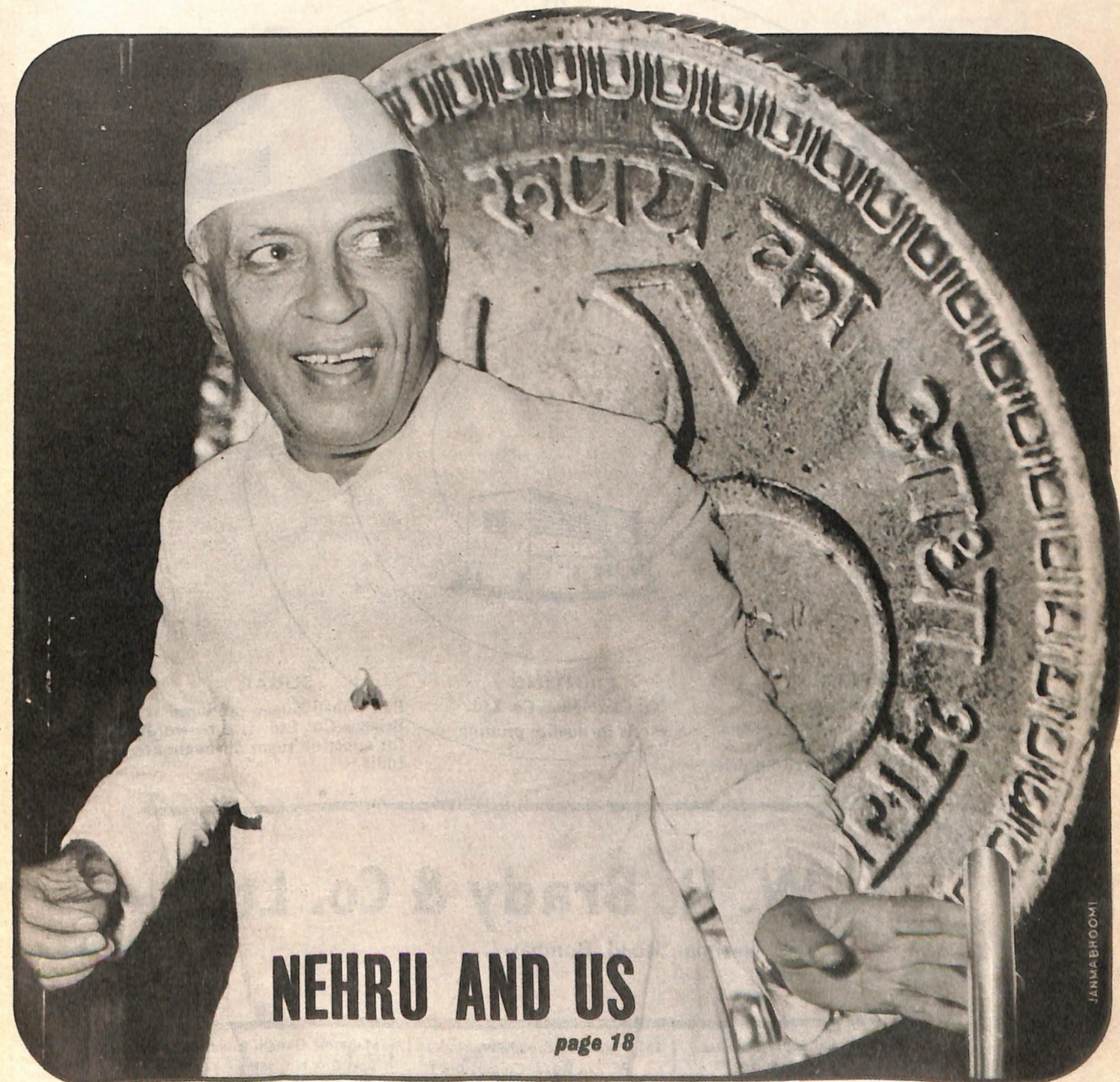
LIES SUCCESS

# HIMMAT

25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



## NEHRU AND US

page 18

Friday  
November 13  
1964

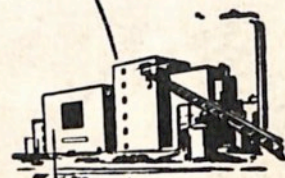
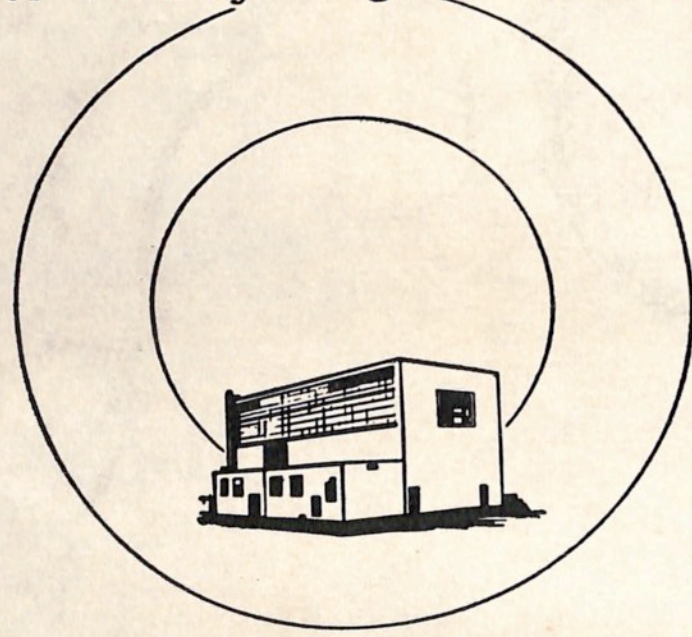
J. B. Kripalani  
OUR MAJOR MISTAKES

OUT-PACING PEKING  
a Proposal

at

# BRADY'S

We Serve a major segment of industries



**ENGINEERING**  
Brady Engineering Co. Ltd.  
manufactures machinery and  
components to the designs &  
specifications of well-known  
U.K. Manufacturers

**PRINTING**  
G. Claridge & Co. Ltd.  
excels in quality printing

**SUGAR**  
Pan Chhap Sugar produced at  
Belapur Co. Ltd. is a by-word  
for superior sugar throughout  
India



## W. H. Brady & Co. Ltd.

Veer Nariman Road, Bombay-1.

Mercantile Building, Lal Bazar, Calcutta 1. | 155, Popham's Broadway, Madras 1. | Mahatma Gandhi Road, Kanpur.  
Reid Road, Ahmedabad 2. | 95, Jail Road, Coimbatore 1. | Post Box No. 568 New Delhi 1.

# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, November 13, 1964

Vol. I No. 2

## Get at the Facts

THE PEOPLE of Kerala are hungry.

Famine, near at hand, must be averted. All states must come to Kerala's aid. It is criminal for district and state authorities to think only in terms of their regions. It is equally criminal to allow a ship with grain to stay without being unloaded in Cochin because of a labour dispute.

Why wasn't the nation informed adequately and in time about Kerala's plight? Can't the Government trust the people? Or was the Government given inflated figures?

To panic would be suicidal, but there is no justification whatever for hiding reality.

Government spokesmen, as well as members of the trade, tell us that the new crops are excellent. *Himmat* wants to believe this. Yet it also strongly suspects that our Central and State Governments do not really know the facts and figures about food. The repeated contradictions in Government statements, the note of smugness one day, alarm the next, and "all is well" the day following, drive us to the conclusion that the Government's information sources are unreliable. Something has definitely and seriously gone wrong with our food situation, yet there seems to be fear and doubt in stating what it is, and when and why it went wrong.

The immediate, as well as longterm, need is for truth about food. Committees, commissions and enquiries are often a waste of time, labour and paper. But it seems essential to instruct an impartial, hard-working commission, or even just one man, free from prejudice, to discover all the facts about production, procurement, transport, storage, and wholesale and retail distribution.

*Himmat* is certain that not only the public but Mr. Shastri and the Food Minister will be grateful if they can feel that the figures they give out every now and then are indeed facts.

## Incentive to Spy

THE CHAIRMAN of the Direct Taxes Board has announced he will swell the Government's income-tax collections.

How? With the help of *informers*.

Citizens will be urged to inform on acquaintances who are evading taxes. They will be rewarded for their effort with up to ten per cent of the cash recovered.

A more effective collection is needed. But these incentives to informers smack of a fascist or communist state rather than a free India.

There was a word in vogue in the United States which soured the stomachs of most decent people. It was "McCarthyism." It symbolised the political witch-hunt where any allegation, smear or "evidence" was enough to put a man in the dock to prove his innocence.

Are we seeing born in India a new McCarthyism where any man can feed his spite, settle an old score

and earn a fortune by reporting on acquaintances? Do the authorities comprehend the effects of this new measure—the blackmail, spying and key-hole listening? Already civil servants admit that they "keep themselves to themselves" these days lest the clerk at their elbow be a "Sadachar Samiti Informer."

The Government must withdraw this move—and make honesty, not spying, profitable.

## Beyond the Contrast

BECAUSE they took place at almost the same time, the recent changes in the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain have brought out sharply the differences in their systems.

The election of Mr. Johnson as the U.S. President and of Mr. Wilson as Britain's Prime Minister were the results of the exercise of free choice. Mr. Johnson and Senator Goldwater, and Mr. Wilson and Sir Alec Douglas-Home, presented their parties' programmes, and the American and British public made their decision. Newspapers, the radio and television made sure that every voter could find out the views of the contestants. Citizens of other nations could not only watch this democratic process in action but, rightly or wrongly, they could even convey their preferences to the American or British voters.

In complete contrast, the Russian change took place without any reference to the people. A handful of men decided, in secret collusion, to throw out a man who had seemed in full power. The world has made many guesses about the reasons for, and the method of, Mr. Khrushchev's dismissal. Outsiders probably have a truer picture of what happened than the people of the Soviet Union, who have been given no explanation whatever, save the obvious untruth about Mr. Khrushchev's health.

It is important for the world to note this difference.

But democracy is only a method. It is not an ideology. It has been unable to cure, or prevent, wrongs in the West. Suicides and divorces mount alarmingly. The colour of a man's skin, the cleverness of his brain and the capacity to make a fast dollar seem more important than his character.

And Communism? Not all the passionate idealism of many of its followers is able to prevent it from turning into tyranny. It starts by proclaiming, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." It ends up by taking from each what can be forced out of him and giving to each what his ruthlessness, or servility, can obtain.

The people of Asia are aware of their own stagnation—as are the peoples of Africa and Latin America. But to free themselves from it they need a propulsion greater than anything provided today by Washington or London or Moscow.

## Briefly Speaking...

### Eucharistic Congress In Bombay

NO APOLOGY is needed for holding the Eucharistic Congress in India. Bombay, in keeping with its traditions, will rejoice to receive the thousands of foreign and Indian guests.

The word *Eucharist* is Greek for 'thanks'. The Eucharistic Congress is the Christian's thanks to God for everything that comes to him—for his family and loved ones, for his daily bread and especially for the forgiveness of his sins.

The first Eucharistic Congress was held in Lille, France in 1881 through the initiative of 39 year-old Made-moiselle Tamisier who, saddened by the atheism and worship of the intellect that had overtaken France in the previous hundred years, had the idea to organise it.

It is fitting that the 38th Congress should be held in India. Could the Congress have a relevant message for the India of 1964? Cardinal Gracias recently quoted from a letter by a non-Christian: "I hope and pray that the Eucharistic Congress will not only fulfil its destined purpose for the Catholic world but also give men of other faiths, and of no faith, the courage to stand for what they know is right. That happens when men start worshipping the real God and not the false ones of men, money and power."

### Goa

WHETHER instructed by the A.I.C.C. or not, Union Minister S. K. Patil's declaration that Goa will remain a Union territory for the next ten years has raised a lot of shouts, hares and red herrings. Mr. Y. B. Chavan, Defence Minister, pounced on the issue and demanded that, as the people of Goa have already given their verdict by electing to power the party that stood for merger, Goa should be speedily merged with the state of Maharashtra.

It is surprising to see two Union Cabinet colleagues at variance with each other in public. Furthermore, the issue is an inflammable one that arouses passions in our people. The fact that Mr. Chavan is supposed to have approved minutes of the Congress Parliamentary Board meeting (which he claims missed him), does not seem to prevent him from sticking to his guns.

How I wish that all the energy and passion which goes into channels like these could be utilised to shed more light on the great issues of the day. Are we moving intelligently to strengthen our armed forces and unite our people? Are we planning on a continent-wide basis how to capture the initiative from Peking?

When our leaders use their authority to give clarity on such vital matters, our people will respect and honour them.

### Johnson's Friends

THE GUARDIAN, Manchester, writes: "President Johnson has made it clear that Jenkins' downfall does not mean the end of their friendship."

No one would grudge President Johnson's well-earned victory. For the sake of the United States and the high office he holds, it would be better if he chose his friends more wisely. Friends like Bobby Baker and Walter Jenkins inspire neither confidence in the Chief Executive nor respect for a great nation.

It is hoped that the new mandate given to President Johnson by the American people will inspire him to

a new start. Whilst no one compels a man to stand for public office, if he chooses to do so, the choice of his friends is no longer his private affair.

### Truth About Khrushchev

IT APPEARS that ten days before his downfall Mr. Khrushchev received a Japanese delegation. They were astonished at his outspokenness. He told them:

"America is so far ahead of us that it will be very difficult to catch her up. The West is way ahead of the Communist world. West Germany is far better off than East Germany. The Russian military chiefs are crazy to oppose the Moscow/Tokyo airline."

Mr. Khrushchev clearly was an experimenter. In his last days of power, it seems, he sensed the need for the Communist world to find something fresh and new as the next stage in history.

### That Was the Week

OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT reports elsewhere in this issue that BBC Television has resumed the programme *That Was The Week That Was* three times a week. TWTWTW, as it is called in short, gets my prize as the most sickening programme that ever was. It could appeal only to those whose senses and values have already been or are being twisted. The main aim of the programme is to assassinate the character of public personalities, undercut sound values and mock at the elementary human decencies of life.

The programme was pushed off the air last year because of public outcry, but the forces who promote this sort of propaganda appear to have won a battle in having it put on again.

Answering a question on why Rome fell, one authority said: "Rome never believed she could ever fall. Rome did not know that she was falling. Rome did not know that she had fallen."

No one who loves Britain wants her to go down this road to oblivion.

R.M.L.

## Our Major Mistakes

by J. B. Kripalani

WHAT HAS GONE WRONG with free India? There are many causes for this. But in my opinion there are two fundamental causes, which are responsible for the sorry state of our affairs today. The first is the political and the second the administrative.

The political cause is that the Indian National Congress, an all embracing national organisation, was made into a political party. Gandhiji was right when he said that after independence this national organisation should be re-shaped into an association for universal service, Sarvodaya. It consisted of people of all shades of opinion, professing various ideologies. Its ranks were recruited from all classes of people—the labourers in the field and the factory, the educated middle and lower middle classes, the landlords the capitalists and even some of the Indian princes. The one factor that united all the various classes with differing ideas was the passionate desire to achieve national freedom. Such an organisation could not be made into a political party, without impairing its utility and creating confusion.

### Gandhiji's Advice

Gandhiji showed his statesmanship when he prescribed the new role for the Congress after independence. The Sarvodaya leaders constantly remind the country of this advice of Gandhiji. But they do not tell us who then was to carry on the governance of the country? What they say is only half of what Gandhiji said.

In the Congress Working Committee when he kept the proposal that the national organisation be turned into Sarvodaya he also suggested that for carrying on the work of the Government, politicians, having divergent views about the reconstruction of the country after independence, should form different political parties of their own. Being a realist he did not think that there would be only one way for the reconstruction of the country. He realised that different sections of the people with differing ideologies would stand for different schemes of reconstruction. They, therefore, must form separate political parties. Each party was to approach the voter on the basis of its programme.

Gandhiji did not think in terms of a party-less or an all-party or a non-party democracy. He wanted only the village Panchayats with their direct democracy to be organised on such basis. In the Central and the State Governments he did not contemplate a non-party or party-less government.

Making of the national organisation, consisting of all shades of public opinion and all possible interests, into a political party was the first fundamental mistake committed by the Congress leaders.

It is no wonder therefore that we find in the party all sorts of opinions represented and misrepresented. There are in its ranks marxists who call themselves congressmen. There are then the fellow-travellers and the so-called radicals. There are, of course, the reactionaries, the communalists, the Gandhites, and Nehruites etc. etc. A facet of unity is kept up by each group subscribing to the periodically changing creed of the Congress. Sometimes the goal is the welfare State, then it is the socialist pattern, after a year or two it is pure socialism, today it is democratic socialism. These periodical changes are made with a view to the elections. The result is ideological confusion.

### End of Idealism

In this confusion the differences among congressmen have come to be personal, concerning power and office. There is disunity and opposition not only among the rank and file but congressmen even in the different cabinets are divided. This has led to the disappearance of all idealism, which predominantly characterised the congress in pre-independence days. There is wide-spread political corruption as admitted by Congressmen themselves. This is enhanced by the power to grant licences, permits and quotas. These are bestowed upon followers, friends, relatives, caste-people, etc. This wide-spread corruption and nepotism makes every politician a suspect.

When faith in the good intentions of the Government is lost, it ceases to have moral authority.

Another great cause of our present troubles is the maintenance of the type of administration inherited from our former foreign master, bereft of

its virile and comparatively efficient and honest British element.

It would be interesting to read in the utterances of Jawaharlal before independence the view that he held of the Indian Civil Services. He used for it all the adverse adjectives that sometimes lent eloquence and gave pungency to his writings. This unimaginative civil service, lacking initiative, over-ridden with red tape, considering itself not as the servant of the people but as their masters and culturally separated from them by a wide gulf, was maintained intact by the Swaraj Government.

We kept up the system and merely changed the masters. Added to the demoralisation that characterised the services due to the last war, we presented them with greater opportunities for corruption, nepotism and graft, by introducing what the old-young-man at Madras has appropriately called the licence—quota—permit—Raj.

### A Pinch of Salt

Added to this is the example of corruption in the political set up. A Persian proverb says that when the king (the political authority) takes from the people a pinch of salt without payment, the administration will loot the whole country. No action of the political authorities can be secret from the administration. With such brilliant and distinguished examples before the services they cannot be much blamed if they succumb to corruption! That our worthy Home Minister had to organise a Sadachar-Samiti is a sad commentary on the Congress. It is a declaration to the world that the Congress which under Gandhiji was in itself a Sadachar Samiti is no more so.

We must remember that administration is the agency through which the political authority works. If it is indifferent, inefficient and worse still corrupt, our best-laid plans will come to naught. It is therefore no wonder that people have lost faith that our administration can be reformed. Unless the two wings of the Government, the political and administrative are reformed all our efforts to ameliorate the condition of the people are likely to fail. The first and the foremost reform which we have therefore to undertake, and that without loss of time, is to put these two branches of the administration in good, efficient and honest working order. There is and can be no escape from this if our rulers mean business.

For a superb meal at the  
right price dine at

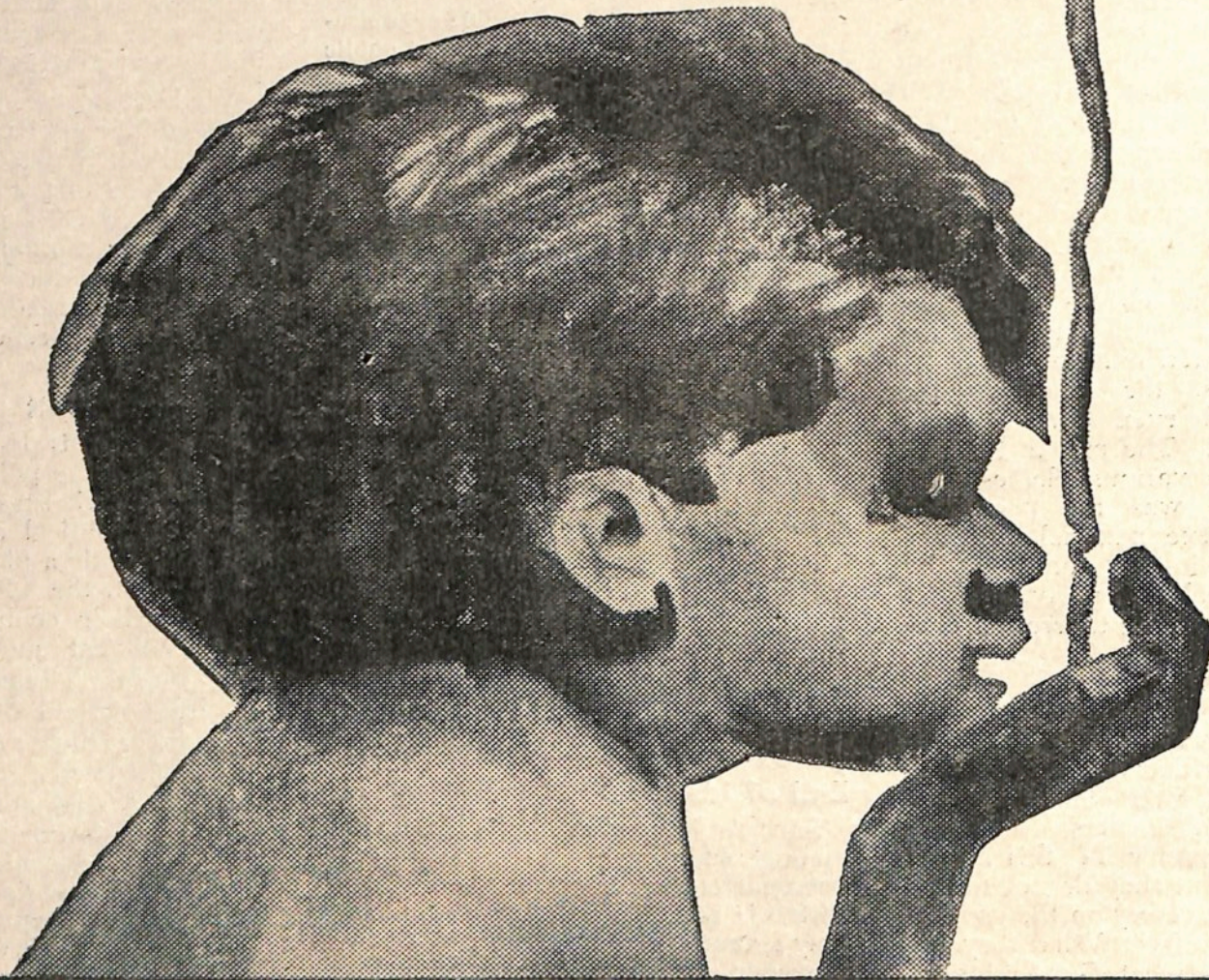
### THE PARISIAN RESTAURANTS

Soona Mahal 4, Tamarind Lane  
Marine Drive Bombay-1

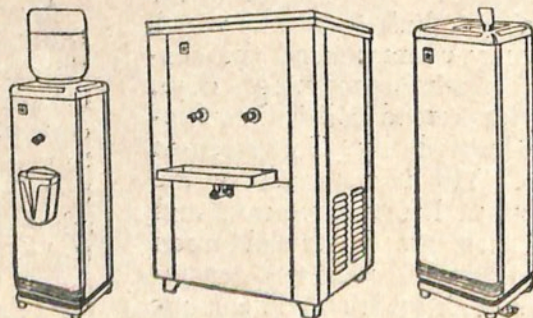
phone 245668 phone 255459

# There is no substitute for water

There is nothing more refreshing than good, clean, cool water. □ Wherever you may be—in factory, hospital, school, restaurant, hotel, office—nothing refreshes so well as cool water from a Blue Star Water Cooler.



Only Blue Star offers a complete range of water coolers: **3 TYPES** **10 MODELS**



There is no substitute for a **BLUE STAR** Water Cooler

Get Complete details from BLUE STAR offices at:

Band Box House, Annie Besant Rd., Bombay 18 • 7 Hare Street, Calcutta 1  
1/23B Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi 1 • 23/24 Second Line Beach, Madras 1  
1B Kaleer Bungalow Djhdi Road, Jamshedpur • 7/77A Tilaknagar, Kanpur



## Angry Young India

Khartoum, October 28: "New Government for Sudan. The agitation against General Abboud's regime, had taken the form of violent demonstrations especially by students in Khartoum, Omdurman and in other parts of the country."—News item

Bhubaneswar, October 28: "Police Open Fire As Student Riots Sweep Orissa—Government Held to Ransom," headlines the Indian Express.

FROM THE SUDAN to South Korea, from Orissa to Omdurman, the students are on the rampage—shouting, demonstrating, burning and pillaging—against existing authority. In a violent age, students tend to be the most violent.

One reason for this state of affairs in India, which probably applies to other countries as well, is the fact that student leaders are paid, maintained and supported by rival political parties and groups. "It is known," says the *Times of India* correspondent in a report on Orissa, "that the student unrest which has raised its ugly head repeatedly is not wholly unconnected with the pulls and counter-pulls among State Congress leaders."

### Orgy of Vandalism

Let me recall the Orissa events. Two months ago demonstrating students entered the State Legislative Assembly in Bhubaneswar when it was in session and indulged in an orgy of vandalism. Strangely enough, the police did nothing. It was later disclosed by the Chief Minister, Biren Mitra, that he had issued orders that the students were not to be interfered with. As the Assembly was meeting in order to discuss a no-confidence motion against his government, the student demonstration proved convenient to one of the groups in the State Congress. Mr. Biren Mitra, with a great show of injured innocence, resigned only to be asked to continue by his party. Violence and the official inaction against violence were thus condoned by the Orissa Congress Legislature Party.

The present violence is a legacy of the deliberate inaction of the Orissa Government. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, the Congress Working Committee

member investigating the Orissa situation, is right when he said recently that the student agitation in Orissa was "a mass movement" which had been taken advantage of by "all people, disgruntled Congressmen, Samyukta Socialists and Communists." But if he is honest, he will recognise that these elements have probably learned some of their lessons from the local Congress leaders.

Student violence, or any violence for that matter, is wrong and must be condemned. It must be firmly dealt with. The Prime Minister and the Home Ministry must deal as firmly with the wrongdoers in power as they do with the rioting students.

### Social Causes

It is not enough to say, as Mr. Shastri did in Bombay recently, that frustration among students in the country is due to the "aimless and unplanned education" they get. This is only a part of the truth. Far more realistic is the assessment of the *Indian Express* correspondent, that

## Under the Lens

the student unrest cannot be separated from the general unrest "stemming from rising prices, scarcity of essential commodities and the steady degeneration of ethical and moral standards."

Politicians justify compromise in the name of practicality and parents justify dishonesty in the name of necessity. We cannot put more money as the nation's goal and expect the youth not to be selfish.

Corruption in education is a notorious cause of student indiscipline. According to a newspaper report, "cases of misuse of funds" in some educational institutions "amount to more than fifty per cent." The Government of Maharashtra passed an order recently constituting "a separate squad to investigate into the affairs of education institutions, particularly about the use of government grants." Cases are well known of teachers, headmasters and vice-chancellors getting student unions to agitate for their reappointment or confirmation.

Violence is the mark of impurity.

The impure are almost always bitter and short-tempered. Indian life today is increasingly centred around sex. It is the central theme of cinema, magazines, books, plays and social life. The elder generation that demands discipline from the young prefers indulgence for itself. The youth are not interested in a morality that is labelled by their elders, "good for you, but not for me." Many students, boys and girls, have told me that they got most of their pornographic reading from the bookshelves of their older relatives. We cannot preach day in and day out the need for contraceptives and expect purity from our youth.

### Exciting Venture

The answer does not lie in making the youth take an oath of loyalty to the constitution of India. After all, the loyalty of our leaders to the constitution does not prevent them from constantly amending it to suit their requirements. There would be more point in taking an oath of obedience to God and truth.

It is not enough to chant the ideals of morality, simplicity and humility before our youth. Religious discourses, bhajans and satsangs give solace to many but they are not enough. The truths of religion and God have to be made real, modern and revolutionary in personal and national life.

I am not one of those who thinks that a person is out of date because he wears a caste mark or practises religious rituals. Nor is it essential that in order to be modern one has to smoke, drink and talk about Elvis Presley or Elizabeth Taylor. As a matter of fact, youth soon get bored with the false excitement of sex and pornography. We of the older generation will fail our youth if we do not give them an adventure and excitement that takes them far beyond themselves.

I have met thousands of youth who respond to the aim of building a new society and creating a new world. They are ready to sacrifice and work and sweat for achieving their aim.

The spirit of renaissance will end the spirit of rebellion.

R. VAITHESWARAN

# A Possible Interview with Khrushchev

X. I am glad to see you alive, Mr. K. I was afraid they may have shot you.  
K. I am glad to be alive. I am getting used to being a nobody.

X. I suppose you can derive consolation from the fact that they will not remove your body from your grave.

K. I should think so. What cuts me up is the ingratitude of my cronies.

X. I can understand that. But you can also feel happy that you have many friends and sympathizers.

K. Look here, who has sent you? Why have you been chosen instead of someone like Gomulka or Luigi Longo who would understand me.

X. Your friend Brezhnev felt that you could do less harm with an ex-Communist like me than with a Communist. He is afraid of your "revisionist" friends plotting with you. But he had to send someone to see you to convince the world you are still alive. I have been sent.

K. Why are you interested in seeing me?

## "I Gambled"

X. I have some things to tell you, Mr. K. But I would also like to learn a few things from you.

K. Such as?

X. Have you anything fresh to say about your dismissal?

K. Yes, that Khrushchev wanted to give a new direction to Communism and that he fought for peace.

X. Why then did you put missiles in Cuba?

K. I gambled. I wanted to give my policy of co-existence edge and teeth.

X. Is it true that you were building up a cult of personality?

K. I was quite surprised when my comrades accused me of being a dictator.

X. Are there not many similarities between your advance to power and that of Stalin?

K. (After a pause, thoughtfully) Now that you put it that way, I think there is some truth in what you say. I made myself, like Stalin, both Prime Minister and Party Secretary. I put my men in all important positions. The praise and position of Comrade Khrushchev grew more and more important in my calculations. I think

*Mr. Brezhnev asks X, a former Communist, to meet Mr. K. somewhere in the Soviet Union.*

I became quite insensitive to those around me. It is a strange coincidence that my own men led the opposition and overthrew me, even as I, who owed everything to Stalin's favour, led the destalinization campaign.

X. Do you think that dictatorship like that of Stalin and like your own is inevitable under Communism?

K. Don't equate my rule to Stalin's dictatorship. I re-established Socialist legality, I gave greater power to the satellite Communist Parties.

X. I believe you, Mr. K. Do you feel you did well?

K. I don't know. I gave my people some freedom. They demanded more. I gave other Communist parties equality. They demanded independence and even defied me. I granted liberalization. I reaped rebellion. Sometimes when I was overwhelmed by these problems I longed to be a Stalin. I know force has failed. I tried a mixture of force and freedom.

X. Where did you fail?

K. I have thought long about this question. I will try to be honest. Perhaps I was too inadequate for my task. Perhaps—and this is a dangerous thought—we can never solve these problems in the traditional framework of Marxism and Communism. My attempt to create a higher level of unity in the international Communist movement through equality and free discussion created the situation in Hungary and then in China, producing the greatest schism in our history. My endeavour to restore democracy in the Soviet Union ended in the charge that I was a dictator. My plan to make our economy efficient and productive brought on me the charge of inefficiency. My fight to create a new spirit in our youth and a new creativity in our arts and literature raised great hopes, but the young Yevtushenkos of life have already grown old and tired.

X. Do you think it was all futile?

K. No, there was some progress. The clock cannot be turned back. The way forward may lead to a repudia-

tion of Communism. It cannot be stopped. Perhaps I had to go because I jeopardised the very things I strove for. Maybe my successors will resist better than I did the corruption of power. I hope so.

X. What is the next step for Russia and the Communists?

K. I am not sure. It needed courage on my part to defy the dogmatists, and declare that there could be Communism without war and Socialism without violence. It will take greater courage to say that there can be no creativity without freedom and no freedom without morality.

X. I am glad you bring up the subject of morality. You often refer to God in your speeches and yet your philosophy must make you a militant atheist.

K. I suppose I am. I don't know anything about God. Is He really so important? All the people who talk about God live as if He was irrelevant. But morality—yes, we need it in Russia too. We impose rather strict morals on our people though we have to teach our cadres to lie and exploit for the sake of the Party.

## "Have You An Answer?"

X. How can you teach people that there is only a class and a Party morality and expect to build a selfless, disciplined nation?

K. That is the great contradiction of Communism. No Communist has dared to face its full implications. But tell me, have you an answer?

X. I believe I have. I am sure God exists. I don't ask you to believe He does. But I do ask you to believe in your conscience and in the voice that in rare moments you have heard say things to you. It is the voice that gives you true concern for the world. I suggest that if you had listened to it and obeyed your "inner voice" you would probably have taken Communism on a new road. Incidentally, you might still be in power.

K. May be you are right. I wouldn't have been worse off than I am now in any case. You should tell Brezhnev and Kosygin what you have just told me.

X. Thank you Mr. Khrushchev. I will if they'll let me. But don't be too sure that your greatest days are behind you. Goodbye.

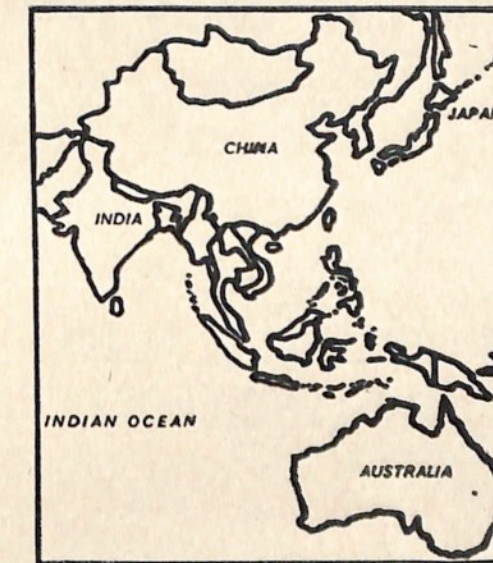
# Out-Pacing Peking—a Proposal

by Gordon Wise

*Mr. Wise, an Australian journalist, has spent seven years in Asia and recently visited Tokyo, New Delhi and Canberra.*

Australia the resources to make such a partnership workable.

A new ideological union of these countries could include military and economic co-ordination. To succeed they would need not only to think for each other, but above all, to think together about what they could do for Asia and the world. If they did this their union would transcend their differences of race, history and religion. The aim of such a partner-



## Not Just a Bomb

In order to be durable and effective, any Asian understanding must, above all, be based on an ideological union.

Military might is essential, but the answer to China is not just a bigger bomb, but a bigger idea.

Who in Asia can stand up to China and offer her the bigger idea?

India will resist strongly, but she needs friends. Her neighbours are more inclined to follow Peking than to follow New Delhi.

Japan has might, but waffles over China. No more than 2% of Japan's budget is spent on defence. She owes much of her culture and custom to the Chinese and, further, a sense of guilt persists in many Japanese over Japan's long war with China.

Australia is surely on Peking's short list for conquest, but Australia, though ready to fight, has not the means to do so. She has 28,000 in the armed forces to defend a coastline of 12,000 miles and an area of three million square miles.

The truth is that neither India nor Japan nor Australia could "go it alone" to counter China's challenge. In partnership they might. Others could join them. India has the manpower, Japan the technical skills,

the Africans that they and the Chinese were both coloured and could understand each other, whereas the Russians were white, and therefore imperialist like the rest.

An Indo-Japanese-Australian combination could show the world a new width of racial unity, where brown, yellow and white work together without discrimination. They could show the world a new unselfishness in economic planning where the aim is to give every family in Asia the necessities of life and a purpose.

Ten years ago few Australians had the breadth of view to foresee that the hated ex-enemy, Japan, would become Australia's best customer, edging out Britain now by a slight margin. This year, a revised trade agreement between the two countries gives Japan "most-favoured nation" treatment, under the GATT Agreement.

Japan's economic recovery from post-war devastation is a startling feature of the Asian scene. If Japan can so recover, and if her relationships with a war-time enemy can be so transformed, then it is reasonable to plan for an extension of these changes.

## Trust Before Trade

It is vital to note that these were the fruit of other changes.

Japan's relations with several Pacific nations, including Australia, were vastly improved by former Prime Minister Kishi's diplomacy. Mr. Kishi has given the credit to Moral Re-Armament. His 1957 visit to Australia and his apology to the Australian nation for Japanese wartime aggression, undoubtedly helped to create the climate of trust needed before trade agreements could be framed.

There are stirrings of change in Australia. There is considerable ferment now in favour of revising the immigration policy. Significant groups clamour for the Government to devote 1% of the national income to foreign aid. Others are promoting a scheme to donate to India a million tons of wheat.

A selfless thrust behind this kind of partnership would be a new factor in history, doing for the world what neither the Cominform nor the Common Market have been able to do for their own crowd.

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Outcry Against Obscenity in Britain

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

THERE IS no doubt about it. Some publicists, dramatists and "liberals" are hell-bent to make sex and cynicism the British way of life. BBC Television's "That Was The Week That Was" programme is one example. It got smuttier and smuttier until a public outcry forced it out. But now it is returning three times a week. At the Edinburgh Drama

Festival Lord Harewood, the Festival's Director, condoned the organized stage appearance of a naked girl a year ago. Indignation from many quarters seems to have stopped a repetition at this year's Festival.

Mr. John Calder, a publisher, claims "Sex is the main preoccupation of today." After "Tropic of Cancer" (180,000 sales), he announced he was bringing out another even dirtier book as soon as the British public had been conditioned to it. He

evidently thinks this has now happened, or that the obscenity law will be relaxed under a new Director of Public Prosecution just appointed by the Labour Government, who describes himself as a "liberal". Calder is also opening a club in London's West End where he hopes to put on "plays liable to censorship".

But not all Britons will co-operate in this sex worship and degutting of national character. Billing and Sons have joined the ranks of those who refuse to print pornographic books, however prolific the profits, by rejecting Frank Harris' "My Life and Loves".

The Campaign for Cleaner Television, a popular outcry against television pornography, has become so strong that Mrs. Whitehouse, one of its initiators, has resigned her teacher's post to devote herself full-time to it. And the Moral Re-Armament leader, Mr. Peter Howard, has warned Prime Minister Wilson at a crowded meeting in Westminster that "his worst enemies are the satirists, cynics and secularizers of society who did so much to debunk Macmillan, to debase our ancient virtues and to push pornography and godlessness down the national gullet."

### More Vigorous Hand?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Tokyo

MR. EISAKU SATO, the new Japanese Prime Minister, succeeds Mr. Hayato Ikeda who resigned two weeks ago "for health reasons." But the change of leadership had been forecast last July when Ikeda's re-election caused rumblings and resentment in his ruling Liberal Democratic Party, and there were charges of vote-buying.

However, it was agreed in senior political circles that in order to show her best face to the world watching the Olympic Games, Japan should not change horses at the top until after the sports were over.

Sato, brother of ex-Prime Minister Kishi, is expected to have a more vigorous hand on the helm in contrast with what was called the "low posture policy" of his predecessor. It remains to be seen what, if any, are the commitments he may have made to win his post.

## De Gaulle's Next Move

by Pierre Spoerri

Reports last week said that a major shift in French policy may be at hand. President De Gaulle on his return from Latin America is believed to be investigating the effects on France of a possible withdrawal from NATO. Our European correspondent reports this week.

DE GAULLE is safely back from South America. He covered some 15,000 miles in 26 days and made nearly 80 speeches, all memorised in Spanish and Portuguese.

One of the main questions raised by de Gaulle's Latin American trip was a very simple one: Would the 73 year-old statesman have the energy to stand such a gruelling experience and would he be able to continue to guide the destinies of his nation after his return?

The answer seems to be yes. Without taking one day of rest, he immediately went into action after his return. He reported to his Government about the results of his tour. He also made a sensational announcement that France would leave the Common Market if the negotiations about creating a common agricultural union in Europe were to fail.

### Dozens of Books

Before leaving on his Latin American trip, de Gaulle made it known, that a trip to the African Republics would be his next big plan. As he spent the whole of the summer months reading dozens of books on the history and economy of the South American Republics, the preparation for the African trip will keep him busy for some months.

Next year, the Presidential elections will determine which man will guide the destinies of France for the next seven years. If de Gaulle wins these elections, he can stay as President until he is 83. He has hinted, however, that he might step down after the legislative elections in 1967.

After the sensational political decisions which the President has taken in his foreign policy during the last months and years, it is interesting to study which are the basic lines of his political thinking.

One line seems to be, that in order to make France a great nation whose word counts, even in a world dominated by the big powers, there has to be constant movement. First came the spectacular action bringing unity between Germany and France, which was a continuation of the policy created by the predecessors of de

Gaulle. Then came his peacemaking effort in Algeria. Next his spectacular recognition of Red China. This was followed by his Latin American trip.

The second basic line of de Gaulle's policy seems to be that he is convinced that Europe has to be finally responsible for her own defence. His reasoning is as follows: Russian provocation anywhere in Europe can immediately lead to a full scale war. But it can also be consciously limited to a local attack which would not immediately involve American troops. Would it not be quite possible that some American statesmen would hesitate to put their own population in danger of atomic destruction just to defend, for instance, Berlin?

The third basic line of de Gaulle's policy—the most controversial one—is shown in his attitude towards Red China. He is convinced that China is a country of the future and that it will sooner or later dominate south-east Asia. Therefore, he felt, it was better to come to terms with China before she even tested her atom bomb. He also feels that later it might be

too late to admit her to the councils of the nations of the world. But the fact that such a policy would condemn the countries of south-east Asia to complete domination by the Chinese seems not to weigh very heavily in de Gaulle's mind.

De Gaulle does not seem to recognise the fact that a man like Hitler was in all the councils of the world and was a member of the League of Nations but this fact did not deter him from committing aggression.

### Meaning of Greatness

If on the point of China there is not much opposition to de Gaulle's policies inside his own country, there is considerable criticism on another point. France used to be a country with a very active political life, almost too active, some might say. But the fact was that in Parliament and in the public the real issues of the country were discussed. Today the great majority of the people leave to de Gaulle, as to an old grandfather, the task of thinking and deciding.

In one Latin American city de Gaulle exclaimed: "I have come to offer you greatness." The reason why de Gaulle's leadership still fails to convince completely is that he needs to explain more clearly what his conception of greatness means for other men and other nations. If he does that, not only the French but the people of many countries will listen to his voice.

## industry takes a step forward with

The ideal material for electrical insulation, pipes, tubes, cables, films, leathercloth and a variety of moulded consumer items.



RESINS AND COMPOUNDS

RAJASTHAN VINYL & CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES, NEW DELHI

## COOK WITH RATH—RATH IS BEST

# RATH

VANASPATI  
for

- \* Extra vitamins, extra energy.
- \* Hygienically sealed, pilfer-proof, attractive blue containers.
- \* Purity and freshness you can always depend on.



IT'S A D.C.M. PRODUCT

DONATE LIBERALLY TO THE NATIONAL DEFENCE FUND

## STEPPING OUT TO TOMORROW

Day by day, month by month, the face of India changes fast. Mighty steel penstocks guide the rushing river waters to turn the turbines to produce electric power. Massive generators, dotted across the country, send this power vibrating along wires to turn the wheels of industry. Electric lamps are switched on in village homes. Long lines of steel pipes girdle vast stretches of land, carrying water to thirsty villages and liquid gold to refineries. Automatic signals guide rolling wheels along a criss-cross of steel tracks. Radio waves race across the skies to help mighty Jet planes land on our soil with their precious cargo. And thus a nation steps out to tomorrow.

As electrical and mechanical contractors and maintenance specialists on behalf of leading West German manufacturers, we too are contributing our bit towards building a new India.

REPRESENTING  
MANNESMANN  
FOR SPECIAL STEEL, PIPES AND  
PIPE MANUFACTURING  
MACHINERY AND PIPE LAYING

AEG  
FOR ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT  
TELEFUNKEN  
FOR TELECOMMUNICATION EQUIPMENT

AEG



Dodsai

PRIVATE LIMITED  
BOMBAY · CALCUTTA  
NEW DELHI · HYDERABAD  
BANGALORE · ROURKELA

**VOLTAS**

## VOLTAS: INDIA'S FOREMOST DISTRIBUTION SERVICE

DISTRIBUTION is Voltas' business — distribution that includes all the services and expertise which see a product through from factory or warehouse to final installation, commissioning or consumption. □ Voltas' seven Engineering and two Marketing Divisions maintain specialised sales and service organisations. Through its branches, offices, sales depots, service stations and dealers, Voltas' far-reaching distribution and marketing facilities touch not only big projects and industries but also remote villages and 'bazaar' shops. □ In addition, Voltas' own manufacturing activities, independent or in collaboration with internationally-known manufacturers, are developing in a 120-acre industrial estate at Thana, near Bombay.

### Products

Air Conditioning & Refrigeration; Textile, Electrical, Mechanical, Mining, Earthmoving, Agricultural Machinery & Equipment; Machine Tools, Turnkey Jobs; Fine, Heavy & Industrial Chemicals; Bulk Vitamins; Processed Foods and Pharmaceuticals.

### Services

Designing, engineering, erection, installation & servicing... Voltas' after-sales service is matchless in India and its service and spare parts organisations are the largest in the country.

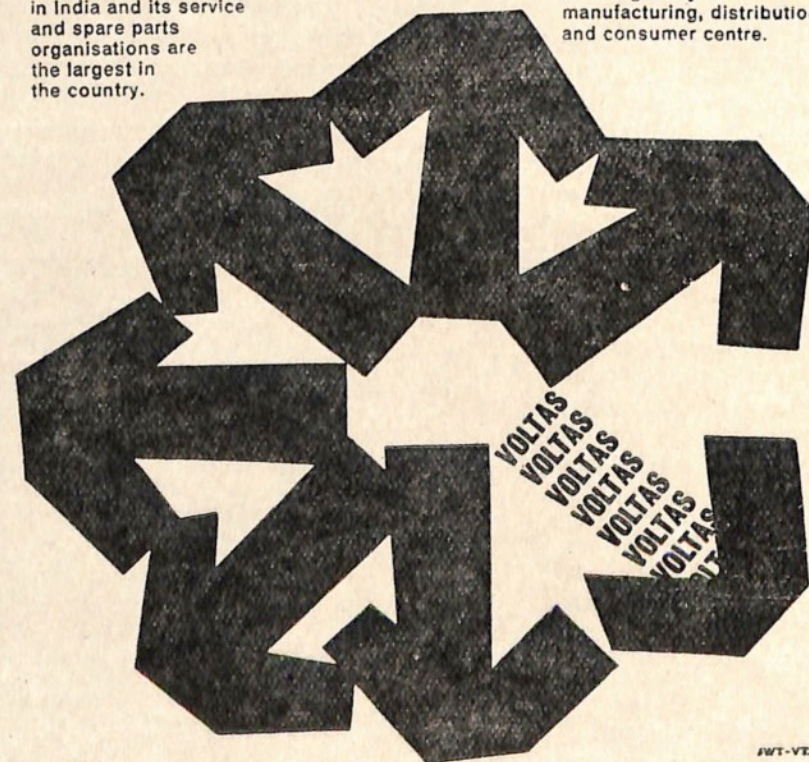
### Marketing

Country-wide specialised selling organisations, centrally controlled but covering every manufacturing, distribution and consumer centre.

**VOLTAS**

### VOLTAS LIMITED

Head Office: Bombay 1  
Calcutta • Madras • New Delhi  
Bangalore • Cochin • Ahmedabad  
Secunderabad • Lucknow  
Kanpur • Jaipur • Nagpur • Bhopal  
Patna • Coimbatore • Madurai  
Vijayawada • Ranchi  
Rourkela • Chandigarh



197-VL-229

## Will We Learn?

by Durga Das

*Mr. Durga Das, veteran columnist and editor, is head of Indian News and Features Alliance.*

THE NATION is craving for an objective analysis of its plight and is praying for honest, competent, purposeful and dynamic leadership.

Mahatma Gandhi taught us self-respect, self-dependence, self-sacrifice and self-purification. The Gandhian values were not practised during the Nehru era and have now ceased to influence public conduct.

Mr. Nehru was an idealist who worked passionately to reshape India and the world. For 17 long years he exercised absolute authority.

In 17 years the intrinsic value of the rupee has shrunk from 100 to 17 paise. Morality at the moment is at its lowest.

India's standing in the world community, which was high for a decade, has touched a new low.

The corner-stone of Mr. Nehru's foreign policy was friendship with China. He committed a blunder when he accepted Chinese suzerainty over Tibet without even committing China to acceptance of established frontiers with India.

India has the talent and the strength to rebuild itself.

The hour calls for a revolution that will revive moral values and lead India into the modern age.

### Some Gains

An experienced banker, an admirer of Mr. Nehru, bemoaned the state of the nation in a frank talk he had with me and drew up the following balance-sheet.

Our assets: first, the size of our population; second, our extensive natural resources; third, our political stability and workable administrative machinery. Our fourth asset is our consciousness. We have hope.

Fifth, we have made some economic progress. Our plans, though faulty in conception and execution here and there, have laid solid foundations for building up a powerful industrial society.

Sixth, we have our own engineers, scientists and technicians who can look after complicated machines and evolve new methods.

Seventh, we are credit-worthy. Other countries are prepared to lend large sums to us.

Eighth, we have the capacity to suffer privations and make sacrifices.

Ninth, we have confidence in ourselves and some faith in our leaders. We have given our leaders loyalty, sometimes not quite in proportion to their capacity to do good or give us the right lead. And finally, despite all our faults and weaknesses, every year since independence we have recorded some gains.

### Contradictory Thinking

Let us now examine our liabilities.

We are not a hard-working people. Our efforts lack the last marginal push. We suffer from inertia.

We put the blame for all our economic ills on the increase in population. We should also blame ourselves for our inability to work harder with sustained effort and concentrated attention. Our present utilisation of manpower and natural resources is hardly 10 per cent.

In terms of technological advancement with automation, our potentialities are unlimited.

Our thinking is contradictory. We hanker after materialism and swear by spiritual advancement. We put more faith in slogans than in practical solutions.

Though there is acute shortage of cars, the Government does not think of importing a few parts to increase production or even of importing 15,000 to 20,000 second-hand cars from America.

Of course, we do not mind selling similar second-hand cars belonging to diplomats at fabulous prices through the State Trading Corporation. The profiteer in this case is the Government and not an individual.

We are self-satisfied about our political stability. We have achieved this by sacrificing propriety and morality. Some leaders shout that they shall collect all evaded taxes, but for election purposes do not hesitate to collect and spend money on which taxes have not been paid.

For every problem we have a solution in the enactment of laws, appointment of committees and commissions. We want to accept obvious truths only after commissions have reported what was already known.

Economics is simple. Hard work, modern machines, efficiency, experiment, research, finance, trained personnel, raw materials, and application of common sense are necessary for building a strong economic base.

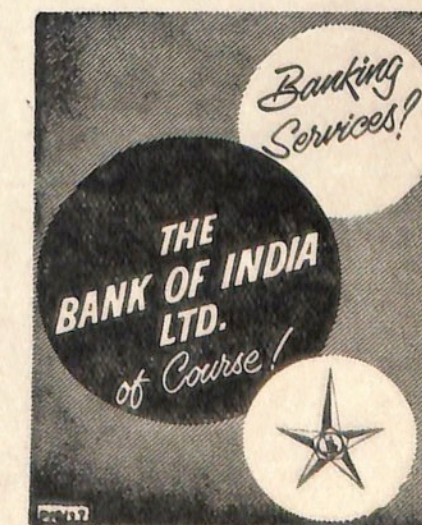
People evade taxes because taxes are heavy. A man has no incentive to work hard if he has to pay a large slice as taxes. Taxes have not been paid, it is estimated, on an income of Rs. 5000 to 7000 crores.

Our Government refuses to recognise the disastrous effect of a parallel wealth and currency, unaccounted and operating side by side with declared wealth and currency. The remedy is simple. We should reduce personal taxation and give incentive to people to earn more and save.

Those who have the ill-earned wealth are enjoying its fruits anyway. Let this be regularised. Fifty per cent of it can be paid in taxes and the rest invested for productive purposes.

For 17 years our educational system has begged for a lead so that it could be made a part of our economic recovery oriented to our practical needs. This is a major liability.

We do not categorise our faults. We do not want to learn from our mistakes. We do not acknowledge that other countries have done better. Every country gets the standard of living that it is capable of achieving. We shall have to take note of our failings if we want to do better than what we have done so far.





A WORLD IN THE MAKING BEFORE THEIR EYES

*In memory of Jawaharlal Nehru  
A promise to fulfil... A pledge to keep*

INDIAN OXYGEN LIMITED **IDL**

## FOR WOMEN

### What Do You Marry For?

EVERY DAY hundreds of men and women are getting married, some with great pomp and show, some simply, some with great joy and expectation, some with fear and trepidation. Most of them expect to be happy ever after, rear fine children, have happy homes.

Yet looking round us, we find it is not always so. Some marriages are happy and lasting. Some husbands and wives co-exist with each other and drag through life for "the sake of the children or what people think."

Broken homes, unhappy lives, lost children, a society breaking down. What is the answer to this?

How many men and women going into marriage ever think what it takes to make a marriage work, grow and last? Or what the purpose of their marriage is?

Many go into marriage on the get—looking for something in their partners to satisfy themselves, for comfort, security, pleasure.

Others go with great notions of romance, love, which they have picked up from the modern movies, magazines and novels. Romance is fine but what happens when the true natures of two people come out, when self-will clashes against self-will? Where does one turn? To tears, quarrels, moods, empty threats of going back to mother, or even perhaps a divorce?

Marriage is like a bank account, you get out of it what you put into it. And it does not always take two to hold a marriage. One person, with a will and the secret of doing so, can do it.

#### Men or Jelly-fish

Many wives blame their husbands for what is wrong in their marriage. They whine. But supposing every time things went wrong, instead of blaming their husbands they could see where they have been wrong, even if it be just five per cent, and set that right?

No wife is perfect and change is one of the most important keys to a happy marriage. And do not wait for your husbands to change first—begin yourself.

I remember a lady who once said to her husband a very great truth, "I think I am meant to love you as you are but live to help you become the man you are meant to be."

Many wives demand that their husbands be what they would like them to be and try and fit them into a particular mould. And they get frustrated when they do not succeed! But what would happen if we decided to leave our menfolk alone to be what God wants them to be? Men would become men, the children would grow up into free men and women and the nation would have a strong back-bone!

Other women hang on to their husbands as if they were their property, their possession. They hover like vultures over them, controlling their every move, every word. We women have got to stop doing that! We kill initiative, daring and the spirit of the men and make them into spineless jelly-fish, tied to our apron strings.

It transforms life if we wives have a vision for our husbands and decide to appreciate them, instead of com-

paring, complaining and blaming. So few think of giving in a marriage, not giving in, but selflessly serving and caring for the husband, children, home and nation.

We women need an entirely new motive for our lives, our marriage, our homes. We have to choose whether we live on the give or on the get.

God has given us women ample energy and passion and feelings and unless we use them for something big, we fall down and become small, nagging women.

I read in an article by a famous British author: "Homes are still the cement of a nation, women are the cement of homes. If homes begin to crack, one knows where the cement is faulty. Women are meant in this splintering civilisation to provide the steel of character and the cement of a love that can bind humanity together."

What if we women took on to build homes which were free from bitterness, fear and hate? Homes which have a revolutionary purpose, which can be used by God to give a new direction, a new motive to every person, every nation?

If we do that, it will be the best heritage we can leave for our children, and they will bless us.

FRENY R. LALA

## LETTERS

### SIGNPOST

Sir,

In the face of recent developments in the world we see **Himmat** as:

The hinge on which the freedom of all Asia will swing.

The voice of the People's Movement of Asia.

A challenge to every established institution of press and government.

A signpost to a new society for a new world.

AMARIE NATIVIDAD (Philippines)  
SUSAN VIBERT (U.K.)  
Boston, USA.

Sir,

Giving the true reasons for our slow progress in the economic field you have shown that unless we are hard working and honest, our nation will never advance.

Bombay-77.

P. S. BABU

Sir,

Congratulations! Let **Himmat** be Asia's voice—and India's choice.

LAWRENCE COELHO

Bombay-5.

### FIFTEEN

Sir,

I am fifteen. The older generation has failed us. We want something new, something that really captures our hearts, our brains, our ideas, our thoughts. We want to be the voice of thousands that gives an answer to the atomic bomb of China, to the Communism of Russia, to the materialism of America, to poverty, hatred, impurity and selfishness in the rest of the world.

VANAJA RAGHAVAN

Bombay-6.

The Editor welcomes letters for publication from **HIMMAT** readers. Articles will also be considered. They should not exceed 900 words. Address: 13, Advent, Foreshore Road, Bombay-1.



Grams :  
PENTAGON

Phone :  
73666

## The Pentagon Steel Industries

OFFICE & FACTORY :

108, Walker Town,  
New Bhoiguda,  
Secunderabad-A.P.

Manufacturers of :

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, OIL MILL  
MACHINERY, CHEMICAL PLANTS,  
STREET LIGHT FITTINGS, HIGH  
TENSION TOWERS ETC.

WE HAVE THE MOST UP-TO-DATE MACHINES  
TO GIVE YOU THE BEST OF WORKMANSHIP

INSIST ON

## "CHARMINAR"

Asbestos Cement Sheets,  
Pipes & Accessories  
Renowned for their Strength,  
Durability and Elegance

Manufacturers

Hyderabad Asbestos Cement  
Products Limited

Sanatnagar : : HYDERABAD-18

Phone: 32551, 32552  
& 32553.

Grams:  
"ASBESTOS"

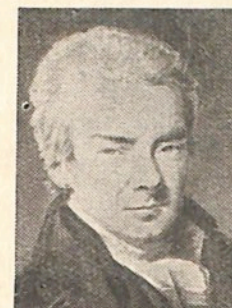
Suppliers to Union and State  
Governments under Rate Contract  
with the Director General of  
Supplies and Disposals.

This was a life

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE

1759—1833

BORN to wealth and privilege, young Wilberforce might well have settled for a life of comfort like so many "gentlemen" of his day. Instead he worked relentlessly to abolish from British society the traffic in human slaves.



At 21 he entered the House of Commons and became young Prime Minister Pitt's closest friend.

Slavery had come to be considered a vital pillar of Britain's commerce and national security. Vested interests were strong. The trade controlled dozens of M.P.s. The establishment screamed against reform. Lord Nelson attacked "this damnable doctrine of Wilberforce".

Over 160 British ships and 5,500 sailors were permanently employed in the traffic between West Africa and North American.

One account states: "The men slaves would be packed between decks, chained in pairs onto shelves with only two and a half feet headroom. Women and children, if not chained, were packed equally tight, with no room to lie down and exposed to the savage lusts of the crew."

It is true, some voices were raised against it. But where political giants like Pitt and Burke hesitated, Wilberforce leapt to the cause. Regularly for 20 years he tabled motions in the Commons for the abolition of slavery. Often disappointed, he once lost by only four votes because those he counted on had left for the opera.

In 1807 Parliament finally passed the bill to end the slave trade. Wilberforce sat in his seat and wept. But it took another 26 years before, on his death-bed, Wilberforce heard the news that slaves everywhere under the British flag were to be freed.

During his struggle Wilberforce learned two secrets. Early each day he sought in a disciplined manner clear direction from God for his work.

Secondly, he mobilised men of brilliance and integrity to set a new tradition in public life—men who voted according to conscience and made the prevailing corruption and callousness unfashionable.

Q and A

*In our work of trying to establish a new society in India, I have often been asked the questions below. Readers are invited to send me questions about our land or the world and I shall answer them as truthfully and intelligently as I can.—R.G.*

Q — Can you preach morality to a starving man or nation?

A — A poor man has never asked me this question. Scores of others have. It is amusing to sit in the comfortable living rooms of the rich and the fairly rich and hear them declaim that it is impossible for a hungry man to live by absolute moral standards. Pride raises this smokescreen when hit by a moral challenge. We are convicted about our impurity and selfishness, are too proud to admit that and find relief in proving the impossibility of change in others.

"God will have to appear in the form of bread before a starving man," said Mahatma Gandhi. In a morally re-armed society this need, and other basic needs, will be met. When men care enough and share enough, everyone will have enough. No one can fanish in a nation that lives like a family. Dictatorship can never succeed in forcing men to be brothers. A revolution in human nature can.

And let no one be so arrogant as to say that a poor man cannot become a fighter free of hate and greed. The common man knows instinctively that those who debunk morality and use his name for their purposes will sacrifice him to feed their lust at the first opportunity. And there is more to man than his stomach. He has deeper long-

ings which are satisfied only when he uses his life for an all-demanding aim.

Q — Can a selfish capitalist really change? How can I change one?

A — It interests me that those who ask the preceding question also ask this one. Their inconsistent argument is that a poor man cannot live straight because he is poor and a rich man cannot live straight because he is rich.

The possession of money or the lack of it does not make a man good or bad. I know rich and poor men who are selfish, and rich and poor who are unselfish. It is not a question of class, it is a question of courage and character. If poverty could create straight living, India would be the world's cleanest land. If wealth made morality easier, the United States of America would be a shining example of selfless living.

Capitalists can be transformed. And in country after country they have been (just as Communists have been). We cannot point yet to a country and say, "There is the new society where man's callousness has ended," but the world is moving towards it. I know capitalists who have used up or are using all their money to fight for a new social order. I know industrialists who put people before profit and who use their time and energy, as well as their wealth, for a change more profound than Communism.

If you want to change a capitalist, be sure you want nothing from him. He may give you cash (a little bit) if you suck up to him. He will give a lot more—money, time, possibly his life—if you stand up to him and invite him to be more revolutionary than a Communist. And don't give in to the modern fashion of being jealous of a rich man and of despising and hating him because he is rich. Be certain, above all, that your paramount aim in life is to burn it out in erecting a decent society for all men and nations.

----- Tear Here -----

Subscribe to **HIMMAT** now for yourself and your friends

Complete the form below, and send it with remittance to your local newspaper agent or to

**HIMMAT WEEKLY, 13 Advent · Foreshore Road · Bombay-1**

NAME (Mr/Mrs/Miss) _____	Rates:
(BLOCK LETTERS)	6 mths. Rs. 6-50
ADDRESS _____	1 year ---Rs. 12
_____	3 years-- Rs. 32

Please enter my subscription for \_\_\_\_\_ year/s. I enclose my remittance of Rs. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_ SIGNATURE \_\_\_\_\_

# NEHRU AND US

by Rajmohan Gandhi

MAN DOES NOT KNOW how God judges or grades the men He creates. We shall never know, in this world, what place He has given to Jawaharlal Nehru, whose birthday falls on Saturday. But it is certain that analysts and historians will find him fascinating and controversial.

When he started as free India's first Prime Minister, he was the king of millions of Indian hearts. Till the end he remained the object of their affection, but opposition to him had grown a lot in the last years.

Jawaharlal Nehru was, of course, a dazzling personality. He captured the masses as well as the educated and the privileged. What was his secret?

He possessed qualities which Indians wanted but lacked. He was handsome and light-skinned. He threw away a life of comfort and riches to spend fifteen long years in prison.

He was a refined and cultured being. "The most civilised person among us all" is the way his determined political opponent, Rajaji, has described him.

His charm in individual relationships won many who opposed his political views. In a private gathering he was the master of manners. His frequent bursts of temper at public functions were sometimes intentional and at all times brief.

## Egalitarian Prince

Paradoxically, the Indian people loved this man who wanted an egalitarian society because they thought of him as a prince.

Nehru's relationship with Gandhi was significant. They frequently and strongly disagreed. Years before freedom, Gandhi named Nehru his heir as India's leader, partly because he believed that responsibility would modify Nehru's outlook, but largely because he knew that Nehru would think for himself. This Nehru certainly did. He did not attempt to discover what Gandhi would have done; he searched his own mind and heart and acted on what he believed. Let us be sure that

our attitude to Nehru is as clear and respectful as his was to Gandhi.

Nehru and Gandhi differed basically in their view of the individual and society. Writing in his autobiography, Nehru said, "Gandhiji wants to improve the individual internally, morally and spiritually and thereby to change the external environment."

Nehru criticised this concept. He did not believe in the importance of personal change. "I find it difficult to grasp the idea of sin, and perhaps it is because of this that I cannot appreciate Gandhiji's general outlook," he wrote.

## Was He Wrong?

Nothing repelled Nehru more than the hypocrisy of those who talked about God and religion but lived greedily and callously. Granted that religious hypocrisy can be cruel and pervasive, yet was he not wrong in criticizing religion and disregarding God as a result of it? And he was not fair when he said that "the religious man is concerned far more with his own salvation than with the good of society."

Nehru moved towards a human materialism. Liberalism had arrested his mind from youth and he never could accept the dictatorship and regimentation of Communism. And although he wrote that "I incline more and more towards a Communist philosophy," his aim was socialism with a minimum of state compulsion.

Where he erred, I believe, was in not seeing that there can be as much hypocrisy in the name of "socialism" and "Communism" as in God's name. So when a socialist country invaded another land, as Russia did with Hungary and China with India, he was shocked and confused. He was unprepared for it, and, sadly, so was India.

I have sometimes felt that God may have wanted Nehru to heighten Gandhi's philosophy, make it more revolutionary and modern and take it to the world. But Nehru did not take that road. Objecting to Gandhi's belief that

princes, industrialists and landlords could be changed and could act as trustees for the people, Nehru wrote, "If there is anything in this idea of trusteeship, why should we object to the claim of the British Government that they are trustees for the Government of India? Except for the fact that they are foreigners, I see no difference."

Nehru was right in challenging Gandhi to stretch his philosophy from India to the world. He was wrong in stating it could not work. If he had fought for more than freedom and socialism, if he had fought to revolutionise the aims and motives of capitalists, landlords as well as imperialists, the world's story would have been different today.

## Idealism Without God

Both freedom and socialism are false gods. The greatest idealism cannot prevent the failure of these gods. By themselves they do not change human nature and therefore when they remove oppression they can only replace it with another form of it. The real God tolerates, for a time, sham and fraud and villainy in His name. Yet any time and every time men obey Him and fight for Him with all their hearts, He changes men, changes society and meets the common man's needs.

Because we in India did not catch hold of this deeper revolution, we have no answer today to the materialism of the West or the Communism of Moscow and Peking. We counter them with a less efficient materialism and a less efficient socialism. These have not a ghost of a chance against Mao's resolute Communism.

No coin can confine Nehru. India will always remember Jawaharlal the dazzler. She will love him after his death as she did during his life. Yet India will have to accept the truth that his exciting life has come and gone and that India's pleasant dreams were dreamt and are gone, too. To face today's terrible realities, India needs a greatness greater than Nehru's life.

# CABLE CORPORATION OF INDIA LTD.

Registered Office : Laxmi Bldg., Ballard Road, Bombay 1 (BR).

Factory : Borivli, Bombay 66 (NB).

MANUFACTURERS

OF

'TROPODUR' WIRES AND CABLES

AND

PAPER INSULATED CABLES

## Distributors :

M/s. Siemens Eng. & Mfg. Co.  
of India Ltd.,  
Stadium House, Veer Nariman Road,  
BOMBAY 1 BR.

M/s. Trinity Electric Syndicate  
154, Princess Street,  
BOMBAY 2 BR.

M/s. Easun Engineering Co. Ltd.,  
5-7, Second Line Beach,  
MADRAS 1.

# AT MADRAS a man-made NEW, WET DOCK

Gone are the sand dunes, railway tracks and with them, the dry dusty land.

As if by magic, the land has given place to the stillness of the blue sea. But there has been no magic. The nation's planners felt the need for a harbour to accommodate more ships, to accelerate our trade and increase our cargo handling capacity. The solution lay in creating a dock by turning land into sea. The engineers entrusted with the task overcame the obstacles one after another.

Here is an indication of the magnitude of the task:

Cement concrete required was about 200,000 yds<sup>3</sup>. Of this 40,000 yds<sup>3</sup> had to be discharged under water. Steel involved was 1685 tons.

Supplying 200,000 tons of stone metal to the site was solved by installing a 30 tons (an hour) crushing and screening unit at Pallavaram quarry, 13 miles away and pressing into round-the-clock service a fleet of 13 tipper vehicles.

Thanks to the engineering skill and the meticulous care with which the field staff executed the work, ECC completed the dock satisfactorily and on time.

### Other outstanding jobs undertaken by ECC:

- The 8-storeyed building of the Indian Overseas Bank, Madras
- The 600 metre long Modular Laboratory at Bombay
- Cement factory for Mysore Cements Limited
- SKF's Ball Bearing factory at Chinchwad
- 1.6 million ton Expansion Scheme, Durgapur Steel Project
- Looms Project Building for Madurai Mills, Ambasamudram

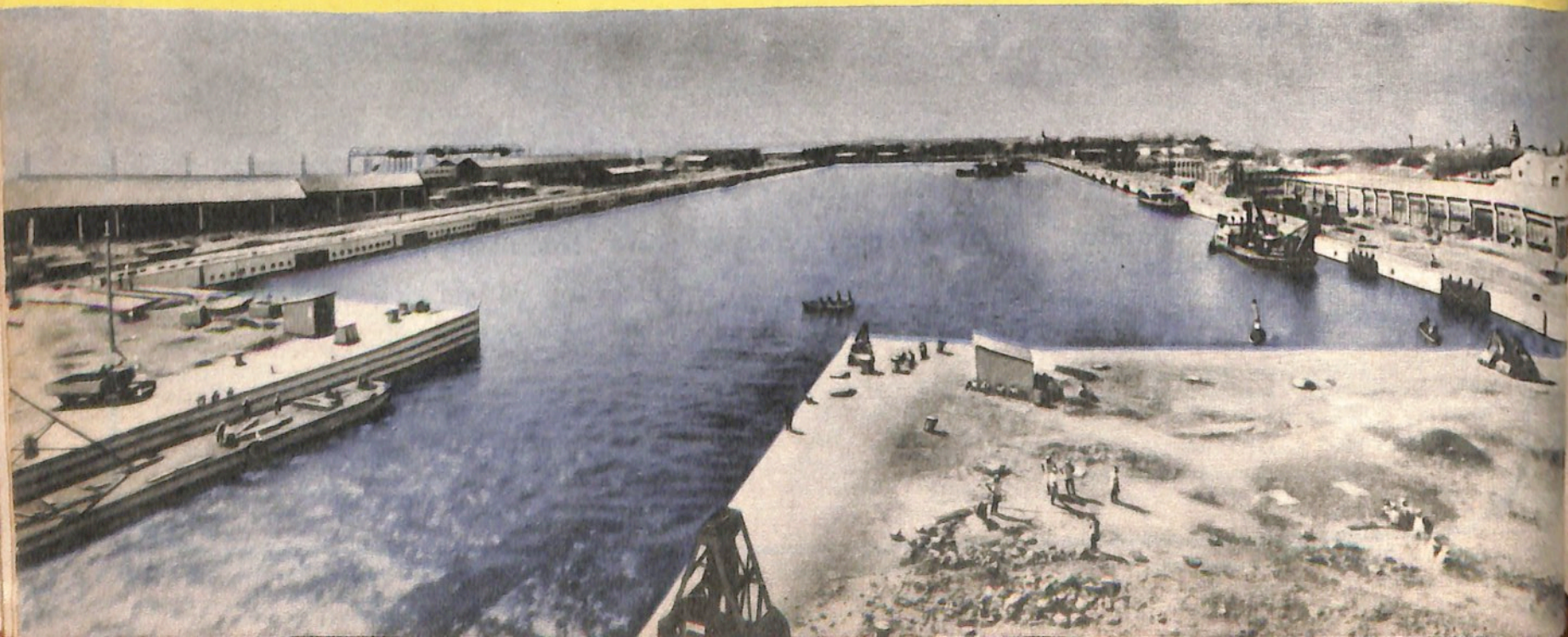
## ENGINEERING CONSTRUCTION CORPORATION LIMITED

P.O. Box 278, Bombay-1.

P.O. Box 343, Madras-2

A wholly owned subsidiary of

Larsen & Toubro Limited, Bombay 1.



# HIMMAT

25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



R  
A  
C  
E  
W  
A  
R

page 18

Friday  
November 20  
1964

Pyarelal  
FREEDOM'S FACE | CLASS-ROOM DICTATORSHIP  
a Warning