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SISTAS KMS 335

# HIMMAT

25P.

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

ST. PAUL



Paul VI in Jerusalem



ST. PETER

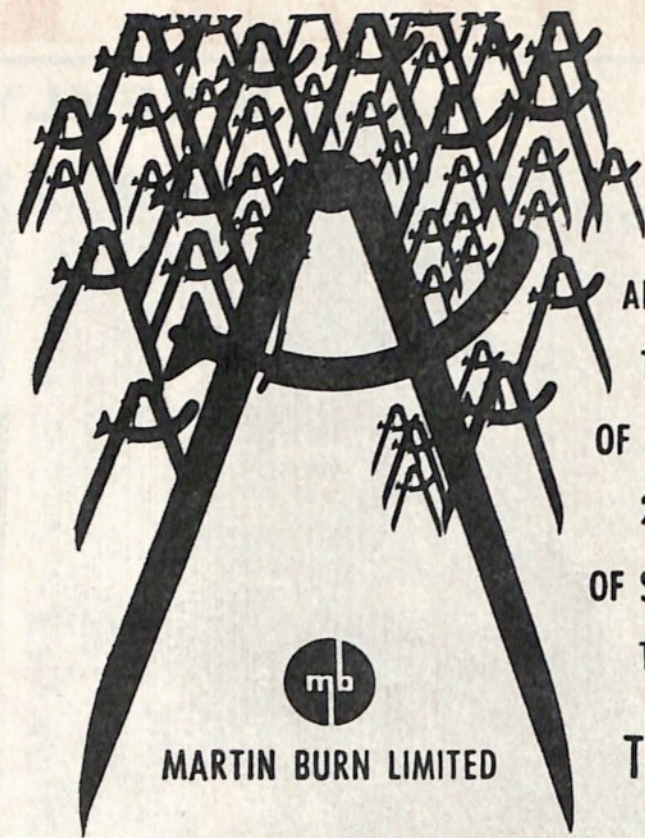


## THE POPE IN ASIA

Friday  
December 4  
1964

LESS PEOPLE  
Or More Food?

R. M. Lala  
LOOK AGAIN AT AFRICA




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TRADITION  
OF NEARLY  
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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, December 4, 1964

Vol. 1 No. 5

## Welcome, Pope Paul!

ASIA REJOICES at Pope Paul's visit. India is proud that she is the first nation, after the Holy Land, to receive him.

What Christians, starting with Christ's own disciple and friend, Thomas, have given to India and Asia cannot be measured. They have cured disease, banished ignorance and supplied courage. They have filled millions of hearts with a faith that satisfies them.

Millions are living today because of the care they, or their parents, received in Catholic hospitals. The Catholic schools, convents and colleges have produced—and are producing—many of India's finest citizens. Barring exceptions, there is more discipline and character in schools that are Catholic-run than in others.

The Roman Catholic Church is a mighty castle of faith. Not only the Catholics but other sections of humanity rely upon it to keep moral standards intact in a sex-cash-bomb age.

The Church must conserve the time-tested truths it believes in for future generations. Man will preserve his world, and enhance its quality, by altering his life to fit permanent truths. He will destroy—or enslave—his world if he tries to alter ageless standards to suit his compromises.

## No, Mr. Chagla

A MEMBER of Parliament demands in New Delhi that Mahatma Gandhi's image should be printed on Indian coins.

What could be the arguments for this suggestion?

First, that we shall honour Gandhi by minting coins with his face. Is this not somewhat arrogant? Our currency has neither the moral nor material value today which can increase Gandhi's fame. A better way of praising him will be for our leaders to bring more honesty and courage in their lives.

Second, that because the Government has manufactured Nehru coins, it should now produce Gandhi coins. This has no logic at all. It was wrong to forge Nehru coins. Designing Gandhi coins will not now make that right.

Third, that circulating Gandhi coins will raise the Government's prestige and the ruling party's popularity. This would be cheap and immoral indeed.

Equally disturbing is an admission by Mr. Chagla, the Education Minister. He says that he urged school and college authorities to have their students pledge themselves to "follow the ideals and policies" of the late Mr. Nehru.

For heaven's sake, Mr. Chagla, don't try and make a dictator in death out of Mr. Nehru. India is not a Fascist or a Communist country.

The nation has a right to know whether the Cabinet sanctioned Mr. Chagla's move. Also whether it upholds it now.

## Thank You, Dr. R.

INDIA THANKS President Radhakrishnan for his blunt assertion that "the country is in an unsatisfactory position."

Politicians and peasants have both gone astray, said the President. Since the elders were behaving in this way, he added, the students were taking their cue from them and also engaging in rowdyism.

His statement is the more welcome because it contradicts the unreal pronouncements of so many Ministers and officials who claim an all-round improvement in affairs.

No Bombay housewife will agree with the Maharashtra Minister who said there was no apprehension on the food front; the food distribution was well in hand and under control in Greater Bombay. In truth, thousands go several times a day to the "fair-price" shops and come away empty-handed—unless they are prepared to buy the Government-issued rice or sugar further along the counter at a higher price.

Honesty marks the statesman. Bluff marks the man who is content to remain a politician. India needs more statesmen.

HIMMAT hopes that the President will more frequently speak his mind. The weight of his office and of his person could be thrown even more in the direction of shaking those who lightly assume recovery while the nation shakes with fever.

## With You, Bhutan

BHUTAN is in the news again. Another plot, this time against the Maharaja, has been exposed. King Jigme Dorji Wangchuk has taken over the administration.

India owes a special responsibility to this mountain kingdom. Though internally autonomous, by agreement India looks after her external relations. India needs to examine her own attitude to Bhutan. It is primarily that of a patronising brother. We happily give largesse to Bhutan, as the Americans do to the rest of the world. We probably expect gratitude, as America does, and are at times hurt that we don't always get it.

The British thought of Bhutan as a "buffer state" and called it so. The tragedy is that 17 years after British rule some of us still do. A buffer state is one that protects us from invaders. It is not a role that Bhutan necessarily relishes. How can we blame her?

The immediate task for Indian leadership is (a) to help secure Bhutan internally from plots, (b) to safeguard her externally from Chinese aggression and (c) to find ways and means of bringing her closer to India.

The Bhutanese will rightly want to know whether India has an alternative to China's revolution for Asia.

## Briefly Speaking...

### First Rate

AT THE INAUGURATION of the Eucharistic Congress at the Bombay Oval on Saturday, palm trees were reaching for the skies. And so were the spirits of the 150,000 men and women who had gathered at the occasion. The inaugural session was a masterpiece of organisation. Every detail was complete.

In the cool November evening a remarkably united choir of 5,000 gave hymns that fed the spirit of thousands. The sound equipment, a gift from Holland, was possibly the finest of its kind operated in India. Police and traffic arrangements were superb.

I salute the men who were responsible for it all. They have shown what dedication can do.

Could the A.I.C.C. note that it is possible to gather the masses and yet not make a *mela* of the occasion?

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### Taken Too Seriously

EARL RUSSELL has declared his view that the Congo will become another Viet-Nam now that the Western powers have intervened to rescue the Stanleyville hostages.

The Earl's views are not surprising. What is curious is that so many Indians seem to attach undue importance to them.

Brilliant though he must have been in his mathematical and philosophical heyday, Earl Russell is a personality of receding importance in his own country. His championing of amorality and license has contributed to his decline.

What Indians must also remember is that it was his book condoning China's aggression on India which confused some who otherwise would have rallied to us.

### Blackmail and White Lies

RUSSIA OWES the United Nations more than Rs. 23 crores—its compulsory contribution to the Congo peace-keeping operation. She refuses to pay.

Now the U.S. has announced the cancellation of her voluntary annual contribution of Rs. 25 crores to the U.N. Special Fund for technical aid to developing countries—unless Russia pays up, even in part. (America's donation represents 40% of the Special Fund. The Soviet gives 2%.)

At this news some of India's Afro-Asian friends accused the U.S. of blackmailing the Russians with her threat.

When the debate resumes in New York this week, some of us who eagerly accept aid from both will probably remain truly non-aligned.

### Silver Lining

WHO SAID INDIA'S MORALITY was low in every field? Out of the 15 lakhs of books borrowed over a year by 90,000 registered members of the Delhi Public Library, only 480 books were not returned, according to an I.N.F.A. report.

Mr. Kalia, the librarian, says that the book borrowers' morality in India

is even higher than the BBM of the U.S.A. and the U.K. There is neither subscription nor deposit necessary to borrow books at this library. The books lie in open shelves.

I wonder what the BBM of the Lok Sabha library is?

### Trickery

I saw a Government of India documentary film on Family Planning which is being shown compulsorily. I presume, all over the country. By photographic trickery it seeks to deceive innocent minds. You first see sad, starving, diseased children. Family planning methods are applied—obviously artificial. Instantly children on the screen become vigorous and joyful.

When millions believe it is against the rules of God to practise birth-control by artificial methods, the film has the effrontery to invoke the name of God as an argument for it. "God wants it," is the repeated theme.

How the Government can wound people's feelings in this fashion is beyond belief. I'm surprised there has been no public demand for its withdrawal yet.

### We Miss Him

A PHOTOGRAPHIC and documentary exhibition on the life and work of Subhas Chandra Bose has just been opened in New Delhi.

India misses Bose. He was a realist. Had he been living today he would not have hidden facts from the nation. He believed in facing a situation, not in explaining it away.

Bose expressed what he believed candidly whether to Gandhi or Nehru.

He inspired sacrifice and patriotism to a rare degree.

Realist that he was, he would have certainly taken himself and India beyond nationalism. He who once got other nations to think for India would have got India to think for other nations, for without that India cannot survive.

R.M.L.

## Paying for Diem's Death

by Our Special Correspondent

FOR THE LAST 23 YEARS, the people of Viet-Nam have known no peace. In 1942, when they were under French rule, the Japanese invaded. Then came the Allied armies, French re-occupation and the struggle for independence. Finally came the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1951. The country, shaped like a sausage, was split into two, with Ho Chi Minh ruling the north and President Diem emerging as the strong man of the south. Since then guerilla war has continued in the south unabated.

No man in South Viet-Nam is safe. The "Viet Cong," as the guerillas are called, have permeated the land. Thousands of civilian South Vietnamese are shot by guerillas every year. The guerillas live off the land. Corruption is so rampant that millions of dollars of U.S. aid, in food-stuffs, arms and munitions, finds its way into the hands of the Viet Cong.

### Difficult Relatives

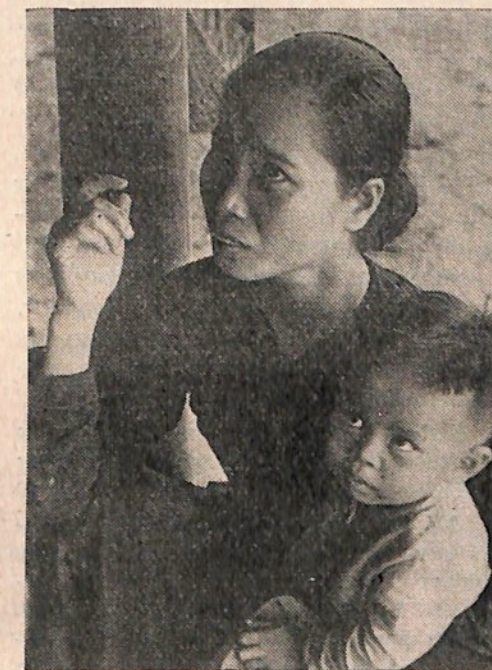
Diem's policies may be praised or criticised. He had his weaknesses and he had his difficult relatives. But he did hold South Viet-Nam together. And he got the Americans to make a firm commitment to defend that country.

Last November, as a climax to a campaign against him conducted by certain Buddhist elements, Diem was overthrown and brutally killed. The New York Times reported after Diem's fall, "The Buddhist campaign was always political. This was a political dispute under a religious banner." Trouble last week again centred around the Buddhist headquarters.

The anti-Diem campaign was engineered by a Buddhist leader named Trich Tri Quang. Quang was twice arrested by the French for working with the Communists and, on his own admission, is a member of the Viet-Minh Communist Liberation Front. He wants the neutralisation of Viet-Nam. Earlier he had said, "We cannot get an arrangement with the North until we get rid of Diem and Nhu." The United States, for the first time in the history of the country, encouraged the overthrow in time of war of a duly elected gov-

ernment fighting against a Communist invader. The bill for that deed is now being paid, not only by the United States but by the people of Viet-Nam.

Viet-Nam is America's number one military commitment. The Americans are in a quandary. They can give all the military aid in the world, but it cannot secure South Viet-Nam unless there is firm, strong and sound leadership emerging from Viet-Nam. Instead of changing a difficult Diem, they encouraged the destruction of



Fear and despair show in the eyes of this woman whose home borders on one of the battle areas in South Viet-Nam. —UPI

his regime and acquiesced in his liquidation. They put their faith in certain generals who were not known for their moral integrity.

It is to President Johnson's credit that, as Vice-President, he is reported to have done his best to prevent the annihilation of Diem. Today he is faced with a difficult choice. His Ambassador in Saigon, General Maxwell Taylor, recommends a limited expansion of the war and the bombing of supply bases in North Viet-Nam. Peking has threatened "crushing blows" if the U.S. enlarges the war. Columnists like Walter Lipp-

man advocate neutralisation. They echo, in this case, President de Gaulle of France who feels that no military solution is possible for Viet-Nam and suggests a political compromise and neutralisation. A third American view is that of Senator Wayne Morse, who wants America to pull out completely.

If America pulls out of South Viet-Nam, the consequences will be not only the takeover of South Viet-Nam by Communism but a colossal psychological victory for Peking. No Asian nation will trust America thereafter. And however respectable the word "neutralisation" may sound, Americans correctly anticipate that its net effect will also be a Communist victory.

De Gaulle is not wrong in his belief that military measures cannot by themselves succeed. Is there something else that can be done? Is there an ideological solution if a military solution is impossible and a political solution unacceptable?

### All-out Offensive

President Diem thought there was. Speaking at Vanderbilt University in the U.S. last week, MRA leader Peter Howard said, "The late President Diem wished to adopt an all-out ideological offensive. He invited me to bring films, literature and travelling teams of Moral Re-Armament to his country. He proposed 'a mass saturation programme of Moral Re-Armament'. He thought this programme would answer the division and corruption in the South and give an idea powerful enough eventually to enlist and change the North to the ways of freedom."

Howard says, "The weakness of U.S. policy in Viet-Nam is that it answers Communist aggression with blood, money and weapons but without a superior idea that will win."

Whether America remedies this weakness will decide whether freedom will be on the offensive in South East Asia or whether it will perish because the men who spoke in its name did not accept the challenge of the times.

# Asia's Wounded Dream

TWO DECADES ago the main theme and purpose of Asia was freedom. All of south and south-east Asia, with the exception of Thailand, was under colonial domination. Today, the entire region from Pakistan to the Philippines is free from foreign rule. But one nation after another has fallen to the growing appetite for power of native tyrants or an alien ideology.

The spectre of China haunts Asia. Thirty-one years ago, Mao Tse-tung marched his men 7,000 miles to faraway Yenan to secure the base that would enable him to take over the whole country. Today he has mainland China. Mainland China is for Asia what Yenan was for China. As long as the present leadership of China is alive and keeps control, Asia will be the scene of major battles for the extension of Communist control.

Chinese leaders know that in the nuclear age any local conflict can escalate into nuclear war. They, therefore, avoid open participation in actions such as that of the Viet Cong in South Viet-Nam, which they plan and support clandestinely with men and materials. She may grow bolder with the improvement of her nuclear capability and delivery system. But in situations such as Viet-Nam and Laos, she is confident of ensuring victory without open military intervention.

Armed action is only the final stage of a long process of demoralisation, political confusion and economic

breakdown which precede it and prepare a nation for it.

Already in some countries freedom has led to chaos, chaos to dictatorship and dictatorship to Communism.

## Deprived of Fruits

The Indonesian people never had a chance to enjoy the fruits of their freedom struggle. President Sukarno snatched it away. As his policies aggravated the crisis in his nation, he increased his power. His dictatorship over his country is now almost

## Under the Lens

total, subject only to the enormous strength of the Indonesian Communist Party, third largest Communist Party in the world.

Burma was governed well by U Nu, who still remains the most popular leader of his country. But his impatient colleagues in the army wanted to speed up with force the policies he wanted to implement by consent. General Ne Win's dictatorship is more ruthless than any previous rule in Burma.

Pakistan's politicians made a mess of political independence. Ayub's dictatorship was the result.

All these men, Communist or non-Communist, have taken their nations closer to Communist China. Indonesia is firmly committed to her. Chou En-lai treats Burma as a province of his country. The Pakistan

Government considers China a big brother.

Where freedom has not had such disastrous results, a deliberate policy from outside fosters divisions and encourages inflation and chaos. Tungku's Malaysia had, next to Japan, the fastest Asian rate of economic growth until Sukarno's policy of war and intimidation forced her to turn her attention to defence. India's growing economic troubles were aggravated to the point of riots and starvation by the Chinese attack of 1962.

Only Thailand continues to grow despite corruption and dictatorship inside and troubles on her border.

Japan is a tower of strength but shy to compete with Red China.

America has big stakes and is fighting what most people would consider a losing war in Laos and Viet-Nam. There is fear that she may abandon these countries if she can do so without face.

In a recent article in *Foreign Affairs*, the Foreign Minister of Thailand, America's ally and SEATO's "History, particularly of recent times, is strewn with examples of lesser nations being sacrificed by their allies on the pretext of preserving the peace of the world but actually because the national prestige and vital interests of these allies were not directly affected."

## Who Is Responsible?

Australia's emergency mobilisation and growing involvement such as in Malaysia is a result of this realisation. Countries like Thailand can be expected to shift their alignments fundamentally, if they suspect that their present allies are not firm.

We must hope, work and fight for these allies to be firm. But Asia must not and cannot expect America or any other foreign power to find a military solution to the political and economic breakdown that are created by the shortsighted policies of her leaders and perpetuated by their divisions.

Asia is the responsibility of Asians. Can they pull together in giving to their nations just, efficient and incorruptible government and to the continent a more dynamic solution than Chinese Communism?

R. VAITHESWARAN.

# Look Again At Africa

by R. M. Lala

WE NEED to see Africa through new glasses. Recent events in Stanleyville and Kenya compel us to do so.

The old game of beating the drums with the Africans against the white man is out of date. The bells are tolling in Africa and they are not tolling for the white man alone.

In Kenya, Indians are being insulted by Minister after Minister. Mobs in streets of Nairobi demand, "Indians, go home." An attempt is made to set fire to the car of our Commissioner in Kenya. Yet there is no a protest from New Delhi.

In Stanleyville, headquarters of the rebel Congo, there were three hundred Indians. Questioned in Parliament, our Foreign Minister does not appear to know their position. He goes by press reports that a hundred have been rescued. Of course, there is something wrong with our Leopoldville mission if our Foreign Minister has to depend on press reports to learn about the safety of Indians in the Congo.

But even more important is the fact that we keep expressing our concern when U.S., Belgium and the official Congolese Government undertake a rescue operation for white hostages being beaten to death ruthlessly by the rebels. (It will not be surprising to learn that this rescue operation also helped in rescuing some Indians).

## Sentimental

We see Africa through sentimental, somewhat patronising, eyes. We need to see Africa in its true perspective. A man is not necessarily better or more right if the colour of his skin is black or brown than if it is white.

Secondly, whether we like it or not, Africa has become a battleground where Red China has decided she is going to oust the Indians. We have failed to reckon that China is crossing swords in Africa not only with the Western powers but also with India. The Stanleyville rebels are financed by China. Some reports say that Mr. Oginga Odinga, Kenya's leftist leader, is also financed from the same source.

Thirdly, our Foreign Office needs to shed the hangovers of yesteryear and not go by cliches of "colonialists," and to assess situations afresh. For example, Mr. Tshombe in the past

gave not a little trouble to the United States when he was President of Katanga. Today the U.S. Government has altered its policy towards Mr. Tshombe, embarrassing though it may have proved initially. Our so-called experts in the Foreign Office on the Congo need seriously to rethink where India's true interests lie today.

Finally, and most important of all, let us stop seeking for popularity in Africa. The hunger for popularity is no substitute for a sound policy. We try to be all things to all men. Our foreign policy, therefore, lacks an edge. No one knows what India really stands for because we do not fight on moral issues. We agree to a resolution to supply arms to nations under colonial rule, although our own nation has set an example of winning freedom through non-violence.

## Praising Ourselves

India is losing all respect and initiative in world affairs. For this we have to thank our own foreign policy of the "low posture." We try to make up for our "low posture" by high praise of our own achievements. Note how we praised ourselves at the signing of the Indo-Ceylon agreement, to be later disillusioned when Mrs. Bandaranaike put Indians on a separate electoral register. More disillusionments are yet to come, because we have compromised on principle for the sake of expediency.

Our leaders need to shed once and for all the juvenile desire to quote other people's approval as a justification for our acts.

We need to make clear what India really stands for. Can we not have an India that stands for putting right what is wrong, both at home and abroad? Can we not build a nation, dedicated not in words but in acts, to eradicating corruption and gross inequality? It will take a decision on the part of our leaders both in their private and official lives. It will also need a decision in the lives of our ordinary people. An India that will be truly respected will be an India dedicated to remake the whole world and not one that seeks to cultivate and protect its own garden.

China today wants to divide the world, and especially Africa, on the

basis of colour. India must have a counter strategy not to divide the world on considerations of colour or class but only the basis of character.

## Divide and Rule

The old form of colonialism in Africa is dying. But before it has breathed its last, a new colonialism has arisen. Of the black man tyrannising over the black man, as in Ghana. Of the black man killing other black men, just because they belong to another tribe or region. Of yellow men who practise the traditional imperialist game of divide and rule—this time between black, brown and white.

Men who eat the bread of bitterness and drink the waters of hate will never keep Africa free. If Communist China feeds and fans this hate, cannot India dedicate herself to curing it? To take on this task is the real test of our love and respect for Africa.

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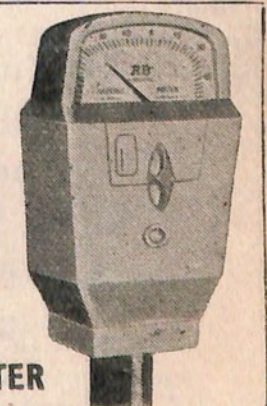
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## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Explosive Film Passed By Censors

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg

Once banned by the South African Government, Moral Re-Armament's Technicolor feature film "Voice of the Hurricane" had its commercial premiere to a packed audience here. "How this film ever managed to pass the censors here is a mystery," wrote *The Rand Daily Mail*. "That anyone at all should be allowed to see it shows that somehow the draught set up by the winds of change has made itself felt in the proper places."

"Voice of the Hurricane," the pent-up fury of African nationalism explodes in the face of European settlers. Its trail of violence strikes down friend and foe of the African's cause alike. In its wake, African and settler are confronted with the fact that it will take an idea greater than the white man's arrogance or the black man's hate to build a just society.

*The Rand Daily Mail* reviewer continued, "For the first time since cinema began someone has made a film that faces the problem of Africa squarely, that pulls no punches, talks turkey and produces a dialogue between black and white that no one should miss. No one who sees it can remain unmoved or undisturbed."

*The Johannesburg Star*, largest daily in South Africa, calls it "one of the most provocative films ever to be screened in this country. It is something that must not be missed either by thinking people or by those who prefer not to think about politics in Africa. It does not stop at clarification of racial hatred and fear—it puts forward a challenging theory as to how this can be overcome."

The film has been extended for a further week. Excellent houses have marked all evening performances.

Though still banned for those under 18 years, the cinema has cancelled its usual matinee programme to run "The Voice of the Hurricane."

*Progress* the official Transvaal organ of the multi-racial Progressive Party in its November issue says, "This is a film which must be seen by every South African."

### Britain's Cash Crisis

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

PRIME MINISTER WILSON has cried "wolf" about the British economy so convincingly that other nations have believed him and feared for sterling. The cash crisis may have been a Conservative legacy, but the confidence crisis was certainly induced by Labour. Now eleven nations have

come to the rescue with \$3,000 million credit.

Many endorse the *Financial Times* indictment, "Labour's main faults have been their tendency to under-rate important things like markets and foreigners, which its traditional philosophy does not cover."

*The Times* editorialises, "The only thing that will solve Britain's problems is the long overdue re-awakening of the British people. The politicians must make the call without thought of party. The Government can set the scene. Only good management and hard work by the people as a whole will accomplish the end. Somehow or other the fact has to be driven home that all classes sink or swim together. For the greatest myth of all is that salvation can come out of selfishness."

### "Misuse of Freedom"

FROM FROWIN JUNKER

West Berlin

GERMANY, which once yielded to dictatorship of fascism, is now in danger of a new dictatorship. The Council of Protestant Churches in Germany has taken a strong stand against the growing "dictatorship of immorality" which Christians should be ashamed of, it stated.

The statement proclaimed in all Protestant churches and broadcast nationally, states, "The signs of moral perversion in our public and private life are growing in alarming proportions. Magazines and books contain articles and photos which, under the disguise of studying society, describe sex and human perversion in a manner offensive to human dignity. Films splash intimacies of private life and portray cruelty. Alcohol and preoccupation with sex are destroying countless marriages. Brutal disregard of each other turns our highways into places of horror. We are in danger of yielding to a dictatorship of immorality."

The declaration urges the people of Germany to "wake up to these facts and to start anew." "We are called," say the Protestant church leaders, "to be masters of our wealth, not to forget the great needs near and far, to enjoy God's gifts with measure and gratitude, to make use of the flood of entertainment after careful selection, also to encourage all good productions of the press and film, radio and television, and to give our youth a new and sound concept of marriage and family, life and future."

## East Europe After Khrushchev

From Pierre Spoerri

Our European Correspondent writes from Vienna

A POLISH cabinet minister said recently to an Austrian minister, "We know that Europe's future will not be controlled by Communism. But it will not be controlled by the present form of Western capitalism either. Which idea will control it?"

Discussions of this nature have become common amongst the representatives of the younger generation of Eastern Europe. Just after Khrushchev's fall, the Budapest correspondent of the Viennese paper *Die Presse* described the atmosphere in the Hungarian capital as one of "panic and fear". Then an amazing thing happened. Several dozen students marched to the headquarters of the government paper to cheer Khrushchev and the Hungarian Premier Kadar. This was all the more surprising as it was Kadar who had put down the student revolution against the Communist government eight years ago.

Even in Moscow, the students of the huge Lomonossov University demanded an explanation of Khrushchev's removal. Three hundred of the 40,000 students attended this "explanation session" and the authorities had to swallow it when the students enthusiastically applauded a speaker who underlined the fallen leader's merits in advancing the revolution.

### Soviet Union

The same determination not to let the new Kremlin leaders return to the practices of the pre-Khrushchev era can be read in the speech of an Italian Communist youth leader, who wrote after a trip to Moscow: "We have liberated ourselves for good from party dictatorship. Movements that want to renew and transform society can develop outside the Communist parties also or even in opposition to them."

That the new rulers watch the evolution in the youth of Eastern Europe with concern can be seen from the declaration of Marshal Rodion Malinovsky before the session of the Central Committee which condemned Khrushchev. Malinovsky attacked his former colleague for having injected into the youth "militarily irresponsible pacifist ideas".

But no Malinovsky, Kosygin or Brezhnev will be able to stop the process of discussion among the youth, where no subject is taboo anymore. The question of "God" and religion finds its way frequently into newspaper columns. Even members of the "Komsomol", the Communist youth organisation, have admitted in letters to their paper that they had started to believe in God and that the official atheistic theory did not satisfy them any more.

In Poland, a group of courageous sociologists took a poll among university students on the question: "Are you a Marxist?" Only 1.8% of the students answered with a clear "Yes", 34.1% answered with a clear "No". There were 11.4% weak Yes's and 33.7% weak No's, with the rest staying uncommitted. The same students, however, were convinced—70% of them—that the future order of society in the world would be a socialist one.

### East Germany

Another point of violent discussion is the question of moral standards. In an East German newspaper the ideological boss, Gerhart Eisler, rejected the complaint of a student who was refused a common bedroom with his girlfriend in a hotel. Eisler said that everything which strengthens the institution of marriage was in the interest of socialist society.

In Eastern Germany, Professor Havemann, lecturing to 1,500 students, proclaimed that "good and evil develops in man only through his contact with society." In the discussion afterwards, students furiously attacked this concept. They asked why crime and injustice were on the

increase in Eastern Germany even after the introduction of the Communist system.

The future thinking of Eastern European youth will be much affected by the contacts they have with their counterparts in the West. From Hungary alone last year, 70,000 people travelled to the West, and 200,000 Westerners visited Hungary. Similar figures apply to the other countries. From Poland, 400 writers left their country for longer trips abroad, while 200 foreign writers visited the East European nation.

### Hungary

What happens when Eastern and Western youth meet? An Austrian student told us about his trip to Budapest last summer. He said, "Our contact with Hungarian youth resulted in a lower discipline on both sides. They quickly absorbed such things as twist, strip-tease and Western clothes. But we had nothing deeper to give them."

Cardinal Koenig, the man charged by the present Pope and by his predecessor, John XXIII, to negotiate with the governments of Eastern Europe; has said that the youth of the East will not be satisfied by hearing that the West has more cars, more of this and more of that. He says that their hunger is much deeper.

Who, or what, will satisfy this kind of hunger? It will take governments and individuals who train themselves to demonstrate a society more just and more revolutionary than the one shown in Eastern Europe. If Western Europe refuses to take on this job, the crop of East European hunger will turn into a harvest of disappointment and hate.

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## MULTIPLYING MILLIONS

God appears to the poor man in the form of bread, said Mahatma Gandhi. To assure food for all is an essential responsibility of government. Not to guarantee a certain minimum for the population will lead to violence, anarchy and dictatorship.

Food is scarce in India and, from the predictions of all knowledgeable sources, will continue to be scarce unless there is a revolution of method and motive in agriculture.

The 1962-63 report of the Food and Agricultural Organisation points out that food production per capita is running below prewar levels in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is likely to fall further during 1963-64. Food imports under PL 480 have reached the astounding figure of 600,000 tons a month.

The so-called underdeveloped countries of the world which now have a population of 2.2 billion will have 5 billion people (three quarters of the total world population) by the year 2000. Food production would have to be quadrupled in these countries to meet the growing need.

If, however, the present trend continues, India, Pakistan and China will face serious famines in the early seventies. In the next ten years, India must increase her food supplies by 75 percent.

### Propaganda

It is idle to bemoan the growing population, as economists and politicians are doing, and escape the problem of revolutionising production by talk of population control.

The vast sums of money spent on propaganda and facilities for family planning have produced no result. The report of the Census Commission office on the latest sample survey on birth control, conducted in May-June of this year, states that the family planning programme has made no impact on India. The effort, time,

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## Less People or More Food?

An Indian View by R. Vaitheswaran

money, spent year after year is a waste. Our birth rate continues at 40 per thousand. With a declining death-rate, we are increasing at the rate of 2.2 per cent, ten millions every year.

### Innocent Dupes

The economists who see the world only in terms of abstract figures, whether of people or resources, the growing army of social workers and "emancipated" women who have acquired a vested interest in the business of birth control, and the vast numbers of innocent dupes who have let themselves be brainwashed from radio, press, public meeting and text book, do not, however, accept defeat. Since all other methods have failed, they want to impose sterilisation on a mass scale on India's millions and legalise abortions.

The time has come to cry halt to these men and women who, in the name of the economic god, want to destroy the very foundations of morality and faith in the true God.

The effectiveness of family planning as a population check in underdeveloped economics is dubious. Its impact on traditional morals, which is the cement of society, is enormous and pernicious. We may thank God that the effects have not penetrated the countryside. The social revolution following a breakdown of traditional morality in the villages can be disastrous for the country.

The impact on the younger generation which has less strong links with tradition anyway has been to encourage boys and girls to break the "rules." This filip to license and the throwing overboard of the natural protection of our social inhibitions and of conscience, is leading to a denial of morality altogether.

Population control is not only an economic problem. It is even more a moral and social problem and should be treated as such. Economic planners who may or may not produce an improvement in the standard of living, will certainly produce a generation that is self-centred and sex-centred if they magnify population pressure as the major problem and birth control as the main solution.

Japan has legalised abortions but with alarming social consequences.

The 1964 white paper on crimes published only a few days ago notes "the alarming upswing in crimes committed by youngsters in the 14-15 year old bracket." The number of minors apprehended by police on charges of assault has increased nearly four times in the past ten years. Japanese authorities on juvenile delinquency are coming to realise that the bitterness and frustration that leads to violent outbursts and increasing crime is directly related to the assault on moral values during the American occupation and to so-called "population control" measures. They point to the rapid breakdown in the ties of family and in love of country.

State-subsidised family planning, mass sterilisations and abortions will thus create far more problems than they will solve.

### Unconstitutional

There is one other important angle. These methods are regarded by certain faiths as an offence and a sin. The constitution of India guarantees equal respect and equal rights to every religion. Surely, then, it is unconstitutional for taxpayers' money to be spent in propagating and subsidising artificial birth control.

Would the Government spend official funds in promoting beef-eating or pork-eating for economic reasons? Certainly not. Surely, the same principle must hold.

Taken together the resources of the world are adequate to feed mankind. This will call for redistribution on a far larger scale than the American PL 480 or Canadian and Australian sales to wheat to China and Russia. The world is moving in the direction of disinterested aid and economists who are pushing birth control might find themselves more profitably busy finding a new motive for world economy.

Nationally, the only effective way to ensure food for all is to produce it, increase the productivity of our soil, help to mechanise and industrialise our agriculture, provide cheap fertiliser and fair prices to the producer and assure him security of ownership and return on his land. A patriotic and prosperous agriculture is the best answer to growing population pressure.

## LIABILITY OR ASSET?

A British View by Roland Wilson

Is THE WORLD'S greatest adventure to be in checking the numbers of men and women upon it (even if we can, which many doubt), or in so stirring the heart, mind, conscience and hand of mankind that earth's crowning glory comes in providing for her multiplying millions?

The northern half of South America has the world's fastest population growth. There are 121 million people in that area now, and at the rate of increase of 3.2 per cent annually the population will double by 1986.

By 2000 A.D. the population of the continent of Asia alone will have risen to some 3,800 million people.

This swift growth throws populations out of balance. The youth predominate. We are told that in Kenya half the population are under sixteen years of age. In the United States there are now 41 million children under ten.

The economists tell us that even with all the work being done by government sponsored organisations, and private organisations, the problem of hunger is actually increasing, rather than getting less.

Do you wonder that some form of control of population is urged upon us, both by the facts we have to face and by the fears of folk who are concerned for the future of humanity?

How this problem is dealt with depends on how we look at life. Are people a problem, or are they an answer? Bring it nearer home. How many parents regard their children as a problem? How many school teachers regard their pupils as a problem?

The issue is not how many people we have, but how they live.

### Ten Times More

The scientists now tell us our world could sustain 35,000 million people—more than ten times the present number—provided its resources were developed by unselfish men with an agreed plan.

The Sahara, we are now told, can be reclaimed and made fertile. It can be done. It is bigger than Australia. The sea can yield limitless fresh water. From its riches fresh protein foods can be processed in constant supply.

A new petrol product is now being developed which can convert arid wasteland into productive soil. Liquids can be sprayed from aeroplanes

which cover vast areas quickly with nourishment for the soil. Television can reach thousands of small farmers in country areas of Africa and Asia, and train them swiftly in fresh means of cultivation.

Brazil claims that her fathomless natural resources are capable of providing for 900 million people. Something of the United States' productive capacity is seen in her present storage bill for surplus food which consists of one million dollars a day.

### Hazard for Man

I put to you that the answer to the population problem is not to cut down the numbers of people on the earth, but to take up together the gigantic task of patterning a way of life for the multiplying millions which ensures homes, food and a worthy purpose for all.

This ought not to be beyond the combined wit of God and man.

But the fact remains that in deciding to control birth, which is in effect life itself, we are taking into our hands the manipulation of a force about which we now know little, and about which we can never, in the nature of things, know all. We are dealing with unknown factors. Of course, if there is no power or wisdom outside ourselves, no life after death, no world of the spirit, then much of my argument, though not all of it, may be challenged. But if God reigns, if He has a plan for humanity, it is a high hazard for humanity to take over God's function.

Hunger is a scourge, and must be cured. But the fact that a child can be born who may be hungry may not justify you, in your human wisdom, in deciding that child shall not be produced.

When we get to the more advanced methods of checking procreation, other questions arise. The birth control pill is now in widespread use, though by no means all scientists are clear that its psychological and its physical effects will not prove dangerous. Some consider it could be linked with cancer growth.

Beyond this, a recent BBC broadcaster spoke freely about an abortion pill which is regarded as the best method of contraception. Intimacy would proceed uninhibited, and the moment a woman finds that she is with child, she would simply take a pill and that would be the end of it.

## MULTIPLYING MILLIONS

What is the dividing line between the birth control pill and the abortion pill? And at what point in the growth of the embryo does abortion by pill become murder by design?

A recent article in the *Daily Telegraph* quoted the Swedish Board of Medicine as saying (10th June) that Swedish doctors can consider it "fully defensible and legitimate to shorten the life of incurably ill patients." Few people have not, at one time or another, considered the doctor's dilemma. But most people fear and dread death control. It is putting a power in the hands of man which is rightly only in the hand of God.

Where will this process lead? Men are to decide whether, after the normal processes of procreation have taken place, the life-spark shall be ignited. It is a gigantic act of dictatorship. Men may then decide whether at some point the life-spark shall be extinguished.

### Only Method

I want to quote from a man the whole world respects and then reveal the man's name.

"There can be no two opinions about the necessity of birth control. But the only method handed down from the ages past is self-control. Artificial methods are like putting a premium on vice. They make men and women reckless.

"The reasoning underlying the use of artificial methods is that indulgence is a necessity of life. Nothing can be more fallacious... A society becomes further enervated by the adoption of artificial methods. Those men therefore who are lightheartedly advocating artificial methods cannot do better than study the subject afresh, stay their injurious activity, and popularise chastity, both for the married and the unmarried. That is the only noble and straight method of birth control."

Mahatma Gandhi wrote that. My quarrel with much current thought on birth control is that it debases man. For birth control, say what you will, is the opposite of self-control.

This is not to say that the answer to this urge in men and women is to repress it.

It is to say that the trough of sex is not the permanent place where man is meant to live. Never till he

(Continued on page 12)

# LETTERS

## STUDENT UNREST

Sir,  
I read Vice-Chancellor Dr. Jacob's letter with great interest. This problem has exercised me greatly. I agree with the Vice-Chancellor when he says the fault of flawed students lies in the court of the leaders. Agreed. But is the solution to it possible by recruiting "as teachers our best University products" and by paying them high salaries?

When the Vice-Chancellor says the best University product, does he mean academically or is he referring to the character of our educated people? Is there any machinery in the Universities capable of assessing a student's character? If the salary is what keeps a good man from teaching, surely good salaried professions must have good men. Do they? I would like to know which profession has them.

Does the Union Public Service Commission search for signs of character? Is it not always the physical appearance, the accent and urbanity and academical record that concerns them. Nobody ever mentions the need for manhood, courage, singleness of purpose and dedication, a sense of calling and other old-fashioned virtues.

We need fine men. We need a social system that honours good men not for the jobs they have been able to land, but for their worth as men. Send these men out on a good living wage to teach our boys and girls. In ten years, you will have a new country

R. R. MENON.

Bombay

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## TRACTORS ON LOAN

Sir,  
To increase food production, agriculture has to be mechanised. But it is not necessary for our farmers to have their own tractors. Tractors can be owned by "landless" individuals, private companies or the Government. They can sell "tractor service" to all farmers.

The farmers may be made to pay Rs. 5 per acre to the tractor owner. A small farmer owning, say, one acre of land could buy tractor service for just Rs. 5 instead of spending Rs. 300 or so to feed a pair of bullocks over a year. With all the land that is ploughed, there would be an enormous saving by replacing bullocks with tractors. This saving can be spent on fertilisers and production can be greatly increased.

ASHOK JAISINGHANI

Poona

## MULTIPLYING MILLIONS

is set aflame with a larger task and target, will he see sex in perspective, and put it in its rightful place. I have never met a man who has a master aim in life, for re-channelling men's motives and rebuilding a passionately unselfish society, who is at the same time ruled by sex and preoccupied with either indulging it or controlling it. His life finds a bigger balance and purpose.

Most of us know people alive today who were the seventh or eight child in a large family. My father was one of seven. As family planning is understood today, quite a large number of my cousins who are doing good work in the world would not be here. Quite a number of people who have shaped history would have been missed.

I have a sixteen year old daughter. She is intelligently interested in Moral Re-Armament, because she says she sees in it a way to "do something" about the world of tomorrow. She tells me that some of her generation feel preoccupation with sex is being imposed on them.

She is less concerned about it than many of those who assure the world how concerned about it she and her generation are!

I hope she marries and has a family. But I do not think the main concern of these young people will be safe ways of birth control—rather a safe, sane world for their children, a world they and their children can shape together.

## SUGGESTION FOR SLUMS

Sir,  
The Municipal Commissioner of Bombay has placed a scheme before the State Government to provide one-room tenements at a subsidised rent of Rs. 5 per month for families living in slums at present.

There is a report that industrialists are going to collect Rs. 5 crores for the Nehru Memorial Fund. Slum clearance was a problem much on Mr. Nehru's mind. It would be fitting if the Rs. 5 crores are used for the purpose.

If 50% of the cost is met by the Nehru Memorial Fund and 50% by the Municipal Corporation, two-room tenements could be made available, for Rs. 12 a month. May I suggest that of the Rs. 5 crores collected, 1 crore each be allocated to major cities like Bombay, Poona and Delhi.

MRS. INDIRA MAYDEO

Poona

(Continued from page 11)

The flood tide of human souls and bodies pouring out upon the earth, demands urgent practical measures. Above all, it demands a passionate passion for souls. We shall never make adequate provision for all these millions till we are possessed with a sense of the destiny of man, of man as the most miraculous of nature's creations.

Man is meant to find and forge a way of life which is the crown of civilisation. It will be a way of life together, a way of life which needs all of every man and every woman—his mind, hand and spirit. It will rise to heights unknown in history.

It is for this quality and calibre of multiplying man that we must now plan. Man's aimlessness requires cure as well as, and as much as, his homelessness. Famished minds must be nourished as much as famished frames. It is not one or the other that is needed, it is both.

The age is ripe for it. If men live greatly, the more of them on the earth the better. There is a love of humanity which goes beyond the reasoning of the statisticians, the calculations of the economist, and the lusts of the indulgent. It even goes beyond the love of a mother for her child.

It is a purposeful love, more potent than contraceptives, and it could build into the human race a permanent grace and quality which would enable it to use every vestige of the creative energy and gifts with which God has endowed it.

# YOUTH

## Don't Attack Us Students

by Neerja Chowdhry

TODAY the student world is in the bad books of the nation. We are in disgrace. We are being labelled as indisciplined troublemakers by our elders.

The truth is different. We are sick of rebelling, rioting and revolting. We're no longer satisfied by stopping trains. Our generation inherits a world which is smeared and distorted by the Orissas, Hollywoods and Pekings of today.

We have small and petty aims. We don't know what we're living for, where we are going, what we're heading for. It's going to be our world tomorrow. After all we will have to live here for the next 50 to 60 years. We can no longer wait for our politicians to get us out of the mess—most of them are too busy squabbling and quarreling and clawing each other. We can no longer depend on our businessmen—most of them are far too engrossed in making money for themselves. We're no longer taken in by pious words of our elders, which don't mean a thing, because they have not lived them out themselves.

The authorities try and keep us quiet, so that we don't make things uncomfortable for them. Just the other day I went to a Youth Festival, where I was told cultures from all over India blended to produce unity and harmony. Everything was organized and laid out beautifully. (I don't know how many lakhs were spent on it). So much was done for the delegates that they did not even have a part in creating their own festival, except sing a few songs, present a few dances and dramas.

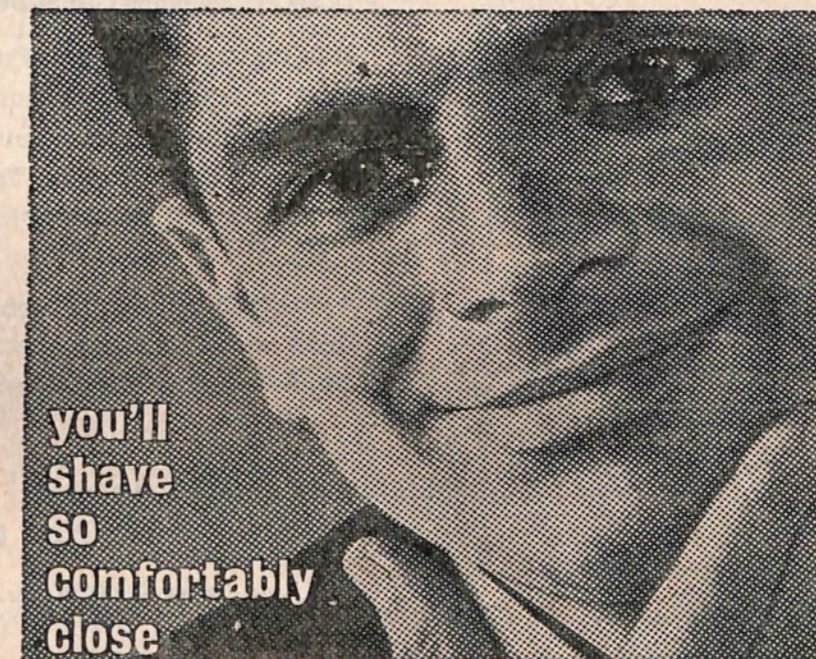
I interviewed a participant who said, "We have a meal and culture, another meal and culture, and when we get bored we go and sit in the cafeteria and order something." It was expected that by lumping the students together, by giving them meals from different regions, comfortable beds, and "culture," national integration would be created. The result was growling, complaint upon complaint piling up, and a colossal amount of lethargy and flirtation. I was horrified to see a Kannada play booed down, hooted and shouted at by the "nationally integrated" stu-

dents. (There were other signs of national disintegration!)

We have met men at the helm of our country's affairs who are sitting back and waiting for doomsday to arrive, because they put their positions before the nation, and have not the guts to speak out. They have lived their lives. We have ours to live. Our world is crumbling. The question our generation faces is—will we break with it, or will we remake it? Are we merely going to hide in cosy nooks of dark smokey restaurants? Will we keep running away from realities, or will we have the

guts to rise and say, "We will not let this happen again. We will work hard, we will sweat, sacrifice, we will live straight, and build a new nation with our own hands."

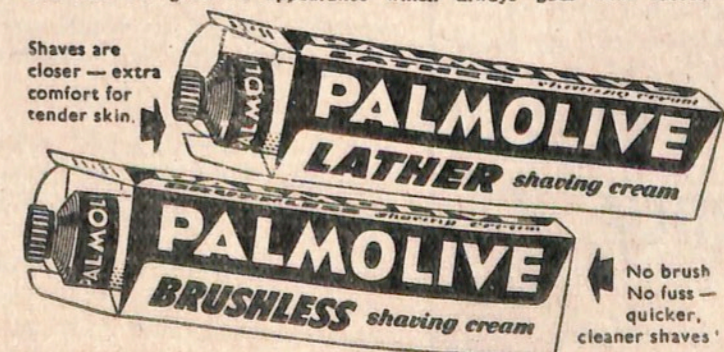
We cannot, and we will not, be contained in a small box. We're hungry for an answer, for something so big and challenging that will demand a hundred per cent of us. We do want our nation to be great, we do want to be men and women who will give a new lead to Asia and the world. We believe this is the most modern and progressive thing to do.



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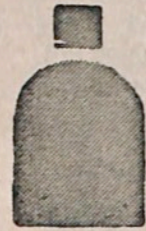


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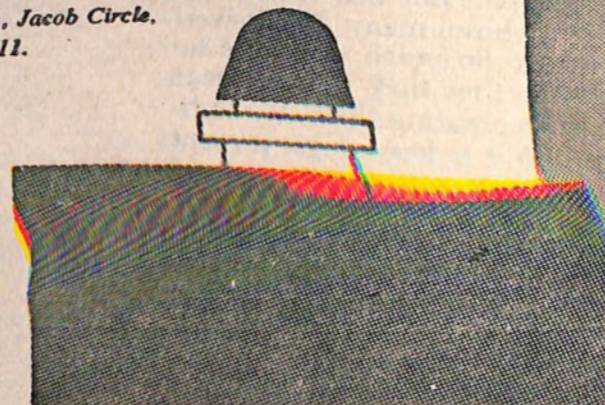
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## FOR WOMEN

### What Is Faith?

FAITH is what you decide to live by.

Most people have faith in something—in themselves, their abilities and brains, in their bank balances, or in other people. Very few people have a real faith in God and live as though they had it.

One of the greatest scourges of our society today is cynicism. Cynics do not believe in anything except themselves. Such people are deadly because they destroy the faith of people who come in touch with them.

Parents who are cynics deliberately destroy the idea of God from the

minds of their children so as to be comfortable themselves. Instead of encouraging them towards Him, they push them towards a career, a job, or into the arms of a man or a woman.

FAITH—Forsaking All I Take Him. Forsaking all things that enthrall and hold us, like love of praise, comfort or affection of people, we choose God. Faith comes when we decide to put God first in our lives and obey Him rather than any other living man or woman. And it comes through a decision.

### QUIZ FOR WIVES AND MOTHERS!

*In the quiz below four possible answers are given. Choose your answers honestly, writing down (a), (b), (c) or (d). When completed look below for HIMMAT's assessment of the picture.*

1. What do I do when I realise my husband is hiding things from me?

- (a) get sour and bitter
- (b) search my heart to see if there is anything I have hidden from my husband and put it right
- (c) ask him outright what he is hiding
- (d) concentrate on keeping the children happy and unaware of it.

2. What do I do when my child brings home a dirty book?

- (a) snatch it from him and hide it
- (b) scold him and read it myself
- (c) make him understand what happens to the character of a nation whose people let their energies go the wrong way
- (d) talk to him calmly and persuade him not to read it

3. What do I do with my spare time?

- (a) read the juiciest novel I can find
- (b) go to the latest film
- (c) enjoy a gossip with my friends over a cup of coffee and bridge
- (d) plan with my friends how to answer the problems of our homes and our nation.

4. What is my duty when I realise my husband is cheating on taxes?

- (a) to report to the authorities and hope to get 10%
- (b) to rejoice that we are saving money in spite of a guilty conscience
- (c) to make a decision to live straight for the sake of the country and invite my husband to do the same
- (d) to go to the temple and pray that no one will discover

5. What do I want most for my children?

- (a) a world at peace
- (b) a successful career
- (c) for them to play an effective part in helping to build a decent society for all men and nations
- (d) health, wealth and a happy marriage

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS. If you have Less than 2

Beware! Your home is on a very shaky basis.

2-3

Take an honest stock of the situation. Your home is not yet giving your children the character they need.

4

Your home has a sound basis but your aim is too small. It does not yet help to create other sound homes.

5

Congratulations! You are the kind of mother India needs. You must take on to raise other such mothers.

#### QUIZ ANSWERS

1—(b); 2—(c); 3—(d); 4—(c); 5—(c)

When faith is a stronger force in our life than "what I want", it moves mountains.

Canon Streeter, the famous scholar and educationist from Oxford, said: "Faith is closely akin to courage. It is a practical attitude which favours adventure and is willing to take risks. It's opposite is not ignorance but excessive caution, worry and despair."

Faith and fear cannot live in a human heart at the same time. One has to be given up to make room for the other.

Faith is not meant to be like a cushion or a pair of crutches. It is not something to make us feel good, better or clean. It is a dynamic militant out-going force in a person or a nation to transform society, lead humanity, and restore God as the rightful ruler of this world.

To do that faith needs to become a revolutionary passion in a person's heart.

St. Paul and the early Christian revolutionaries had very little of the material things of life or polish or culture. But they had this blazing burning conviction for God that worked miracles and led them to shake and change the world.

It is a tragedy of our present age that those nations who profess to have faith live lives that are a sham, a mockery of their belief. And those nations who say they do not believe in God, are waiting, seeking to find something that would really satisfy and show them the way.

What we need today are men and women who will:

- Dare to be a Daniel
- Dare to stand alone
- Dare to have a purpose true
- Dare to make it known.

Women are meant to be defenders of the faith in the home and the country, and can set it ablaze for God.

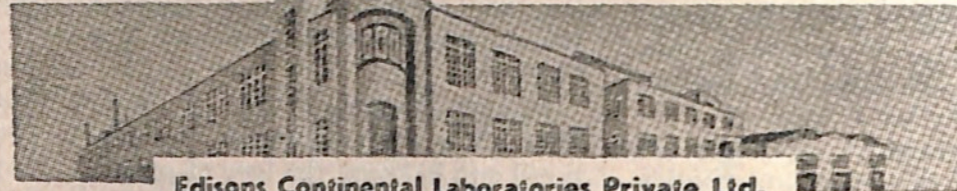
The world today is waiting for one nation to live out fully what it believes in its national life, its political life, its industrial life and its home life.

Then the Communist world will find what they have been looking for and believe in Him. Together the Communist and non-communist worlds can listen and find His plan for the entire earth and create the true brotherhood of man.

FRENY R. LALA



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## This was a life

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

1506-1552

FRANCIS XAVIER, the "Apostle of the Indies," had much experience of dealing with corrupt officials. It was no use, he found, asking civil servants in general terms if they had stolen anything. They answered "No" from force of habit. They had to be asked specifically: have you helped yourself to government revenues or taken a slice from wages of others, or kept for private sale goods which should have gone on the free market? "Make sure they make restitution," Francis warned a friend, because "they are very ready with promises...but very slow afterwards to carry them out."

Born in Navarre, Spain, in 1506, Francis studied in Paris, where he shone more as an athlete than a scholar. Then he decided to give his life to serve God and his fellow men. His love of men was practical rather than philosophic—teaching, tending the sick, wrestling with foreign languages so that he could reach the millions of Asia.

"Let no-one imagine he will be a success in great things if he has not first shown his quality in little, lowly things," he said. "To work is a grander thing than to talk."

Francis has been called the "Saint in a hurry." In 1542 he was appointed Apostolic Nuncio for missionary work in India and the Far East. He travelled thousands of miles by sea and on foot through India, Japan and Indonesia. He died in 1552 on Shang-chwang, an island off the Coast of China.

Warned that the Chinese might kill or imprison him if he succeeded in reaching the mainland, Francis replied, "It is better to be a captive for the love of God than to be at liberty through fleeing from the labours of the Cross."

His body was exhumed in 1553 and was brought to Goa in 1554. In 1662 Francis was declared a saint.

"He always seemed happy," said one who knew him. "The charity and jubilee of his spirit overflowed into his countenance and lit it up with joy," said another.

Francis is the patron saint of Catholic missions. Christian, Moslem and Hindu honour his remains in Goa. He was a saint who showed what man can be; he was in a hurry to blaze a trail all men could follow.

## 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 — Shouldn't English be retained in India for the present and, in fact, for a considerable time?**

B. J. SESHKAR, Vizianagram.

**A —** It certainly should be. The man is odd who believes that dumping English is necessary to prove our patriotism.

World events affect India more than events inside the country. We won't comprehend them speedily if we give up English.

Throwing away English will mean the acceptance of a backward status in science and technology.

It will be equally foolish to let our Indian languages die. Indians wishing to make India great must use their own languages with skill and effect.

To champions of Hindi I say: use your talents and passion to make Hindi modern and simpler. Add to its vocabulary new and manageable words—which Hindi needs badly. This would be a better service to Hindi than debates, petitions and conferences—usually in English—to enforce Hindi on the entire country.

**Q — The pact with Ceylon "stateless" Indians is ill-advised and hastily concluded. Do you agree?**

VASUDEVA SINGH, Madras.

**A —** Agreed.

The majority of the 5½ lakh "state-

less" people who are to quit Ceylon do not know India. Most of them have no relatives here. Not only they but their parents and grandparents were born in Ceylon.

Our Government signed the agreement hoping it would win Ceylon's support against China and Pakistan. This support has yet to come.

Our weakness is that we have either ignored Ceylon or appeased her Government out of fear. Let us, as a people, as a government, invite Ceylon to be a great partner in a struggle far more important—and interesting—than anti-colonialism. A struggle to give food and faith to every Asian family. If we do that, Ceylon will want more people of Indian origin, not less.

**Q — What are the essentials for the success of national integration in India?**

K. M. YUSUF, Calcutta.

**A —** First, honesty. We fight caste against caste, sect against sect, state against state, language against language and class against class, because each feels his group is the best and the ablest. If we are really honest about ourselves, about all that we have done and all that we are liable to do, we cannot feel superior to any other man or group.

Second, India must find a global job. Politicians who only want votes and power will inflame ambitions, hates and jealousies that destroy national integration. Statesmen whose aim is to build a more decent world will want the participation of Indians of all castes, creeds, states, languages and classes.

If we produce statesmen with these transformed motives, we shall have national integration. If we don't, we shall only have functions, festivals, symposiums—and disintegration.

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# India's Spirit Shouts

by Rajmohan Gandhi

"TINCTURE IODINE won't do it. What India needs is amputation!"

Who made this remark last week? An Orissa student? A Naga fighter? A Communist? Dr. Lohia? A capitalist?

No, it was, in fact, a Central Cabinet Minister who made this remark. He made it in private conversation in New Delhi. "Don't quote me," he made plain.

"The politicians have gone astray," says the President. Calling the national position "unsatisfactory", the President adds that if this is not checked in time the consequences will be very serious. He has advised politicians to temper prestige with self-control, charity and compassion.

I am glad the President has spoken out. But it will take more than self-control and compassion to prevent a national crash.

As the Minister says, we need amputation. Not the kind of amputation some people foolishly suggest in coffee houses, tea shops and drawingrooms—"iron rule", flogging and hanging. Such an amputation is cheap and easy and has never worked in any land. It can never work in this sprawling nation. Dictatorship in India will be both cruel and inefficient.

## Sharp Sword

India needs a cure more modern than tyranny and deeper than bloody revolution. India needs and hungers for a revolutionary transformation in the character and aim of our leaders.

Lust for prestige, love of power, hate of rivals, craving for indulgence and fear of man—these have to be amputated.

Men who can wield the sharp sword of a moral revolution to cut these out in themselves and their colleagues—that is the country's need.

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri urges humility. Officials touring villages must not move about in jeeps, he says. The common man must feel we are one of them, he adds. He is right, of course.

The Pope comes to India in a spirit of humility, as a pilgrim.

Indians respect him for this, are proud of the visit and grateful for the honour.

Pope Paul's visit is a good moment for India to understand the difference between humility and bogus humility. St. Paul, Christ's daring and dynamic apostle, was humble. "Chief of sinners, I" was how he described himself. He meant it, too. He knew that without God's daily grace he would be a selfish man.

## Firm Before Man

But his honesty about his nature did not prevent him from proclaiming the truths he believed before powerful rulers, religious leaders, intellectual snobs and all. St. Paul was humble before God and firm before man.

He paid for this, of course. He served prison sentences, was thrashed times without number, flogged, beaten with rods, stoned, shipwrecked and finally had his head severed by the sword.

Joan of Arc was a French peasant girl of fifteen. She was humble. She was aware of her foolishness and her cowardice without God. But in God's name and at His command, she made men out of men and a king out of the timid, falsely modest occupant of the French throne, and led her country to freedom.

India's spirit shouts for the humility of St. Paul and of Joan. And the humility, in fact, of Gandhi who said in his auto-biography, "There is none so wretched before God as I," and who yet took on his shoulders the task of liberating India's millions from domination's chains and other ancient drags.

It is not only odd but alarming that those who laugh at character and God are defiantly arrogant whereas those who want self-control, compassion and integrity are often cautious and tentative.

Lenin declared his aims when he stated, "Our revolution shall never be complete until the myth of God is abolished from the mind of man." Today Mao wages this

fight with all his audacity, shrewdness and relentlessness.

Where are the Indian leaders—and the world's leaders—who fight for God's moral and spiritual revolution with such determination? India is sunk if she cannot find them.

It is not a question of Communism versus anti-Communism. Many anti-Communists fight to destroy God and abolish any concept of morality with as great a ferocity as any Communist. Communists can change and take to the new revolution as any non-Communist can.

When we want to fight for the truth, the worst possible thing to do is to mute our voices. When we do it, it is not out of humility. We do it because we don't want to offend anyone. We do it because we want a place of honour in the hearts of other men and women. We do it to enthrone ourselves and dethrone God in other hearts. It is arrogance.

What does India want to say to the Pope? And to the world, because the Pope, in a sense, represents the world?

Dignitaries attending the Eucharistic Congress in Bombay have praised India's tolerance. India can justly receive this tribute.

We don't want to promote or suppress a man because of his religion or race.

## Tolerating Evil

But India's message needs to be more than tolerance. Our disease is that while we are rightly tolerant of the religious convictions of others, we are wrongly tolerant of sin and evil and selfishness.

India must assure herself and the world that the moral re-armament of the nations, the war against materialism, is her aim.

India and Asia will not perish. A new generation has arisen who shun hypocrisy, who are humble, honest and daring and who have a revolutionary plan for the future of the Communist, non-Communist and non-aligned worlds greater and more satisfying than anything that has come out of Moscow or Washington or Peking.

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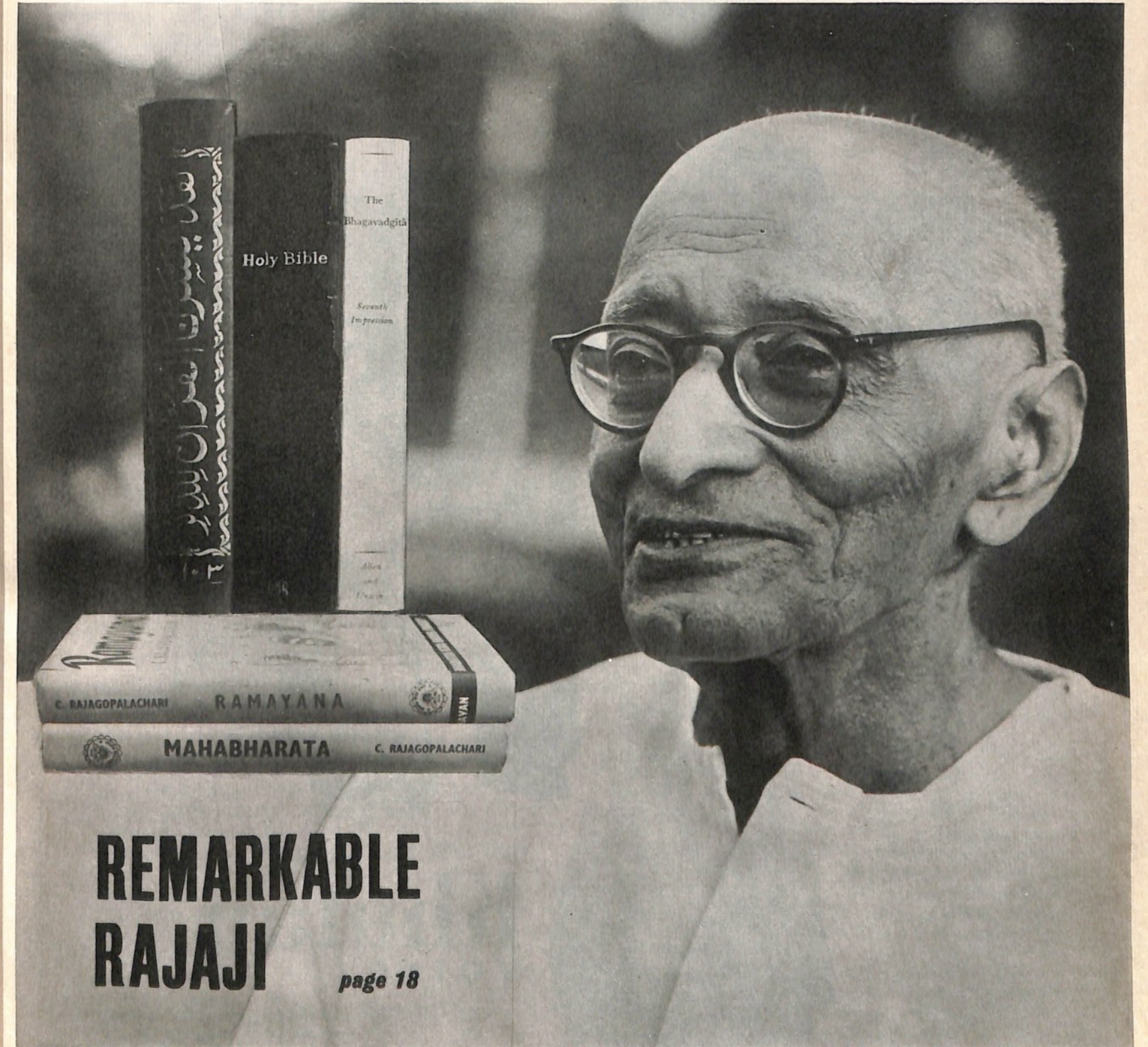
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