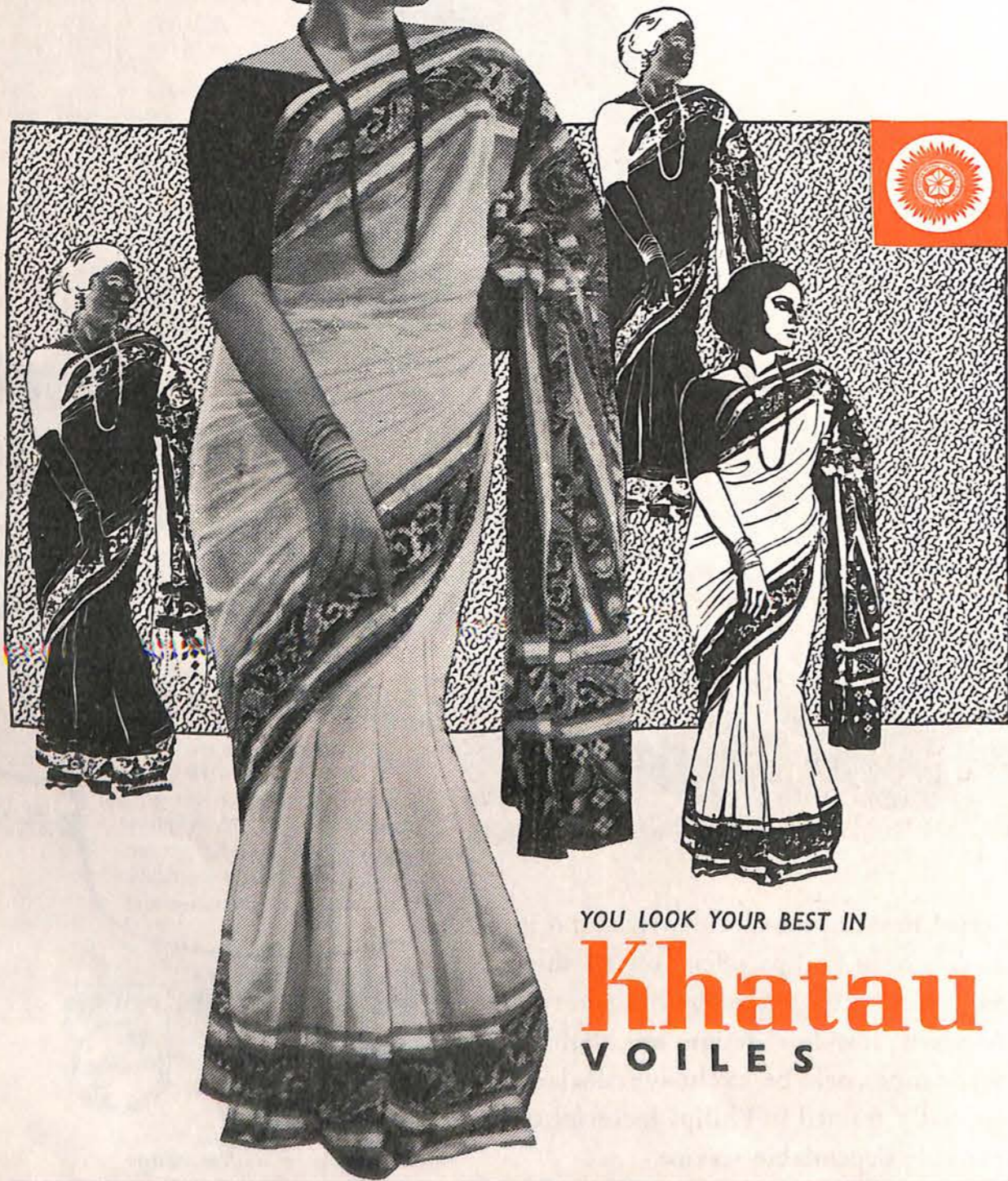


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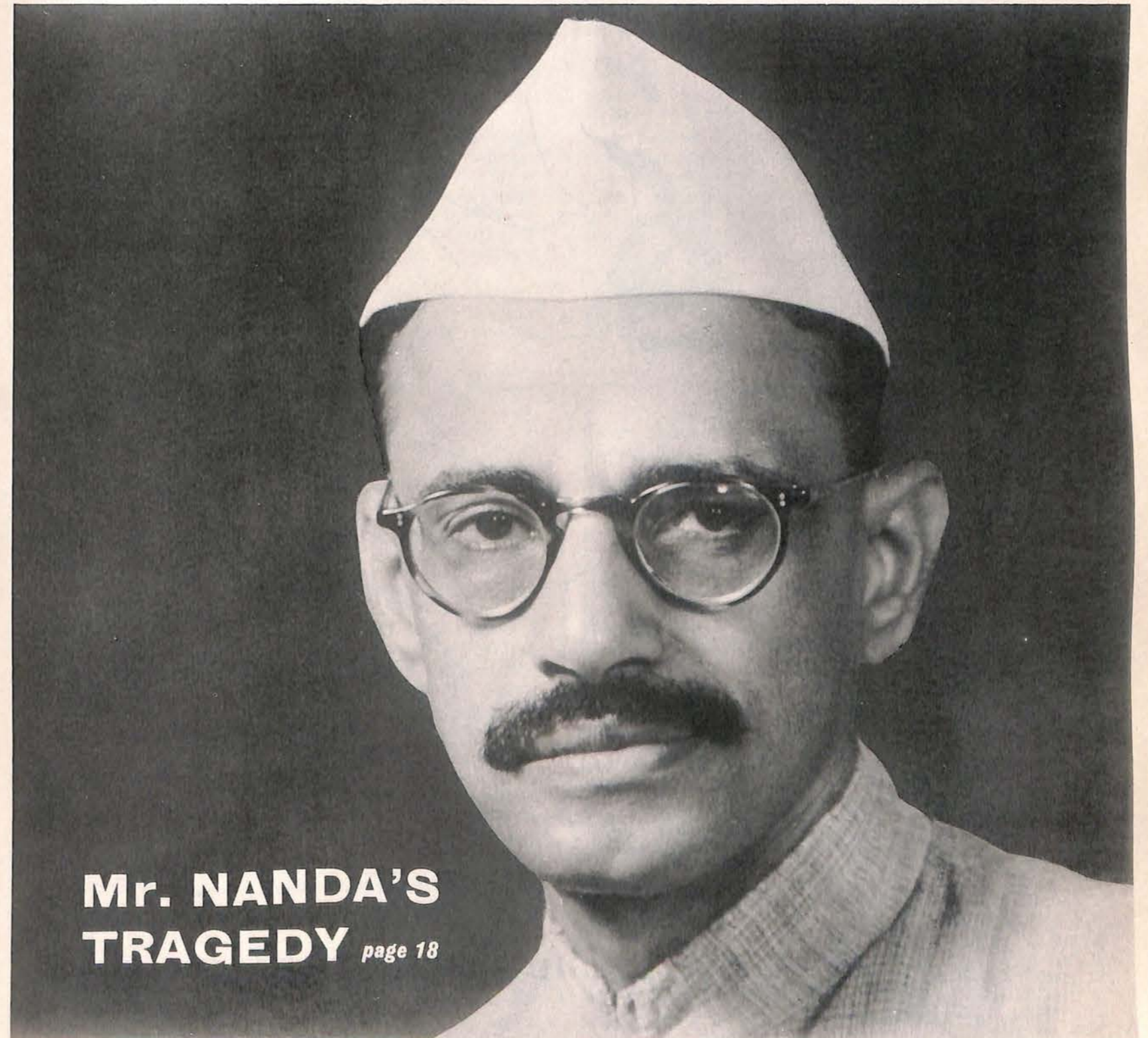
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HIMMAT

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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY



Mr. NANDA'S
TRAGEDY *page 18*

Friday
January 8
1965

WHY THE LEFT- WING ARRESTS	INDIAN STUDENTS IN USA A Himmat Report
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Bell Tolls in Asia

PEKING is winning in Asia while New Delhi exercises itself in denying any move for a nuclear umbrella and speaking in laudable terms of the need for disarmament.

India's lofty tones are no match for Peking's continuing diplomatic offensive. If Peking can't get into the United Nations it will try and break it. Indonesia's reported withdrawal from the U.N. is in furtherance of Peking's policy. Peking's aim is to create in Asia an anti-American block of nations and oust U.S. power from Asia. There will then be only one power to fill the vacuum—China.

Cambodia is soon expected to join the Peking-Djakarta axis. Peking will use the Algiers Conference to arouse Asian nations. U.S.A. will be target number one and India target number two.

Indonesia is the major ally of Peking. Ben Bella of Algeria is part of this axis. Former Indonesian premier Sastroamidjojo was with Ben Bella last week. Peking and Djakarta are trying to keep Malaysia and the Soviet Union out. Senior officials of India's Foreign Ministry will shortly visit free Asian capitals "to exchange views on the subject likely to come up before the conference." They travel mainly to plead entry of the Soviet Union and Malaysia. They have no challenging strategy to place before the nations of Asia and Africa.

The hour is late. Reports indicate that President Sukarno, who has kept the Communist and non-Communist balance so far, is very ill and not expected to last much longer. If he departs from the scene there are possibilities of civil war in Indonesia between the anti-Communist faction of the army and the largest Asian Communist Party outside Peking, led by Aidit.

The only way to meet the Peking-Djakarta axis is for India to work, as HIMMAT earlier suggested, on an India-Japan-Australia axis.

Indian leaders have been caught napping too often. If they are caught this time they cannot complain about the treachery of others.

Ayub Strengthened

FIELD-MARSHAL Ayub Khan is to be Pakistan's President for five more years.

His margin of victory over Miss Fatima Jinnah has surprised everyone. As one would expect, Pakistan's opposition leaders are alleging that President Ayub corrupted the 80,000 Basic Democrats to win. It is impossible to get the complete picture from India. Yet it seems highly unlikely that unfair means alone can explain Miss Jinnah's defeat.

President Ayub's mandate is strong. He is no longer just the man who has given firm rule to his

country. He can now claim he is also the representative of the people.

What will he do with this vital addition to his authority? Will he use it only to lengthen and strengthen his rule? Or will he use it to be bolder in an attempt to repair Pakistan's cleavage with India?

President Ayub will be less than a statesman if the desire for popularity pushes him farther from India and closer to Peking.

He will be a man of destiny if he stands up to pressures of small men and explores new ways of healing this subcontinent's wounds.

Hates, fears and memories are real on both sides. Mistakes have been made by both sides. Yet the history of centuries shows that Hindus and Moslems can live together. The liberty and dignity of man and the freedom to practise the faiths we believe in will perish in both lands if an honourable solution is not found.

Any Guts?

LATIN AMERICA is ready for revolution, says Peking. China's *People's Daily* carries the Mao regime's wish that Latin America should have "a second Cuba, a third Cuba and still more."

It was only a few months ago that Mr. Chou En-lai proclaimed after his African visit that that continent was "ripe for revolution."

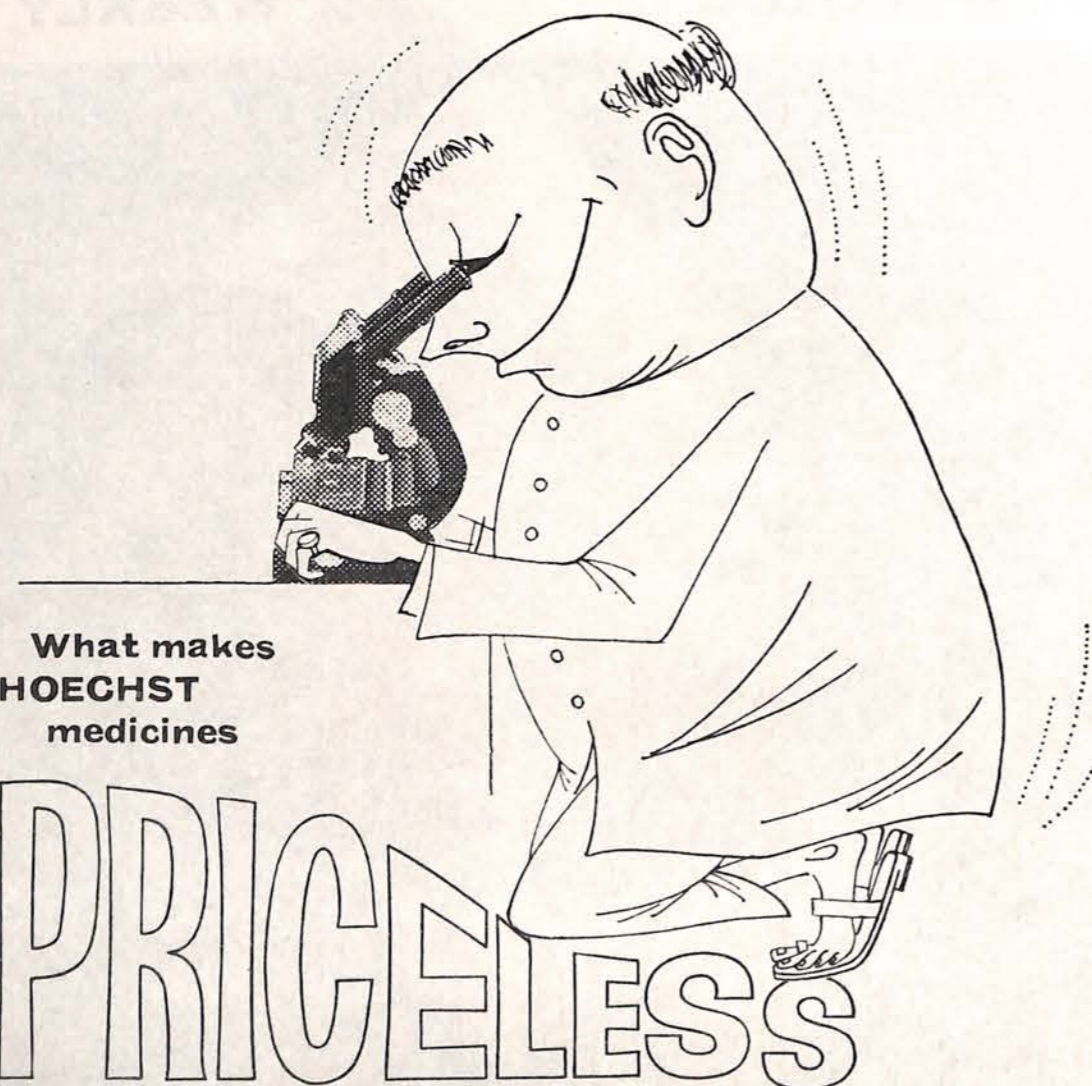
New Delhi and the rest of Asia would be foolish to regard these pronouncements as mere bombast. Peking has always backed her slogans with action. Her leaders are sworn to world revolution. They want a Red Earth. And they want to be the kings of this Red Earth.

Committed Chinese Communists, therefore, walk and work in Africa and Latin America. Chinese money flows there. Chinese arms are available there for those who want insurrection.

Your leaders are audacious, China. What a pity that they are audacious for such an out-of-date idea as Communism. They are right in burning against the injustices of capitalism. But they are backward in believing that Communism can cure man's exploitation of man. It has been tried and tested in many countries. Nowhere has it succeeded. It cannot succeed because it does not deal with the greed, hate and fear in men that are responsible for the injustices of society.

The real question, Mr. Mao and Mr. Chou, is whether China is ripe for the *true* revolution. Do you have the guts, leaders of Peking, to experiment with a revolution of human nature that can swiftly right the wrongs of society?

The day will come—and people everywhere must blaze for it to come soon—when some nations will spread this modern revolution with the tenacity Chinese rulers show for their old-fashioned one.



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Briefly Speaking...

Orissa Again

THE SPECIAL sub-committee of the Indian Cabinet on Orissa affairs has decided there is no *prima facie* case of personal corruption against Messrs. Patnaik and Mitra. Only some "administrative improprieties" have been found.

Those who have waged a war against the Patnaik-Mitra combine believe that although the present report has let them off, the Prime Minister, after studying the report, is likely to request the two gentlemen concerned to step down in order to keep up democratic traditions.

Will they respond to the kid glove technique or even if they do who will succeed the *gadi* in Orissa?

End To Hatred?

THE CONGRESS Party is planning a bill to inflict severe punishment on those spreading communal hate. That's fine. But hatred is hatred whether it is communal, of caste, of race, or of class. The Government needs to be firm and clear that its policy is against any form of hatred.



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To whip up hate against businessmen inside India and to acquiesce in the hate campaign of Africa and then to accept and preach the end of communal hate in India is a farce. An India totally dedicated to end hatred in all its forms is an India that can lead the world.

Waste Not

GERMANY'S biggest daily newspaper *Bildzeitung*, with a circulation of 4 million copies a day, has launched many political campaigns over the years. Its latest is directed against WASTE.

Statistics reveal that in West Germany alone foodstuffs worth over one and a half crores of rupees are thrown away every year. Three thousand families could live for a year on the amount of bread thrown away by school children out of their lunch boxes.

The paper has called for a nationwide campaign against this sort of waste especially in view of the hunger and undernourishment existing in many parts of the world. When affluent Germans can think of halting waste, could we in grain-hungry India rethink our eating habits?

Fascism?

MR. BIJU PATNAIK stated at a tribal welfare seminar that tribal children should be "isolated from their families and put in residential schools on a massive scale". This he claims will "de-tribe" them.

Is that the advice of a democrat? Have politicians got the right to take God-given children away from their parents even against their wishes? Of course in Communist China children were separated from their parents who were housed in communes. But when a member of a democratic body like the Congress Working Committee expresses such views, one begins to wonder whether the present Congress has any relation to the Indian National Congress of Tilak, Gandhi and Nehru.

R.M.L.

The week in Asia

India—Home Minister Nanda ordered the sudden arrest of over 700 organisers of the Leftist (pro-Peking) Communist Party. The Government charged that they were preparing for armed "revolutionary action" and described them as a "potential Fifth-Column of China." Communist Party Chairman Dange threatened that 500,000 volunteers were ready to protest against the arrests.

Malaysia—Chief-Designate of Britain's Defence Staff is expected in Singapore to review Malaysian defence against Indonesia's "Confrontation". Already 31,000 British troops are supporting Malaysia's 12,000 soldiers. Indonesia has 412,000 troops. Britain has launched a naval and air build up bigger than anything since the Korean war.

Indonesia—Communist Party Chairman D. N. Aidit "fully endorsed" President Sukarno's decision to take Indonesia out of the U.N.

Malaysia—Indonesian guerillas, captured here, claimed that Indonesia was setting up a Malayan Government and Army in exile, somewhere in Sumatra.

Japan—Prime Minister Sato declined an invitation to visit the Soviet Union. He is due in Washington January 12.

China—Radio Peking announced that the Panchen Lama has been dismissed from his posts for leading Tibetan serfs to carry out activities "against the motherland".

Guam—A second U.S. nuclear submarine with polaris missiles, the *Tecumseh*, is expected to join its sister ship *Daniel Boone* soon on patrols in Far Eastern waters. The submarines will base here.

Japan—Cabinet approved allocations of £301,400,000 for defence in 1965, an increase of more than nine per cent.

Malaysia—The Malaysian Government has rejected as "unacceptable" a U.S. offer of arms aid. The loan terms would have meant repayment in seven years at 5 per cent. "We are defending not only ourselves but also democracy in this part of the world," Defence Minister Tun Razak told Parliament.

Nepal—Dr. Tulsī Giri, Chairman of Nepal's Council of Ministers, hailed, "as a landmark in Nepal-China friendship", the completion of the first phase of the Khatmandu-Kodari Road being built with Chinese assistance.

India—Reports are circulating in New Delhi that China is preparing for her second nuclear blast. According to a Chinese refugee who escaped into Hong Kong, large areas of Sinkiang province have been cordoned off.

Why the Left-Wing C.P.I. Arrests?

By Our Special Correspondent

MR. G. L. NANDA and the Government of India have not told the Indian people the full truth about the arrest of leading men of the left-wing Communist Party of India. His broadcast to the nation on the subject is a rehash of facts about the left-wing group known for a long time—that they are pro-Chinese, that they support armed struggle, that they praise Mao Tse-tung, that they refuse to condemn China and instead blame India's intransigence in the border dispute, etc. (If this explanation is deemed sufficient now the Government of India must be considered grossly negligent of our national and international security for a long time.) What new facts about the left-wing group, if any, prompted this action is not explained by Mr. Nanda.

The Government of India is usually very sensitive to Russian reaction. Was this step discussed with the U.S.S.R. Government? What was their private reaction? Their public indignation even if expressed in the coming days will not mean much.

Right-Wing Jubilant

The right-wing group of the Communist Party will be privately jubilant. Dange's challengers are in prison. The road is open for their scheme of joining a coalition Government with the Congress as a stepping stone to total power. Is the Government of India as sensitive to the Dange design as to the left-wing conspiracy? India faces the danger of becoming blind to the wrongs of pro-Russian Communism in its hatred and fear of China and her agents in this country. Dange's design for a national government, which includes himself and his fellow-travellers inside the Congress, is as dangerous for India's freedom.

Dange is financed and supported in the chairmanship of the Communist Party by Moscow. The left-wing C.P.I. patently anti-national as it is, is not more subservient to Peking than

the Dange group is to Moscow. With their personal influence over important members of the Government and the boost their policies get from popular, pornographic-political journals they are a more immediate menace. Mr. Dange has been strengthened by this move.

Watch Dange!

The world Communist Movement is in a fluid state. Neither Moscow nor Peking want to continue their quarrel. Both of them want an understanding through which they can continue to exercise influence in the world, separately and together. Mr. Shelepin in a statement in Cairo predicted an end to the Sino-Soviet dispute soon. The indefinite postponement of a meeting of the Communist Parties in Moscow, the Moscow acceptance of Peking's proposal for a world disarmament conference to ban the bomb, indicate the trend.

The Government of India is depending on Russian and American approval of her foreign policy. Her greatest fear is the withdrawal of this support. America will be satisfied by the present show of anti-Communist strength. The Russians may not have been against this move. Dange's party is the Russian arm inside India.

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He is a man worth watching, with or without a Sino-Soviet split.

The Communists who are in jail were probably hatching a serious plot to overthrow the Indian Government. That was and is their openly expressed creed and policy. They will welcome Peking's help in their design. If Russia helps they will take Russian aid too. Their arrest may have been justified under these circumstances, though in itself it solves nothing. The Communists can never be answered by force alone. Mr. Nanda must offer to the Communists an ideology better than Communism. The world must learn that India stands for Moral Re-Armament just as Peking stands for Communism. This the Government of India must proclaim.

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A WORLD IN THE MAKING BEFORE THEIR EYES

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The Indian Administrative Service

THE INDIAN Administrative Service is the pillar on which our stability rests. Our civil servants have been among the ablest men of the nation. They have been the fortunate inheritors of a great tradition of independence and integrity from their able predecessors of the Indian Civil Service.

They remain very much a 'caste', whose links are more with each other than with those over whom they administer. They are still a rigidly stratified hierarchy of higher and lower officials, whose relations are strictly governed by a consciousness of "status". They are an isolated group of frustrated men who despise their "illiterate" political bosses from whom they take orders and hate themselves even more for their own compromise and cowardice.

They have multiplied in numbers as ministries and departments have proliferated, both in accordance with Parkinson's Law and in keeping with growing state power in a Socialist pattern of society. Their statutory power has increased enormously as legislation brings even wider sectors of the nation's life under state control. Their functions vary from the supply of milk to the production of steel, from the collection of land revenue to the management of gigantic industrial enterprises.

Multiplying Functions

The multiplication of functions has not been accompanied by greater training or capacity. Sadly, the increased importance of the services has not led to greater responsibility. The added importance of the bureaucracy has not led to a commensurate emphasis on character.

There has always been a certain amount of corruption in the services and it is probably true to say that the Indian Administrative Service still has some hardworking and honest men. But this is decreasingly so. More and more administrators feel they are entitled to a good life and exploit their power of decision to get what they want. They cynically proclaim that they are entitled to make money just like the others. Firm action against corruption is needed but it is foolish to expect that efforts to deal with administrative corruption without dealing with the corrupt

politician and the political sources of it in the increasing power of the state, will succeed. If Mr. Nanda is not to create a state of civil war between the political and administrative wings of Government and have a recalcitrant and uncooperative civil service on his hands, he must deal as firmly with the corrupt Minister as with the crooked administrator.

One of the most remarkable features of our administration is the slowness of movement of the papers from one clerk to another, the casualness with which papers are treated, (I know many instances of important papers being lost again and again, genuinely or otherwise), and the spinelessness of the officer where inefficiency of his staff is concerned. I suspect that often this is because

Under the Lens

there is an unholy alliance between boys and men in doing the wrong thing.

Even minor matters have to be decided by the top officials. Delegation of powers is at a premium in India. Some senior civil servants assure me that this is because the bigger officials like to make all the decisions themselves and hate to give away any of their power to subordinate officials. They enjoy the feeling of power. India is the land of the durbar. Ministers as well as administrators love to have a queue of petitioners humbly begging for licences, permits, quotas, ration cards, jobs, etc., etc. Most of these interviews would be totally unnecessary if cases were disposed of rapidly.

The same is true of the frequent trips to Delhi and other capitals for seminars, discussions, conferences, etc. Most civil servants I have talked to have frankly admitted that these meetings end in no decisions and are a waste of time and money. It is a wonder how things do get done at all when so much of the time of the civil servants is taken up with interviews, meetings and conferences.

Our Prime Minister would have the civil servant go to the people, mingle with our millions. It is true that civil servants should occasionally

get an idea of the mood and mind of the masses, but the problem is more one of ensuring that he gets adequate time at his office desk and is able to enforce speed and despatch among his subordinates.

An able and honest civil servant said, "We are cynical because the present system of election puts a premium on wickedness and the most charming and corrupt are the most successful. We have to take orders from these men."

There is no doubt that one of the unfortunate features of the present administration is its growing dependence on the political bosses. But the I.A.S. officer has himself to blame if he surrenders his responsibility and toadies to his Ministers. The ablest Britishers established a precedent of service to India, and there are not a few instances where they have fought courageously for the interests of this country as against their own home country. They often risked their promotions and even their jobs. The I.A.S. officer tends to be a man who is extremely fearful of displeasing his Minister even at times when his integrity is compromised or his convictions ignored.

Inviting Dictatorship

Many top-ranking civil servants admit that if the present confusion is allowed to continue, dictatorship is inevitable. I suspect that quite a few would prefer such a change, so strong is their contempt for their present masters. Yet they must know that if dictatorship ever comes to India, not only the selfishness and short-sightedness of the politician but the cowardice of the administrator will be responsible.

Many Indian civil servants risked their jobs under British rule for their convictions. Some were thrown out or resigned. The civil servants of today face a greater danger to our freedom. Even the most cynical of them must have some love for their country. Will they now risk something to restore not only efficiency and integrity to the administration but also unity and greatness to India? The hour demands responsibility, patriotism and moral courage of the I.A.S.

R. VAITHESWARAN

Indian Students in the U. S. A.

A special survey based on interviews between Indian students and HIMMAT special correspondents.

LAST YEAR more than 14,000 young Indians travelled abroad to study and seek a foreign degree. Nearly half of them chose the United States. In fact, next to Canadians, the Indians were the largest group out of the 64,700 foreign students attending over 1800 American colleges and schools. Sixty-seven per cent had already graduated from Indian universities before they left for higher studies.

A remarkably small percentage of the Indian students rely on scholarships. By far the majority get their own jobs and, like a lot of their American counterparts, "work their way through college."

"This is a hardship at first," said a Bombay student, "especially as people here work harder than we do in India."

But it is not all plain sailing, as an accountancy student pointed out. "Many suffer from the wrong notion they get from countrymen who return home after working for years on high salaries," he said. "Many come without making proper arrangements for tuition and once here they are often disappointed to find themselves without the jobs they hoped for."

Though customs and social life is in marked contrast to the life the students have at home, a student from Andhra explained, "There is no real difficulty getting used to it. After all, one is here for a definite purpose."

Family Set-up

"The family set-up is different," said a chemistry student, whose home is in the Punjab. "One can find friends here but one misses the protected atmosphere of an Indian home."

Though many spoke feelingly of home, it was quite surprising how many were not straining too hard to get back there. "I plan to settle in Canada or Britain, wherever there is a suitable opportunity, but not in the U.S.," said one student.

Self-interest was a big factor in the future plans of most students interviewed. "I have to go back because I have only a limited visa," said one

of them. "But there have been many improvements in the last six years, a growth in biochemistry research institutes and a revision in the pay scale."

"I plan to go home eventually," said a Bombay student. "But first I will stay for another year. I hope to kill two birds with the one stone—gain more experience and also make a good saving of dollars." Some were frankly cynical. A student who has just graduated in business administration said, "I have had my fingers burnt once, so I shall be very cautious about going home. I spent eight years working in a bank. I had experience, education and connections, but I got nowhere. I don't want to continue as a clerk. I want to go higher as a manager."

"I'm Going Back"

One man with a more constructive approach was a Ph.D. candidate from Ferozepore. "I am going back," he told our correspondent. "There are good opportunities for both teaching and research, especially in our new universities. People with different attitudes are needed back home." Some students emphasised that India's prime task was to "develop her general character" and that those who knew the rest of the world could do the most to bring this about.

It is said that a number of graduates are being urged by large U.S. corporations to stay on and transfer their whole families. Most interviewed said they were reluctant to take this step, however.

Students attending the University of Southern California said that one of their embarrassments was being forced to attend "English for foreign students" classes. They find this "preposterous" because the course is meant chiefly for Japanese, Thais and others. They say they are well qualified in English but, as the aptitude test is given a few days after arrival, their ear is not accustomed to mastering American slang and the rapidity with which Americans talk.

The cost of living is what first strikes many students. Those who have to earn their way watch their

spending most tightly. Transport costs are "exorbitant," they point out. Purchase and preparation of Indian food, often regarded as something special in the U.S., is also a big item in the budget. One student put it rather aptly when he said, "The \$3,000 foreign exchange now permitted is more than sufficient for the student who confines himself to studying!"

The ideal arrangement most find is to stay with an American family. This combines economy with the best facility for getting to know the people.

Most students interviewed had many suggestions for the improvement of American policy but were strangely silent about India. They were unwilling to speak out in any way regarding policies of their own country for fear, possibly, of some retribution at home. "We are sent here to be good citizens, not to get involved in politics," said one student, rather begging the question.

However, they did feel strongly and unanimously on one question—the seniority system in India, especially in Government jobs, which guarantees a man the security of his post long after his usefulness is exhausted. "This stops a young man, no matter how well qualified, from advancing and contributing his new ideas," said one. He did not seem to realise that the butt of his criticism whose "usefulness is exhausted" was probably himself once a young man wanting to advance and contribute his ideas.

Not Valued

The students also felt the Indian Government did not properly evaluate the worth of students who returned with foreign training. "They pay very meagre salaries," said one student. Most, therefore, hope for a post in private industry.

On the question of the American Negro and the American Indian, the thinking of students interviewed was mostly based on hearsay, though they had been in America for two years or more. Of one batch our correspondents met, not one had any personal

Continued on page 14

Banish the Bars, Cancel the Curtains

by Patrick Wolrige-Gordon, M.P.

Mr. Wolrige-Gordon is Conservative Member for East Aberdeen in the House of Commons. He was the youngest Member when first elected and in the recent General Elections was one of the few Conservatives who increased their majority.—Ed.

THE FIRST ESSENTIAL for Britain is speedily and definitely to put her own house in order. Materially she has advanced greatly in recent years, but no one, who loves the country, can view the present breakdown of her moral character with anything but concern. Crimes of violence have increased by 70 per cent since 1938. Last year, although we face economic crisis, £860,000,000 were spent on gambling, over £1,000,000,000 on tobacco and £1,181,000,000 on alcoholic drinks. Illegitimacy and divorce increase.

Today there is concern about the £. It faces a crisis of confidence. But the real crisis in Britain is not financial. It is moral. We have an urgent need to reconstruct the quality of our life as a nation. And we have an urgent need to find an aim big enough to unite the talents and the genius of the country, in a way that has not happened since the days when we defied tyranny. If we did, there could be no concern about the £. And we would be properly equipped to meet the challenge of the 20th Century.

At the General Election the Conservatives were beaten. They failed to retain the confidence of the people in spite of the unparalleled advance in material prosperity for the country as a whole. Thirteen years in office had made some members of the Government and of the Party complacent. Their attitude became more and more aloof towards the common man. The common man resented it. And he voted against it.

Majority of Four

The Socialists, who came to power in consequence, only had a majority of four seats. Their share in the vote did not increase. And insofar as the General Election proved anything at all, it was a general disenchantment on the part of the people with both the parties who were seeking to govern the country.

Why was this?

At election times, desire for a change has to be expressed in political terms. The change for which I believe

our people long most, however, is not so much political as a fundamental change in character and in attitude, which will restore square-dealing, enthusiasm and efficiency to British life. Whichever Party decides to present that image and the reality of that image to our people, will win the right to govern Britain for a long time.

At present there is a missing factor in both political parties. Neither have any policy for the development of national character. They either overlook it or they take it for granted. Yet character is the root of all a country's wealth and strength. Ours today is under attack: there is even evidence of its deterioration. Any Government, which fails to meet this problem, fails the nation too. Without an effective policy in this field, all other objectives—political, economic, social, even defensive—however right they may be, and however widely even they may be accepted, will not be achieved. Nor is it legislation, which is so necessary, though it has a part to play. The first essential is example.

Britain's Aim

The *London Times* is now calling for a moral purpose as the solution. It is right. But even the most convinced moralist will fail without a world aim to give point to his morality. What should Britain's world aim be?

I think it is obvious. The 20th Century is deeply divided and highly dangerous. There is the Colour Bar and the Class Bar, the Iron Curtain and the Bamboo Curtain: division in the United Nations; and nuclear weapons. It is a panorama of schism, with the possibility of mass destruction to follow.

Britain's aim should be to bring an answer: to banish the Bars and cancel the Curtains which divide humanity: to unite the United Nations; and to teach a world with nuclear weapons a new philosophy of life.

It will mean a revolution. In the past, revolutions have always been reactionary, as well as violent. They

spring from the womb of the *status quo*, and when the dust has settled, they are back there again. Nothing fundamental has changed. New people in power: new people in prison. But no new world.

A further dimension of revolution is clearly necessary. It will have to achieve the benefits of radical social and economic change without violence. It will have to be a revolution by consent. It will have to be, therefore, a moral revolution.

One such is already in existence. Moscow Radio has described it as a global ideology in its final phase of total expansion throughout the world. It is the revolution of Moral Re-Armament.

Go to the Roots

Many place their faith elsewhere—for example in the United Nations. Yet it is tragically obvious that, whether it is the Congo or Cyprus, or even its own finances, the U.N. with its present attitudes has no answer to the deep divisions of humanity. Neither did the League of Nations before it. It is extraordinary how short memories are. In 1937, Carl Hambro, the great Scandinavian statesman who began the League, and had to bury it too, told Dr. Buchman, who began Moral Re-Armament: "You are succeeding where we have failed, because you are changing human nature. Nothing else goes to the root of the problem." Dr. Buchman himself used to say, "The League failed because it was not God-arched."

The United Nations too will fail unless it becomes God-arched: and nations as well, unless they try the same experiment.

If they did, two results would, I believe, follow straight away. First, policies would cease to be based on colour or class but on character: the colour bar therefore would go. Second, it would revolutionize completely the Communists' concept of the Democratic West, and open the door for the Communist world.

Both ends are essential. I hope Britain will play her full part in achieving them.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Burma—After the Indian Exodus

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Rangoon

"POOR BURMA," said the old priest. "The Palaungs are starving, the Shans are drunk, and the Burmese have lost their way." In this spacious, sun-drenched land, this statement seems all the more tragic.

Here we have the rice bowl of Asia; the forests abound; the rock yields rubies and sapphires, silver, lead and jade. Yet the towns look run down, trade is slowing up, and for the first time the races which make up Burma have known hunger. The Burmese, always a happy people, have lost their smiles.

What has gone wrong? Few people were prepared to accept the responsibility and sacrifice necessary after independence to make democracy function. The country was plagued

with insurgent groups, each demanding different rights. The army finally seized control.

Now a large proportion of the population is out of sympathy with the definitely Marxist slant of the Government's socialist policies, yet no one offers an alternative philosophy.

Education Controlled

The youth have yet to be won. Great efforts are being made at high-school level in summer camps to train them in "The Burmese Way to Socialism." Education is strictly controlled. You may wish to become a doctor, but if the state requires more engineers you can find yourself launched on a different career. The universities have just re-opened after one year's closure because of rioting. At the moment all is peace, but a wary eye is kept on the student population.

The priests from ancient times have been the heart of learning and culture. Almost every grown man takes the yellow robe for some period in his life. Buddhism has been for centuries training the people in its timeless virtues and has covered the land with graceful, tinkling pagodas. It is still a force to be reckoned with, as the military government discovered when they tried to control religious bodies last year. The Abbots quietly but firmly refused to register. The Government had to back down. If the quality and integrity of the priesthood is maintained—and this is an important 'if'—Marxist materialism will meet persistent opposition.

And what of the army? Certainly it presents a trained, disciplined body of men. In the fantastic assortment of civilian roles they have had to fulfil, they have shown courage. This is not enough when it comes to running banks, managing shops and distributing the necessities of life in the right quantity to the right places. Here

lies tragedy. Thousands of trained and able men are either in prison, where they remain without trial, often for no other reason than that they were associated with the previous government, or sit idle as a result of nationalisation.

Meanwhile, untrained men, working feverishly, bungle the nation's business. With a less passive people, the shortages of basic foodstuffs, such as cooking oil, onions and chillis, would have caused uproar. If the country is to prosper again, it seems essential that the army should drop its exclusiveness, which can become an inverted snobbery, and enlist the abilities of the discarded civilians.

A genuinely revolutionary system, producing enough for everyone's need, and providing empty stomachs with food and empty hearts with faith, could yet turn the world's eyes on Burma. But the experiment of throwing thousands of Burmese citizens in gaol and causing thousands of foreigners to depart in despair has not solved the basic problems. Greed is not the exclusive possession of one group, but runs through every human heart.

Sad Reading

True, imperialism was wrong. True, there were capitalists who exploited their fellow men. But even after the mass exodus of Indians and others, in circumstances often as callous as imperialism ever employed, the Burmese have not ended their racial strife, their black-marketeering, or the exploitation of man by man. At this moment the court case of a senior colonel of the Revolutionary Council, caught in financial irregularities, makes sad reading in the daily papers; and the scarcity of commodities, lost in godowns or not ordered in time, is producing a fresh crop of blackmarketeers.

The Burmese can still have a golden future, with every talent in the country used and every racial group contributing from their special heritage for the good of the Union. They are meant to, and are able to, feed increasing millions with their rice. They could once more open their doors and their hearts to the world. If they do, they might offer the chaotic continents a secret worth more than all Burma's rubies—how to heal old wounds, harness every energy and live at peace with themselves and their neighbours.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS—cont'd.

Truth About the Congo

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Nairobi

THE TRAGEDY of Stanleyville, which left the civilised world aghast, may yet mark the turning point in the sad history of the Congo. It is now certain that at least 58 hostages and hundreds of Congolese were murdered before the Belgian paratroops dropped. The rebels, whose sub-human atrocities are almost unbelievable, were not even under the control of their own officers.

Like the steam that follows a tropical storm in Africa, the real issues have been clouded by misinformation, powerful controlled propaganda and sheer emotionalism.

Evidently, some African states who supported the OAU resolution calling for a cease-fire in the Congo, for the dismissal of foreign mercenaries and for the end of "outside" assistance have, in fact, been supplying arms and manpower to the rebels or allowing their borders to be crossed for this purpose.

President Nasser himself admits this with his boast in a speech at Port Sudan last week that the UAR were aiding the anti-government forces in the Congo saying: "We openly say we have sent arms to the Congo and we shall send more."

Little wonder Tshombe and his military advisors mistrust the motives of the cease-fire call.

Chinese Cannons

The *East African Standard*, a newspaper which in no way can be described as "pro-Tshombe", carried a photograph on December 24 showing General Mobutu, Commander-in-Chief of the Congo National Army, examining a captured Chinese 12.7 mm cannon used by the insurgent forces in Stanleyville.

Among other seized equipment have been Russian, Czechoslovakian and even Nazi-German weapons and ammunition. Some of this arrived in crates marked with a Red Cross sign and labelled "MEDICAMENTS".

Obviously Tshombe has become, or made to become, unacceptable to the majority of the OAU states. Some of these countries like Nigeria and the Sudan are more objective and examine the situation rationally. But emotions have obscured the fact that he was invited to become the Prime

Minister by the legal Congo Government—not by the Americans. On the contrary it is generally accepted that for a long time Tshombe has been an embarrassment to US policy in the Congo.

Minister by the legal Congo Government—not by the Americans. On the contrary it is generally accepted that for a long time Tshombe has been an embarrassment to US policy in the Congo.

After becoming Prime Minister it is remembered that he appealed to the OAU for assistance in restoring law and order in his country. This was refused. Rebel activity, started by Peking-trained Mulele, had gained control of large areas during the Adoula regime which Tshombe was asked to replace.

The Congolese press and radio have repeatedly announced that there will be elections in the Congo on February 14 if the situation permits. Tshombe and his Minister of the Interior have already made preparations for the elections to take place. His own prestige at the moment is reported to be very high. It is the opposition who appear to be

against free elections for obvious reasons. In Kenya, where peace negotiations were in progress at the time of the Stanleyville para-drop, it is widely suggested that President Kenyatta was denied the chance to bring a settlement by the Belgian-American intervention.

Kenyatta is a statesman too great in stature and experience to let suggestions of hurt national pride or prestige influence him. Now is his chance to begin implementing his vision, expressed during the recent Kenya Republic Celebrations, of fashioning a world that enshrines "what is right".

African Intentions

The basis of a solution in the Congo must reckon with the firm establishment of law and order, the conduct of free elections and the upholding of the Congo Constitution which has been evolved after long negotiation in Leopoldville.

America and Europe, Russia and China are all deeply involved in pro- or anti-Government activities in the Congo. None can deny it. But the time has come to examine the intentions of some of the African states involved, particularly from the "Casablanca" bloc, namely Algeria, Ghana and the U.A.R. They may also covet the material wealth of the Congo and the strategic value of the vast Central African belt in furthering their own aims on the African continent.

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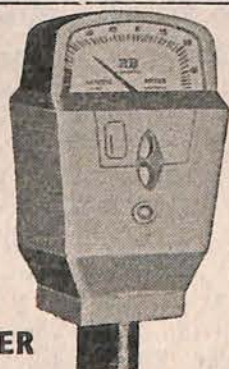
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VIEWPOINT

Must We Remain Non-Aligned?

by M. M. Moosa

WHEN a machine or a process becomes obsolete it is discarded. Non-alignment was conceived in circumstances that are no longer valid. China's expansionist designs have rendered it impractical. We must therefore discard it.

India has led many countries of Asia and Africa into the camp of non-alignment. It is therefore natural for her to fight shy of admitting that she is no longer in a position to practise the philosophy she has so vehemently preached. But the stakes are too high. Delay will be dangerous.

To dismiss the Chinese invasion of India as mere posturings of the Dragon, is to be blind to the realities of the Chinese threat.

Mao's mind is working on two lines. First, he is counting upon pro-Peking leadership coming to power in the Kremlin, in the not too distant future.

Ill-Equipped

Should this happen the Chinese military might will, at an opportune moment, swiftly move into the power-vacuum that is the non-aligned, militarily weak India. To stop Mao's marauding hordes from marching forward, and upon India's formal request to intervene, America will have to resort to strategic bombing of mainland China. This will amount to igniting the atomic stock-piles of the world.

Now the crucial question is: will every U.S. Administration, at any time in the future, in highly complicated and confusing conditions, be ready to commit itself to such a cause? An American Administration might choose to contain Communist China only by non-nuclear means. Having engaged us and the Americans in a war which we would be ill-equipped to fight, the Chinese, shrewd as they are, will flaunt the magnanimous gesture of a cease-fire. This cease-fire our American friends, not too eager to get scorched in an atomic conflagration, will advise us to accept.

Having entrenched themselves this side of the Himalayas, the Chinese will prepare for the second stage of the Communist take-over of this country. They will then create guerrilla warfare within the nation.

Fatal Punch

Mao's second line of thought looks far into the future.

The Chinese need some kind of nuclear deterrent against the West while they engage the enemy of their choosing in a non-nuclear war. Without a guarantee of nuclear protection from Russia, China cannot dare to embark upon a major military adventure. The Mao clique in Peking does not want to depend entirely upon the emergence of pro-Peking leadership in the Kremlin. They have, therefore, started developing their own nuclear arsenal—bombs, delivery system and all. When they have finished their job, non-alignment will get a final, fatal punch.

Luckily for us, history has given us an early warning in the form of Chinese invasion. Mao anticipated the overthrow of Khrushchev in the wake of the Cuban crisis. He, therefore, launched his Himalayan adventure. But Khrushchev remained firm-

ly in the saddle. Mao therefore had to cry halt to his troops. But has he given up his plans? Certainly not. At an opportune time he will strike again.

We need tough men at the helm of affairs in this country. We need men whose prime concern will not be preservation of peace at any cost but who will be prepared to adopt policies imperative for our defence.

The defence of South East Asia should primarily be the responsibility of the people of this region. There should be an integrated plan in which India, Japan and Australia should be the principal participants.

Showdown with West

Some inveigh against this idea on the ground that it would once again bring Chinese troops slithering down the Himalayas. This is not right. The Gulf of Tonkin incident has proved that at present China is not prepared for a major military showdown with the West.

India will raise new hopes in the hearts of small nations neighbouring China by committing herself to the defence of the entire region. Even those of them who are showing signs of defecting to the Communist camp will come over to our side if we win their confidence.

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

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LETTERS

I.Q., SALARIES, TEACHERS

Sir,

Shri R. R. Menon of Bombay, in his letter, has raised a very pertinent point. He is in agreement with what I wrote in HIMMAT of November 27, namely "that the discipline of students will depend primarily on the leadership and character of the teachers". I had also said that improvement in the scale of salaries will help in recruiting as teachers some of our best University products. Shri Menon has raised the question as to whether recruiting the most intellectual amongst our University products will ensure that they will have the dedication and sense of calling to serve as leaders to the young generation of students.

Today, many who get into colleges, as teachers, are those who have not been able to get other suitable jobs elsewhere. They are the left-overs. They are not good enough to guide and give leadership to our students. With better salary and service conditions, a good proportion of our ablest University products will deliberately select the teaching profession, in preference to any other profession.

Moreover, excellence in scholarship is the result not only of high intelligence, but also of singular devotion to work. A high I.Q. alone does not make a scholar, though it permits one to become a scholar. Studies on record show that the most creative work in scholarship has not come from those who possess the highest I.Q.s, it comes from those with the greatest persistence, sense of duty, and standard of integrity. So, if selection to academic jobs is made on the basis of scholarly attainments, we can be reasonably sure that the majority of teachers, thus recruited, will not only have intelligence

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of a high order, but also a sense of dedication to their work.

Every one wants to have a sense of achievement. To an intellectual person, his sense of achievement comes from his scholarly pursuits. To a person who is not very intellectual, his sense of achievement, very often, comes from wielding authority over his fellow-men. A teacher joins a group, or gets into touch with politicians in power, so that through the group, or through the politicians in power, he will be able to wield authority over his fellow-men. If the most intellectual and scholarly among our University products are attracted as teachers to the University, chances are that most of them will find satisfaction in their intellectual pursuits, and the University will then become a place, where a young man of high intelligence can find an opportunity to transform himself by association with good men, good minds and good ideas.

GEORGE JACOB
Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.
Patna-5.

EXAMINE OURSELVES

Sir,

It has become the fashion to accuse the Government of corruption and inefficiency, but no one pauses to make an examination of his or her own conscience. Unless everyone of us sincerely

INDIAN STUDENTS IN U.S.A. — Continued from page 8

acquaintance with a Negro or an American Indian. "They are fighting for freedom," said one student. "We needed a Gandhi to fight for us and lead us. Without such leadership, incidents like Harlem and Mississippi are inevitable." Another student said that the race question was "something like our caste system in India. It must be broken through."

Divergent opinions on the question of morality in American society were expressed. "In America, sex is a vast commercial institution," said one student. "Tomorrow's generation is becoming totally sex-oriented, at home, in the schools and in all they read and see."

"It is not as bad as that," argued another. "Here it is very exposed. In India it is very hush hush."

Several said they believed in God. "I believe in one God for all the people of the earth," said an accountability student, "but I am very much against the attitude of some Americans who imply that we have no prospect of going to heaven if we do not believe in their God." His friends

desires to help "build a society which is clean and straight, where the needs of people for food, work and faith are met", there is little doubt that the nation will soon go to the dogs whatever the label of the ruling party might be.

F. A. MENEZES

Bombay

CASE FOR TIBET

Sir,

In the article "Shall We Learn From Tibet" your correspondent has expressed satisfaction at Delhi's decision to support Tibet's case in the U.N.

We remained complacent over the Chinese outrage on Tibet when it was being committed. When human rights were being trampled on, the entire nation, barring the Communists, urged the Government to move the U.N. with a view to arousing world conscience. A timely intervention by the U.N. would have been effective as it was in getting the British and French aggression vacated from the Suez. But Delhi then remained a silent spectator to what was happening from the fear of displeasing and incurring the wrath of their ostensible friends, China.

Would the Tibetans now believe that we are genuinely interested in upholding the rights of humanity in Tibet?

V. D. MAHAJAN
Poona

contradicted him by saying it was only a minority who behaved like this during their first weeks in the country.

On China and India's defence arrangements, views included, "The present policy is fine," "We have more of a chance now Menon is out," "One thing is certain, we need to throw out those 1919 rifles and get some new ones."

Very few of the students interviewed appeared to have much idea or intention of contributing anything to the country which was giving them this education. They have praise for some things, of course, and criticism of others. What visitor doesn't? But that is not enough.

The late President Kennedy told a batch of foreign students at the White House, "You are going to teach us a good deal more in the time you are here than you will learn." This could remain a vague hope or it could become true if the young men and women from India lived straight themselves and thought out how they could change what is wrong in American society.

FOR WOMEN

Fashioning the Future

by Annejet Campbell

Mrs. Campbell studied fashion in Amsterdam and Paris. She was once offered a position with Christian Dior. She has designed costumes for many Moral Re-Armament stage productions and has travelled widely in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, North America and Europe. Born in Holland, Mrs. Campbell now makes her home in Ottawa.—Ed.

WE LIVE in the most exciting and the fastest-changing period of history. Things are not the same today as they were yesterday.

I am a dress designer. How we dress is important. How we live will decide the future of our children.

Today in the free world almost anything goes because of a complete denouncement of moral standards in some quarters. The result is topless dresses; the Mods in Britain, where men purposely dress to look like women; the pant suit for women who seem to want to look like men.

The Japanese look best in their kimonos. The Indians in their saris. They don't look half as graceful in Parisian styles. Why should Paris dictate what we women ought to wear? The Indians don't try to tell the Canadians what to wear.

Copied by Millions

High fashion today can only be followed by those who have the money and leisure to do it. In the Communist world, fashion is brought down to the lowest common denominator. I don't believe either represents the fashion of the future.

Women in the news have had a great influence upon fashion, good and bad. Take Mrs. Kennedy. The hat she wore at President Kennedy's inauguration has been copied millions of times throughout the world. Take the Queen of England or Elizabeth Taylor, or Audrey Hepburn or Mrs. Khrushchev.

It is very obvious in their dress whether a person is out to be the centre of attention. In designing for plays and films, we always study the

character of the person and dress them accordingly.

In a materialist society, what women wear has become more important than what they live for. Some are more concerned with how they are hatted than where their children are headed. The more clothes are worn to draw attention, the more they are used to cover up an empty life and, because of that, they become more and more outrageous in design and cost.

Some women go in for fashion because they have no purpose they share with their husband and family. A purposeless woman makes a fetish out of fashion. Clothes do not make the man. What he lives for makes a man, and the same is true of women.

Money Doesn't Decide

Being dowdy or being overdressed—both stem from selfishness. You can be sure that a woman who neglects her own appearance also neglects her home and her family.

Money is not the deciding factor in fashion. I know women who have much money and who dress badly, and I know others with little money who dress well.

Fashion will take its rightful place as we take up our rightful role in life: to be the mothers of a new society. If there is another generation of Beatles and Beatniks, Mods and Rockers, we are responsible.

It means we need a revolution in the motives of those who design, those who make and those who wear the clothes. Instead of speculating on the materialism and sex in their customers, the dress manufacturers could produce attractive clothes at reason-

able price, enabling women of every kind of budget to look their best.

The danger of too big an emphasis on fashion is that it gets women concentrated on themselves. The purpose for which you use your life and body is more important and it determines the way you clothe it.

It is time women set the fashion—not the clothes designers. It is time for women to emancipate themselves from the slavery imposed by fashion houses because their standard of fashion has little relevance to the needs of the age, and is a money-making, fame-reaching operation. The consumer trends need to be set by the consumer for a change.

The first concern of a woman who is really free is not: how do I look, what do I wear? but, how do we clothe the millions, feed the hungry? What is our policy for the needy nations. It takes more than money to bring a cure to corruption, division; to the hate and fear and aimlessness.

Dirt and Diamonds

I want to see a generation of women who are satisfied because they have a purpose in life, who don't go racing after new fashions, new husbands and new thrills.

India could be the first nation to demonstrate that it is fashionable to live for one's country; a country where people will not swallow dirt dressed up in diamonds, presented by books, films, plays; where God is God and sin is sin and everyone can play his part in creating a new society.

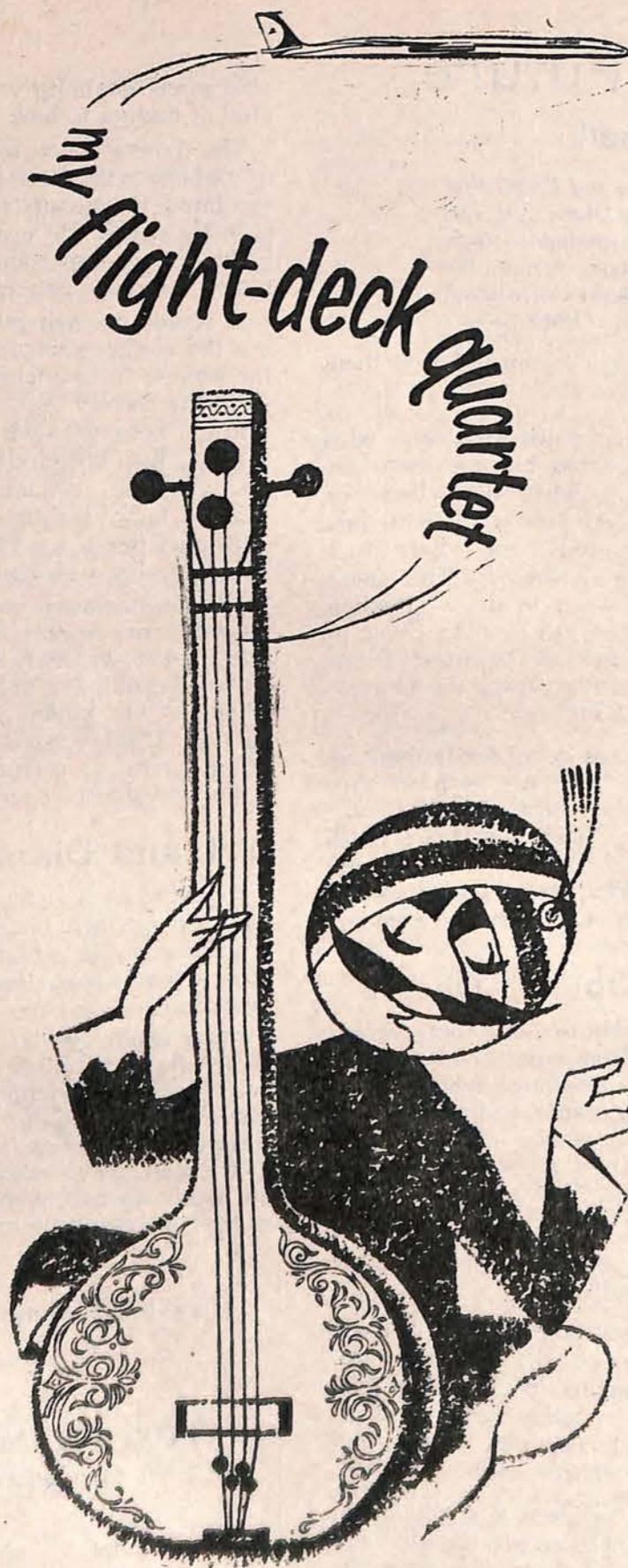
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**This was a life
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE
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THE RULES of the British Army Nursing Corps are as up-to-date today as they were over a century ago when they were written. They were written by a woman. Her name was Florence Nightingale.

In the early years of the last century, the nursing profession in Britain was considered universally as a degrading, unpleasant and less than-third-rate profession. By the end of her life-time, Florence Nightingale lived to see the attitude of the nation towards nurses and treating the sick completely changed.

She was born of an aristocratic family, beautiful and popular in London society. Her family's one aim for her was to get her suitably married and settled down. But God spoke to this girl. At first she gave in to the family pressures, and it made her so miserable she was ill. Her family tried giving her cruises abroad, pretty clothes and everything she most liked. She got no better. God spoke again, and again she gave in to the tyranny of the family.

But at the age of 24 she made her decision to submit to God's direction that she serve in the nursing profession. From that moment there was "no vagueness in her plans and ideas as to what God's work was for her."

She went to nurse in her first hospital in Germany. "I find the deepest interest in everything here and am so well in body and mind. This is life. Now I know what it is to know and love life."

From then on she never turned back. Her work in the Crimea is part of history. She was lied about and pushed about and opposed by the status quo. She did not say, "Make the sick comfortable," she said, "Make them better." She did not just say, "Make conditions cleaner," she said "Make people new beings." She was a true, not a phoney, reformer.

She wrote, "The greatest things by God's law grow out of the smallest. To live your life you must discipline it. Not fritter it away in fair purpose, erring act, inconstant will. Make your thoughts, your acts all work to the same end and that end is not self, but God. That is what we call character."

M. M.

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—Why has the Government failed in bringing down prices?
M. CHUGH, Delhi.

A—Prices have gone up because the Government is now spending far more than it used to while production has remained static. The Government has multiplied its defence expenditure and its development expenditure. This has greatly increased the supply of money in the economy. More money chasing the same amount of goods is bound to increase prices.

The cure to rising prices is more production. More production is the result of harder work. The philosophy of "More pay for less work" or "More profits for less work" will mean an inevitable stagnation in production. The people are ready to work hard.

They need to see men in responsible and governmental positions living unselfishly, boldly and with dedication. When this change takes place in a drastic manner, honesty and hard work will spread everywhere, production will go up and prices will go down.

Q—Not even a single Government servant these days is prepared to say, "My job is the best". Every person wants to quit his seat. Why?
HARINAKSHI, Hyderabad.

A—Our Government servants represent one of the greatest post-Independence tragedies of India. A lot was expected of them. They had training and an intellectual calibre that India badly needed. But they failed to exhibit the quality India needed above all—courage.

Refusal to take decisions has become the trademark of our Government officials. What they need desperately is the emergence from their ranks of some who will fearlessly challenge what they regard as wrong, even if it means they lose their jobs.

In fact one of the toughest things today is to dismiss a Government servant. With all the security and the rules that make dismissal virtually impossible, it is a shame that more guts is not exhibited by them.

When a Government servant abdicates responsibility to change the country, he will naturally think only of his promotion and transfer.

Q—What is your frank opinion about the present Central Cabinet?

N. C. VEERACHARI, Hyderabad

A—The present Cabinet does not have what it takes to meet the needs of the modern India at a time when China has both a powerful ideology and the atomic bomb. I don't say that other opposition parties will necessarily produce a better Cabinet. But the facts about the inadequacy of our present Cabinet must be faced by all those who love India, and especially by Congressmen.

If the Indian masses fight in the right way they can challenge and induce our leaders, including our Cabinet Ministers, to have and show the dare, the honesty and the unity they urgently need. But anyone who wants to change our leaders and give them new aims and a stronger passion needs to find this aim and such a passion in his own life.

Q—Very often you use the term God in your writings. Can't you delete that word from your vocabulary?

M. SHATRUGNA, Hyderabad.

A—I am totally against the hypocrisy of those who talk or write about God but who live selfishly and in a manner as if He didn't exist. Many have concealed crookedness of every kind under the garb of religious words.

But I am equally against the hypocrisy of those who believe that society can be changed without change in human nature. There are many in the world today who try to deceive people by parading slogans of justice and equality which hide ambition, greed and hate.

Only a change in the character of man will solve India's problems. I want to fight as hard as I can to change my character and my country. Personally I feel I cannot do this without God. But those who don't believe in God can start by examining their lives against standards of absolute honesty and purity to see where they can heighten their lives.

Q—"Ministers are the pillars of the state." Comment.

M. BALAKUMAR, Madras

A—They ought to be. The present ones are rather shaky. Many of them are hardworking and sincere. But sincerity and hard work are totally incapable of meeting the challenge of poverty, of internal division and hate and of China's ambition. Our Cabinet needs revolutionaries. Even one among them who decides to risk all and use his position and influence to fight evil wherever he sees it, including his own life, can bring hope to the Indian scene.

Mr. Nanda's Tragedy

by Rajmohan Gandhi

MR. NANDA, the Home Minister, has had over 700 leaders of the left Communist Party arrested. Apparently he has acted on information that violence was being planned.

Mr. Nanda has access to facts. It is possible that he is justified in making the arrests. But he is mistaken if he thinks that the arrests will reduce Communist influence in the land. That may not be his main aim, of course.

There was a time when people believed that Mr. Nanda would play a key part in strengthening India's moral fibre. He has let them down.

The Sadachar Samiti is his brain-child. It is an interesting concept. India needs a mass movement to invigorate the character of her men, women and children. But the Sadachar Samiti has failed totally to do this.

The Sadachar Samiti rests on a shaky and, in fact, dangerous philosophy. Its main premise seems to be that corruption and bribery take place because people do not report enough to the police. The Samiti, therefore, urges the Indian people to be "bold" and "courageous" in informing the authorities about the lapses they see in others. "We want informers" and "We shall protect the informers" are the Samiti's main slogans.

Give Them Up

It is a frightening development. It is the beginning of a nationwide network of espionage. Government servants are to inform on their colleagues. The public are to inform about the sins of the businessmen. Tantalising rewards are offered to those who reveal tax evasion by others.

These are not democratic methods. They are not Gandhian methods. They smack of totalitarianism, McCarthyism, Fascism and Communism. They must be given up before they multiply and spread out and strangle the liberty of our land.

If they are not discarded now we shall soon witness students being urged to spy on teachers, children on parents, parents on children and domestic servants on their employers.

It is unbelievable how Mr. Nanda seems determined to pursue his

battle against corruption in the wrong way. Spying hasn't cured the disease anywhere in the world. Its failure in a country like India is inevitable. Mr. Nanda's task is to challenge and inspire men and women to be honest about themselves and their lapses. Supposing he changed some of his Ministerial colleagues and politicians of the ruling party. Supposing he got them to admit to their conscience, to one another and to India where they have been dishonest, ambitious, jealous and hate-filled.

Missed His Destiny

That would start a revolution. Honesty and courage will then become the Indian way of life. Unity, strength and social justice will be the fruits of such a change.

Mr. Nanda could have been the man to lead such a revolution. He has known that it works. He was a friend of that extraordinary revolutionary, Frank Buchman, founder of Moral Re-Armament. He has seen with his eyes men and women changing down to their roots in Europe and in India. He has also experienced changes in his own life as he has listened to the inner voice.

His policies are therefore especially tragic. He who could have led the real crusade against corruption, evil and materialism is lending himself to a campaign that enthrones materialism in the name of anti-corruption.

His most serious lapse has been to allow the sending out of a circular banning Government servants from associating with Moral Re-Armament. More than anything else this has damaged his influence in India and abroad.

Here is our land in travail. Unity, honesty and discipline are our greatest needs. The revolution of Moral Re-Armament appears on the scene. Thousands of students clean up their lives and decide to fight to restore India's honour and dignity in the world. Hundreds of them return stolen articles, books, money and get honest with parents and teachers. Government servants begin to work harder and more responsibly.

And then what happens? Instead of giving these hundreds and thousands of men and women who have found what India needs an

opportunity to reach millions, Mr. Nanda permits a circular to be sent to Government servants forbidding them from having contact with the force that changed them.

There is more than oversight in all this. Mr. Nanda and his colleagues know the full truth. Yet whatever the pressures that forced this action on Mr. Nanda's part, it is still possible for him to pull himself out of them and stand up to them. He can and must still withdraw that circular.

Mr. Nanda knows that Moral Re-Armament has been and is God's work. He knows that nothing except the grace and power of a Superior Being can explain the healing of hates, hurts, lies and impurities in so many all over the world. Only India's enemies can push or pressure for a slowing down of the advance of Moral Re-Armament.

Mr. Nanda's weakness is that he does not feel the cost and danger of hate and class war. True, he is against violence. He wants Socialism without violence. Yet he does tolerate bitterness and hate against what some people call the upper classes.

Will Tyranny Come?

He fails to see that this bitterness will inevitably enchain and impoverish the common man whom he loves. Not only the rich will be the victims of hate. The peasants and workers, the meek and the handicapped, will be the worst sufferers under the tyranny that hate and class war will unfailingly bring.

Mr. Nanda must not betray his true calling which is to create an India that can answer the selfishness and exploitation of left and right, East and West, Communist and anti-Communist. Materialism is his enemy and India's enemy.

He must now decide to fight it with all his strength. He must transform the Sadachar Samiti from an organisation of informers and would-be informers into an army of men and women who clean up their own lives. He must withdraw the damaging circular and he must stand squarely opposed to hate and bitterness.

A great deal depends on Mr. Gulzari Lal Nanda.



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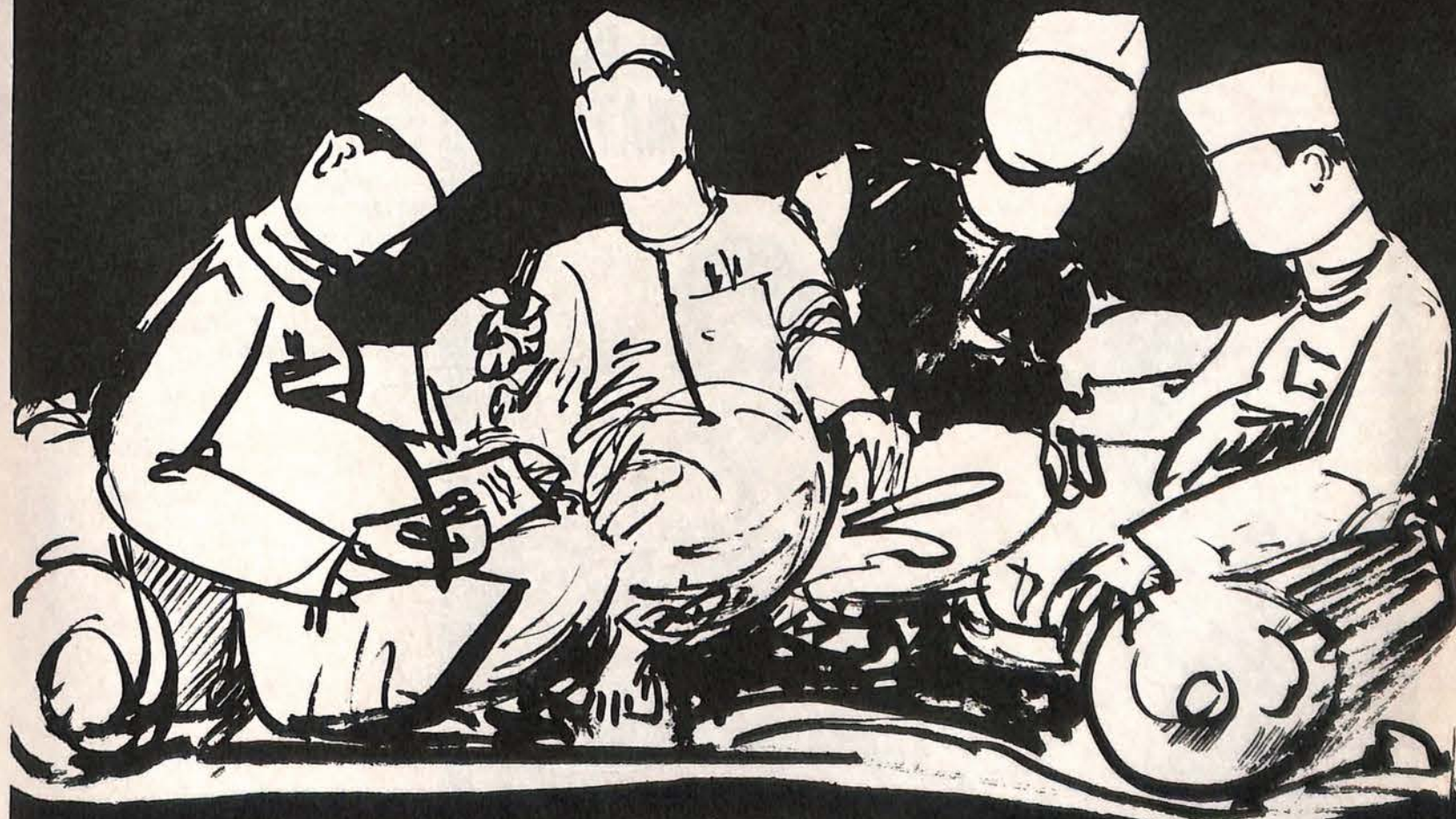
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