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Friday
February 12
1965

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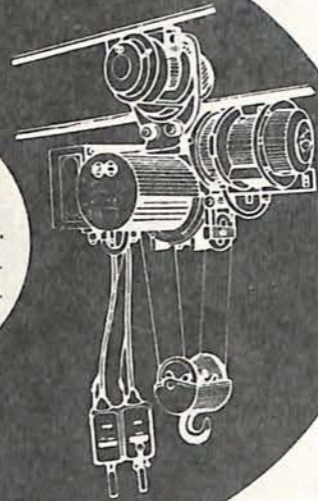
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WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, February 12, 1965

Vol. I No. 15

Language and Unity

WITHIN SEVEN DAYS of Hindi becoming the official language, Congress President Kamaraj told non-Hindi states that they could tear up any communication addressed to them by the Government in Hindi. Deputy Union Minister of Education, Mr. Bhakta Darshan, dutifully declared that Hindi would be an alternative medium for competitive exams next September. Steel Minister Sanjiva Reddy called this statement "unfortunate." The unfortunate Mr. Darshan objected to being criticised for the Centre's decision.

Not satisfied, Mr. Darshan tilted his lance at the Congress President, and said Mr. Kamaraj's advice to non-Hindi states was only a "political weapon to win over the people in the Kerala elections."

We face the tragic prospect of Hindi, which Constitution-makers hoped would unite the country, actually dividing India's leadership.

Surely Mr. Shastri, Mr. Kamaraj and their colleagues should have resolved their divergent views before the nation was confronted with such a major issue. If they did not, what assurances does the nation have that they will be of a common mind in meeting other crucial issues of tomorrow? Their unity is vital for the country's growth.

The Central Government is not ready for Hindi. Nearly half a million employees have yet to be trained in Hindi. Out of 4000-odd sections in the Central Secretariat, not even 200 can transact business in Hindi. Most Acts have yet to be translated, and only a few service rules are available in Hind.

In these circumstances, HIMMAT believes that the most sensible suggestion to meet the national crisis has come from Dr. K. M. Munshi, one of the architects of India's Constitution. In a statement he pleaded that a suitable formula should be devised by a convention of all political parties, that would honour the Constitution and at the same time give statutory recognition to Mr. Nehru's assurance on the continuation of the English language.

Congo See-Saw

TODAY, the Organisation of African Unity meets in Nairobi. Our Nairobi correspondent refers elsewhere to the growing suspicion of other African States about its impartiality towards the Congo.

The *West African Pilot* of Nigeria says, in a recent editorial, "Cold war politics have been imported into the affairs of the Congo, not by the Western powers we often blame, but by the African states who shout loudest about outside interference in our affairs."

Many powers have criticised Congo Prime Minister Tshombe for employing foreign mercenaries to secure his democratically established Government. But the same powers, including Egypt, Algeria and Ghana, themselves openly praise and pay the self-

styled rebel "Prime Minister", Christopher Gbenye.

"Prime Minister" Gbenye boasts that, following talks in Cairo and Algiers, he was promised "all the arms we want." Algerian officers are said to be commanding some rebel units and 400 "volunteers" from Algeria have joined Gbenye's "army".

When OAU leaders attack Tshombe for employing foreign mercenaries, they must, in all fairness, oppose foreign intervention to support the rebels.

As general elections on March 18 approach, Tshombe's end of the Congo see-saw is on the rise. He has just returned from Brussels where he succeeded in winning from the Belgian Government Rs. 160 crores (£120 million) worth of long-sought-after shares in the vast Union Miniere Company.

Nigeria's *Daily Express* stated recently, "The Congo offers the big test for the effectiveness of the OAU. If Africa fails in the Congo then all our pride as a new force in world politics must collapse woe-fully. But to succeed, the OAU needs above all a Policy of Truth, a Policy of Honesty that supports what is right no matter our individual prejudices..."

Free from bias, with eyes fixed on the goal of what Africa can give to a divided world, President Kenyatta and the OAU could this week begin to halt the rapid fragmentation of the African continent.

Moscow Moves East

A MEASURE of Moscow's steady move towards an accommodation with Peking was the Soviet Premier's reception in Peking last week on his way to North Viet-Nam. Correspondents saw hostile overtones in the absence of Chinese crowds to welcome Mr. Kosygin, and that "customary" phrases indicating friendship were omitted from Radio Peking's bulletins.

More remarkable is that Mr. Kosygin's visit to North Viet-Nam, a jealously-guarded sphere of Chinese influence, has not raised protests from the rulers of Peking. It underscores the likelihood that on issues like Viet-Nam, so decisive for the world advance of Communism, Russia and China are increasingly prepared to submerge dogmatic differences in the larger strategy of world conquest.

In fact, at the very moment when American-supported military action was being launched against North Viet-Nam installations last Sunday, Mr. Kosygin was threatening the U.S. with aid to Hanoi.

President Johnson's latest decision to strengthen support for South Viet-Nam is to be welcomed by all whose freedom is in jeopardy. It will help ease concern felt over Mr. Johnson's latest defence message to Congress which *The New York Times* said only "suggested" a continuation of the U.S. presence.

What is needed now is an unequivocal assurance by President Johnson that no apostles of appeasement, be they powerful politicians or clamorous columnists, will in the future sway the Administration from its declared policy.

Briefly Speaking...

Most Quoted Weekiy

HIMMAT is fast becoming one of the most quoted voices of India abroad. Subscribers in 43 countries now read the air-speeded edition. Last week the following information reached HIMMAT office:

Britain's well-known weekly *Time and Tide* devoted its entire feature on India to "Mr. Gandhi's New Crusade." It quotes extensively from HIMMAT, its opinion of the Sadachar Samiti and of the advance of Peking in Latin America.

The *Richmond Times Dispatch*, USA, in a lead editorial quoted Senator Mike Mansfield: "What we are doing now in Viet-Nam is paying for the mistake of getting rid of Diem." It continued, "Halfway round the globe similar views are expressed in HIMMAT, a weekly news review published in Bombay." It then goes on to quote extensively from HIMMAT's article, "Will US Betray Viet-Nam?"

The *West African Pilot*, Nigeria's leading newspaper, published from Lagos, reprinted the complete text of HIMMAT's article, "What Next in Africa?"

The *South Pacific Post*, which circulates throughout New Guinea, Papua and the Pacific islands, carried a major item from HIMMAT urging an alliance of Australia, India and Japan to meet the growing threat of Peking in Asia. It concludes, "There may be new thoughts we should not dispel in this 'voice' of India."

De Gaulle's Aim

GENERAL DE GAULLE is showing growing interest in India. What is he after? This week his Prime Minister and Foreign Minister are conferring with Prime Minister Shastri. De Gaulle surprised both India and the West when he recognised Peking. He hopes that the Red giant of Russia can best be counterpoised by the Yellow giant of China. If China is a constant threat to Russia, France and Western Europe are safe.

What interest De Gaulle may have

in India in his own overall strategy is yet to be fathomed. With Adenauer removed from the European scene, De Gaulle undoubtedly stands as the unchallenged leader of Europe. Churchill always found him difficult and quipped during the war, "The heaviest cross I have to carry is the Cross of Lorraine."

They Say...

"The weak who know how to play on their weaknesses, are strong. This is the secret of women and of the developing lands."

COUVE DE MURVILLE,
French Foreign Minister.

"Agriculture has not failed. We have failed."

ASOKA MEHTA,
Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

Profits Without Service

THE INDIAN Airlines Corporation takes pleasure in announcing its profits. The public will share the pleasure if they receive proper service. Incoming cargo of the IAC in Bombay is handled by three separate sections—IAC's own office and two other private concerns. Your packet is liable to come to any one of the three places. Both private concerns are closed over Sunday. One operates in a crowded, shabby, back street office miles from the centre of town.

An urgent package addressed to HIMMAT could not be collected for 12 hours after arrival at the airport and, had the private operator had his way, 40 hours would have elapsed over the weekend.

What the IAC needs is competition and a sense of serving the nation. Air India benefits from both. Britain and Australia run their Government airlines, but at the same time allow private competition. The rapidly expanding transport needs of a country like India give ample scope for both.

R. M. L.

The week in India

NEW DELHI—The Indian Government has called Chinese charges of Indian violation of the Tibet-Sikkim borders "reminiscent of the charges which the Chinese Government levelled against India in the autumn of 1962 before launching its massive attacks across the border." The Government said that the Chinese note "contained veiled threats about safeguarding China's territorial sovereignty" and maintaining "the tranquility of the border."

COCHIN—An agreement for the construction of a major shipyard at Cochin, Kerala, costing Rs. 10 crores (£ 7.5 million) was signed between the Government and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries. The yard will specialise in building bulk carriers and tankers. The Japanese representative said his country would go all out to aid the development of Indian shipping. He stressed the need for starting some 200 associate industries in the vicinity of the yard.

NEW DELHI—Prime Minister Shastri told a delegation of 46 senior American businessmen that India would look to the U. S. for increased aid in the development of the Fourth Plan. Finance Minister Krishnamachari stated that India offered a most favourable climate for American investment.

SRINAGAR—The Union Government has given Sheikh Abdullah necessary passport facilities enabling him to visit Mecca, the U.K., Algeria, U.A.R., Lebanon, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. The Sheikh, former Prime Minister of Kashmir, has said he will use his trip to gain support abroad for self-determination for the people of Kashmir.

CHANDIGARH—Three men have been taken into custody in connection with the assassination of former Punjab Chief Minister Kairon. Police say the murder was committed by "hired assassins" and was the result of a "well-planned conspiracy".

TRIVANDRUM—853 candidates will stand for the 133 seats in the Kerala Assembly. Fourteen parties are contesting the election, the largest number ever to enter the State's political arena. Forty-one of the Left Communist candidates are in prison under the Defence of India Act.

MADRAS—Chief Minister Bhaktavatsalam called on non-Hindi speaking States to pressure the Government into making English the nation's official language for all time along with Hindi.

Violence in the Air

by The Editor

VIOLENCE is in the air. Last Sunday the nation was shocked at the brutal murder of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, former Chief Minister of the Punjab. The photograph of his body slumped in the back seat of the car, was flashed across the nation. The man had his faults. Yet assassination came like a stab in the nation's conscience. Thousands asked themselves, "Where are we heading?"

On the eve of Republic Day students in South India violently protested against Hindi being the official language. In Madras, men filled with hate and anger burnt themselves to death like Buddhist monks in Saigon. "A new thing in this country," our Prime Minister remarked. Now the Chief Minister of Madras declares that a few teachers had even preached the gospel of hatred, advocated the path of lawlessness and corrupted immature minds. It was high time, he said, that the student community was protected from "these pedlars of poison."

From neighbouring Kerala comes news that the Government is investigating the origin of an anonymous document announcing sentences of liquidation on high officials by special "people's courts." According to *The Times of India* several officials are believed to have received cyclostyled copies of the document posted from Trichur. The document tells the recipients:

People's Court

"You have been sentenced by a people's court. Your crime is conspiracy against the leaders of the people and complicity in the repression now being carried out by Congress fascists. The sentence is liquidation of you and all members of your decadent bourgeois family. You shall suffer the same fate as the landlords of Yenan (China) and Telen-gana."

The document adds: "The judgement of the people of Kerala will not be long in coming. Revolution is approaching and the day when jackals will strip the flesh from you and your family's bones is not far off."

It warns the officials: "Do not think of escape nor shelter yourself behind police guards. The arm of the people will strike at the very moment planned for it. Your wife, children and even their children will be dealt with at leisure. We will take no delight in liquidating your kind, but the land of Kerala must be cleansed and purified of all bourgeois contamination. The vengeance of the people has been delayed, but when it comes, it will be terrible."

Who are these "pedlars of poison", as the Madras Chief Minister put it?

If our nation is in this condition today, we are all responsible for it.

We need to expose what is wrong, but for years certain journals have specialised in creating a climate of hate in this nation—hate aimed at select political and industrial personalities. They assassinate the character of men to suit their purposes.

Baiting Traders

Politicians are no less responsible. They insist on baiting traders and businessmen—from whom, incidentally, they collect their election funds—for shortage of food and other failures of the economy.

What about trade unionists? One trade unionist, well-known for paralysing his city, told the writer, "I want anarchy, so that somehow the present lot will be thrown out and we have a fair chance of coming to power." Strong words. He was honest. But there are many others who work more subtly for the same aim. They use the genuine grievances of the workers, the bitterness, the hard life and conditions that face them, to achieve their own ends.

Businessmen and industrialists who sponsor and finance anti-Communist activities but at the same time exploit their workers are as responsible for creating bitterness and anarchy as the trade unionist mentioned earlier.

Statesmen need to learn that political expediency and compromise with men who are known to be corrupt—is not kindness. Had immediate action been urged by the Congress High Command when complaints were first received about Mr. Kairon,

it is conceivable that passions may not have reached such a pitch.

Violence is the end product of hate and injustice. Mahatma Gandhi, who had his finger on the pulse of India, knew the ferocity of the hate that lay latent in India. His constant preaching of non-violence was not only a technique to win India's freedom but a necessity to curb, in his own people, the violent tendencies to which ultimately he fell a victim. Democracy, he knew, is not the way men vote once every five years. The life of liberty and its death depends on how men live and what they live for all the time.

Modernise India

Those who encourage hatred in any form against another race, class, language or community inevitably will lead this nation to the path of violence, anarchy and ultimate dictatorship of the left or right. Every Indian who truly loves his country will reject this. What India needs today is an explosion, a thunderstorm of the human heart, created by men and women who realise that the modernisation of India is the great task before us.

India will be modernised and rebuilt by those willing to match rebellion by a revolution in their own aims and motives; willing to cross the barriers of race and language and narrow nationalism that divide the earth; men willing to yield their hatred on issues of language, class or religion for a greater love for their nation.

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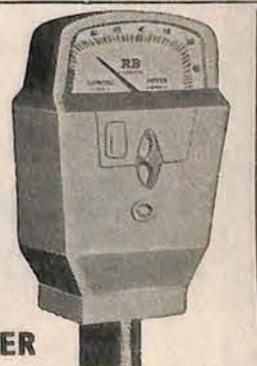
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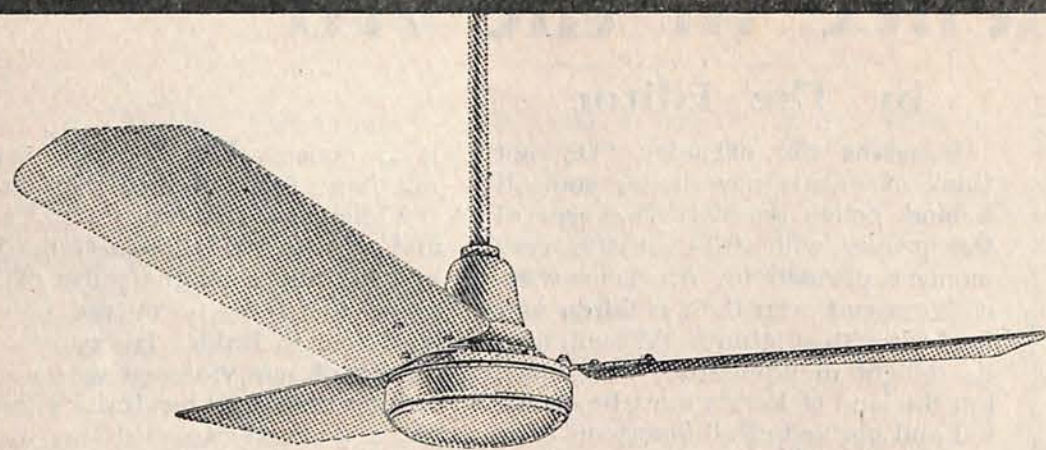
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Which Way, Kerala ?

"I AM CONFUSED. I do not know how I will vote. Most intelligent people of our State are in my position," said a successful businessman in Trivandrum when I asked him about the impending elections in Kerala.

"Only God's intervention can save this State now," said the editor of Kerala's largest daily. "India will become another Viet-Nam if the Communists win here this time."

"Kerala, Ceylon and Indonesia form the chain with which China will bind South and South East Asia," said a crippled young man, undefeated by life and concerned about his State.

"We do not expect any party to be able to form a government," said a Government officer, who has responsibility for conducting the elections.

"The one unpredictable factor is the scarcity of rice," said a taxi driver. "The people may do anything."

"The people are indifferent. They have had all kinds of government. But Communist, Socialist, Congress have all proved corrupt. If the people had their way, they would vote for Governor's rule," said an educationist.

Tenth Election

Kerala goes to the polls once again on March 4, to elect 133 members to the Legislature. This is the tenth election in 18 years of Independence.

The Congress Party has just announced its candidates for all the seats. They are opposed by the Left-wing Communists, Right-wing Communists in alliance with the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Kerala Congress (formed by dissident Congressmen who voted against the Government in September 1964), the Muslim League, the Samyukta Socialist Party and Independents.

The Congress Party is fighting the election alone. All other parties stand united in the conviction that the Congress Party must not be returned to power. They have failed however to form a united front though electoral alliances exist between the Left-wing Communists and the Muslim League, Muslim League and the Kerala Congress, Right-wing Communists and the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

Informal arrangements are being worked out by all parties at the district

level against the Congress. Though there is a rift between the two sections of the Communist Party, there is in fact in many districts an arrangement between them to avoid contests that would damage either of them.

It is a very different picture from the election of 1960 when a united front of non-Communists including the Congress, the Socialists, and the Muslim League fought a straight contest against the Communists. Influential leaders of communities like Mannath Padmanabhan (Nairs),

Under the Lens

Bafaki Thangal (Muslims) and the Bishops stood firmly on the side of the non-Communist alliance. In 1960 the Communists stood alone. In 1965, the Congress stands alone.

Congress leaders told me that they are glad that the wrong elements have left the party. The truth is that what is left of the Congress is still divided.

The dissidents' main plank is their opposition to former Chief Minister R. Sankar. The reasons range from opposition to his decision to evict Catholic peasants from Government forest lands (which they had encroached upon for years), to resentment over his personal attitude to communal hatred.

But the Congress has its share of blame too. Their victory in 1960 was a fruit of the alliance and of the sweat and sacrifice of all including the community leaders. But they systematically eliminated one after another from the seats of power—the Muslim League, and the Praja Socialist Party. And when they did enjoy sole power, they indulged in the most disgraceful group rivalry.

The failure of the Kerala leadership lies in their inability to work with their own friends. Admittedly, these friends were difficult, proud, often petty. But instead of changing them, they drove them into opposition. This has worked to the benefit of the Communists, for ultimately the two contenders for power in Kerala are the Congress and the Communist Party, with the Muslim League playing a vital role as a balancing factor in some districts. The Communists,

it is true, are divided. But not disastrously so. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, leader of the Left C.P.I., and M. N. Govindan Nair, Secretary of the right C.P.I. have both stated publicly that their failure to form a united front has destroyed chances of winning the majority needed to Govern.

Why are the Communists unable to unite even though it sacrifices their chances of winning power democratically for a second time? If the Right-Wing Communist Party had not pressed the demand that a public declaration should be made against the Muslim League, the Left-wing Communists would presumably have been content. It would seem therefore that the Right-wing wanted the breakaway either as a trial of strength or to suit the interests of higher powers. If E.M.S., for his part, preferred alliance with Muslim League to alliance with his own comrades, he must have had good reasons. It is felt that he hopes to eliminate the Right-wing C.P.I. altogether. The defeat of the Right-wing in the Kerala election would eliminate S. A. Dange, National Chairman of the Right-wing C.P.I., from the Indian scene.

Anybody's Guess

The outcome of the election is anybody's guess. But with rice selling at Rs. 2 per cent measure (1½ litres) —even the poor supplement their ration by buying on the black market —with quite widespread unemployment and hunger, and with the Congress opposed by a coterie of interests and ideologies, it is an uphill task for Congress Party President Kamaraj. The future of the Congress in Kerala lies in its ability to break out of its present isolation, and offer to all Communities a greater loyalty.

A Congress, tarnished and divided, is no match to the Left-wing Communists even if they are known to be pro-Chinese in their views.

But a Congress, global in outlook, revolutionary for economic as well as moral change, united in patriotic purpose, can win the masses who are disillusioned with right, left and centre. Someone in Kerala has to offer this alternative which transcends the narrower loyalties to communal groups, parties and ideologies.

R. VAITHESWARAN

De Gaulle's Dilemma

by Pierre Spoerri

This week the French Prime Minister and Foreign Minister are on a State visit to India. Last week President de Gaulle proposed a 5-power conference, including China, to re-establish, as he called it, "the equilibrium of the United Nations." Whether one agrees or disagrees with President de Gaulle, the world respects his attempt to restore France as a major world power. HIMMAT's European correspondent assesses here the most enigmatic statesman of our times.—Ed.

MILLIONS OF EUROPEANS who saw the funeral of Winston Churchill on television and saw the tall figure of President de Gaulle marching in measured step behind the coffin of his eminent friend, must have thought back twenty-five years to the dark days of May 1940. France had just fallen, and an unknown French General had refused to submit to Hitler's armies. He flew to London to join Winston Churchill.

When De Gaulle spoke over the radio to the French nation that same night, few people took him seriously. Many thought he was just a kind of rebel and that the true France was represented by that old, respected Marshal, Philippe Pétain. But history proved De Gaulle right, and as the head of a new-born French Army he drove into Paris in 1945.

De Gaulle's greatest achievement since 1940 has been that he proved that the industrial, financial, military and even atomic potential of a nation or of a group of nations is not the only thing that counts in the modern world.

What Makes Him Tick?

What makes De Gaulle tick? First of all, De Gaulle is a Frenchman. "France is not really herself if she is not in the first rank"—the first line of his memoirs—reveal the French President's unshakable decision that service to his country comes before everything else in his life.

But as a realist, De Gaulle is also a European. And that is where the contradictions begin.

In the New Year's issue of *Paris Match*, De Gaulle's friend Raymond Tournoux writes: "Seeing the structure of a united Europe being created, De Gaulle, the builder of the future, is constantly opposed to De Gaulle, the conservative. The first stage of the unity of the continent will be the unity of the six of the Common Market... a process which

will lead necessarily to a political authority over Western Europe.

"The approach of this fundamental change fascinates and horrifies De Gaulle. He is fascinated because a new world is being born under his eyes, under his reign, and often under his impulsion. He is horrified because he cannot accept being the man who inherited a past of glory and of sorrow, of great feats and tragedies, and who voluntarily sees his fatherland dissolved. The permanent drama of Charles De Gaulle comes from that duality which obsesses him. The heart and the reason, the past and the future, France and Europe."

Ties With East Europe

The other factor, which De Gaulle as a European sees clearly, is that in an age where the big powers confront each other, only a partnership of the European nations can make its influence felt. If France alone tries to intervene in South America or in the Middle East, it will never be taken too seriously. But if France and Germany and possibly Britain would act together in their policies, their influence could be as great as that of America or Russia.

The third factor which influences De Gaulle as a European, is his conviction that Europe stretches from the Atlantic to the Urals. He thinks that the only hope of freeing Eastern Europe from the grip of Soviet Russia, lies in making Western Europe less dependent on America. He also sees the only hope of the reunification of Germany in a gradual loosening of the ties between East Germany and the Eastern bloc.

Rumania seems to be a case in point. In Rumania the anti-Russian campaign has replaced the de-Stalinisation which has taken place in most of the Eastern European countries. Instead of learning Russian, the young Rumanians now are taught

French. De Gaulle seems to think that if an alternative like this could be shown to all these Eastern European nations, they might turn to it.

The Hungarian Foreign Minister, Janos Peter, said on his recent arrival in Paris, "I would like to study the ideas of the French Government for an independent Europe, a European Europe and an enlarged Europe." The fact that all of the Eastern European Foreign Ministers visited France during the last month, has reinforced De Gaulle's conviction that France may have a very particular part to play in East Bloc affairs.

Finally, De Gaulle is a world statesman. Nobody will understand De Gaulle without understanding the deep wounds left by the decisions of the Conference at Yalta in 1945. De Gaulle feels that at Yalta, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill decided the fate of 200 million Eastern Europeans without consulting any of them. He still thinks that the same could happen to Western Europe, if the Western European nations are not aware of this danger.

Policy Towards China

On this point his views correspond to the views of many serious-minded Europeans. They are convinced that in the long run Europe has to stand on its own feet, and that it cannot depend on another country's sweat and weapons to defend her borders.

The same Europeans feel that such an attitude by the Europeans themselves would also facilitate new policies and attitudes on the part of America. It is clear that every use of American atomic weapons in favour of Europe will automatically endanger the big American cities. American intervention may come too late.

More complex, no doubt, are De Gaulle's motives in his policies towards Red China and South East Asia. There is certainly in him the desire to re-establish French influence

in a part of the world where France had important status in the past.

But if De Gaulle argues that China is a country of the future and it is better to establish the right relationship with it now, he might have to realise that the populations of South East Asia could consider in the future his desire to give in to China as some East Europeans consider today the appeasing attitude of the Western leaders in Yalta.

Where the French President might best see what China's real intentions are in the world, is in France's own neighbour continent, Africa. The recognition of Red China by France has not brought China into the councils of the United Nations so far. But it did cause several of the African Governments allied with Paris to break their relations with Nationalist China and to establish diplomatic relations with Peking. The whole evolution in the Congo would have gone differently, if the French Congo with its capital Brazzaville had not become the base from which the Chinese could operate. No realist like De Gaulle can overlook this.

Le Monde recently published an article concerning the presence of France in another African country,

Mali. The Chinese sent there a small number of young experts. The correspondent of *Le Monde* writes: "Living in an ordinary hut, without an airconditioner, without an icebox, without a personal car, these young men are satisfied with a salary equal or inferior to the salaries of their corresponding number inside the Mali civil service. They have rapidly become the most popular foreigners in Mali."

Surround with Mystery

The example of Mali—which corresponds to the situation in many countries—shows where De Gaulle's ideas must prove their worth. The Chinese are challenging the whole world with their passion and with their ideology. De Gaulle seems to work at this moment without a clear understanding of what this factor of ideology really means.

It is true that French Diplomats are today in Peking. It is true that they have a commanding influence in a country like Cambodia and in many parts of Africa and even the Middle East. It is also true that De Gaulle was received with open arms in many countries of Latin America.

The contacts exist and the relation-

ships are established, but what is the content that France will put into them? Recently, De Gaulle said to a friend of his: "The atomic power balance in the world allows us to do politics." If De Gaulle means that statement seriously, he must also understand that the atomic power balance makes the war of ideas in East and West even more important.

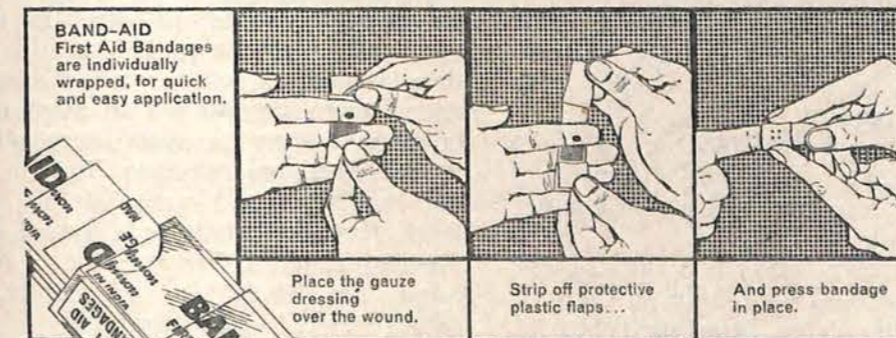
1965 will be a decisive year for De Gaulle. In February the municipal elections, and in December the presidential elections, will show him how much the French people still stand behind him.

When he was once asked why he kept all the decisions to himself before announcing them, De Gaulle said: "You need always to surround yourself with mystery and secrets."

What the secret card is that the French President has up his sleeve and wants to reveal during 1965, nobody knows. Maybe he wants to proclaim a totally new concept demanding fundamental changes in human nature in both East and West. If that were to become the concept of the new European, living between the Atlantic and the Urals, who would be better equipped to give life and substance to it than General De Gaulle?

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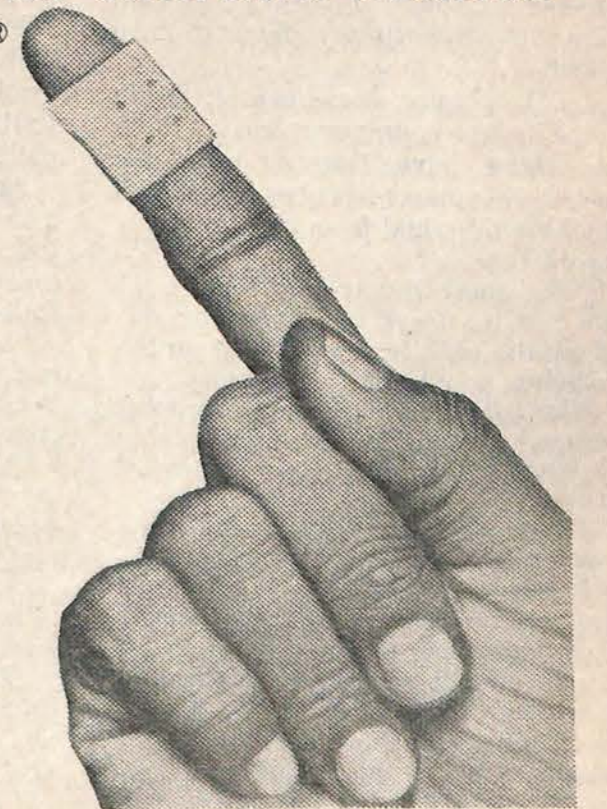
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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Ireland's Cold War Ending

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Belfast

WALLS OF HATE between Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic show signs of yielding after more than 44 years of suspicion and violence. For the first time since the bitter war which resulted in the partition of Ireland in 1921, the Prime Ministers of both countries met recently here in Belfast. The occasion was what the press called "a history-making lunch" between Captain Terence O'Neill, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland and Mr. Sean Lemass, Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland at the Stormont, Northern Ireland's Parliament.

Arrangements for the lunch were made in the greatest secrecy. It was only as the two Premiers were sitting down together that the news broke on an incredulous and stunned nation.

"Never the Same Again"

The *News Letter*, Belfast's morning paper, wrote, "Things can never be the same again." These simple words by Mr. Lemass epitomise the spirit of the historic meeting between Captain O'Neill and himself. It was indeed a watershed in Irish affairs.

"After years of petty squabbling, of name-calling from both sides, of doubts, suspicions and fears, the people of the two parts of Ireland have an opportunity now to live together.

"This chance has been given to them by two courageous leaders, both of whom have thrown aside the tattered remnants of outworn political thinking inherited from old, unhappy, far-off days.

"The most heartening feature of the last ten days has been the response the talks have evoked from the ordinary people of this country."

The *Irish Times* reported, "Support is coming from some unpredictable quarters. From Belfast shipyard workers, for instance.

"Shop stewards in the engineering section of Harland and Wolff have told the Prime Minister that they support his courageous effort. They have urged him to continue his efforts for economic cooperation between the two Governments. The shrewd thinking of the shipyard worker is as accurate a barometer of ordinary-man-in-the-street opinion as you will find in Northern Ireland."

A Government Whip of the Republic of Ireland Government, Mrs. Celia Lynch, T.D., said, "To a great extent partition really had existed in our hearts and we had lost interest in the North. The meeting has abolished that particular partition now. Nearly everyone I meet wants to take the next train to Belfast and meet the people of the North and to become friendly with them."

One newspaper correspondent wrote, "The world's oldest cold war has ended, and a bridge of friendship established. A door that was locked and bolted is 'now on the latch.'"

More Wheat Aid

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Canberra

INDIA'S REQUEST for one million tons of Australian wheat has stirred widespread interest here.

Support is mounting for Australia to make at least part of the wheat available as a gift, particularly as India is a fellow Commonwealth nation.

An editorial in *The Canberra Times*—the national capital's most influential paper—urged the Government to be generous in dealing with India's request.

"Let us give 500,000 tons as a gift and offer the other 500,000 tons on a five-year low interest loan," the paper suggested.

"Whatever differences this country may have had with India in the past—and they have been pretty trivial really—our interests and ideals are closer to those of India than of any other country in our part of the world," the editorial stated.

The Chairman of the Labour Opposition's Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Allan Fraser, also urged "the most possible" aid for India.

Mr. Fraser suggested that in responding to India's need, "we should

reassess upwards our total contribution in the one war that is worthwhile—that against hunger, disease and ignorance."

The Prime Minister, Sir Robert Menzies, went on record following the death of Mr. Nehru, last May, as saying that his Government wished to "encourage the best possible relations with India."

He now has a chance to give practical effect to this declaration.

Australia Stirs

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Canberra

THE AUSTRALIAN Government has decided to provide combat troops to serve in the Borneo States of Malaysia. Acting Prime Minister McEwen said they would be the Third Battalion of the Royal Australian Regiment and a special Air Service Company of commando paratroopers.

Mr. McEwen did not mention the ANZUS Treaty implications of this decision, but it is known that the Australian Government recently informed the United States Government of its intentions.

Australia's decision to send combat soldiers to Borneo has posed Indonesia a crucial question: "If we attack Australians, will the United States attack us?" According to Prime Minister Menzies' most significant pronouncement on this the answer could well be "yes".

Australia, the United States and New Zealand are partners in the ANZUS Treaty, of which Article 4 says, "Each party recognises that an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares it will act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes."

Prime Minister Menzies stated last April that the treaty was based on the utmost goodwill, good faith and unqualified friendship and that each country would stand by it.

With U.S. policy showing signs of grave irresolution in South-East Asia and Indonesia beginning to operate on a Peking axis, time is beginning to run out.

Against this background, a strategic concept having as its basis a Delhi-Canberra-Tokyo axis may prove decisive in determining the future of this part of the world.

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS—cont'd.

Last Chance for the OAU ?

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Nairobi

IS THE Organisation of African Unity going the way of the League of Nations and following the present trends in the United Nations?

The Nigerian Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafewa Balewa, said last week in Lagos, "Some recent events and circumstances in Africa of a political nature have tended to cast doubt on the realism and efficacy of our organisation."

Within two years of coming into existence, he continued, some doubts had arisen whether or not the basic principles of the OAU charter were being strictly adhered to in the fraternal relationships between states.

This crisis is focussed by the Congo dilemma.

Representatives of the Congo Government and the rebel elements have been invited to meet in Nairobi on February 12 for discussions on national reconciliation. A sub-committee comprising representatives of Ghana, Guinea and Nigeria are to make an on-the-spot appraisal of the situation.

But meanwhile, Algeria and Egypt have announced that in addition to the arms they are supplying to the rebels they will give political and diplomatic support to the Gbenye "government".

Serious concern is being expressed by member states about the sincerity of some countries who have declared support for the rebels.

The Presidents of Niger, Ivory Coast and the Upper Volta have decided to take a firm stand against "certain adventures into which some countries and countries outside Africa are trying to lead our states."

The February Congo reconciliation meeting, followed later in the same month with the full OAU Council of Foreign Ministers, both of which will be held in Nairobi, places a heavy responsibility on Jomo Kenyatta.

Nigeria's Example

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Nairobi

FRAGMENTATION threatens Africa. "Break away!" is the last ditch cry of those who cannot or will not agree. Behind the political scenes the colonial technique of "divide and rule", used effectively in the past to gain or maintain control, is now being vigorously

pursued by latter-day imperialists—white, black, brown and yellow.

The departure of European powers from the African continent left some of the newly independent states with a legacy of division which today threatens their stability, security and economic progress.

Nigeria has just passed through such a crisis. The near collapse of the Federation has been temporarily



President Azikiwe

smoothed over by the largeness of concept and statesmanship of president Azikiwe and some of his non-political colleagues.

Kenya's "Harambee" (let's all pull together) spirit is being eroded through her running dispute with Somalia on her northern borders.

The new Government of the Sudan, hoping for democratic elections in March, is threatened with continued rebellion in the south and demands for secession.

As these African Governments reluctantly grapple with the implications of the East-West conflict they are beset with North-South divisions which are predominantly Muslim versus non-Muslim.

No one in Africa wishes to see religion injected into the political and ideological conflicts as has happened in the tragic events in Viet-Nam.

The week in Asia

VIET-NAM—Scores of Russian MiG-type planes have been flying over South-Eastern China, North Viet-Nam and along the Gulf of Tonkin in recent days. Their object, it is thought, is to counter any American forays into North Viet-Nam. How China has acquired these MiG-21s is not known. In 1961 Russia stopped sending all vital military equipment to China.

CEYLON—The Government has asked India to supply 20,000 tons of rice urgently needed to tide over the current crisis.

NEW ZEALAND—Mr. Keith Holyoake, Prime Minister, has committed 1,300 men of the New Zealand Army to Malaysia for service in Borneo.

CHINA—President Nyerere of Tanzania will be the first East African head of State to visit Peking. Arriving on February 15, on a state visit, he will have talks on further Chinese aid for his country.

INDONESIA—President Sukarno told a U.S. television interviewer that he thought the Communists were "behaving well". He said that he did not object to Communism taking over his country providing it evolved without damaging the State. Aid from China and Russia had no strings, he claimed. To America, he said, "I repeat, go to hell with your aid if that aid is meant to keep us on strings."

JAPAN—A Japanese economic mission headed by the President of the Industrial Bank of Japan left for New Delhi to discuss greatly increased Japanese participation in the Fourth Plan. The Japanese are interested in the vast investment possibilities which their technological experience opens.

CHINA—Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai has said that China "firmly rejects and will not take part in the proposed conference of Communist parties" scheduled to meet in Moscow on March 1. The Chinese regard the conference as illegal.

LAOS—Neutralist Government troops regained complete control of the capital Vientiane, after severe street fighting with right-wing rebel forces led by General Phoumi Nosavan and Police-General Siho Lamphouthakoul. The rebel leaders fled Vientiane and were being pursued in the mountains to the north. All negotiations with the rebels were ruled out by the Government. General Nosavan is reported seeking refuge in Thailand.

JAPAN—A Policy for Asia

by Toshio Hara

PRIME MINISTER Eisaku Sato returned satisfied and confident from Washington. He pledged to "work harder for the stability and prosperity of Asia" and to raise the pace of medical and technical aid to South East Asia. But it will take lots more than medical and technical advice, much more than political manoeuvres or military might, to ensure freedom and liberty for Asia.

1965 will decide life or death for millions. Prime Minister Sato is confident that "a new chapter has started in U.S.-Japan relations." Will Japan and America rise to match the challenge of the day?

So far, Japan's attitude has been to sit comfortably and "watch the fire on the other bank". Over the last years, public opinion has been pressing that Japan should take more initia-

tive and leadership in Asia. But while the Japanese were busy making money and isolating themselves from the world, China strove for world leadership.

The biggest mistake the Japanese committed was to withdraw from world affairs when the war ended, for, however wrong the war may have been, many Japanese were thinking in terms of the whole continent. The spiritual vacuum that resulted in the lack of leadership over the last 20 years, and the loss of confidence, has been a far greater blow than the destruction of houses and cities.

Total War

Peking is thinking in terms of a total war. It uses trade, economy, politics or atomic power to further the cause. The governments of the free world do not understand the nature or the force of an ideology. They use their trade, know-how, politics and atom bomb to defend their *status quo*.

A country like Indonesia receives aid from both Russia and America. It is with Russian MiGs and guns and American aid that she is fighting Malaysia which has the support of Britain and the U.N. It is against Russian-made bombers and guns that the U.S. soldiers are fighting in South Viet-Nam and in the Congo. On the one hand America hoped to co-exist with Russia, on the other hand she is forced to fight. The people who for so long encouraged Mao Tse-tung as an "agrarian reformer" are the same people who overthrew Diem as a "dictator".

In order to meet the situation Japan must think in terms of advancing the whole of humanity and not just in terms of national interest.

The answer will be a superior plan that can feed hungry stomachs, fill empty hearts, revolutionise human nature and unite people of all classes and races.

What Asia expects from Japan is not just a spirit of "harmony and perseverance" but the determination and the plan to change the *status quo*.

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The Debate on Legal Abortion

by Dr. Ernest Claxton and Dr. David Watson

On the recommendation of the Central Family Planning Board, a Committee has been set up to study the legislation on abortion as a measure of family planning. The Committee is expected to report at the end of March. HIMMAT invited Dr. Claxton, Principal Assistant Secretary of the British Medical Association, and Colonel Watson, a leading psychiatrist formerly with the Indian Army, to give their personal views on this subject from a medical standpoint.—Ed.

POPULATION CONTROL is a vast and almost unexplored field. We do not know what effect it may have either on individuals or on nations taking part in experiments to limit the numbers of the world's inhabitants.

Over thousands of years until 1900 the world's population reached 1000 million. In the next fifty years it became 3000 million. By the end of the century it will be 6000 million. This is the population explosion. Its effects are felt chiefly in Asia and Latin America although most other parts of the world also have a rising birth-rate.

Added to the natural increase is the effect of "death-control," the conquest of the great killer diseases, by medical science, malaria, tuberculosis, cholera, etc.

Rate of Increase

The simple problem before the governments of the world is how to feed the people and provide for their expected increase, and, if possible, to control the rate of increase. It is our view that efforts to control population increase have been pressed forward with far greater energy than have the plans to increase food production.

Animal birth-rate depends on instinct and opportunity. Man, if he decides to do so, can control both instinct and opportunity. Thus he can limit his numbers. But if he gives free rein to instinct and opportunity he will have to impose control of his numbers either by preventing conceptions or restricting the number of births that occur.

This means the widespread use of contraceptives and/or induced abortions. In the West, despite widely practised contraception, most countries have a rising birth-rate.

Europe's experience of the more drastic method of population control, abortion, ought to give pause to would-be imitators.

By a revolutionary decree in 1920, Soviet Russia legalized abortion, on

request, on social and economic grounds. Within four years demand for operations exceeded facilities. In Leningrad, for example, abortions increased six and a half times and far out-ran live births. Amendment after amendment to the ordinance failed to curb the trend and after the ten-year experiment abortion was made illegal except on medical grounds.

Some East European countries followed, in part, the original Russian example but are now tightening up their regulations. In 1950 the doctors of East Germany flatly refused to co-operate in working the abortion law and the legalizing measure had to be withdrawn.

Scandinavian countries relaxed their abortion laws in the 1930's. There, too, the demand rocketed. For example, in Sweden in 1951, legal abortions were 71 per 1000 live births, (20 per cent abortions were for unmarried women). Since 1956, however, there has been more than 40 per cent decline in the number of abortions done. Medical surveys in Sweden have shown that of all women, married or unmarried, who have the operations, 25 per cent to 60 per cent suffer afterwards from guilt feelings, which may be mild or severe enough to make them ill.

Disastrous Results

In Britain, perhaps warned by the sometimes disastrous experience of other countries, there is still reluctance to relax the existing law which permits termination of pregnancy for medical reasons only. A permissive bill brought before the last Parliament was talked out by members who had a religious conviction on the subject.

Of all Asian countries Japan alone permits induction of abortion on wide social and economic grounds. Her implicit aim has been to control an exploding population. What are the results? In 1949 abortions (246, 104) were only 9.1 per cent of live births. By 1957 the total (1,122,316) was no

less than 71.6 per cent of live births (1,566,713).

Within four years the cabinet began to see the red light. In October 1951 a special Cabinet Council order shifted the propaganda emphasis to contraception, but the birth-rate decline continued. For by now abortion had become part of the national mores. The 1947 birth-rate of 34.3 per thousand became 17.2 per thousand in 1957, a staggering drop of 50 per cent in ten years.

Ominous Change

Then an ominous change in population age distribution appeared and worried the demographers. A country that had come to assume a comfortable surplus of labour now began to fear a shortage. In fact, a correspondent writing from Tokyo to the London Economist of November 28, 1964, stated that in 1963 only 930,000 school leavers had been taken into employment although 1,100,000 jobs were offered. The working population was expected to rise by about 1,400,000 yearly until 1964, but by the early seventies the annual increase would be only 620,000.

It seems then, that apart from an unforeseen reversal of these trends, Japan may literally have aborted her chances as a world competitive nation.

Nor do the figures tell the full story. With a mortality rate of 1 per cent to 10 per cent according to conditions at operation, and the 45 per cent to 50 per cent incidence of more or less severe complications after operation, which are admitted, the toll of human misery is incalculable.

In considering whether to make abortions available and to provide facilities on a national scale, governments must consider certain dangers. These are medical, moral and social.

However well carried out the operation is not without danger to the mother. To obtain a 50 per cent drop in birth-rate the Government of India, taking the Japanese figures as

Continued on page 16

VIEWPOINT

Our Nation's Defence

by R. M. Modi, Bombay

A GREAT controversy has arisen over the issue of the production of a nuclear weapon by India.

No one questions the good intentions of the Government's well-considered policy to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. But, in the troubled world of today and with a neighbour as bad as China, one has a right to question the Government's stand on the issue of safety devices for its people. The fact cannot be overlooked that neither the United Nations nor the Great Powers have succeeded in restraining China from indulging in war through their efforts in creating a moral climate. China, somehow or other, has managed to produce a nuclear weapon and, in a fit of lunacy, it may not refrain from using it in spite of its overall consequences.

And there is no doubt that it will start with India. It does not mean

that India too should straight way start producing the nuclear weapons. There are ways out which may be more peaceful. And the way is through the multi-dimensional approach in our foreign policy.

One appreciates the feelings of the Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri when he forcefully rejects the plea that India should begin to think in terms of developing or possessing an independent nuclear deterrent. One also appreciates the arguments put forward by Shastri that the policy of working for peace and disarmament which was initiated by Nehru should continue. The path of peace was never given up by Nehru even in times of great danger and this should not be dissipated because of the apprehension caused by the Chinese atomic explosion. Shastri, however, gave an assurance that the Government would keep a watch over the situation and would take the necessary steps at an appropriate time.

The line of thinking which the country should take is the safety and welfare of its people first, then the welfare of others. Only the strong can support the weak.

If we rule out the production of nuclear weapons on the ground that it would have a crippling effect on

our economy, which is evident, then the alternative is to approach one or both the Great Powers for nuclear weapons.

One knows that Russia has a soft corner for its Communist friend China and both are endeavouring to communise other countries. The situation may develop in such a way that tomorrow both Russia and America may excuse themselves from helping us with nuclear weapons on some pretext or other. And, as it happened in the case of Tibet, we would be left isolated, powerless, allowing ourselves to be devoured by the monster country, China.

The present stand of our leaders indicates the absence of multilateral approach in our foreign policy and defence. Our sticking to the same age-old path, however good it might have been before, must be stopped. If we have to keep our heads high in the world, we must face the problem squarely and should not hesitate to change our values for better along with the changing times. Otherwise, as is pointed out earlier, it would be too late to take the necessary steps.

Contributions to the Viewpoint Column representing the personal views of readers on important topics should not exceed 500 words.—ED.

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FOR WOMEN

From Wales to New Delhi

by Margaret Barrett

MY GRANDFATHER, David Lloyd George, was called "The Wizard of Wales".

When I was a small girl, during the first World War, he was Prime Minister of Britain. He was already the hero of the poor because of his successful fight in pioneering the National Health Insurance and unemployment insurance. Soon he was to be talked of as "the man who won the war".

My parents were in India at the time, for my father was surgeon to the Viceroy, Lord Reading. They had left me in the charge of my grandparents and so it was in No. 10 Downing Street that I learned to walk. I am told that my grandfather used to jump me up and down on the table in the Cabinet Room, causing confusion amongst the neatly arranged papers!

Memory of Gandhi

Another early memory was the visit of Mahatma Gandhi, in 1932, to my grandfather's home in Surrey. After lunch Mahatma Gandhi had asked to meet all the household and the servants, a thoughtful action which they have never forgotten.

On Republic Day, 1965, as I watched the women marching past in that beautifully organised and impressive parade in Delhi, I thought of the great part they had played in making the new India and of the yet greater part that they are called to play in the future.

I have learned something of what it means to fight to make my country clean, united and strong. During the last war, in the fight against the Nazis, I became a colonel in charge of 5,000 young girls. Of course, there were difficulties to be overcome and sacrifices to be made, but the whole country worked together and victory was won. Was it not like that, too, in India during the years of the fight for independence?

My husband and I are among the tens of thousands who are de-

termined that our country shall go forward to a new kind of unity through the character of our people being strengthened.

We live in Clive House, London—the beautiful home Clive built for himself in Berkeley Square when he returned from India and which remained in his family until 1938. In that year it was presented by the people of Britain to Dr. Frank Buchman, the leader of Moral Re-Armament.

Into this home from all parts of Britain, indeed from all over the world, pour people who want to have a part in building the new Britain and to learn how to use their homes for that purpose.

My husband is a Scot and I am Welsh and there is plenty of competition in the delegations that come from Scotland and Wales! During a serious strike in a large steelworks in South Wales, 900 women came to our home. Many of them had husbands who worked in the steelmills. They came to find a solution to this strike.

One of those women had the idea of seeing their Member of Parliament. This they did. When they got back home, they issued a statement to the

press, calling for common sense on both sides in the dispute. Their plea appeared on the front page of the local paper. One of the leading citizens of the town told me he felt it was the wives who had created a public opinion which helped solve the strike.

I feel that we women everywhere can turn the tide of hatred, fear and corruption in our lands. The future can be glorious for our children, or it can be a nightmare. If we will fight evil wherever we see it, cost what it may, we women can help usher in a new age for humanity.



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LETTERS

KERALA ELECTIONS

Sir,
Past experience shows that there is no political party in Kerala which can rule the State effectively and peacefully. It is only due to chronic political uneasiness prevailing in Kerala since Independence that its economic and industrial progress has been heavily impaired. Therefore, in their own interests and for the development of their State, the people of Kerala cannot do better than refrain from voting for any party in the impending general elections, and demand the continuation of President's rule which can fetch better dividends for them.

ANTHONY PARAKAL,

Bombay-64.

NATION'S CHARACTER

Sir,
Your belief that only a change in the character of man can solve India's problems seems to me true.

Our people are born procrastinators and hardly realise their responsibilities. Besides lack of national character, their lack of patriotism is equally damaging to India's unity and strength.

The people think of themselves as merchants, peasants, officials, students rather than as INDIANS. "Only a change in the character of man alone can solve India's problems."

S. M. SUBRAMANIAN,

Madurai.

YOUNG OPTIMISTS

Sir,
Recently I discovered HIMMAT. I saw there is yet a magazine and some people in India who are concerned with conscience, justice, purity and morality.

I am a student. To speak the truth, the mentality of the students is perverted. Teachers and lecturers are a bit responsible for it. A teacher must be an inspired teacher. He must have a true and real conception about the thing which is to be taught.

Today, there is corruption in India everywhere, in politics, in science, in private life, in business and even in literature. We, some students of Kharagpur (West Bengal) thought that we

would try our best to clean up all the dirt and corruption of our society through literature. Therefore we are publishing a Bengali Magazine (DHEU). How far we will be successful, we don't know. But we are robust optimists.

DILIP MAJUNDER,

Kharagpur.

ANTI-PROGRESS BULLIES

Sir,
Your article "The Anti-Progress Bullies" in the last page of HIMMAT, January 15, 1965, while I appreciate your diagnosis about India's ills, your remarks about Swatantra Party that "they have no radical cure for the poverty and hate and corruption of our land" is far from correct. If the party's programme, enunciated with deep thinking and after mature consideration, is accepted by the whole world, there will be peace and plenty in the world and as a natural corollary, there will be no "hatred and corruption." The party cries for a synthesis of the spiritual and the secular as a solution for the problems of man-in-society.

B. KUSLUCA RAO,

Bangalore

ABORTION — from page 13

a rough guide, would require Indian doctors to carry out something in the order of 4 million abortions at least for the first years of the period. This could result in 40,000 deaths of women operated on, and this figure could well be higher.

There is also the question of emotional trauma and other complications, which can be crippling. In such numbers this would be a great burden of suffering on the nation and the medical services.

Socially the actual provision of facilities and the fact of legalizing the procedure are bound to damage the cultural fibre of the nation. Easy abortion cheapens the unique value of human life. It encourages the use of sex for pleasure without responsibility.

It is known that lack of restraint in sex reduces the social energy of succeeding generations. Consequently the attitude of a nation to sexual behaviour is vitally important. In Britain there has been of recent years a slide in personal standards with social changes whose outcome we are beginning to see in loss of national direction and vigour.

Finally, abortion is concerned with

human life. No one can say at what point the soul or spirit enters the body of the foetus or infant's body. Many hold that the destruction of that body is murder.

Fortunately this is not the only choice. Against the grim facts of abortion must be set the enormous possibilities of increasing food production. Planners tend to become absorbed in the seemingly endless race between stomachs to fill and food available to fill them. They need to raise their eyes now and again from their calculations to the immense possibilities opened by science.

Controlled by Instinct?

At a recent meeting of scientists in London it was soberly stated that if all the earth's area that could be cleared were cleared (including tropical forests) and along with already available arable land, cultivated scientifically, the yield would provide an adequate diet for 15 times the present world population.

To sum up, it seems to us that population control is best achieved by self-control and possibly by this means alone. Responsible man can be master of his destiny. He need not be controlled by instinct. History and experience prove that when men set

about a task they know is right, God gives them the strength to achieve it. Instinct then becomes a servant instead of a master.

But if this is to happen men and women need to be passionately devoted to a purpose into which they can pour all their energies. Bold statesmanship and the example of leaders should produce a nation with such a purpose. A sense of national dedication will ensure that laws and behaviour will have a theme for national progress.

It is good news that India is to give renewed emphasis to the development of agriculture. In addition, her planners could give a lead to thinkers and planners the world over in ending the present half-hearted exploitation of the earth's food-growing potential.

To break the bottlenecks of prejudice, greed, politics and power that lie in the way of reaching this goal will demand the finest statesmanship.

The world needs such leadership. A minority can give it. This would create a fashion in dedication that not only will put sex in its place, but will canalize men's best thought and sweat to meet the needs of all mankind.

This was a life

ELIZABETH FRY

1780—1845

IF, TO LATER GENERATIONS, Elizabeth Fry seemed a rather austere humanitarian, held more in awe than affection, in her childhood she was a gay, pleasure-loving rebel.

Growing up at the family estate of Earham, near Norwich, Elizabeth Gurney (she married Joseph Fry when she was twenty) enjoyed to the full the "good life" of local high society. Her conversion to the strict ways of the "Plain Quakers" was sudden, dramatic and lasting. It happened at a Quaker Meeting addressed by a visiting American preacher, when she was just eighteen. Her sister, Richenda, remembered with amusement "the very smart boots, purple, laced with scarlet," that Elizabeth was defiantly wearing. At the end of the meeting she was in tears. "From that day," recalls her sister, "her love of pleasure and of the world seemed gone."

Elizabeth's passion became the betterment of the lot of the less fortunate around her. It was in 1812, while living with her husband in London, that she first became aware of the wretched condition of women prisoners in the Newgate Prison. Five years later, in 1817, she made her celebrated entry into the women's yard of the Newgate—where even male warders feared to venture unprotected. There, three hundred women, with their children, lived together in such squalor and degradation that they behaved more like beasts than human beings.

The result was the founding of the Women's Prison Visiting Association. Among the reforms which Elizabeth Fry fought for and achieved were: separate prisons for women, supervision by warders of their own sex, some education and profitable employment for the inmates and their classification according to the nature of the crimes they had committed.

Under her energetic supervision similar visiting associations sprang up all over the country and even abroad—in Holland, Belgium, France and Germany.

In a violent and callous age she succeeded in arousing the public conscience and creating a demand for Prison reform. Although others were required to complete what she had begun, her sudden change of heart as a girl of eighteen had made her a pioneer in a much-neglected field.

Q and A

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

Q—Should India join the Nuclear Club? What would happen if India came under the Nuclear Umbrella?

K. V. NAGARAJA, Bangalore.

A—India should not join the Nuclear Club.

China's aim is to impress and intimidate her neighbours with the bomb and encourage the Communist parties of these nations to pursue more vigorous and aggressive policies. The democratic nations need therefore not only a clear re-assurance of protection against nuclear attack. They must also prepare to meet China's gigantic conventional strength and her ideological threat.

President Johnson gave an assurance in general terms to the whole of Asia that America would be prepared to guarantee protection from China's bomb. At the same time we must increase, strengthen and modernise our defence forces. Above all we need to be firm and united in order to avert the danger of ideological penetration.

India should not manufacture her own bomb. To incur the heavy cost of completing the vast industrial complex needed for the purpose would only bring about greater discontent and encourage civil commotion.

Q—In an under-developed country like India, democracy is a costly affair. Comment.

B. PRABHAKAR REDDY, Tirupati.

A—Don't under-estimate the value of our freedom. It has been won at great cost. With all our failings, India is still a haven of freedom in a sea of dictatorships. Also, please don't under-estimate the extent of our development in the last fifteen years. It is considerable, though we could have done better.

Our failure to progress fast is not be-

cause of our democracy but because of the steady erosion of character in all sections of the nation. The cure for a crisis in character does not lie in force or dictatorship.

Even dictatorship would have to reckon with the apathy, laziness and selfishness of the Indian people. It will, of course, try to whip the people into obedience, but an obedient slave who works to please his master is a far cry from a willing patriot who works for his country.

It is not true that dictatorship is more efficient than democracy. In the long run it is more costly.

If we will not voluntarily accept a revolution of moral discipline, hard work and austerity, we will have a ruthless dictator thrust upon us.

Q—Why should not the Government ban the Left Communists who are contesting the Kerala elections?

BERNARD RAJ, Tirupattur.

A—The attitude of Government on the point is not yet fully clear. The White Paper on the subject that Mr. Nanda has promised may throw more light. If it is true that the Left-Wing Communists were plotting with the Chinese to synchronise a civil revolt with armed action on the border, it is obvious that they should not be allowed to participate in the Kerala elections.

At the same time banning the Left C.P.I. without tackling the food scarcity, high prices, group dissension, caste rivalry and corruption that they capitalise upon is like putting out burning cigarette butts near a petrol tank without dealing with a raging fire nearby.

It is part of the Communist philosophy that loyalty to ideology transcends loyalty to the nation. Many Communists are genuine and sincere in this conviction. They cannot be allowed, of course, to work against the interests of this country but Government must have a programme to win over the sincere Communist to a superior ideology. That is why it is essential for the Government to proclaim Moral Re-Armament.

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Every Last Indian

by Rajmohan Gandhi

A CHARACTERISTIC of our age is the hardened heart. Everywhere men and women are training themselves to be callous to the suffering and misery of their families, neighbours and nations.

The poverty of millions in our land should make patriots out of all sane and normal men. The trouble is that many of us have successfully stifled our consciences and feel no longer the pain and hurts of people around us. We can, we must and we will waken these consciences that are asleep. If enough of us fight the battle India will see an army of determined and selfless patriots on the march against poverty and misery.

Can we also learn to feel the scars and wounds of other lands? For all nations have them. I am writing this in Brazil. This is a land that one day may be able to feed a thousand million people. Today she does not even feed her eighty million properly.

I was invited to spend some time with and speak to a large number of *favelados*, slum dwellers.

Addressing them, Mr. Peter Howard, leader of Moral Re-Armament, said, "Poverty is hell. But sometimes it creates a spirit of community and solidarity which is part of heaven on earth. The true spirit of community in some of these *favelas* is something the world needs."

Against "Status Quo"

Our age has heard more talk of brotherhood, humanity and one world than all the ages that have gone by. But the test will be whether we are able to give every hungry stomach enough to eat, every man, woman and child a decent place to live in, and every boy and girl the privilege of an upbringing and education which give them a full chance in life.

In the battle to capture the hearts and minds of mankind the Communists have two great advantages. One, they fight to end the world's injustice. Frequently, though not always, those who oppose Communism seem to be for the *status quo*. The world's millions are against the *status quo*, and rightly. Second, the Communists pursue their aims with discipline and dedication.

The world is much farther to the left than most people realise. To

the extent that it represents a greater concern for the common man, this shift can be welcomed. But three important points reveal Communism's weakness.

First, in its battle for justice Communism regards hate and violence as necessary. The Chinese leaders, Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, have frequently asserted that class war should be pushed hard in every nation on every continent, even if it develops into atomic war.

Japan and Germany

Second, it is by no means established that economies that are not Communist do not advance with speed. In fact, the greatest economic achievements since World War II have been in Japan and West Germany. These two nations, left shattered by the war, have shot up to extraordinary heights of economic progress by adopting policies contrary to Communism.

Third, and most important, Communism only cares for half of man. Communists fight passionately to fill all empty stomachs. All honour to them. Yet they forget wholly the human spirit. Many of them seem determined to deny the existence of the spirit and of God. Some of them maintain that man is a mere animal, to be fed, ruled, regulated and used by the State.

This does not mean that Communists are more immoral than non-Communists and anti-Communists. There is more emphasis on a certain kind of ethics and morality in nations that are communised than in the so-called free world.

Nor can it be said that a society where God is talked about but where every kind of villainy and corruption goes on is superior to a society where God is publicly rejected. In God's sight and in the light of history the first may be blamed more.

Yet Communism must grow out of and beyond its materialist strait-jacket. Materialism is making it impossible for Communists to achieve their idealistic dreams and plans. Moscow and Peking still glare at each other.

Corruption is mounting in Russia and China. Older Communists complain of the selfish, and what they call *bourgeois*, attitude of their sons and daughters. Fear

controls life and you are never sure that some in your office, factory, or even your home are not spies.

Many Communists are sincerely searching for a way out. Only the other day there was a heated discussion among the leaders of the Communist Party in Rome. Italy, the home of the Church, has the largest Communist Party outside the red block. A prominent Party official said, "Did Karl Marx throw away the hope of ending injustice when he threw God out?"

He did, indeed. He made it impossible for those who follow Him to create the fair and just society for which he toiled.

Man himself must become modern. To multiply this revolution of modernising man is India's supreme task. If our leaders proclaim this as our goal, our people, in their millions, will follow.

The fruits will be practical and massive. Students will become responsible citizens. Workers will begin to work harder and for the nation. Employers will put people before profits and will pay a fair wage. Government servants will take speedy decisions and will think more of the convenience and needs of the public and will stop worrying about the mistakes they might make.

All We Have

Our soldiers and officers will become more disciplined and united than ever, and they will know why they are fighting, and what they are defending. Fathers and mothers will have the security that their children will grow up with their moral needs fulfilled, with their lives morally straight and with their hearts satisfied.

A whole new age awaits every last Indian. It will not come automatically. We have a colossal battle to win before it comes. But to fight for that age is the most sensible, practical and patriotic thing any Indian can do.

Lenin, who must have had his weaknesses but who was a true revolutionary, told a group of Swiss who wanted to help him, "I don't want your weekends, I want your lives."

India does not want the extra rupee, hour and energy that we can spare. She wants all that we are and have.

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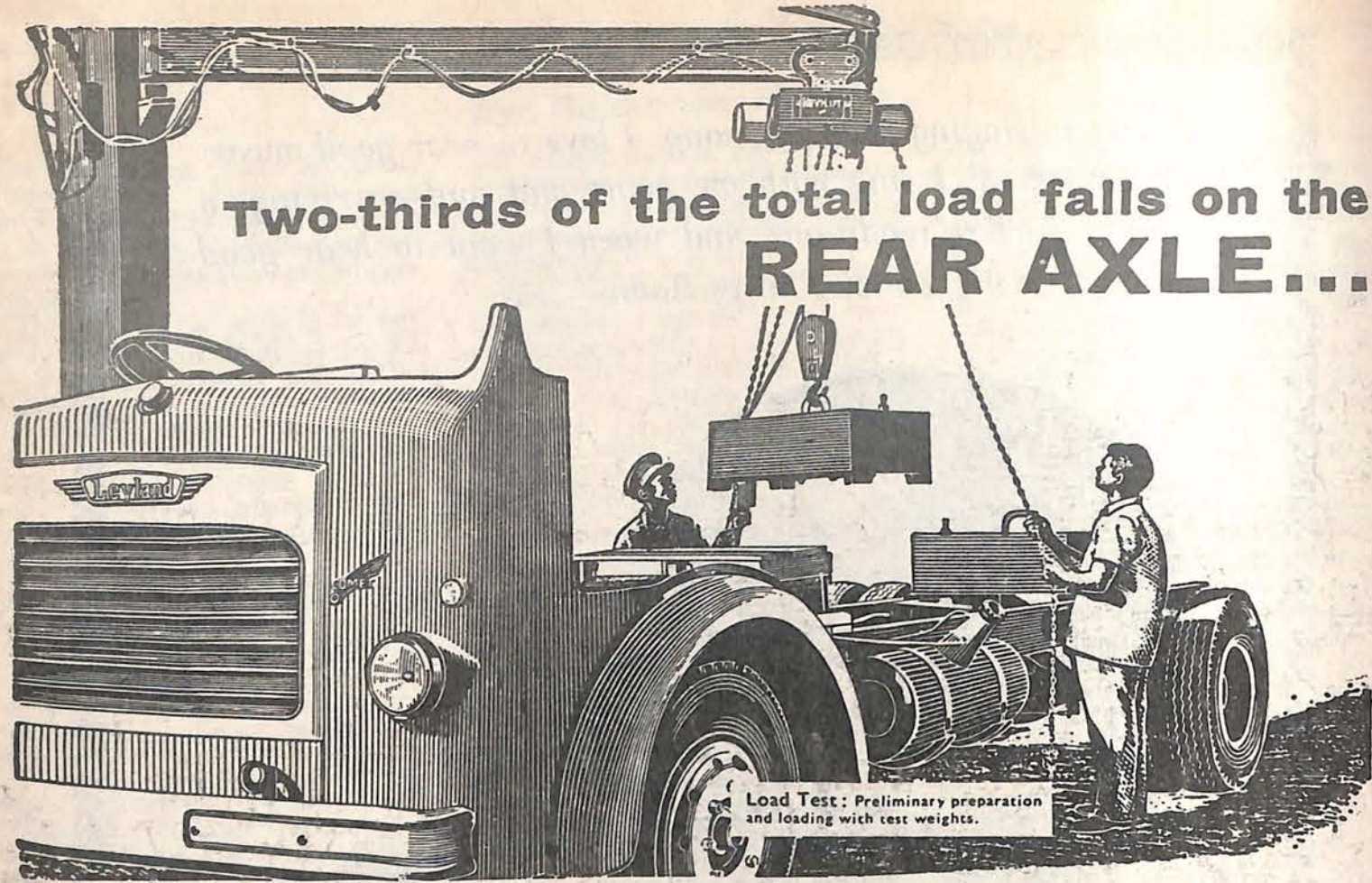


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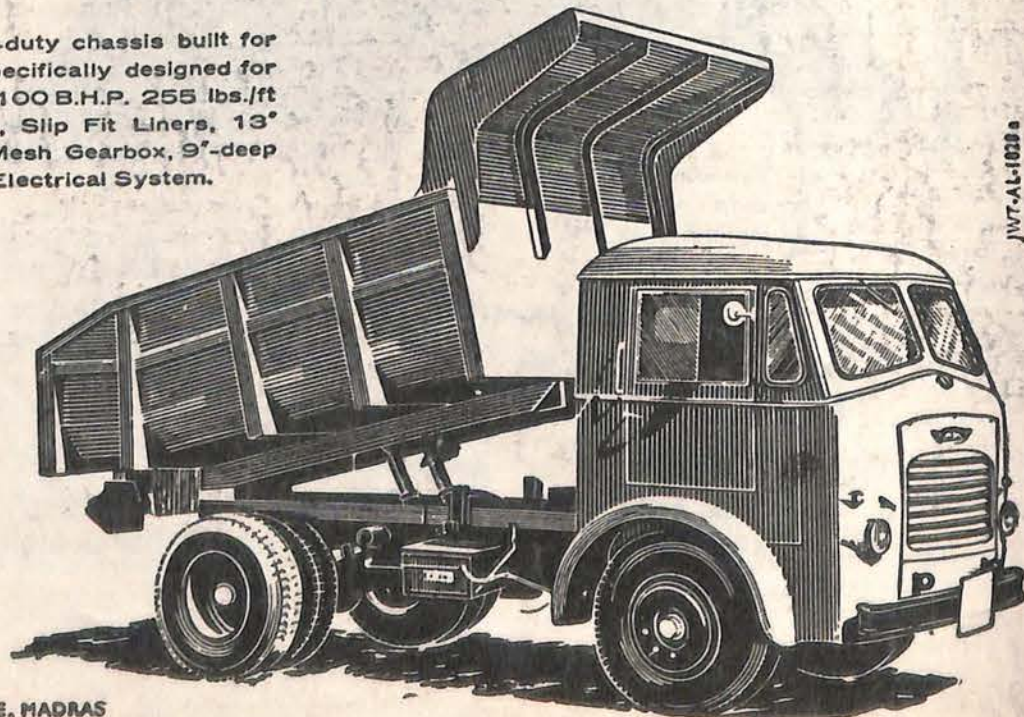
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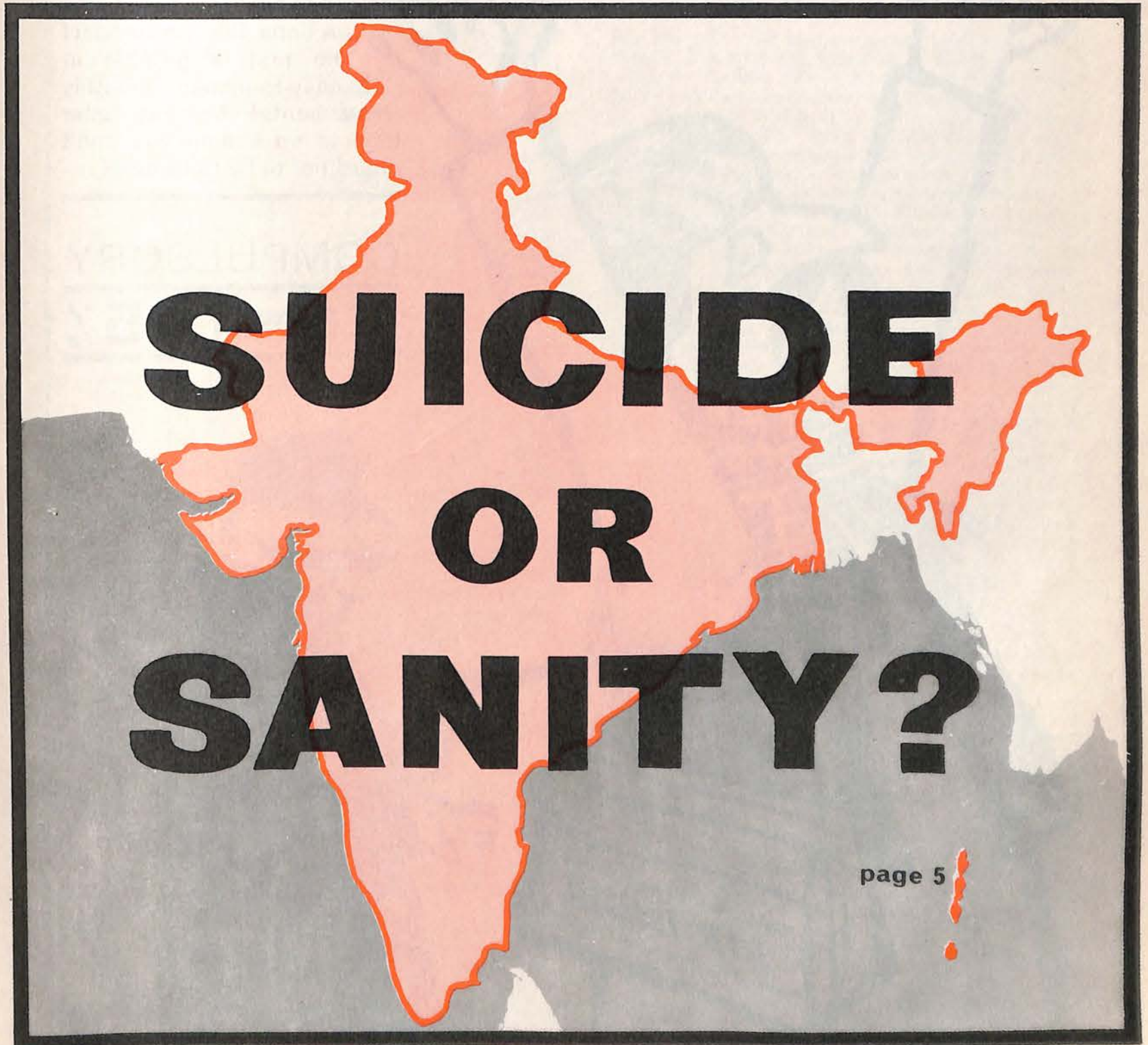
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Dr. K. M. Munshi

Roger Hicks
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