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Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

## PARLIAMENT ON TRIAL

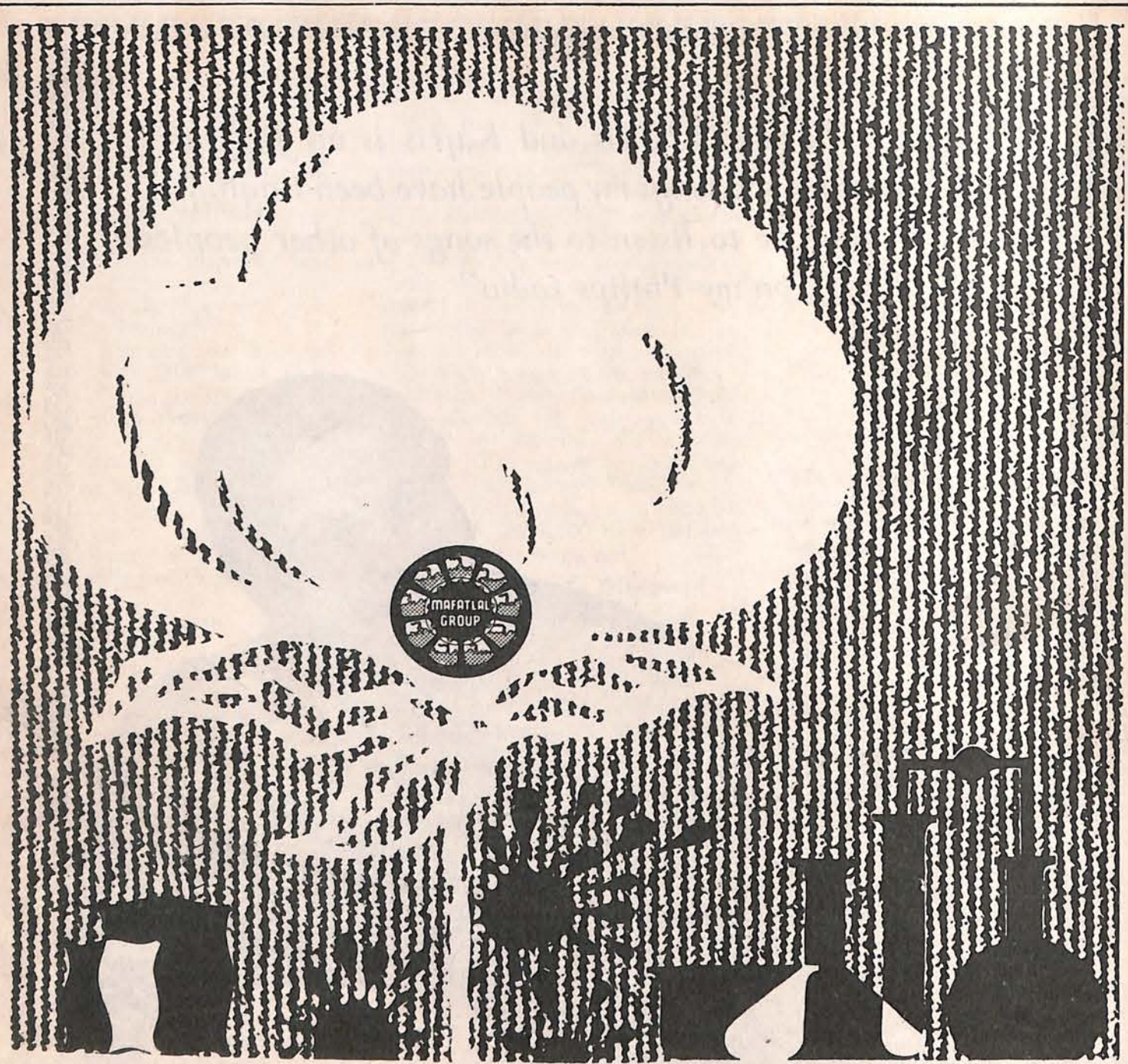
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SARDAR HUKAM SINGH  
Speaker of the Lok Sabha

Friday  
April 30  
1965

## WHAT IS PAKISTAN AFTER? Page 3



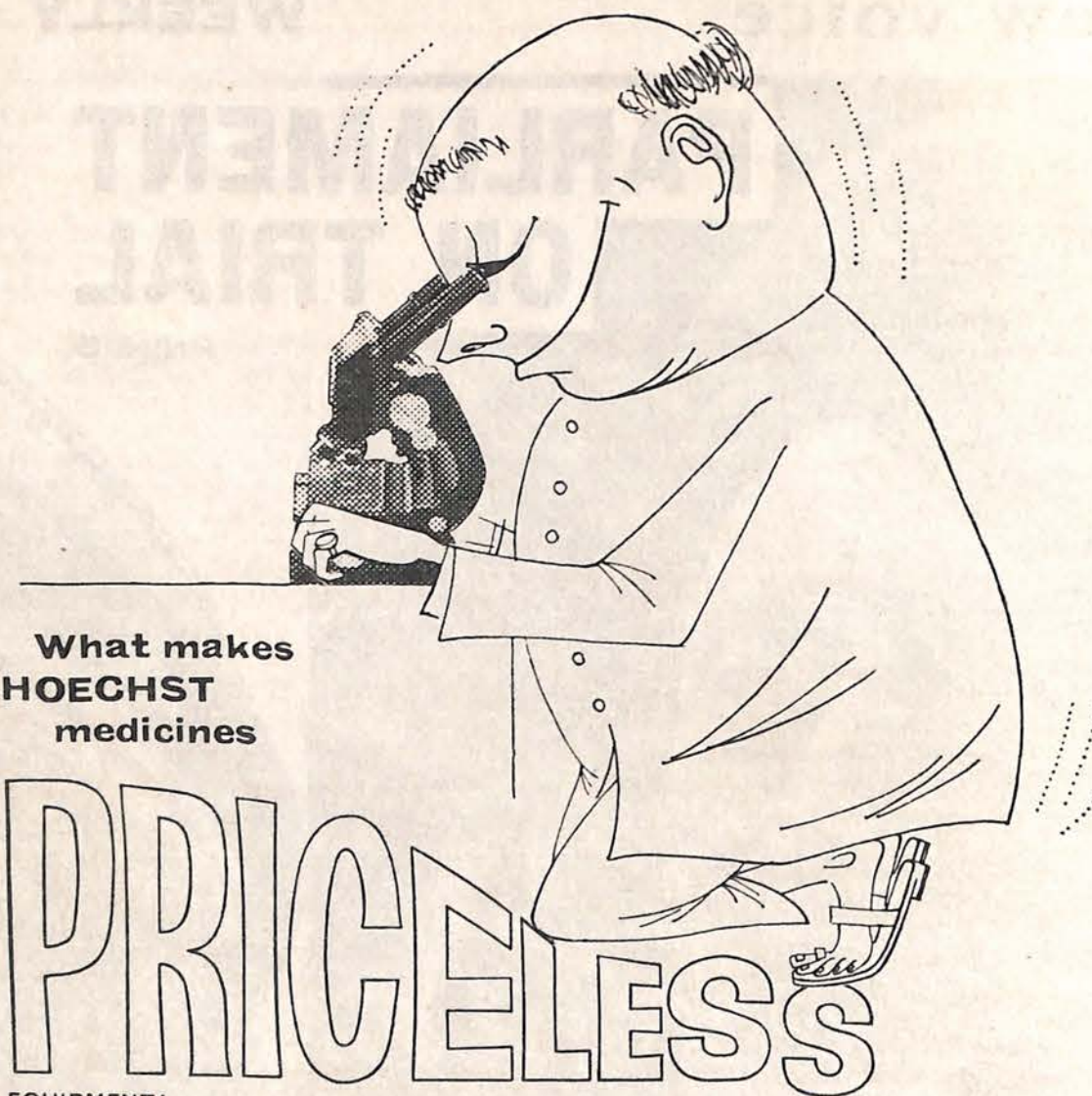
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# HIMMAT

Asia's new voice

WEEKLY

Bombay

Friday, April 30, 1965

Vol. I No. 26

## What is Pakistan After?

NO-ONE IN HIS SENSES believes that the demarcation of the Sind-Kutch border, which has suddenly come alive, a few posts or villages, is the issue at stake. What is involved is the future of the sub-continent, and at its heart is the question of Kashmir.

A new element in the situation is the growing cordiality between Communist China and President Ayub who treats Communists firmly at home but reconciles it with doing business with them abroad on mutually profitable lines.

Kashmir and the insistent press and radio propaganda about it, day in and day out, has, according to reliable reporters, blinded the public and the leadership of Pakistan to a point when some in Pakistan say they would rather part with East Pakistan than give up their claim to Kashmir. Whether those feelings be right or wrong, India needs to recognize their intensity.

Mr. Shastri has shown both patience and statesmanship by offering a no-war pact, which Pakistan has refused. He is a man ready to talk and reason. Pakistan will be very unwise if it feels that the only way to deal with India's leadership is with guns or tanks. Let not the picture of India as weak and indecisive, which it has become the fashion to project, blind Pakistan to the fact that democracies may appear divided until their existence is threatened by external danger.

The real issue has now moved beyond Kashmir. The long arm of China is moving across Asia. Pakistan has chosen to be a finger of that power by its present provocation. On the credit side is Mr. Shastri's visit to Nepal last week that has strengthened our ties with the Himalayan kingdom.

## Brain-Drain

IN BRITAIN 1,600 Indian doctors practise. In the great cities of Germany, U.S.A., Canada, in many lands of Asia and Africa, there is an enormous amount of Indian talent. Most of these are young professional and scientific people in their twenties and thirties who studied abroad with the desire to return home. Many of them attempted to settle in India for six months or a year, were disenchanted and left again for foreign lands.

The *Indian Express*, in an interesting survey by Mr. B. Bhaskera Rao, quotes a soil scientist who returned to India: "They gave lots of paper work, duplicates, triplicates. You don't grow food on paper or by passing orders or bossing round. I tried to tell them but I was a newcomer, a kind of upstart with an American degree. My immediate boss, I had quite a few, hated American degrees. He never gave me a chance to prove myself. So he put me behind a desk. Yes, I was in the (scientific) Pool. I was sinking in the Pool, so I left. Now I am doing research rather than pushing papers."

This young man's experience has been the experience of thousands of our countrymen. The *Indian Express* survey states, "It is not money alone that lures our talented young men away from India." If we want to retain our scientists it is a task for the whole nation and not only for the Government.

It is true that avenues may be fewer in India, laboratories not so well equipped, and opportunities and salaries not as attractive. But what drives our scientists out of India is the selfishness that crushes greatness in others.

Pulling the other person down is a very strong streak in our national character. Making the other person great is a new thought to most of us. It does not mean that we cease to take initiative or responsibility ourselves, but that we consider each day how those who work with us can grow in stature and responsibility and opportunity, to fulfil a common objective. It means spending as much time thinking for others as we spend on ourselves.

When sufficient Indians reach this level of selfless patriotism, our scientists will return, our plans will work, and our food will grow, not on paper but on land.

## "United" Province?

UTTAR PRADESH, India's most populous state (80 million) and one which in the Independence Struggle played a major part, is now the scene of interminable conflict between the "dissident" and the "ministerial" groups of the Congress Party. In recent elections to the Congress Legislature Party, the "ministerialists" won hands down.

The U.P. "ministerialists" have demanded the resignation of those "dissidents" who hold posts in the State Cabinet and have given the Chief Minister a rough time. The Congress President is reported to have cold-shouldered this demand.

They say in the capital that Delhi rules the U.P. A good measure of the time of Mr. Shastri and Mr. Nanda, who need every minute they can get to deal with Pakistani attacks, China and rising prices, goes in patching up differences in the U.P.

A united U.P. Congress will strengthen the hands of Mr. Shastri and of the rest of India.

Passions and personalities make men lose perspective when their goal is not bigger than themselves. That has been the tragedy of this nation and that is well symbolized by U.P.

People in U.P. champion Hindi as a uniting national language, but when those who speak Hindi regularly tear each other to bits, they disillusion people who are told that a common language unites.

"United Provinces", as it was called in British times has changed to "Uttar Pradesh". Surely enthusiasm for Hindi should not stretch so far as to oppose the very idea of the word "united"? Six firm men on both ministerial and dissident sides determined to unite for the sake of the country can solve the problem which no amount of central intervention can.

## Briefly Speaking...

No man is good enough to govern another without his consent.

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1809—1865

### Kenya Indians

THE KENYA INDIAN CONGRESS, which decades ago was the first organization to fight discrimination against non-whites, is now challenging, in a court of law, discrimination against non-Africans in jobs. The Kenya Constitution Bill of Rights guarantees equality for all its citizens.

Meanwhile, President Kenyatta's assurance that non-Africans would not be discriminated against is to be welcomed, but it is to be seen if it is actually implemented.

### Democracy?

ADDRESSING THE PRESS in Bombay last Saturday, Left Communist leader Mr. Namboodiripad feared that the country was heading for dictatorship and that democracy was being stifled in India. His particular object of attack was the Home Minister, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, against whom Mr. Namboodiripad is campaigning for the release of the Left Communists.

Only a day earlier in *The Statesman*, its special representative in Eastern India reported the following item, "One of the most widely circulated and avidly read booklets among the Left Communists in India is a collection of articles on guerrilla warfare as practised and perfected in Cuba. The articles were written by Mr. Ernesto Che Guevara.



"I'm afraid we can't confirm your seat to Delhi yet, Sir, but there should be no difficulty. You are only 39th on the waiting list."

"Printed in the form of a booklet, they have been circulated among the Left Communists who have discussed them, especially the adaptability of the methods propounded by Mr. Guevara to Indian conditions. What progress pro-Peking Communists have made with their practical training programme is not clearly known."

Could Mr. Guevara, the architect of the Cuban revolution, be a democrat, Mr. Namboodiripad?

R. M. L.

## The week in India

**NEW DELHI** — Prime Minister Shastri cancelled his visit to America in the face of President Johnson's hasty request for its postponement.

**BHUBANESHWAR** — A strong committee headed by Dr. Harekrushna Mahtab was set up at a meeting of 400 dissident Congress members. It will function as a parallel Pradesh Committee issuing directives to Party members and contacting the High Command directly. A resolution held Congress Party leaders "solely responsible for the serious crisis facing the Party here" because for four years the leadership had placed "personal interests above the country's interests".

**NEW DELHI** — The Aid India Consortium led by the World Bank pledged \$1,027 million for the final year of the Third Plan. Accompanying the pledge was a mild request for a closer review of projects in order to ascertain how effectively the funds are used.

**CHANDIGARH** — A senior member of the Congress Party and Deputy Speaker Mrs. Shanoo Devi called on the Prime Minister to send a senior observer to assess the working of the Party in the State. She said that at the moment three Ministers were acting as Chief Ministers with disastrous effect on both Party and administration.

**NEW DELHI** — India is strongly backing a Soviet move for a conference to guarantee the neutrality of Cambodia. Such a meeting, she hopes, will give representatives of the U.S., Russia, China, and South and North Vietnam the chance to consult informally about the Vietnam conflict.

**LUCKNOW** — The long-drawnout conflict within the State Congress Party moved closer to resolution with the defeat of all the rebels in elections for the 13 seats in the U.P. Congress Legislative Party executive. Three Ministers were defeated and Chief Minister Sucheta Kripalani called on them to resign.

**NEW DELHI** — Britain will grant India Rs. 210 million in non-project aid during the current year, Mr. Douglas Jay, President of the British Board of Trade, announced. Despite her own balance of payments difficulties, Britain was determined to continue her aid to India, Mr. Jay said.

**CALCUTTA** — The exports of engineering goods set a new high in 1964-65 of Rs. 194,700,000 compared to Rs. 146,400,000 the preceding year. An important development was the entry of Indian engineering goods into highly developed markets in America, Europe and Japan. South East Asian countries continued to be the greatest importers of these goods.

## PARLIAMENT ON TRIAL

by R. M. Lala

LAST WEEK, for the eighteenth time since the beginning of this session in February, a Member of the Lok Sabha was asked to withdraw by the Speaker. Soon after, the House suspended him for seven days. Men who care for the parliamentary system of government in Delhi are concerned about the future of democracy when the Lok Sabha is treated like a playing field where the dignity of the Chair is not honoured.

The distinguished Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Sardar Hukam Singh, who has managed the House with remarkable impartiality, patience and good humour, says: "The House of the People is only a reflection of the nation. As the nation is, so shall the House of the People be."

The other day in Parliament he said with considerable pain: "The Opposition claims protection from me. The Treasury benches claim protection from me. But when the Chair is involved nobody comes to my protection."

The responsibility for this state of affairs lies not only with the Opposition, but also with the Government, the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and the Leader of the House.

### Opposition Responsibility

It is a tragedy of Indian political life that in spite of repeated attempts no single major Opposition Party has emerged in the last seventeen years. There are in the Lok Sabha today 501 members of whom 358 are Congress. The remaining form 5 major parties and 15 smaller ones.

An Opposition reasonably certain of forming a Government is a responsible Opposition. An Opposition numerically weak and disunited, is apt to be irresponsible. Though many Members of the Opposition do display the courtesies of parliamentary democracy, the same cannot be said of some of the more vocal members. The party that has displayed parliamentary etiquette the least is the S.S.P.

When Mr. Hem Barua was suspended his colleagues got together and urged the Speaker to reconsider the case. But not one made the slightest attempt to restrain him when

he kept arguing defiantly with the Chair.

It can be safely said that this session has seen the hey-day of the Opposition. Never in the history of the Parliament have the Treasury benches been so mauled and embarrassed. When the no-confidence motion was moved in March and the Government tried to defend its decisions on Orissa, not even the Treasury benches appeared to believe all that they said. Acharya Kripalani in a talk with me alleged, "They are not only weak, they are dishonest."

### Mr. Speaker's Position

Evasiveness in the face of national danger deeply concerns many of the Opposition Members who are second to none in their love for the nation. Nor need the Opposition feel, as the Prime Minister observed, that they alone have concern for the nation.

The repeated charge of the Opposition is that Government's answers are neither honest nor adequate. This is partly responsible for the spate of supplementary questions, but is no excuse for MPs who indulge in speeches instead of questions.

In the House of Commons, during question hour, the House disposes of 24 to 30 questions. In the Lok Sabha the average is 6 to 8 questions per hour. Direct answers from the Government would help reduce this time.

The Opposition repeatedly press the Speaker to get the Government to answer adequately. Between the weakness of the Government and the demand of the Opposition, the dignity of the Chair is undermined.

The Speaker's position, if he gets the co-operation of the Leader of the House and of the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, is strong. When that co-operation is not forthcoming he is left to the mercy of winds of discontent that blow in most houses of parliament. For example, Dr. Lohia has moved that the accounts of the Lok Sabha Secretariat be debated on the floor of the House.

As the highest officer in charge of the Lok Sabha Secretariat, however, the Speaker would have to explain and defend the accounts of the House,

or he would have to brief (and be secondary to) the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Mr. Satyanarayan Sinha. The accounts are audited by the Auditor-General of India. There is also a Parliamentary Committee appointed by the Speaker consisting of leading Members of the House, including the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee.

The Speaker has told Dr. Lohia that he is free to inspect the accounts. Dr. Lohia insists that he will give three notices to the Speaker and then go to court if the accounts are not discussed on the floor of the House.

The Minister for Parliamentary Affairs should have stood up and told the Opposition Member that the Government would not accept the position where the Speaker himself became a subject of discussion.

When Mr. Hem Barua clashed with the Congress benches and was defiant of the Speaker last week everyone was looking to the Prime Minister to intervene. Regrettably he did not.

### Waiting for Mr. Shastri

The Parliament is waiting for Mr. Shastri to take the leadership which is his by right and merit. The Prime Minister had called a meeting with Opposition leaders with a view to maintaining standards in the House but no good appears to have come from it.

Last week the Speaker invited Members of Parliament and other citizens to hear young men and women of India trained in Moral Re-Armament. These young people spoke of how for the sake of their country they decided to put things right in their own lives. At the end he said, "When I see the passion and determination of these young people I have confidence in the future of India. Character will not be remade by lectures and criticisms but by the simple decisions as these young people have made—decisions like 'I won't cheat' and 'I will be incorruptible'."

Whether we win the battle for parliamentary democracy depends on whether we win the battle for the character of the Indian nation.

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# WATCH SIKKIM

By Our Special Correspondent

THE TINY but highly strategic principality of Sikkim is at the cross-roads of history.

This pretty 2,818 square-mile Himalayan terrain which has been slumbering in the safe arms of Buddhism has been rudely awakened to the hard realities of Big Power chauvinism.

China is fast entrenching itself on the dizzy heights of the Nathula and other passes to the east and north of Sikkim. Only as late as January, a group of 30 armed Chinese in uniform were detected well inside the Sikkim border.

The only sin that Sikkim has committed is that it lies on the highway between Tibet and India. Peking has claimed Sikkim as one of its own five fingers—the others are Ladakh, Nepal, Bhutan and NEFA.

You can smell the Chinese threat as you enter the winding Himalayan roads of Sikkim. There are checks and counter-checks at every turn. Foreigners need in-line permits before they can step in. There are unending streams of military convoys and armed camps; snow-burnt faces of army boys going to or returning from the rarefied atmosphere of sky-kissing ranges.

## Playing with Fire

But this only touches the fringe of the problem. There are soul-corroding factors. One instinctively begins to look behind the pretty Mongolian faces that throw bewitching smiles at the visitors. Are theirs the innocent smiles of their forefathers? Or have they been planted by China to be their Mata Haris?

Sikkim has been the highway through which people wended their weary way with messages of the Buddha and with merchandise. But now the stakes are greater. Satan has taken over and there is fear and suspicion in the very air one breathes.

But there were some inside Sikkim who like to play with fire. The Chinese were reported to have been eager to be invited to the Coronation. The Indian Government had to be stern to prevent this. New Delhi also forbade the presence of Pakistan.

India is in charge of Sikkim's defence, foreign affairs and communications. Peking knows it fully well. But it indulged in a kind of kite-flying by sending messages to the present Maharaja on the death of his father and later on his Coronation.

There is a whispering-campaign inside Sikkim that the Maharaja should become His Majesty and his State a sovereign kingdom. Some newspapers in India and abroad have already begun to write on these lines.

China wants this to happen. After all, Sikkim is only one of its fingers. It won't take long for the hand to

avoid such quick-entry facilities. The Emergency needs a thorough screening of visitors.

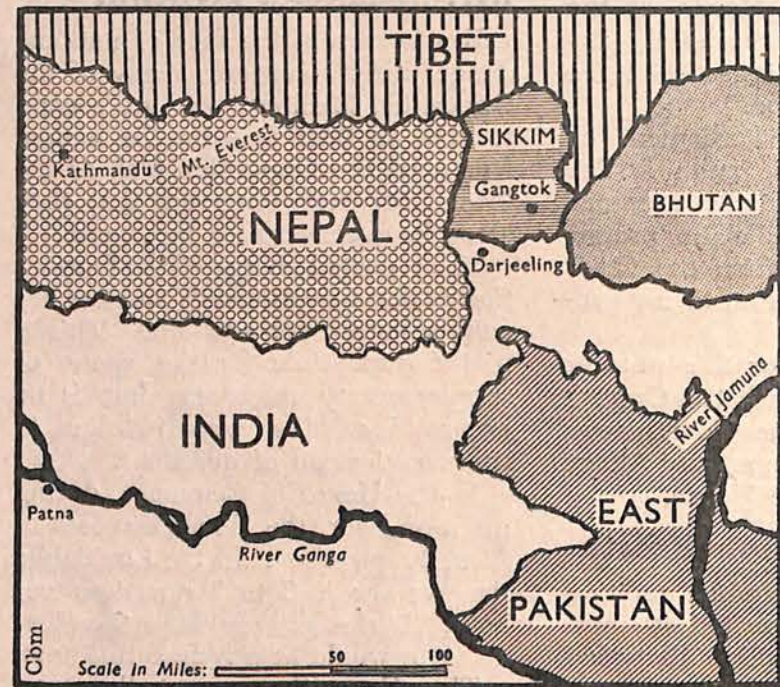
Secondly there is the example of the hard-working Nepalese who came to build roads and decided not to go back to Nepal. They form 75 per cent of the principality's 160,000 people. The original inhabitants, the Lepchas and the Bhutias, are almost strangers in their own domain. They have been completely swamped. This had gone to such a length that the Nepalese Prime Minister, Tanka Prasad Acharya, once openly mooted

the idea of a federation of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.

In spite of the fanfare of the Coronation festivities which silenced all notes of discord, one could hear whispers of an impending struggle for responsible government. India is interested in peace at this juncture in this vulnerable spot. Under the guise of freedom-struggle, we cannot afford to have a situation created to the advantage

of the common foe. "But in case of responsible government, the Nepalese will take over," a senior Lepcha official bewailed.

Beneath all these dilemmas is the one redeeming feature of Sikkim. It is characteristic of most Himalayan people. It is their disarming innocence. We see a moral fibre which is utterly lacking in the sophisticated cities of the plains. The ravages of modern civilization have not ransacked their character. We can leave our rooms open and find our costly things awaiting our return. We hope the feverish exuberance for modernization does not end in the loss of the soul and spirit. The Sikkim people exhibit a moral freshness which, we pray, will not be lost with time.



draw in its own finger—to make of Sikkim a Little Tibet.

The Government of India has to deal with these issues with caution. Or else we will see the ground slipping from underneath our feet. We have bungled on many issues in Himalayan proportions.

There are peculiar situations in Sikkim that tend to make a complex situation more complicated. India is building border roads. But it will strain any nation's economy to develop internal communications in this most inhospitable terrain. A ropeway or a helicopter service will avoid the gruelling 75-mile Himalayan drive from Siliguri through narrow rain-soaked, landslide-ridden roadways. But Sikkim has reasons to

# The Sino-Soviet Rift

FIVE YEARS AGO there were many who doubted the existence of the Sino-Soviet rift. Today it has become normal to see signs of conflict between Russia and China on every issue of importance. It is a basic assumption of the policy of the United States of America. The decision of President Johnson to bomb targets in North Vietnam was easier because of the assurance of Sino-Soviet differences.

It is important, therefore, to keep a close watch on Sino-Soviet relations. Misreading can result in costly miscalculations.

Mr. William Griffith's latest book, *The Sino-Soviet Rift* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 63 shillings) analyses and documents Sino-Soviet relations during the period 1962-63. Mr. Griffith is a specialist on his subject and is well-known for his studies on Soviet-Albanian relations as well.

The period which Mr. Griffith has analysed is of special importance to Indian readers because of the Chinese invasion of October 1962 and the different attitudes taken by the Communist Parties of the world to this event. In the prolific statements from both sides justifying their policies, differences on India have a significant part.

## Attitude to India

Mr. Griffith points out that "Soviet attitudes towards the United States and towards India are unacceptable to any strong Chinese regime".

Soviet economic and military assistance to India is not one of the principal causes of the Sino-Soviet dispute. But it has led to a worsening of relations.

The Russians believe that aid to "anti-imperialist progressive national democracies" will ultimately pave the way to Communism. Their grievance against the Chinese attack on India is that it weakened the pro-Communist forces in the Nehru Government and put back the clock.

The Chinese reply published in the same month was a violent attack on Soviet aid to India. "The stand and policy of the Soviet leaders on the Sino-Indian border question," says the article, "amply proves that they have betrayed the Chinese people, the people of the countries of the Socialist camp, the Indian people and

all oppressed peoples and nations."

However, in the jubilation over the fact of Sino-Soviet conflict, and the joy that the Russians have not joined hands with the Chinese in their immediate designs on India, the framework of the Sino-Soviet controversy is overlooked. We forget that the Russians' advocacy of their strategy is solely due to the conviction that their way is surer and more effective than

## Under the Lens

by R. VAITHESWARAN



the more violent and bloody course advocated by the Chinese.

Mr. Griffith's emphasis on ideology in Soviet as well as Chinese action is therefore welcome.

The documents and statements published by the USSR and China also provide ample proof of the interference of both powers in the internal affairs of other countries, especially in the newly independent nations.

On the Congo question, for example, an article in the *People's Daily* and the *Red Flag* (October 1963) accused the leaders of the CPSU who, it says, "refused to give active support to the Congolese armed struggle against colonialism". On the other hand, it continues, "In 1961, the leaders of the CPSU persuaded Ginzenga to attend the Congolese Parliament..."

The public controversy between the two parties over Dange's leadership of the Indian Communist Party is also an indication of the penetration of both Chinese and Russian influence into important sections of this nation.

On the whole, the Russians have not fared well in the controversy. Mr. Griffith gives a useful survey of the increasing shift of the Communist Parties of Asia towards Peking (with the exception of India, Ceylon and Mongolia). Even in India, the strong state units of Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal are known to be largely pro-Chinese.

In Africa, the Chinese seem to have lost ground after initial successes in the Congo, Burundi, Somaliland and Zanzibar. Somaliland has turned to Russia for arms and in Zanzibar the pro-Chinese Babu was manoeuvred out of the Party in 1963. The Chinese have been sent out of Burundi and Tshombe has won steadily against Chinese-backed rebels.

The frankly racist appeal of China is also not paying great dividends. According to Mr. Griffith, "For Peking as for Moscow the time for rapid growth of influence in Africa has for the present passed, except for the southern part of the continent..."

In Latin America, the influence of the old pro-Soviet leadership of the Communist parties is threatened by the more extremist *Fidelistas* whose insistence on armed struggles brings them closer to the Chinese position.

The Chinese flood the continent, especially the universities, with their propaganda; they support dissident groups in Latin American Communist Parties who are influential in Brazil and Chile.

## Khrushchev's Exit

Khrushchev's exit has not improved Sino-Soviet relations though it has arrested the total break which seemed imminent in the final days of Khrushchev's power. The present Soviet leadership, under pressure from European Communist Parties, has toed a soft line with China and a harder line in areas like Vietnam.

The organizational support she still has in many Communist Parties has been maintained at a heavy price. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has had to surrender its world leadership. She is now a "principal" among equals and has had to tolerate not only the vehement opposition of China and Albania, but the growing independence of nations like Rumania and Poland.

The enormous increase in Soviet power and the chauvinism it has generated is now likely to suffer, unprotestingly, a further loss in prestige. It is not impossible that deteriorating relations with China may bring about a more nationalist and self-assertive leadership in the Soviet Union itself.

# World Labour Must Chart New Course

By Gordon S. Wise\*

THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD are exchanging their proletarian cloth caps for laboratory white coats. Even traditionally manual industries, such as mining, are now being mechanized. In Britain, from July, a colliery will be operated from the surface by remote control.

Oil tankers of 160,000 tons churn the seas manned only by 35 men. A modern computer can make more calculations in one hour than a football stadium full of scientists can make in a year.

Labour's response to these radical developments varies from country to country. On the docks of the U.S. west coast, Labour czar Harry Bridges agreed to mechanization in exchange for 27 million dollars being paid over five years into a fund which would provide for displaced dockers.

The British Prime Minister went to America and spoke jauntily about the "mobilization of our economy to meet the modern world". But the daily diet of industrial headlines in the press belies these brave words: "Total go slow"; "Wage demands by 1,500,000"; "Strike threat to 50,000".

## Needless Protest

Internationally, industrial irresponsibility has tragic implications. The recent dock strike on the United States east coast held up vital wheat shipments to India. New Delhi had to send an SOS to Australia for supplies. This dock strike was a needless protest against a contract the elected union leadership called "the best contract in our union's history".

In the north of Australia a recent unofficial strike in the Mount Isa copper mine lasted eight months. One effect has been a world shortage of copper.

It is time now that organized labour grew up and gave meaning to the much debased word "brother".

The bitterness between rival labour groups is sometimes greater than that between capitalist and Communist. The two international trade union

organizations are themselves at loggerheads. The avowedly anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) claims 60.4 million workers in 96 countries. The Communist-run World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) says they have 90 million workers in 130 countries. The Christian Trade Unions have their own international of 10 million workers in 33 countries.

## End Reaction

Labour needs to chart its own course now. Merely to react against the employer, the government, or a rival union is, by definition, to be a reactionary.

For the first time in history, man's inventive genius makes it possible to apply science to the meeting of every human need. The Marxist conception of a traditional enmity between worker and management must now give way to a philosophy whereby the united strength of industry is applied to cure every social and economic ill on earth.

The Marxist trade unions have carried within themselves the seeds of their own divisions ever since Karl Marx himself deliberately wrecked the First and Second Internationals when he could no longer control them.

The British Labour Movement has thrown up men like Keir Hardie. "The Communist Manifesto, however correct it may be in words," he declared, "is lacking in feeling, makes no allowance for the law of growth and development. Behind nature there is a Power unseen but felt."

Hardie's burning faith made him a true internationalist. He visited Asia. According to a biographer, "from that day he believed that the suffering millions of the East were as much his responsibility as were the workers of Britain".

On the other side of the world, Australian Labour has been more conservative than the Conservatives in applying restrictive immigration laws.

There are giant hearts among leaders of Labour who are pointing the way forward. The late John Riffe, who was Executive Vice-President of the American Congress of Industrial Organizations, was one. A rough, tough Labour boss of the early American school, he was scarred in battles and beaten up by company hoodlums. His life was transformed by Moral Re-Armament.

At the height of his influence over 5½ million workers, Riffe said, "MRA takes me out of my narrow world and makes me as a labour leader think for the needs of the whole country as well as of my own people." This, he believed, was a concept to supersede the class struggle.

Maurice Mercier, Secretary of the French textile workers (Force Ouvriere), was steeped in the class struggle. He was the Communist trade union representative on the committee which ran the French underground against the Nazis.

## Pay Rise for 648,000

His first application of these ideas was to negotiate with management on the basis of "what is right, not who is right". They signed a wage agreement which gave a 16½ per cent pay increase to 648,000 textile workers of France. His ringing cry is: "Not a cry of hatred, not an hour of work lost, not a drop of blood shed—this is the revolution to which Moral Re-Armament now calls workers and capitalists alike."

The late Peter Howard, who was in charge of Moral Re-Armament, had been an active trade unionist. As a fledgling journalist he once led a strike against his own union because he felt they were not militant enough. When he died workers from the earth's four corners paid him tribute.

At the last public function which he addressed in Lima, Peru, Howard said: "I am all for legislation to end the economic and social injustices of our times. But we have also to deal with the steely selfishness and flame of hate that destroys humanity. No revolution is adequate which does not deal thoroughly and drastically with human nature."

## FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

### Living on a Volcano

FROM HARRY ALMOND

Nicosia

APPROACHING NICOSIA'S ancient Venetian walls and moat, the beauty of green fields yields to the grim reality of the "Green Line" established by British troops in December, 1963, when they were called back to separate the Island's 100,000 Turks from her 500,000 Greeks.

Partition is a fact in Cyprus. The main Turkish stronghold extends from the north western quarter of Nicosia 10 miles north to the Kyrenia Mountains where the Crusader castle of St. Hilarion dominates the heights above the Greek-held coast. In this enclave and in several smaller areas the red flag of Turkey waves in the breeze.

On the Green Line in Nicosia, roads are barricaded with earth-filled petrol drums. Sandbags fill window, door and balcony to turn suburban villas

little. It is doubtful that there are any missiles on the Island, but their tanks and guns give the Greeks overwhelming military superiority.

In Famagusta, 40 miles to the East, things are different. It is the chief port of the Island, near Salamis' Greek and Roman ruins where St. Paul and St. Barnabas landed 1,900 years ago. Here Greek and Turk work together to handle cargo and in the Port offices. There has been strife, and a sandbagged tower manned by both U.N. and Cypriot



"A false impression that things are quiet." Cyprus street scene

into strong points. It is often a boy with a machine gun slung over his shoulder, grim beyond his years, who checks your car into Greek or Turkish sector.

At night, shots ring out and the morning paper tells of Greeks or Turks killed, as often by extremists of their own community as by others. In Delhi, London, Tokyo or New York news silence often gives a false impression that things are quiet. In fact, nothing has been solved so far.

The U.N. Force, originally told to abolish the Line, gave it up after futile attempts to raze its position. They simply police it. At a cost of \$30,000,000 per month it is a helpful but very expensive deterrent. If, however, the Greek Cypriots start to use their Russian T-34 tanks and artillery, the U.N. Force could do

Army troops dominates the dock area; but now Famagusta is different.

The difference is in great measure due to a young Greek ex-EOKA leader who works in the Port. After fighting stopped in the hills he achieved a reputation for wild living that matched his fame for daring in the freedom struggle.

Returning from a Moral Re-Armament Assembly in December, 1960, he decided to try to build an atmosphere in which Greek and Turk could work together. His two brothers joined him. He met the top district official, a Turk. They agreed to work together, to deal with every incident before it could get out of hand. They were in daily touch all through the days of violence in the rest of the Island. Save for one clash, no blood was shed in Famagusta.

## China Trips Up

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Dar es Salaam

CHINA IS FACING increasing embarrassment in East Africa over the indiscreet publication by her European partner, Albania, of a booklet called "Revolution in Africa".

Labelling African Socialism as a "bourgeois illusion" it ridicules President Nyerere of Tanzania, President Senghor of Senegal, President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast and President Sekou Toure of Guinea for trying to use a new concept called "Negritude" in a "clumsy attempt to rationalize the primitive mumbo-jumbo of a backward Africa". It continues, "Nyerere, Toure and others shy away from the word 'Communism' and seek vainly to try to find something indigenous to the primitive societies of Africa which is better than Communism."

The booklet predicts that the African "proletariat" will "destroy all those false leaders in a great revolutionary uprising" and that the "Marxist-Leninists" will be the only ones to "guide the African revolution".

## "Control the Rabble"

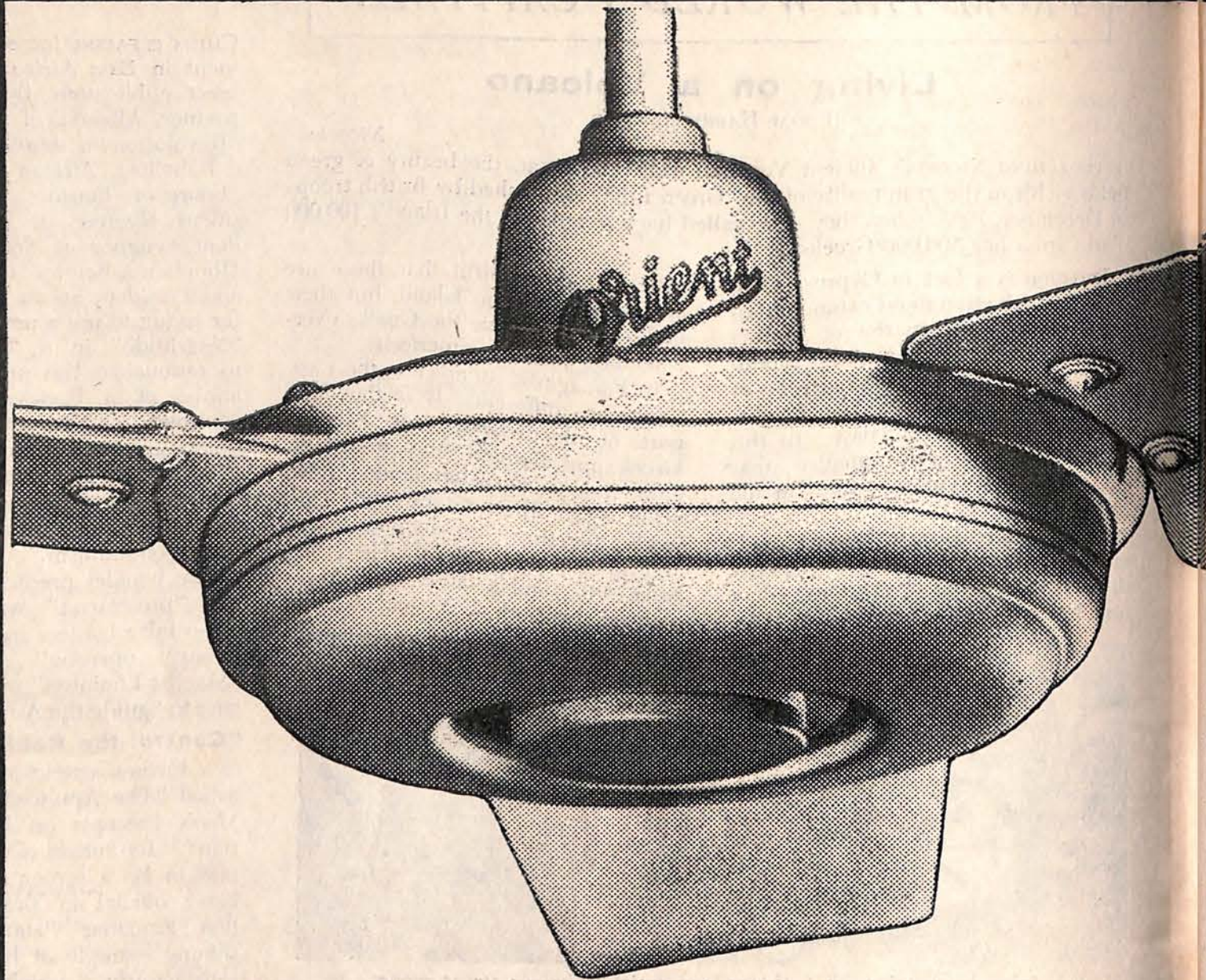
A further article in the booklet is called "The Application to Africa of Mao's Precepts on Popular Revolution". Its author, Colonel Kan Mai, said to be a senior of Chinese Embassy official in Brazzaville, claims that Zanzibar "stands out as a shining example of how quickly and satisfactorily a revolution can develop and mature when well-trained Communists control the undisciplined united front rabble".

He states that "enlightened cadres" led by Tanzanian Minister for Commerce and Co-operatives, Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu, are "now poised to capture control of the united front in Tanzania just as they did in Zanzibar. Then the revolution will spread to Kenya and Uganda."

"It is imperative," Colonel Mai continues, "that Marxist-Leninists, to achieve victory in all of East Africa, first gain control of the united front as Mao has taught. We are too few alone. Then when we have the upper hand, we will know how to deal with... imperialists' tools Nyerere, Kenyatta and Obote."

The Tanzanian daily, the *Standard*, called the book "a shameless attempt to wreck the unity of Tanzania."

\*Mr. Wise was born in the world of labour. His father was the Labour Premier of Western Australia. He has travelled extensively in Asia, Europe and America, and knows many of the present leaders of world labour. For May Day he was invited to contribute this article.—ED.



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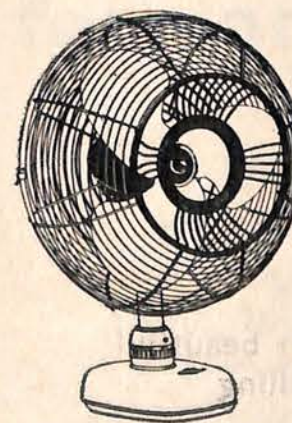
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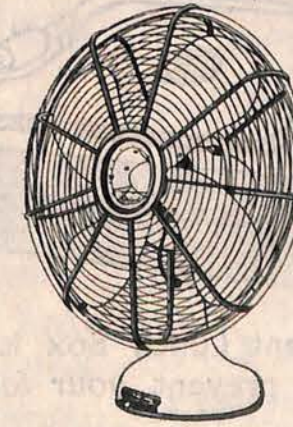
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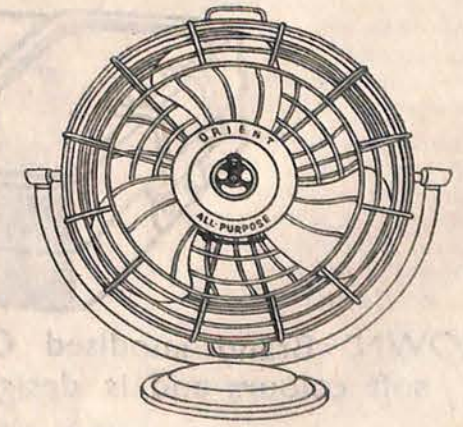
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## Labour and Tory Agree on Policy

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

London

"WE AGREE ON policy but will fight you for political power." This may become the Tory attitude to the Labour Government.

Government and Opposition agree on Vietnam, immigration and on general policy governing wages and prices. There are only two issues of major disagreement.

Firstly, the Tories fought the Labour Government over the cancellation of the British strike bomber project TSR 2 and secondly, they oppose the Government's plan to nationalize the steel industry.

The Conservatives see the TSR 2 cancellation as the beginning of the end for an independent British aircraft industry. They accuse the Government of recklessness with the country's defence needs and of putting skilled workers out of a job.

The Government in reply say the Tories, as the former Government, launched the TSR 2 project without due regard to its cost (£1 million per week), and that it used up skilled manpower in non-export industry.

On steel nationalization the clash has not yet come. Legislation is still in the so called White Paper stage.

Opposition Leader Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Prime Minister Harold Wilson are united on Vietnam. One Tory M.P. termed Labour Party Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart's Vietnam speech "one of the best I have heard a Foreign Secretary make in twenty years".

Stewart backed the U.S. presence and policy in Vietnam. He said an American withdrawal from South Vietnam "would further be an admission that what is, in effect, aggression from the North had succeeded".

With a hero's energy and broad political backing, Economic Affairs Minister George Brown is carrying through a national policy on wages and prices. Increases will be kept within the bounds of the national economic interest. Brown says Britain's economy cannot afford a constant rise in prices and wages. In principle he has the support of both management and trade unions.

Tory M.P. Enoch Powell ridicules Brown's efforts. But he is in the minority. Indeed Brown has selected a former Tory Cabinet Minister to head the organization implementing a policy for incomes and prices.

Given the world situation and the current British economic position, any responsible government would be forced to adopt similar policies. This is the difficulty the Tories find themselves in—how to oppose the Government on the level of policy.

For the Tories this may lead to an increased emphasis on personality and personal followings. Rivalries for the Tory leadership have broken out in public. And a national opinion poll says that Government popularity over the Conservatives has increased. To regain power the Tories will need to find an alternative policy.

## Moscow Woos Paris

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

Paris

WHEN RUSSIA changes Ambassadors in one of the main capitals, it usually means also a change of policy. Such a change has just taken place in Paris, and the political pundits on both sides of the Iron Curtain try very hard to guess what the new policy is going to be.

The old Ambassador, Sergei Vinogradov, was very popular. In his thirteen years in the French capital, "Vino", as he was called everywhere, made friends in all sectors of public life, even amongst the exclusive capitalist class. The picture of Communism he wanted to present was the picture of a liberalized, friendly evolution, rather than revolution.

Vinogradov showed amazing political shrewdness at several occasions. During the whole exile of de Gaulle in Colombey, Vinogradov continued to keep in touch with the General, because he was convinced against all predictions that he would come back to power. When de Gaulle became leader of France again, Vino-

gradov was the first Ambassador received by him.

Later, Vinogradov succeeded in a long struggle in convincing the leadership of the Soviet Union that de Gaulle was not a bitter anti-Communist or even a fascist dictator, but that he could be won as an ally of Russia in many fields. Also he knew



President de Gaulle

how to use some bitter experiences de Gaulle remembered from the last war to separate France and America even more.

Before his departure from Paris, Vinogradov signed with the French Minister of Information a treaty which put the whole weight of Russia's support behind the development of the French system of colour television for the whole of Europe. This gesture made the question of colour TV at once a political issue.

Originally, three systems of colour TV were competing with each other: the French (SECAM), the German (NTSC) and the American (PAL). The technical experts of the different nations were united on one point, that the prohibitive cost of establishing colour television would make it imperative to accept one system for the whole continent.

The French-Russian move forced the hand of officials and technical experts who met in Vienna recently to decide on the issue. When it came to the vote, a big majority voted for the French system. At the last moment, the Germans joined the Americans in establishing one common alternative to the French system, but it was already too late. The Vienna Conference broke up without reaching definite conclusions.

Meanwhile the new Russian Ambassador has arrived in Paris. His name is Valerian Zorin. He was Vice Foreign Minister and is without doubt, next to Gromyko, the top diplomat of the Soviet Union. Compared to the friendly, round Vinogradov, the austere, hard Zorin makes an interesting contrast.

He was in Prague during the coup which brought the Communists to power there. He is known as an expert on German affairs, and has spent several years as Ambassador in Bonn. Informed sources in the French capital think that his arrival will mean a new attempt to settle the future of Germany, and that de Gaulle is meant to have a key part in that settlement.

## The week in Asia

**HANOI**—North Vietnam has rejected the appeal by 17 non-aligned nations for negotiations without preconditions on the Vietnam war. It also refused mediation by the United Nations.

**PEKING**—China attacked the appeal by 17 neutral nations for unconditional talks in Vietnam. It lashed out against Yugoslavia's "Tito clique" calling them and the British Government "monsters and freaks".

**KATHMANDU**—A fifty-member Chinese cultural troupe arrived here on the eve of Prime Minister Shastri's visit. The Chinese artists present mainly Nepalese dances and songs, with the cast shouting, "Nepali-Chini Bhai Bhai".

**JEDDAH**—Sheikh Abdullah told reporters that the people of Kashmir have "been fighting for 30 years for their sovereignty and independence. Our people will continue to struggle as long as necessary." He said that he had received the "total backing" of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia for his claim to self-determination.

**PEKING**—A delegation of UAR scientists invited to China by Prime Minister Chou has been offered information on "all aspects of using the atom". They are invited to inspect the atomic test sites. It is uncertain whether the UAR will accept this offer and risk antagonizing its relations with the USSR.

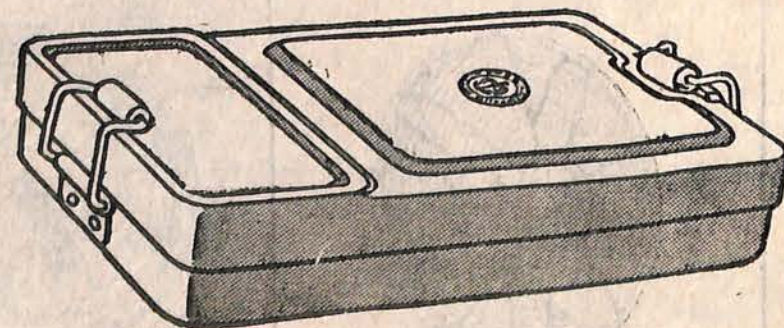
**DJAKARTA**—In a speech at the 10th anniversary of the Bandung Conference, President Sukarno accused India of being a "non-Asian nation". He announced that a conference of CONEFO (new emerging forces) would be held in Djakarta next year. "China is sending engineers, cement and equipment to help build the CONEFO building because China realizes CONEFO is for its own interest too," he said.

**COLOMBO**—The policy speech from the Throne of Prime Minister Senanayake's new Government was passed with a sizeable majority in the House of Representatives despite persistent attempts by the Opposition to embarrass the Government.

**BANGKOK**—France has informed the Secretariat of SEATO that she plans to send only observers to the annual SEATO meeting in London. This is regarded as a first step towards French withdrawal from the defence organization.

**BANGKOK**—Alarmed by Chinese Communists' infiltration in the north, north east and south of Thailand, the Constituent Assembly recently voted an extra £8 million to strengthen defences in these areas. Premier Kittikachorn told the Assembly that the infiltrations have "endangered the independence" of Thailand.

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# VIEWPOINT

## Assert Our Inalienable Rights

by Sunoo Thomas, Bombay

THE COUNTRY'S COURSE has already been charted by some of its most brilliant minds, with the implementation of Five-Year Plans. How long we remain on course, depends on the maturity and skill of its latter day navigators. For, today, in our seventeenth year of independence, we are experiencing a period of discontentment that stretches from one end of the country to the other.

We are suffering from a miasma of bureaucracy, aided by corruption,

despotism and apathy. An apathy that has permeated to the country's citizens from those at the top.

In an era when it takes all of seven seconds for a message to go round the world, in India we take years to know of what is happening in our own backyard—Orissa. And should such information prove embarrassing to those in power, it is censored. The right to know is being suppressed by a select minority who perpetrate the cult of "do-nothingism", on the pre-

cept that too much knowledge is a bad thing.

Where knowledge, wealth and power is concentrated in the hands of less than 100 million of 480 million people; and true freedom is less than two decades old; and democracy is confronted with dictatorship and Communism; and those within the Government and those without, abuse the energies of its people in a power struggle; and corruption, despotism and apathy are offered as alms to those with begging bowls—then, there can be no magic panacea to erase the ills of the country; no ingenious formula to set things permanently right at home; no set of evangelical rules to save us from imminent dangers; and no deft manoeuvres to settle all differences with our neighbours.

### How Many of Us Bother?

How many of us participate in meetings that concern us? How many of us know what is truly happening around us—really aware that elected and appointed "officials" are deciding issues that are changing the course of our every day life? What active interest do we take to ensure that our basic rights are not infringed upon? What major party attempts to educate the citizen and make him politically conscious? Or is a political party merely a group of select citizens in search of power, and a mob of banner-carrying, rock-throwing, slogan-shouting vandals?

The cornerstone of democracy—the very foundation—is that "each person is of importance and value as an individual".

Therefore, let our "Grand Design" be this: Let every individual come to the fore. Let every individual participate in his Government. Let every individual tend to his basic rights. Let those who would rather remain in this state of perpetual sublimity know that the individual has at last awakened to assert his God-given inalienable rights.

Contributions to Viewpoint, representing the views of readers on important topics, should not exceed 500 words. A fee will be paid for those accepted.—Ed.

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# FOR WOMEN

## Steel of Character; Cement of Love

By Peter Howard

Excerpts from an address given to women in London some time before Mr. Howard's death.—Ed.

IT HAS BEEN a rough century. Few women in Britain can say they have not lost those they loved—parents, husbands or sons.

Some of what is called "moral downslide" in our country is due to the fact that brave women have covered their hurts with a lassitude in life—a desire never to be hurt again. A determination to get a good time while they can and try to forget menfolk who, they feel, if they had still been with us, would have made such a difference in life.

My wife is sitting on the platform. For years and years in our marriage, whenever we disagreed, my reaction was the simple one, "Sooner or later she will see reason."

It is an attitude that most men have to most women. It makes women try to emulate men, instead of trying to find their distinctive, God-given function and destiny.

Women today do everything that men do. They work with great skill. They enter the professions. The children are left without mothers in the home. In the evenings the children may not have a home to welcome them. When I was young there was always a mother in the home who would spank you, scold you, look after you and sometimes pray with you.

Now I want to put three points to you about what I see for women in this country. The first is patriotism. Patriotism today is almost a "square" word. It has come to mean the picture of somebody who goes around waving a flag, sticking out his chest and saying, "My country is always right and everybody else's always wrong." I don't mean that kind of patriotism at all. I mean the kind that never rests until the scourge of unemployment is at last and for ever lifted. I long to see the women burn

unitedly with the great love of motherhood to see that no family goes hungry again.

Another part of true patriotism is honesty. If you are not honest at home you won't be honest in industry. If you are not honest in industry you won't have an honest nation. If you have a dishonest nation you have a nation liable to corruption and decay.

Honesty begins in the home. But when I was first honest with my wife Doe, she said this to me, "Peter, I think I am meant to love you as you are but live to help you become the man you are meant to be." True patriotism is to love my country as she is, but to burn and fight and live to see her become the country she is meant to be.

### How Pure?

Secondly, I would like to say something about purity. I don't mean that question of experiments in sex before marriage. But I must tell you this. If we tolerate a generation that experiments before marriage, you are certainly not going to get faithfulness after marriage.

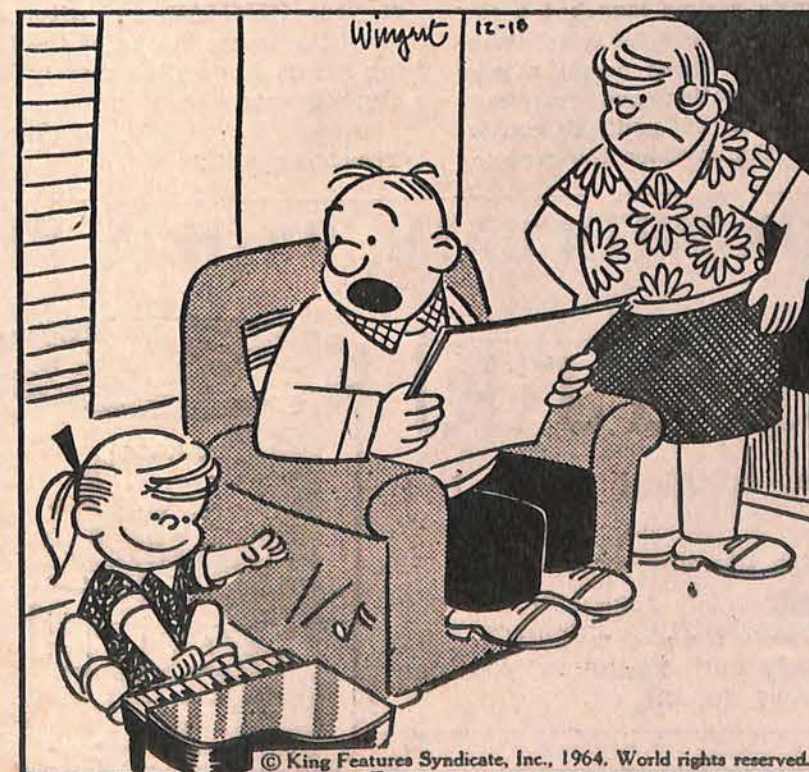
Boys and girls who learn to go to bed with each other before they are wed, will certainly reserve the right to go to bed with other people's husbands and wives after they are wed. The women can decide how pure or impure the country should be. For men are as pure as women wish them to be, neither more nor less.

But I want to talk about a deeper thing. Nowadays some modern bishops say that God should not be mentioned in our land, perhaps for twenty years. Well, I think for those who disbelieve in God and for whom God is utterly unreal it is better not to mention Him. And far better for those who profess a belief in God, but live as if He didn't exist, to stay silent. But for those who believe in God it is disturbing, at least, to see bishops saying that right and wrong are relative, and that even doctors looking after old patients have to decide whether or not to keep them living.

You women bring us into the world. You look after us when we are children, unable to look after ourselves. Our characters are founded in the arm and at the feet of our mothers.

When we grow up you marry us  
Continued on next page

## HUBERT



"Please, dear—uncle Hubert can't hear your grandmother's gripe."

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and very often we are what you make us. When we are sick you nurse us. When we die, women's hands prepare us for the grave.

You have scientists talking about genetic engineering. That's the new phrase. It is possible now, or almost possible, to decide the sex and size and intelligence of a child before that child is born.

Where is that going to take us, you mothers? Wives? Unless the women stand up with all the tradition of motherhood and say, "No. Our job, or part of our job, is to produce children, to see they are brought up right, to give them the very best of the care and the passion and the love that is born in every true mother's heart." That's what I mean by purity. I mean purity that insists that absolute values of right and wrong in every human life are respected by a nation.

### If Homes Crack

Patriotism, purity and, above all, purpose. What great aim and theme do all of us know and love? Man's character has got to be so enhanced that it matches the technological and industrial achievements of our time. The women of the country are those who can decide that our character shall match our strength and power.

It is possible in the modern world for every hungry stomach to be filled with food. It is possible for every empty hand to be filled with work. It is possible for every heart to have a knowledge that God loves the world and wants to remake it.

Homes are still the cement. Women are the cement of homes. If homes begin to crack, I know where the cement is faulty. Supposing every home were free from all bitterness and all division and all hate? Supposing every home were a revolutionary home determined to see that everyone in every part of the community was cared for and loved? Supposing every home became an instrument of Almighty God?

Women are meant to provide the warmth and glow and passion of real love in homes, in industries and throughout our nation. Women are meant in this splintering civilization to provide the steel of character and the cement of a love that can bind humanity together.

## LETTERS

### CHECK ON TEXT BOOKS

Sir,  
I was very impressed by the prize winning entries for the "Grand Design for India" competition. Both the entries mentioned that we should have a uniform educational policy for the whole of India. But something needs to be done right now.

One concrete action the Government can take is to see that the right kind of teachers gain admission to schools and colleges. They should have a minimum education of a Degree, their character should be taken into consideration and above all they should know how to teach. I know of some good schools which employ teachers who can barely express themselves.

Some time should be taken to make a thorough check on the books which are supplied to see that they contain correct facts and are of a good standard.

KALPANA S. SHARMA

Mysore 2

### CLEAR PICTURE

Sir,  
It is, really, a great pleasure for me to receive so regularly every week your much appreciated political review.

HIMMAT gives us a clear picture of general affairs in Asia, and especially in India which lives in the shadow of Red China's threats.

The unprovoked aggression which Mao Tse-tung's regime launched a few years ago against your historical country raised in the Greek people a deep feeling of indignation and everybody here—Independent of political convictions—saw in this invasion the need for

solidarity among free people all over the world.

As an active member of the Athens Union of Journalists and a former Director-General of the Athens News Agency, as well as of the International Press Institute, Zurich, and the International Federation of Journalists, Brussels, I repeatedly had occasion during my frequent trips to meet and forge close relations with many prominent Indian colleagues.

I wish you every success in your mission with the assurance that Greece and its people will always look to your country as a great and faithful friend.

SPYROS P. SELLINAS

Athens, Greece

### NOT THE BOMB

Sir,  
HIMMAT is hard hitting and relevant. But I don't agree with the arguments in the article "The Bomb That Changed The World".

None of the disasters the world has experienced during the last 50 years has produced any deep or lasting change of heart. The future does not belong to "the bomb that changed the world" but to changed people who change the world.

BROR JONZON

Wellington, New Zealand

### NEW VOICE

Sir,  
I must indeed congratulate you for bringing out this weekly of yours at this juncture. It truly represents the new Voice of Asia and what is more, it could really be the clarion-call for youth.

I am now a regular and ardent reader of your HIMMAT and after reading I place the issues in one of the local reading rooms frequented mostly by university students.

V. M. SAMMANASU

Tiruchirappalli 2

## This was a life SWAMI VIVEKANANDA 1863-1902

BORN IN BENGAL on January 12, 1863, Narendranath Datta possessed all the valour, skill and charity of a true Kshatriya. His school and college career was brilliant, but like many youth of his times he was greatly influenced by the Brahma Samaj. In his search for a teacher with direct experience of God, he became a disciple of Ramakrishna Paramahansa.

He was very rebellious and cross-examined every assertion of Ramakrishna, but seeing the latter's complete renunciation, he became a complete convert to the Advaita philosophy, taking the name of Vivekananda. He later became the founder of the Ramakrishna Order and established its headquarters at Belurmath on the banks of the Ganges. His teachings greatly influenced the thinking and action of freedom fighters like Gandhiji, Tagore and Nehru.

Leading a severe monastic life, he renounced all possessions except a copy of the "Bhagwat Geeta" and "The Imitation of Christ" by Thomas a Kempis. He embarked on long tours, often on foot, and visited all parts of India.

He observed there was complete unity despite differences of religions and customs. But the poor conditions of the masses shocked him. Though he laid great stress on spiritual knowledge, he gave equal importance to the basic material needs of the masses.

In 1893 he represented Hinduism at the "World Parliament of Religions" at Chicago, and there declared. "It is an insult to a starving people to offer them religion."

He stayed in America for three and a half years and started vedanta classes in various places. There he gathered many devoted disciples. He believed America needed India's spiritual insight, but her science could be used to uplift the poor conditions of the masses of India.

He believed service to man was the highest form of worship and emphasised sacrifice and service as national ideals. He practised and professed complete Brahmacharya — the control of one's passions and cravings for worldly pleasures. He laid great stress on physical fitness and identified it with patriotism.

In the words of Dr. Grayson Kirk, President of Columbia University, Vivekananda was listened to and respected by the people of India "not only as a spiritual leader, but as a man who gave them a dream of what the India of the future might be".

## Q and A

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

Q — The President rules Kerala through the Governor, without Ministers and legislators. What do Ministers and legislators do in other states?

HARINAKSHI, Hyderabad

A — A great deal. Don't be too harsh, friend, on our Ministers and legislators. It is true that some are lazy and some corrupt. However, appearances can sometimes deceive. If you find some M.P.s sitting in the House with their eyes closed don't conclude that they are asleep. They may be meditating or thinking up their next tactical move.

Seriously, there are quite a few among our politicians who are both able and straight, worthy of respect and admiration and in need of backing.

In the old days people felt that all khadi-clad men were straight. Today some feel that all khadi-clad men are selfish. Both views, it seems to me, are wrong. India's problem is not sectional, it is national.

We need, of course, men who are more than competent and decent. We need men who match the hour. Put yourself in a Minister's seat and you will discover that the problems before you are titanic. Attacks from outside, threats of secession within and the determination of each caste, class, state, language and religion to have a larger share of the national chapati require not just a good man but a revolutionary. Our political leaders will bring the best out of their colleagues and the common man when protecting and remaking India becomes their one concern.

Q — Our leaders say that our prestige abroad is going up. Is this true?

JYOTI PRAKASH, New Delhi

A — I am not sure they are saying that these days. It is not true, of course. In

the United Nations, in the Afro-Asian world, in the West and among Communist nations our influence is less than it used to be.

More serious than the decline in our world status is the cynicism and despair our own countrymen have about India's future. You hear this hopelessness in the conversation of the man in the street and also in the drawing rooms of our leaders. It is confirmed by the exit of some of our ablest young scientists and doctors to foreign lands.

It is impossible to keep for long an illusion about our prestige. Solid strength alone will create it, and strength there cannot be without unity.

Instead of becoming partners in a challenging, national adventure, we have allowed ourselves to become so many millions of complainers and groaners who feel that something is wrong for which somebody else is to blame.

Yet we can, must and will recover our soul. This is the precise moment for the men and women of our country to show that selflessness and valour of which we have all along been capable but which we have left aside for smaller things.

Q — Is there any hope for our country when man's character has fallen to such low limits?

AYYAZ KHAN, New Delhi

A — Yes, I have faith that our country will change. I am aware of man's callousness to man in our land, but I have also seen the rise of a new spirit in thousands of people, especially students in schools and colleges, all over the country. With passion and persistence we must produce this spirit in our political life, among professors, doctors and lawyers, in businessmen, workers and farmers.

The nation today cries out not for flawless men but rather for all men, rascals, angels and those, the majority of us, who have both good and bad natures, to make a fresh start in discipline and dedication. The united will of a minority will change history.

— R.G.

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# Interview With a Servant

by Rajmohan Gandhi

*How much do you make?*

Rs. 30 a month for cleaning vessels and cooking. I also make Rs. 110 as a coolie in a godown.

*Where do you live?*

Until two weeks ago I was in a *jhuggi* two miles from where I work. Now all the 19 *jhuggis* in our area have been removed and we live ten miles away.

*What sort of home do you now have?*

I have rebuilt the *jhuggi* in the new place. At least the tin-and-board roof is there. In the old place I had a verandah, kitchen and a room under this roof.

*How many in your family?*

A wife and six children, 5 boys and a girl.

*The oldest?* Thirteen.

*The youngest?* Five months.

*And the girl?* Four years.

*Is there water in the new place?*

Yes, there is a pump.

*How much do you spend on food?*

About Rs. 80 a month on dal, rice, atta, sugar, oil, etc. Prices are going up.

*Any of the children in school?*

Three go to a municipal school, but the teachers send them home generally after an hour or so. They don't learn much there. I send them to a private teacher.

*How much do you pay him?*

Rs. 10 a month.

## Do Big Things

*How is the 13-year-old doing?*

Badly. He has failed three times. Boys who started out with him are in 7th, he is still in the 4th.

*The school is free?*

Yes, but I pay 10 p. for each child every month. I will have to pay Rs. 7 when he gets into the 9th class.

*What do you want him to become?*

I want him to study, then he can do anything. Maybe he will start a shop.

*A clerk?*

It will be wonderful if he does.

*Not a domestic servant?*

I hope not. Who does not want his son to do big things?

*Your wife, what does she do?*

She cooks and washes the children and their clothes.

*Have you ever taken her to a cinema in Delhi?*

Never. I have not been there

myself. But all of us, including the children, my brothers and their families, we go and see a cinema once every year in Chhatarpur.

*What other entertainment?*

I took them last year to the *mela* and circus in Ram Lila grounds during Dussehra. The children loved it.

*What do the women talk about when their husbands are working?*

Nobody knows that! They gossip a lot, and they quarrel.

*What about milk?*

I spend Rs. 15 every month. Milk has gone up, too.

## We Know Everything

*How much land do you have?*

If you count my father's and his brothers', 20 *bighas*.

*How much money do you send home?*

As much as I can. I try to send Rs. 400 to 500 every year, by borrowing if need be.

*What is your debt now?*

Rs. 900.

*How much do you spend on smoking?*

Rs. 10 a month on *bidis*.

*Drinking?*

No, I gave it up some years ago. But my brother who lives in Delhi with me (a cousin) spends Rs. 25 every month on drink.

*When you and your friends meet, what do you talk about?*

I am not the talking type.

*But your friends, what do they talk about? Do they discuss their employers?*

All the time. We know what goes on in all these different homes, the conditions of life and work in each home, and what the family members are like and how they live.

*You must have many laughs among yourselves.*

I am not the type who laughs at others.

*But you have a merry time discussing your employers?*

Of course we do. We see a lot. What sort of maliks do you particularly dislike?

The kind who shouts at us and has no interest in our difficulties.

*And these are the majority?*

I don't know. A servant can be bad, too.

*Has any malik or his family ever visited the homes of domestic servants you know?*

Never.

*Did anyone else visit you in your *jhuggi*?*

They come for votes during election time.

*Did they offer money?*

No, why should I say they did?

*Would people be welcome?*

Of course they would be.

*What do you and your friends feel is wrong in the country today?*

Rising prices. There seems to be no end. I don't say that wages should always go up but prices should come down.

*And how do you think prices can be brought down?*

We need to produce more. People need to work more. There is no use blaming the Government. The Government cannot produce more by itself. Many of us waste a lot of time doing nothing.

*What do you feel about our leaders?*

We all thought that Pandit Nehru was a god. Those in charge of the country today are different.

## Honest Leaders

*What are the new things you would like our leadership to do?*

We feel they say one thing, and do another. They need to give people employment in such a way that the Government benefits and the people also benefit. They announce they will do something but they don't.

*For instance?*

They say they will build a tap, but nothing gets done.

*What do you feel about China?*

People think that China will launch a big attack and then all India will become Communist.

*What do people feel about Communism?*

Some are for it, some against it.

*Why are some for it?*

I don't know.

*Why are others against it?*

I don't know.

*What kind of leaders do you want?*

Honest leaders. Leaders who fulfil their promises, who help people to find useful work which will benefit them and the country.

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