

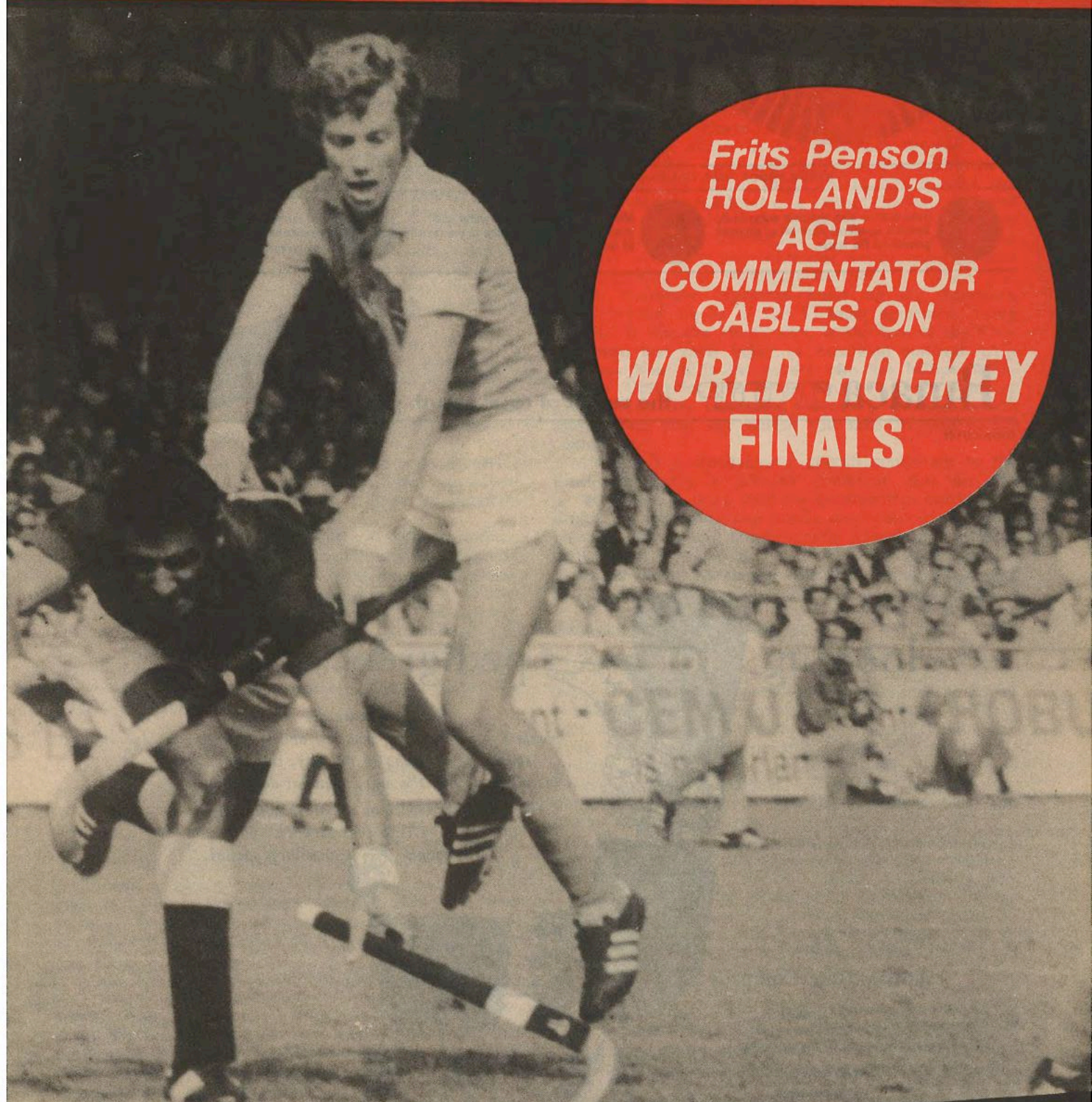
HIMMAT

WEEKLY 35p

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ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 7 1973



Frits Penson
**HOLLAND'S
ACE
COMMENTATOR
CABLES ON
WORLD HOCKEY
FINALS**

Holland's captain Nico Spits jumps over Pakistan's Qayoon Niazi



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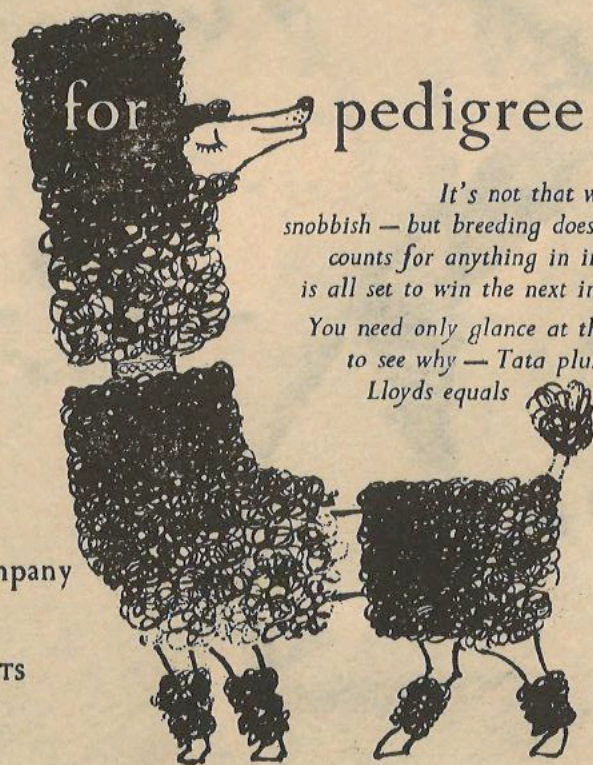
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The Indian Tube Company Limited

A TATA-STEWARTS AND LLOYDS ENTERPRISE

ITC-29A

Nixon—condemned without trial

This paper has pulled no punches on President Nixon either during the Indo-Pak War or in the early days of the Watergate scandal. Since then, apart from an occasional light editorial, we have left Mr Nixon alone because there is over-coverage of Watergate in the world press—out of all proportion to the event. We knew a time would come when the American people would tire of Watergate. That time has come now. This is as good a moment as any to re-assess the situation.

The fall-out of Watergate affects the US President; the people of America; America's ability to protect its allies.

For five months the thinking and the energies of the most powerful nation in the world have been centred around the state of its own political guts. Although Nixon has bravely repeated that he will concentrate on the important issues of government, there is little he can do with his own house collapsing around him. His whole chain of command in the Presidential Office is in disarray.

His two main lieutenants, Haldeman and Erlichman, are out. His legal counsel Dean has turned against him. There is hardly a man around him he can trust. How effective can such an administration be?

The Person of the President

The original disclosures of Watergate were a service to America but the subsequent bloodthirsty pursuit of it cannot possibly be dictated by a love for America or her institutions.

If one of us loses our temper, it is treated as normal, but if the President of the United States instructs and gently pushes his press officer Ronald Ziegler what happens? The President is accused of heading for a nervous breakdown and poor Ziegler is shoved into immortality.

It is a measure of the success of the press attacks against Nixon that 36 per cent of the people of the United States, in a poll, felt that their President knew earlier of Watergate and its cover up, even before the facts are established.

"Trial by headline"

Nixon may well be guilty but he should at least be given the chance extended to the humblest American, of being proved guilty before he is condemned. This present process is called "trial by headline".

The Chancellor of Rochester University, US, Mr W. Allen Wallis, says, "The reaction by journalists and politicians to the Watergate break-in has been morally even more corrupt than the Watergate activities themselves." To say that is not to defend the Watergate break-in but to make sure that two wrongs do not make one right.

It will be a surprise if, after the way the US President has been hounded, he does not have a nervous breakdown. And if a man entrusted with such enormous responsibilities suffers from such a condition he can be a risk not only to his own country but to the world. What happens to Richard Nixon may or may not be important but what happens to the US President is.

Nixon now stands like a character from a Shakespearean tragedy: "But yesterday the word of Nixon

might have stood against the world; now lies he there and none so poor to do him reverence."

And when they have succeeded in making Nixon lie prostrate in the White House office, it is worth asking "who is going to benefit?"

Effect on the American people

It is significant that just as the Sam Ervin Congressional hearings adjourned, news burst out of an investigation into the affairs of Vice-President Agnew which were at a private level and charges had not even been presented to the Grand Jury. In the US, leakage has been elevated to the level of a virtue and prejudgement without proof is accepted as normal. The Sam Ervin hearings have been televised for 181 hours in the course of a few weeks. As one columnist writes, millions have been watching the "Watergate horrors".

The Watergate exposures burst on the American public within weeks of the Vietnam agreement being signed. It was the young who, in the face of the Vietnam war, lost their belief in American political institutions. Now it is the adults who are being disillusioned. Observing this Henry Brandon, of the "Sunday Times", London, concludes, "There is a limit to disillusionment that any nation can take without losing confidence."

Mr Patrick J. Buchanan, a special consultant to the President makes a pointed comment that no one is "surprised to learn that the publications beating the drums for the immediate public disclosure of the more sensitive papers and conversations (tapes) of the President, are the one and the same publications in the vanguard demanding an absolute shield of law to protect in perpetuity confidentiality of their reporters' notes."

Watergate and the world

The role of the US as a world leader is devalued for the moment. On the political scene, Watergate is slowing down the rate of detente with China and the Soviet Union, and upsetting Nixon's plans to make 1973 "a year of Europe". At the Party Congress in Peking last week Premier Chou En-lai noted that Europe was "the strategic point" of the rivalry between Russia and America. Their "collusion" was "relative and temporary", said Chou, while their rivalry was "absolute and extensive". Chou is right.

It is in Western Europe that the Soviets want the US to cut back on its troops (see page 11). Once that happens, Western Europe will be in the palm of their hands. The prize area of the world today is Western Europe and it is in Western Europe that America's determination to stand firm will be tested. Nixon wants to strengthen the Atlantic link but his word will not hold if he is weakened further.

From India's viewpoint the Indo-Pak agreement should clear the way for better relations with the United States. This is one instance in which the US President earlier went contrary to American public opinion and one hopes that weak as he is, mending the fences with India is a venture he will undertake. He may find that the American people will support him, if he puts his own wrong action right.

Briefly Speaking

How many of our daydreams would darken into nightmares, were there any danger of them coming true?

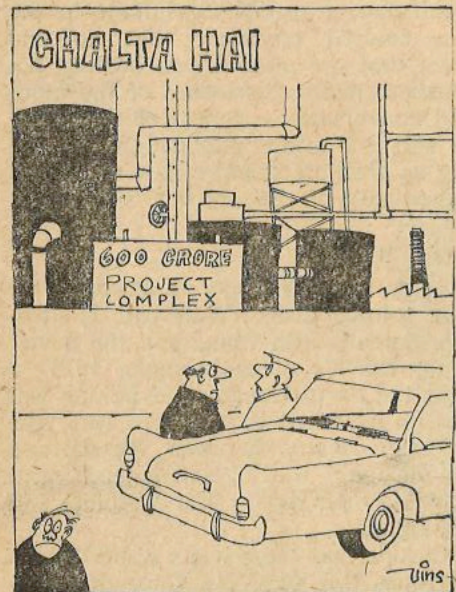
LOGAN PEARSALL SMITH, 1865-1946

Welcome signs from neighbour

SOME facts which have passed almost unnoticed and need to be underlined in connection with the Indo-Pak agreement recently signed is the generous compliment to Sheikh Mujib paid by the chief Pakistani delegate, Mr Aziz Ahmed. It is the first time a Pakistani official has complimented the Bangladesh Prime Minister for his "sagacity and vision".

Mrs Ali Malik, President of the Pakistani National Council for the Repatriation of POWs has thanked Mrs Gandhi for agreeing to the release of the POWs.

When India beat Pakistan by one goal to nil in the World Hockey Cup at Amsterdam, the Manager of the Pakistan team commented, "India



"Due to the austerity drive, we cannot afford the inaugural function."

GET ODOMOS BEFORE THE MOSQUITOES GET YOU

3 A PRODUCT OF BALSARA

deserved to win. It scored a brilliant goal."

These are straws in the wind which we should be thankful for and reciprocate at every possible opportunity.

It is true that India is in severe economic difficulties but is there still something more we can do for the flood devastation in Sind? A friend from Europe writes to Birbal: "Could India make some move to help Pakistanis suffering from floods and also ask other nations to do the same. Such a move will not only assist Pakistan in tackling devastation, hunger and anguish but also undergird the present political agreement." The friend goes on to ask if there is some way by which India could harness the waters of these devastating rivers to prevent floods in future.

Wheat harvests

THERE have been disconcerting reports recently of the world shortage of wheat. Prices which hit a record level are now retreating. News comes from Washington that the United States will give price support to wheat production over 55 million acres from which they expect to produce 48 million metric tonnes — enough for all anticipated needs, domestic and foreign.

American officials, however, are keeping their eyes peeled to see what the Soviet harvest will be like. It was a poor Russian harvest last year which resulted in huge purchases

from the US, consequently throwing the world market into confusion. First reports say that the Soviet harvest may not be very good this year as heavy rains have hit the wheat growing areas at the height of the harvest season.

The final figures should be known in about a month's time. A poor Soviet harvest could force a rethinking on the wheat situation — and on the price of wheat.

Protecting cultural treasures

THE West German army has produced a 25-minute colour film on the UNESCO-sponsored Convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict.

The purpose of "Quarter Will Be Given" is to show soldiers how historic buildings and art treasures are wantonly destroyed in time of war, and what action has been—or can be — taken to protect them under the convention. English and French versions of the film are available.

War damage, said to account for 75 per cent of destruction of cultural property against 25 per cent lost by natural decay, has a long history. During the siege of Alexandria in 48 B. C., the greatest library of antiquity, the Alexandrina, was destroyed by fire and 750,000 scrolls were lost.

But history also gives evidence of continuing efforts to safeguard art works, starting with the appeal made by the Greek historian Polybios in the 1st century B. C.

One hopes this film will be widely released in India and around the world.

Birbal

WINNERS OF ODOMOS MONSOON HUMOUR QUIZ

Name	Address
Mr I. Ramamurthy,	514, 20th Main, IV 'T' Block, Jayanagar, Bangalore-560 011.
Mr H. Paranjoti,	C/O. Anam El. Mfg. Co., Kadiyam 533126, E. G. Dist., A. P.
Mr T. R. Ramachandran,	E-11, Sarvodaya Co-op Housing Society, Agra Road, Ghatkopar, West Bombay-400 086.
Fr. James Konat,	Bishop's House, Amravati (Camp), M. S. 444 602.
Mr Sourav Mitra,	St. Joseph's College, North Point, Darjeeling-731 404.
Mr Hitesh L. Ashar,	Central India Flour Mills, Bhopal 8, 462 008.
Mr. Joseph Kommattam,	Don Bosco School, Churachandpur, Manipur-795 128.
Mrs Rajendra Singh,	2776, (D-II Type), Netaji Nagar, New Delhi 23.
Miss P. Webber,	6, Plain Street, Bangalore 1.
Mr David Young,	17, Sterling Avenue, Madras-600 034.

EACH PERSON WILL RECEIVE RS 25 FROM ODOMOS

South African black leader calls for dialogue

A BLACK South African leader claimed that making Bantustan Homelands* into viable states was the most effective way to break apartheid in South Africa.

Walter Kanye Kwazulu, Minister of Justice, said, "Improving conditions for the black people of South Africa and making Homelands into viable states is the thing that will break apartheid most effectively. We are not committed to violence but feel we have got to do all things by consultation. We think that consultation can be effective if there is a change of heart. We feel that a change of heart can never be brought about in South Africa by the withdrawal of investments. The withdrawals will mean unemployment and unemployment generally begets dissatisfaction." He said that dissatisfaction in turn begets violence and the black people will be the first to suffer.

Kanye was addressing the Parliamentarians session at Caux, the Moral Re-Armament Centre in Switzerland.

Kanye continued, "The Homelands policy of the South African Government is now an accomplished fact. At present they are nothing but re-

*An experiment where black areas can have their development and internal autonomy.

servoirs for cheap African labour to fill gold and coal mines in the white cities and to feed industry in white areas. We feel the overseas countries should invest in Homelands; and the overseas industries or investors that are already there should immediately do all they can to do away with colour discrimination in work opportunities and salaries. We owe the British press thanks and congratulations for the bold step they have taken to focus world attention on the disparity in salaries paid to the blacks in South Africa, even in industries run by, or with investments from, countries that quite correctly frown on apartheid."

Kanye concluded, "We here speak with a great amount of authority because we are in daily contact with these problems. We are fresh from South Africa. We know the situation at first hand. We, separate the black Governments in South Africa, are for dialogue. We are confident that with a change of heart on the part of the Government, dialogue on equal terms with our Homeland leaders is bound to resolve all our South African problems."

Kanye is one of the four members of Homeland legislatures, attending the MRA Assembly. Sixteen other personalities from South Africa are attending.

'Opponents dignity precondition of freedom' — BRANDT

A message from the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Willy Brandt, was read to the special parliamentary session of the Moral Re-Armament World Assembly at Caux, Switzerland, which is attended by Members of Parliament from ten countries.

Herr Brandt wished success to the summer conference and the international parliamentarians' meetings.

He said, "We know how every day of our political work faces us with moral decisions and forces moral conflicts on us which cannot be solved by simplified or high flown formulae. But all those who are engaged in politics, in the service of people and not of abstract wishful thinking should be able to unite on one principle: that we need the ability to see in our opponent another person whose dignity and freedom are a pre-condition of freedom itself."



STANDING, left to right: Senator Dr. Peter Brugger, Italy; Mr Johannes Ostviet, MP Norway; Dr Friedrich Beerman, Member of Bundestag, W. Germany; Mr Walter S. P. Kanye, Minister of Justice, KwaZulu, South Africa; Mr Curnick M. Ndame, MP in Transkei Parliament, South Africa; Senator Ralph Vibert, Jersey; Mr Patrick Wolrige Gordon, MP Britain; Mr Costas Christodoulides, MP Cyprus; M. Georges Mesmin, Depute, Conseiller de Paris, France; Dr Malcolm Mackay, former Minister of Navy, Australia. SITTING, left to right: Mr Solomon Lesoland, MP of Bophuthatswana, South Africa; Chief Pilane, Leader of Opposition in Parliament of Bophuthatswana, South Africa; Herr Adolf Scheu, Member of Bundestag, W. Germany; Mr R. Premadasa, MP, Chief Opposition Whip of Sri Lanka; Mrs Constance Monks, MP Britain; Professor Kullervo Rainio, MP Finland; Dr Karl Mitterdorfer, MP Italy.

VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT ...

CONFERS A DOCTORATE in financial management on **General Idi Amin** who has asked for a "loan" from Britain to pay compensation to British nationals who have been deprived of their property by him!

NEEDLES the "republic" of Greece under **Papadopoulos** for refusing entry to Lady Fleming, the Greek-born widow of the discoverer of penicillin, who sought to return to her native country.

HAS SECOND THOUGHTS on the fruits of "detente" after hearing from General Sir Walter Walker, former Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces in Northern Europe, that NATO no longer has a "coherent strategic doctrine which takes realistic account of the quite extraordinary growth of Soviet strategic forces".

IS GLAD that the **International Civil Aviation Organisation** has severely censured Israel for its gangsterism in intercepting a Lebanese aircraft.

ELEVATES Colonel Gaddafi of Libya to the rank of a modern Robert the Bruce following his success in reaching an agreement with President Sadat of Egypt on the merger of their two countries but needs further evidence to show that the agreement will be more than a paper one.

FISHES for action from Shiv Sena leader **Navalkar** who claims that Bombay pomfrets have "gone underground".

RINGS ITS APPROVAL of the Government's refusal to dispense with the condition of test and approval of the prototype of the **Maruti** car before converting the letter of intent into an industrial licence.

BREAKS OUT INTO A SONG in praise of **AIR's** impartial reportage of the world Hockey Tournament, for instance it described Spain, whom India played against, as "gallant Spain" which gave a "valiant display".

BEST WORLD PRESS

TOWARDS DURABLE PEACE

Much hard bargaining has gone into the agreement between India and Pakistan. The prolonged detention of many thousands of people will now be ended — though the process may take months...

Each party in the bargaining has made some concessions and can take some satisfaction from the outcome. It is Bangladesh nevertheless that has held up agreement by clinging to the role of the wronged and deserving infant state for far too long. Recognition from Pakistan and consequent admission to the United Nations will probably follow if Sheikh Mujib can be persuaded to forego his war crimes trials. Given the appalling economic prospect his country faces as well as deplorable conditions of security it would be foolish to insist on trials whose purpose would be mainly a public demonstration of Bangladesh as the innocent sufferer — even if it were the unblemished truth.

What remains to be tested is the general atmosphere of reconciliation upon both parties who have congratulated themselves. A year ago Mr Bhutto's devious manoeuvring was a sign of political weakness. Now he has got his new constitution and can stand forth as a democratic prime minister. The era when Pakistan got its orders from the officers' mess begins genuinely to recede. Even Mrs Gandhi may find a fellow prime minister in Pakistan easier to deal with if the will is really there for a settlement of all the difficulties since partition.

THE TIMES, London

That both Dacca and Islamabad have hailed the agreement is a testimony to India's success in bridging a gap which appeared unbridgeable not very long ago when the Sheikh was threatening to begin the trials any day and Mr Bhutto was refusing to accept more than a few thousand Biharis and that, too, on "humanitarian grounds". It also represents a triumph for the principle of direct ne-

gotiations which New Delhi has been espousing. No external power was involved in the talks even indirectly and no fourth party can claim to have contributed to their success.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Some residual responsibility rests with India until the humanitarian problems are finally out of the way. The trial of 195 Pakistani prisoners of war and the repatriation of Biharis from Bangladesh are issues which can still present complications. But India and Pakistan must not let these matters come in the way of taking up resolutely the question of normalising their own relations and moving away from the sterile course that has been pursued since independence. There is a vast field for co-operative action between the two countries and both have much to gain from a good neighbourly exchange of trade and people. This was the spirit that had inspired Simla. To that both countries must make a return.

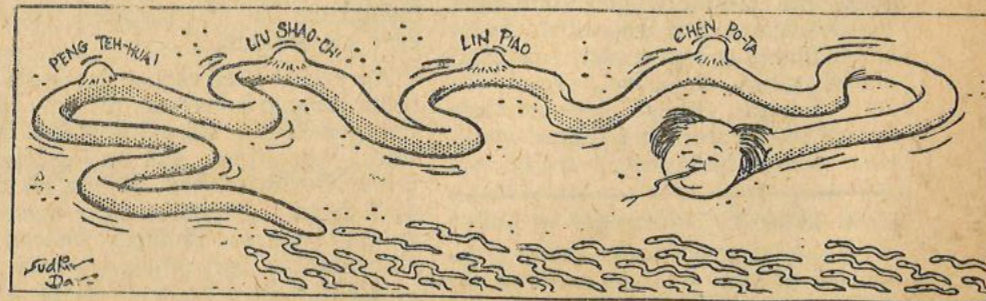
THE INDIAN EXPRESS

A SECRET CONGRESS

The tenth Congress was the shortest in Chinese Communist history; it took place in deepest secrecy; the impression is inescapable that what took place was pro forma, with no opportunity for genuine debate or for ventilation of China's many internal tensions. Even the alleged unanimity of the Congress decisions will inevitably be questioned in view of the secret, even stealthy way the meeting was conducted.

... What is most glaringly missing from the official account of the strange Chinese Congress is unambiguous evidence that adequate arrangements have been made for the orderly transfer of power to a new generation when these two remarkable rulers of China (Mao and Chou) pass from the scene. The absence of such evidence encourages questions about the continued existence of a stable, united China ruled from one centre. The real puzzle is why no effort was made to reassure the outside world on this key issue.

THE NEW YORK TIMES



Follow the leader... or else...

Courtesy: The Hindustan Times

ASIA

Wang Hung-wen: the new red star over China

CHAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung will probably be succeeded by a collective leadership after his death. At the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, held from August 24 to 28 in Peking, 79-year-old Mao was re-elected Chairman. But unlike the previous presidium where Lin Piao was the only Vice-



CHOU EN-LAI:
number two at last,
but what fate awaits him?

Chairman, the new presidium has five deputies.

Chou En-lai heads the five Vice-Chairmen, an indication that he ranks next to Mao. It was also he who presented the key political report. The other Vice-Chairmen are: former Shanghai textile worker Wang Hung-wen; Moscow-educated Party veteran Kang Sheng, one of the organisers of the Cultural Revolution; elder military leader Yeh Chien-ying, who has been virtually Minister of Defence; and Chief Political Commissar of the armed forces, Li Teh-sheng.

Except for Wang Hung-wen, the other four Vice-Chairmen are all over 70. The inclusion of Wang is obviously an attempt to inject badly needed new blood into the ageing Party hierarchy. There is a growing

awareness of the need to train revolutionary successors from among China's younger generation.

Thirty-six-year-old Wang Hung-wen's rise is phenomenal in a nation where experience in revolution is the most important factor on the road to power. Till six years ago, he was an ordinary textile worker. In 1966, he found himself at the heart of the Cultural Revolution that swept through China. Today, he is listed number three after Mao and Chou. He is now a military and administrative officer and is the Vice-Chairman of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee.

Wang has impressed many by his forceful personality. He is described as an able young man with much drive. When the "Peoples Daily" published a photograph of the Congress rostrum, Wang was seen seated on the right-hand side of Chairman Mao.

Presenting the revised constitution at the Party Congress, Wang Hung-wen said that there is need for many more cultural revolutions "to be carried out in the future". He said that Communists must be prepared to go against popular tides and present trends to achieve their ends. Wang added that Communists must not be fearful of imprisonment, dismissal or death. This was obviously aimed at winning many people who were denounced during the Cultural

Revolution but who have now been reinstated.

The Chinese are never at a loss to find colourful phrases to describe their enemies. The delegates to the Congress lived up to this reputation and unleashed a barrage of derogatory hyperboles when talking about the former Defence Minister Lin Piao.

Chou En-lai confirmed that there were two coup attempts by Lin Piao. The last one was a bid to assassinate Mao. When the plot failed, Lin took off for Russia but his plane crashed in Mongolia killing all on board. Also denounced with Lin Piao was Chen Po-ta, Mao's former friend and private secretary.

Chou En-lai's explanations also revealed that both he and Mao had been taken for a ride by Lin Piao and his associates. Chou described them as "a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique who never showed up without a copy of (Mao's) quotations in hand and never opened their mouths without shouting 'long live' and who spoke nice things to your face and stabbed you in the back".

Fate has not been kind to the people Mao has designated as his successors in the past. First it was Liu Shao-chi, who fell during the Cultural Revolution. Then it was Lin Piao. Now it is Chou En-lai's turn to be number two. If his remarkable record for survival is anything to go by, this Mandarin turned Communist is certain to remain in power. But one person he may have trouble with is Chiang Ching, Mao's wife. Probably because of her close association with Lin Piao, she has been relegated to the second tier of leadership though she was listed fourth in line of succession at the last Party Congress in 1969.



"One way is to sleep longer in the office."

Algiers: concern over West Asia

THE fifth meeting of the non-aligned nations takes place at Algiers from September 5 to 8. Like the Commonwealth, the non-aligned bloc also needs a new lease of life. As in Ottawa, in Algiers too, heads of state will do well to play it in low key.

As 70 delegates confer at Club des Pins, a seaside resort on the Mediterranean, the future of the Mediterranean will be discussed. There will be a powerful lobby of Arab leaders at the summit and the West Asia crisis is likely to figure prominently. Many of them fear that the easing of Moscow-Washington relations might actually prolong the West Asian crisis. They view the continued and increased presence of these powers in the Mediterranean with apprehension.

Bangladesh will participate in the conference for the first time. Sihanouk is flying from Peking to represent Cambodia. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam has been given a seat and Madam Binh arrived in good time.

In the recent years the non-aligned summits have tended to get side-tracked. Less important issues have occupied the members. There lies the weakness of the group. Its strength remains in the fact that non-alignment as a basis for foreign policy has gained relevance.

In the cold war era, new nations did not want to align themselves to either of the super powers. Yet they

wanted to assert themselves. So they joined the non-aligned club. Today, of course, it has become a prestige issue for newly-independent nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America to ally themselves with this group. The fact that the group has trebled in strength in the last 12 years does, of course, express the desire of these nations to safeguard themselves against outside interference. Today, in spite of the detente, this need is felt as keenly as it was in the fifties and the sixties.

The super powers — Russia and America — no longer look upon non-alignment superciliously. To

At Cairo	in 1964	48 members participated
At Lusaka	in 1970	54 members participated
At Algiers	in 1973	70 are participating

strengthen their position against each other, both Russia and China want to woo it and become the leader of the third world.

In recent years, the group has been torn by dissensions. Ideological confrontation, and often wild statements, have marked the meetings. As a result, rather than non-aligned nations influencing the super powers, the super powers have tended to pull strings from the wings. The non-aligned group, representing almost half the world's population, is the largest body of independent nations outside the UN and could make its voice heard.

The price, for the increase in size,

has been paid by the loss of cohesiveness in the group. Part of the reason may lie in the conditions necessary to qualify for membership. At the moment a member does not have to represent a full-fledged Government. Not wanting to align itself militarily with a super power, is considered an adequate qualification. That is why, in the last years, "liberation" groups in Africa as well as regimes in exile, committed to overthrowing their Governments in power, have been included in the fold.

Last year, at the meeting of non-aligned foreign ministers in Guyana, out of five days, half a day was spent on discussing the issues on the agenda. The remainder were frittered away on arguing whether the principle of consensus should be adhered to.

There was considerable haranguing on the nature of the status to be conferred on Sihanouk and the PRG of South Vietnam. Chinese officials advised from back stage. Sihanouk

manoeuvred to get a seat. But after the conference it was discovered that only 17 delegates had supported Prince Sihanouk's claim.

During the conference when the Foreign Minister of Guyana claimed that there was a consensus about a permanent seat being given to the PRG, Malaysia, Indonesia and Laos staged a walk out.

At Algiers, if the principle of genuine consensus is restored, the bloc will regain some of its lost force.

At Belgrade in 1961, Nehru had called for a rapprochement between the super powers. This document was personally handed to Krushchev and Kennedy by some of the non-aligned leaders. Today, of course, detente is a reality.

The moral authority of the non-aligned group is eroded because often the resolutions passed by it are one-sided. For instance, last year, in Guyana, the group supported, among other things, the African liberation struggles, and the nationalisation of foreign companies in Latin America. But the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia has never been condemned by the group.

Issues like economic co-operation among the non-aligned nations need serious consideration so that dependence on the super powers is reduced. These were touched upon at Lusaka. They now need follow-up work and implementation.

West Europe: the prize the Soviets want

From Peter Hintzen in the Hague

There is an onslaught on the Atlantic community of nations. Whatever be its cause, it is clear that there is a confluence of factors bringing about its downfall.

PRESIDENT Nixon has to combat simultaneously six separate crises: Watergate, persistent inflation (and his counter measures have made certain food items more scarce), Cambodia, the accusations against Vice-President Agnew, reports of improper use of funds to finance the "West Coast White House", and the aftermath of the Pentagon Papers. How can a world leader in such dire straits take correct decisions?

"The Economist" has stressed that, even after the "entente cordiale" between Nixon and Brezhnev, there is no reason to assume that the Soviet Union has given up its long-term aim of world dominance. Therefore, the cold war is not over. It has merely become more subtle. The Atlantic nations find it impossible to keep up defence alertness in times of "low-tension confrontation". NATO would have died a natural death in 1969, if Russian tanks had not invaded Czechoslovakia.

This is why Russia's present policy is clever. Detente is all that the peoples of America and West Europe hear about. Brandt's Ostpolitik, the marathon session of the European Security Conference in Helsinki and Brezhnev's smiles in Washington, create the impression that this detente is real. West European politicians, who want to catch votes, and the cold-war-weary happily join the peacelovers' choir. Meanwhile, Soviet armed strength has gone up consistently. The Warsaw Pact-NATO ratio is now about three to one.

It is true that hot war remains a remote possibility as long as America's nuclear umbrella over West Europe remains guaranteed. But if the US halves its troops, now numbering 300,000 GIs, on European soil, the picture will change. US Senator Mike Mansfield has been insisting upon this withdrawal. Until recently Nixon had no intention of giving in to this demand. What he wanted was "mutual and balanced forces reduction". But whether a drowning President can, in the long run, survive the waves of detente and isolationism remains to be seen.

It can be argued that the deplorable state of the US dollar is also a

result of the Watergate affair. Whether this is true or not, it is an added stimulus for it to withdraw into "fortress America". It can save on



IS THE COLD WAR OVER?
A security guard outside NATO headquarters

the European operation alone something between 14 and 20 billion dollars (This figure is disputed by the Europeans).

If human brain had set out to destroy the Atlantic defence, it could not have gone about it more cleverly: disgrace America's national honour and foreign policy aims in Vietnam; disgrace America's domestic system through Watergate; destroy America's financial muscle at the world exchange counters; persuade Europeans that America is not all that much better than Nazi Germany, that the cold war is over and that all Russia wants is peace and trade.

It should not be forgotten that Western Europe is the "great prize", the key to world supremacy. The huge concentration of trained intellect and productive potential here will tilt the balance in Russia's favour if

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

CHANDIGARH — The latest wave of floods in Punjab has so far claimed 29 lives, uprooted more than 250,000 people, damaged houses in over 1000 villages, and destroyed kharif (first harvest) crops worth Rs 5 crores (Rs 1 crore equals Rs 10 million), affecting nearly one fourth of the total area under crops.

NEW DELHI — The Central Government decided that the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission are inadequate, and has announced its intention to enter into bilateral negotiations with representatives of the Government employees to consider how the commission's suggestions can be improved upon.

GAUHATI — A 21-member delegation of the Plain Tribals' Council of Assam called on the Prime Minister to urge her to carve out from the present territory of Assam a new state to be called "Udayachal".

AHMEDABAD — A committee appointed by the Gujarat Congress (O), in its 25-page report, levelled serious charges of corruption and irregularities, amounting to more than Rs 3 crores, in the purchase of groundnut and its oil by the state-owned Gujarat Agro-Industries Corporation.

BHOPAL — The Madhya Pradesh Government has sought the assistance of the army for rescue operations in the flood-affected areas of the state.

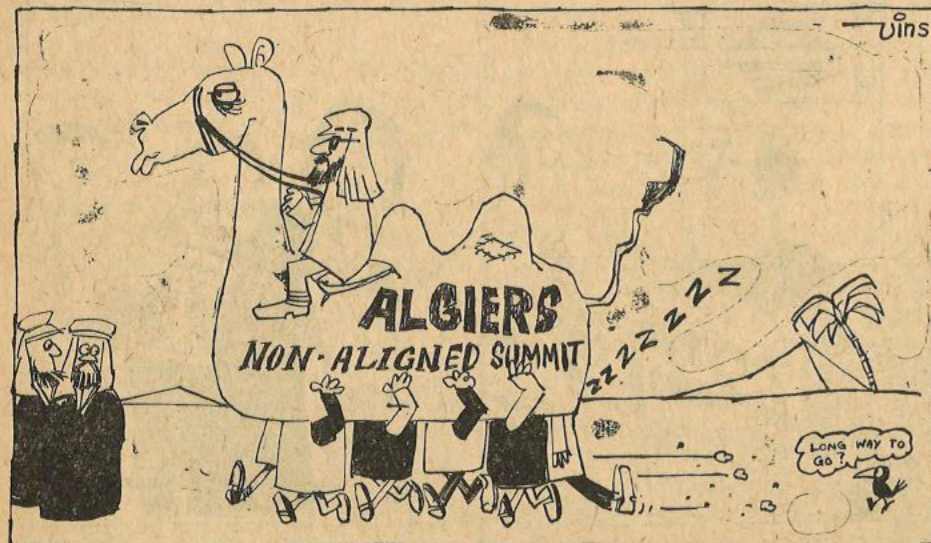
INDORE — The authorities have unearthed over Rs 3 lakh worth of hoarded essential commodities, including edible oils and groundnuts, in raids carried out at Dhamnodd in Dhar district.

BOMBAY — The Maharashtra Government proposes to install television sets in 1500 schools within a 60-km radius of the Bombay TV centre by October this year, according to Mr A. N. Namjoshi, Minister of Education.

POONA — Continuous heavy rains have lashed Maharashtra for a fortnight and a break in the current wet spell is urgently required for the proper growth of standing crops.

SHOLAPUR — Rail traffic between Bombay and Madras was seriously disrupted as the railway employees stepped up their agitation for the transfer of the Sholapur Division of the South Central Railway to the Central Railway. The authorities are mobilising the Territorial Army to maintain the services.

HYDERABAD — The Andhra Pradesh Government decided to use the Maintenance of Internal Security Act to put an end to the staggering number of bogus ration cards — numbering 33 lakhs against a population of 18 lakhs — in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad.



A journey through Europe

THE pink cherry blossoms dancing at the foot of the gigantic Eiffel Tower, the white paddle-steamer "Bismark" moving majestically up the Rhine, the intense look on the faces of young men and women listening to Elgar at the Royal Festival Hall; two padres conducting a marriage service alternately in German and French in a Swiss 12th-Century village church. These are some vignettes of a hundred-day visit to nine countries of Europe.

The "Bismark", white, with its name in gold lettering, is a relic of old days. On its deck Kaiser Wilhelm II may have stood imperiously or a Goering strutted in his heyday. Today it carries holiday-makers up and down the Rhine.

The Rhine is the lifeline of industrial Europe. On it flow broad barges carrying goods like coal from Japan to feed the hungry factories of Germany. Finished products from as far as Basle in Switzerland sail down the Rhine to reach the port of Rotterdam, the largest in the world.

The Rhine flows through Bonn, the capital of West Germany. On one bank of the river is a prestigious promenade with the palaces of the West German President and the Chancellor. On the opposite side trees and vegetables flourish on humble farmers' land. In the distance on a hilltop is Petersburg Castle where Brezhnev stayed on his recent visit. Brezhnev is a very important man

for Germany and Europe. Not everyone in Bonn trusts him. One leading West German paper said that Brezhnev plays on the vanity of European statesmen. He flatters one, and then another, dividing them from each other.

Some say that Brezhnev is playing off Pompidou against Brandt and vice versa. When I was in Bonn, Pompidou came to be reassured by Brandt. This possibly accounted for Brandt telling me, "We are in the midst of a process of multi-lateral arrangements. I see Pompidou tomorrow. We need to think about how we can bring about a European union in the West." Brandt went on to speak of how he was trying to organise Europe "both West-wise and East-wise".

Relaxed yet afraid

Be that as it may I found the Europe of 1973 more relaxed than that of 1969. Certainly it is very different from the tense Europe of 1968, after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The events of Czechoslovakia belong to the past. Few now believe that Russia will march into Europe. "What Russia wants," said a defence expert in Bonn, "is the Finlandisation of Europe so that on issues vital to the Soviet Union, Western Europe will do its bidding, from the frontiers of West Germany to the Atlantic."

In the fastness of the mountains outside Oslo, in Norway, lies the northern headquarters of NATO. Here are monitored the movements of all Soviet ships that go out into the North Sea. One unofficial source told me in passing that as many as 30 new Soviet warships make their way into the North Sea every month.

In Oslo, London and Bonn the question responsible statesmen ask is: "If the Soviet Union really wants a detente why is she expanding her navy on such a fantastic scale?" A British statesman said, "We too at one point were expanding our navy but we knew why we were doing it."

One thing is obvious — the Soviet Union's bid for mastery as a world power. As America weakens from within with Watergate and all that goes with it, there is growing apprehension in Western Europe's official circles. While no one expects armed aggression, European statesmen know that when the Soviet Union is gathering strength they have to weigh how far their policies can be at variance with those of Moscow. Added to this is the fear that the USA and the Soviet Union may strike a deal

over the heads of the statesmen of Western Europe.

The coming together of Western Europe is a great development in history. Europeans, who have got the unenviable record of having fought more wars amongst themselves than the people of any other continent, have realised that war, like crime, does not pay.

by R. M. LALA

Britain, knocking on the doors of the European Economic Community, (Common Market), has at last been allowed to enter. The latest convert is usually the most zealous and that applies to the British apostles of the Common Market. "We feel we have something to contribute to Europe — our political institutions that have stood the test of time," said one Britisher. Ultimately the Common Market will move from an economic to a political union — a federation of Western Europe which Churchill envisaged after World War II.

I had a quick peep into Brussels, capital of the Common Market, with a visit to its headquarters. The predominance of France there is obvious and one marvels at the tolerance of the Germans in permitting this. Perhaps it stems partly from a sense of guilt about the past. The Germans, however, welcome Britain because they hope she will provide a counterbalance to France in the E.E.C.

The average Britisher is still quite apprehensive about the Common Market. The British housewife has to pay more for her shopping as a result of joining it. But it is a development of history that could have been avoided.

Urges for unity

The challenge of entry into the Common Market is the first major one that Britain has taken up outside its own shores since the sun set on the British Empire. The businessmen want to go into the Common Market to expand their businesses. Some class-conscious British trade unionists see in it the chance to forge a united front to step up class war. However there are other trade unionists who see it as an opportunity to build true brotherhood of man.

There is little doubt that there are deep urges for unity in Western Europe. Europeans are eager to learn each other's language. It is fashionable for French teenagers to go to Britain to practise English. As for

smaller nations like Holland or Norway, most people there say, "We come from a small nation so we must learn English, German or French." There has been a revolution in the pattern of holidays in the last decade. Britishers who were satisfied to go to the nearest seaside resort or track in the Scottish mountains now prefer to go to the Continent.

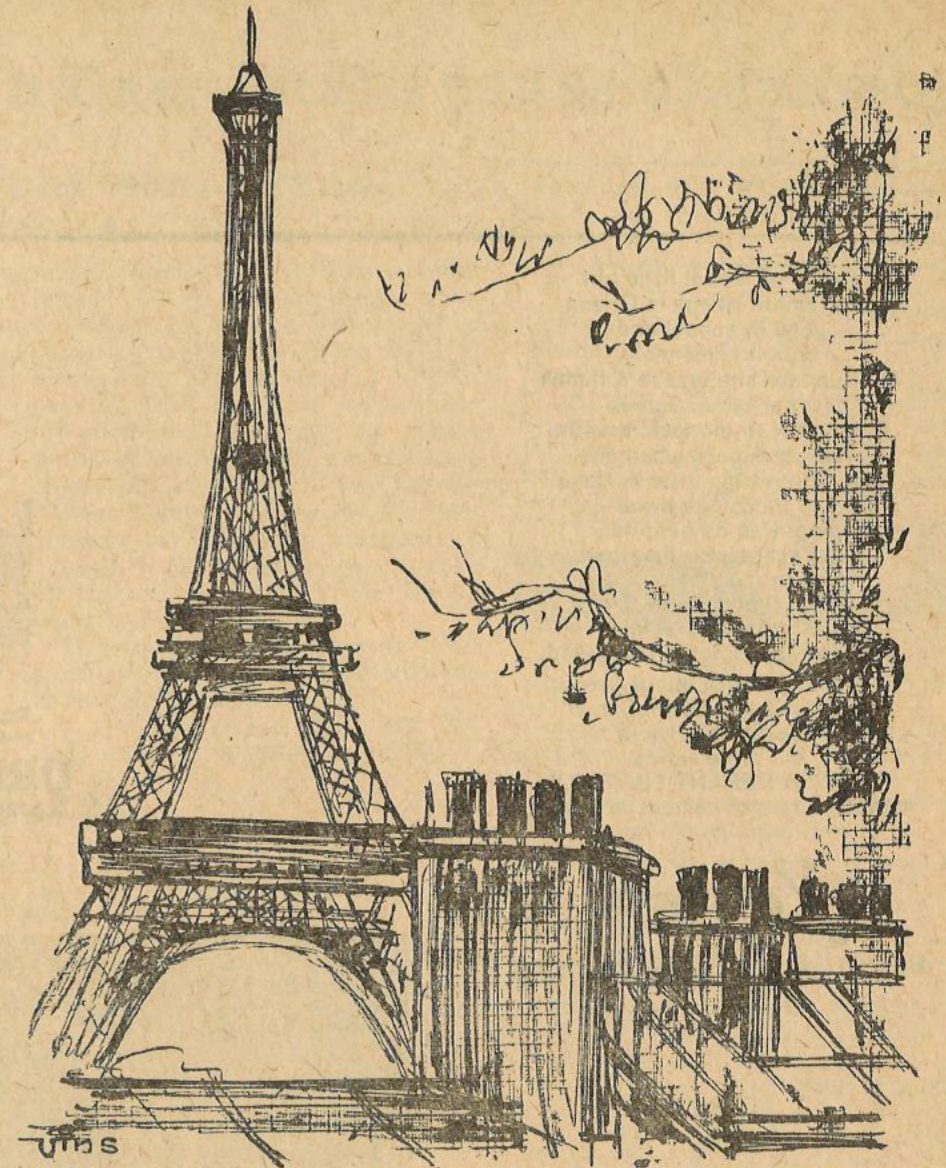
France today

The progress made by Paris in the last five years is impressive. Some day France will realise what it owes to De Gaulle. He gave her order, restored her pride and brought a new look to Paris. It was during De Gaulle's rule that the stately but blackened buildings of Paris were cleaned up. Then years ago you could see litter in the streets of Paris but seldom today.

Paris has more cars than any other capital but the traffic and the motorways are superbly organised. When I was there, the final lap of a ring road round Paris was opened. If anybody believes human nature cannot change they should drive in Paris traffic. Parisian traffic was famous for its horn-blowing. Silence has now descended. Taxi drivers, when they run into another car, no longer shake their fists at each other, although they have not yet learnt the courtesy of Japanese drivers who bow to each other after an accident.

It was Easter Monday. There was a nip in the air though the sun shone on a village church near Lausanne. A German-speaking Swiss bride was marrying her French-speaking countryman. A French padre and a German one were jointly conducting the service. They did not compete but complemented each other. The groom was a trained architect who had given his services to the work of Moral Re-Armament.

The French padre recalled St Francis of Assisi who had had the thought from God: "rebuild my church". Stone by stone, with his own hands, he rebuilt a ruined church. When it was completed he realised that God's bidding meant something more than merely rebuilding with stone. It meant that he was chosen to infuse a new life into the Catholic Church, then at a low ebb. It appeared that the radiant Swiss couple — both with a profound individual faith — would add more than a stone to the resurgence of Europe's faith.



My last day in Europe was spent at a little-known town near Frankfurt, called Bensheim. There a German couple in their mid-forties had tried with some success to give a sense of purpose to young Europeans. On January 1st, 1968, Horst Klaus Hofmann, in his own words "asked God in prayer for His plan for me in the coming years". He wrote down the following thoughts, "Create and train a united revolutionary team, a force to closely relate men to God and effectively solve the burning problems of our modern world."

He and his wife decided that he should give up his job and hold a camp for youth on the premises of a local school. They expected 100 young people but 300 turned up. One camp followed another in rapid succession. Young couples with their marriages breaking up found a new lease of life. They joined the Hofmanns in their battle. Some stayed on in Bensheim, others returned to their homes with their new-born faith. Some were Protestants. Others were Catholics. Those in the grip of

drugs and other habits found freedom from what was binding them.

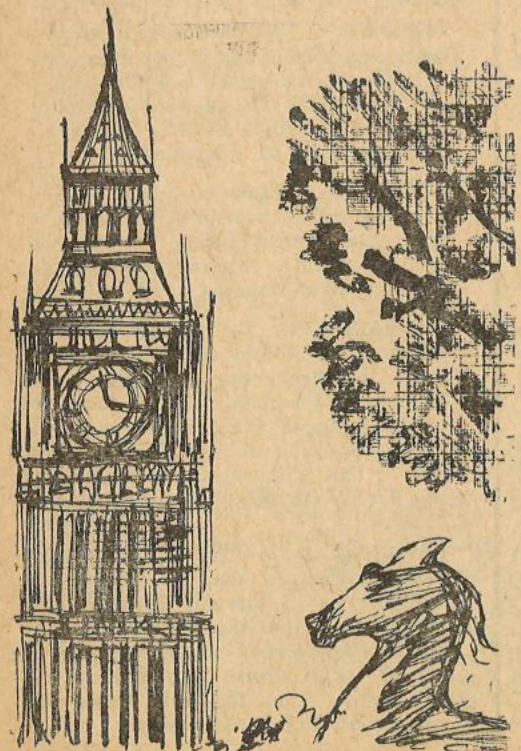
The force, now spread all over Germany, is called Offensive for Young Christians. The members keep in close touch with each other. They think for other nations — be it for drought in Maharashtra or some other worthy cause elsewhere. They are prompt in giving funds for relief.

They have got young Germans thinking for other lands. In their centre at Bensheim an old cellar is converted into a chapel. Inscribed on its walls are words from the prophet Isaiah:

"Enlarge the place of your tent, and let the curtains of your habitation be stretched out; ... and strengthen your stakes.

"For you will spread abroad to the right and to the left, and your descendants ... will people the desolate cities."

Bensheim holds out promise of a new life awaiting even to the desolate souls who people the glittering cities of Europe.

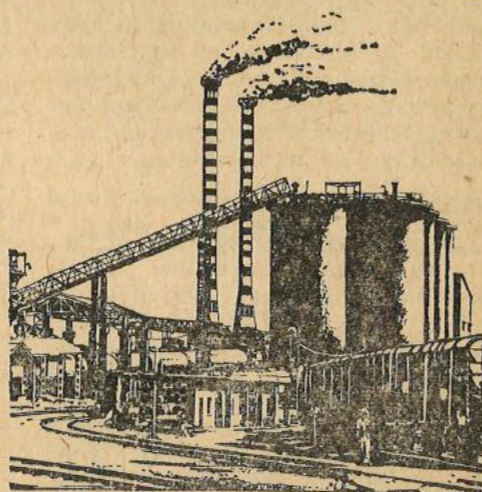


Leela - A sweet little girl of a remote village in Orissa goes to school and likes it immensely. On Sundays she fusses & fumes till her father agrees to take her to the local theatre. Ten years back when she was born in the little cottage in which she lives, there was no hospital, no school, no theatre in the village. But today even if she catches cold, the hospital doctor is consulted. What brought about this fantastic transformation? The answer lies in the three words "ORISSA CEMENT LIMITED," manufacturers of cement in Orissa.

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Viewpoint Indians lack a sense of humour

No, sir—we have our own brand

Rs 25 to N. Balakrishnan, Nilgiris, Tamilnadu

I am reminded of Mahatma Gandhi's famous saying, "If I had no sense of humour I should long ago have committed suicide." I do not believe that the suicide rate in this country is among the highest in the world.

What about our politicians — whose number must be legion — whose utterances for public consumption day in and day out exude humour in such abundance? If that is not humour for the politically-conscious Indian, I do not know what is.

No sir, whatever we Indians might be guilty of, you certainly cannot accuse us of humourlessness.

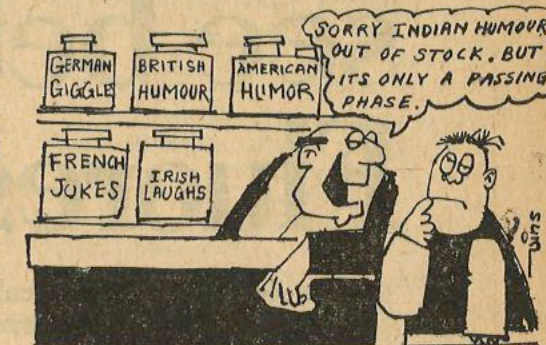
One criticism about Indian humour

might be that its expression often borders on the oblique. This cannot be helped as the humour must be suited to the genius of the soil. If between the British sense of humour and the Irish there can be a world of difference, why not an Indian brand of humour? If we can have cubism in modern art why not an oblique humour? It is for the connoisseur to discern the nuances for himself. It is not given to everyone to fathom the depths of Indian humour.

Make no mistake about it. It is the sense of humour which sustains the Indian and makes him tick.

If you still have doubts ask any Irish tourist who ought to know.

86% of the entrants feel that Indians do not lack a sense of humour.



and sarcasm can be conveyed. Our cartoons, political and social, are among the best in the world.

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Extracts from other entries

Indira Gandhi, on a tour of drought stricken areas in Tamilnadu some years ago, was told by the Chief Minister that there should be a rain of money. Quick came the reply from the PM: "There are no such clouds in Delhi!"

MRS INDIRA NATHAN, Madurai 16, Tamilnadu

In India the first cartoons appeared in 1929 in "The Times of India", whereas in America they emerged as early as 1892. JOSEPH PULIAMPALLIL, Ranchi, Bihar

The antics of Mehmood, the gymnastics of Johnny Walker and the amusing parliamentary performances of Piloo Mody do give us some respite. But can we laugh at ourselves which is the most refined form of humour?

MAHBOOB RAB, Delhi 7

No: we thrive on jokes

Rs 15 to D. Kaliprasad Naidu

IMAGINE the scene: a man is travelling standing in a crowded bus in Calcutta. A lady is standing on his toes, as she has been for quite some time. As the bus becomes more crowded the lady tries to elbow out a space for herself and in the process, unintentionally jabs him in the ribs. Very calmly the man says, "Madam, your feet are enough, why the elbow?"

There are a number of standing jokes in use all over the country. How many times one hears references to "Indian Standard Time" and the political jokes! Then there are the inexhaustible Sardarji

jokes not to mention the Koi-hai collection.

Light-hearted humour is ever-present among the cheerful chaos that generally pervades the Indian scene. Even advertising is usually subtly or openly humorous — the Air India Maharajah for example.

Grim humour is most evident when natural disasters or calamities take place: "I'm an optimist — things have got to get better because they can't be worse."

Another facet of Indian humour is the subtlety with which the scathing remarks

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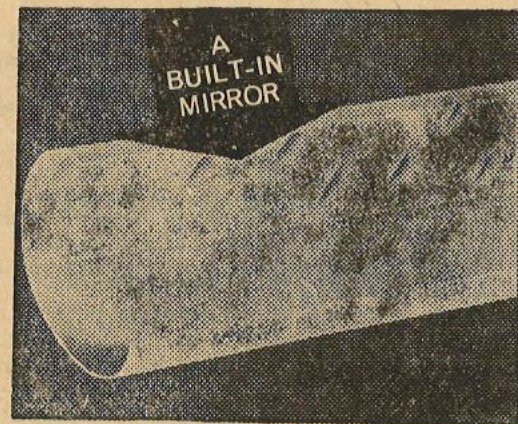
Closing date September 21

** Ladies in India work harder than men

Closing date October 5

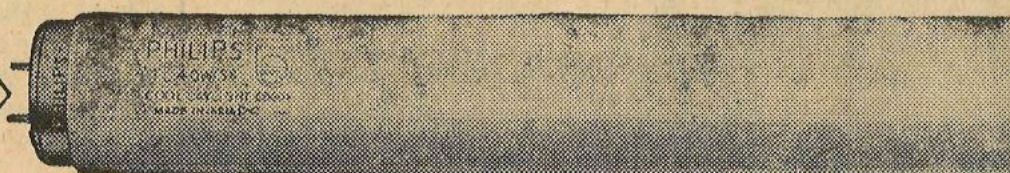
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Sobers played like Bradman

West Indians dance on cricket field

by T. C. "Dickie" Dodds

THE West Indies won the Test series against England by two victories to none, with one match drawn, when they beat England at Lords by an innings and 226 runs. The West Indies made 652 for 8 declared and England 223 and 193. It was England's second biggest ever defeat. In amassing their huge total, three West Indians scored brilliant centuries. Kanhai got 157, Sobers 150 not out and Julien's 121, was his maiden century in Test cricket.

Kanhai came in when the West Indies had lost opener Murray, bowled by Willis for four. Willis looked really fast and hostile — several yards quicker than his partner Arnold. One wondered how Kanhai would react since he had only had a mediocre series. His first shot was a belligerent one. It succeeded, and he went on from there to set the tone for the whole West Indies innings.

For Sobers it was his 26th Test century; a chanceless knock in his superb vintage style. One spectator summed it up! "When Sobers was batting, the exceptional shot became the commonplace." I remember it was the same with Bradman.

Poor England. There was nothing they could do. Their bowling — Willis apart — looked dull and ordinary compared with the fire, zest and class of the West Indies. The West Indies must now have as strong and brilliant a batting line up as ever in the past. In addition they have some of the best fielders in the world with Lloyd and Kallicharan leading the outfielders and Sobers, the close catchers. Last, but by no means least, they played as a team.

For England, Fletcher played two good innings of 68 and 86 not out. All the rest looked fallible against the fast short rising ball. There were plenty of them. In England's second innings the first four wickets fell to bouncers. England's batsmen have got to learn how to handle these. Hayes, for example, who scored such a good century in the first Test, was twice out trying to hook. A question mark must remain against him until he can master this type of delivery. Boycott, great player though he is, is still suspect against the fast flyer.

It was a dramatic match. As in all good dramas there were subplots. The first of these was a bomb scare. The police quickly searched the ground. The warning was declared a hoax and in just 83 minutes, play was resumed.

One wag suggested that with England in the plight they were, Illingworth should get his family to ring up Lords at regular intervals with bomb warnings for the rest of the match!



Courtesy: Daily Express London

A second sub-plot concerns the police. England cricket grounds are now used to enthusiastic West Indian demonstrations whenever their team is doing well.

Horns, electric hooters, whistles, bells, rattles and beer cans banged together provide constant background noise, becomes an explosion of sound, accompanied by leaps and shrieks and people doing somersaults and dancing jigs on the field whenever something special takes place.

Also, despite frequent appeals for them not to do so, there is a tendency to rush on to the pitch and congratulate anyone who takes a wicket or scores a century.

But from the point of view of race relations the police did a magnificent job. Despite West Indian supporters, in their exuberance, knocking off helmets or flinging their arms round

policemen's necks and kissing them on both cheeks, the bobbies kept their cool and their humour. The London bobby was the great victor of the Test match — in terms of police-immigrant relationships.

I was on the popular side at one highly charged moment in the game. Boycott was batting and there was a loud appeal for a catch at the wicket which was turned down. The West Indian supporters were incensed. One of them turned to a policeman and asked him to confirm that Boycott had hit it. In a flash the Bobby brushed his leg to indicate that it was Boycott's pad, not bat, that had been hit. This was accepted. The fact that the policeman had scarcely been watching the play did not matter. He had now, through his behaviour, established a position of authority on all matters of life, including cricket.

Whilst the cricket went on, the curious chemistry of human relationships was taking place in the crowd. The English and the West Indians enjoy their cricket. The outward expression of that enjoyment is different. How to decide what is right in a free society, is the problem. For instance there are no barriers at Lords between the spectators and the ground. Does the spectator voluntarily restrain himself and not rush on to the pitch or does he have to be put behind a wire fence? Should a spectator bring an electric horn to the ground and sound it twice an over throughout the day despite the fact that 28,000 other people have to listen to it and that it may not be their favourite form of music?

These problems at Lords were a microcosm of similar problems being worked out in a hundred communities of mixed races all over Britain. Detached attitudes are maintained in the cool of the pavilion or the smoking rooms of Parliament. But it is in the heat and noise of the popular side at Lords or the teeming tenements and streets of Brixton and Bradford that the realities of the mixing of societies and races and cultures is experienced and a synthesis worked out.

If the Lords Test provided a fiesta for the West Indians in Britain, the coming tour of England in the Caribbean should provide a carnival occasion on all the Islands, as on present form, this West Indian side look an invincible combination.

Next Week

Sunil Gavaskar writes on The Indian School-boys Cricket Team in England

THIS INDIA

COME ON A RIDE

ONE of the joys of an otherwise routine life in Bombay is a ride on bus number 123 along Marine Drive. Sitting on the upper deck refreshes. The fine spray of sea water mingled with the light drizzle of monsoon stings your cheeks. The tang of salt in your mouth tastes good. The long bus queues are forgotten, the lines of traffic below you, forgiven.

On one side is the tempestuous muddy Arabian Sea, its waves spouting white foam. But the buildings facing the onslaught do not yield to the pressures of god Neptune. Corrosion and erosion may set in, but they retain their stateliness. The sights you see from the bus are, in a sense, ordinary and yet they give you a certain fillip.

Feeding the pigeons is a ritual every morning on Marine Drive. The rain may be pelting down but the feed-seller makes a cocoon for himself with torn plastic sheets and a holed umbrella. A solitary bird lover is seen buying the feed from somewhere inside the cocoon. Undeterred by sound and the fury of wind and water, the pigeons peck away at the grains.

As I get off the bus, I see on the pavement a man squatting on his haunches. Assisted by a ten year old, he is holding down his little child who is stark naked. The child's howls add to the symphony created by the rushing cars and buses. Nearby is a hole, off which a concrete slab has been lifted. I peep in to see clear water and a water pipe. The man dips in his mug and sloshes the child with water. It seems that the bath is being had after a lengthy interval. Unfamiliar with the procedure, what is the child to do but register his protest?

On a Sunday evening the sight at Marine Drive, viewed from 123, is of a "mela". Romeos and romantics, old men and infants, pets and pests, sellers and buyers rub shoulders. Ingenuity is tested.

A thick crowd parts to reveal three urchins with make-shift instruments singing away. The onlookers, tapping their toes, look on with a leisure that can be enjoyed only in India. The boys make money, the crowd shakes off its boredom.

At night the glittering queen's necklace, as the Drive is known, looks its bewitching best.

Keerja Chowdhury

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In the last three months HIMMAT has given exclusive world coverage of which you, our reader, are the best judge.

* In June and July our editor presented exclusive interviews with four Prime Ministers

* In June, HIMMAT made an on-the-spot report on South Vietnam.

* Last month Kalpana Sharma of HIMMAT gave first-hand coverage of the Commonwealth Conference in Ottawa.

* This week Frits Penson cables his coverage of the World Cup Hockey.

HIMMAT offers a distinctive service to those who wish to be informed of important events abroad. Its correspondents are among the best informed and very often have access to facts and insight into events denied to others.

This may be why we had 275 NEW annual subscriptions in August, in addition to renewals.

HIMMAT now goes to more countries than any other Indian newsweekly. An annual subscription in India costs only Rs 15.

Military rule remote, says Pakistani editor

MR SAFRUDDIN MIR, the Editor-in-Chief of the Pakistani daily "Musawat", spoke to St Stephen's College, Delhi, on his recent visit to the Capital.

Mr Mir introduced himself by launching into what he called "a premature obituary".

It turned out that he was a graduate of Government College, Lahore and had come to Delhi for the first time in 1945 in search of a job. After doing some broadcasting he went to Bombay to join films. His career as actor-director was rudely interrupted by Partition and its aftermath. In those days of communal tension and agony, Mr Mir and his band went around staging a play aimed at promoting secularism and communal harmony.

In 1948 he migrated to Pakistan. There he worked with a number of newspapers including "The Pakistan Times". He also played an active role in toppling the Ayub regime in 1969.

The question-answer session began with Mr Mir saying that he would answer the questions to the best of his ability but "you must keep in mind my limitations".

Q: Will the militarists stage a come-back or will Pakistan become genuinely democratic?

In Pakistan, the common man is becoming alive to his needs. He is beginning to assert himself. And the leaders are realising this. So at least for some time takeover by a military junta seems remote. Democratic socialism is the only way out. It is true that Mr Bhutto has been endowed with immense powers but this has been necessitated by the difficulties we have gone through and by the dirty political game being played by the Opposition which is trying to capitalise on the situation, motivated as it is by vested interests.

Q: What does the middle class think about the Indian people?

The middle class is a funny class — it does not seem to have any identity of its own. It will follow the lower or the upper class depending on which is stronger. And it fails to differentiate between the Indian Government and the Indian people.

HIMMAT, September 7, 1973

As such, the feeling prevalent in this class is that the Indians regard the existence and identity of Pakistan either as an impertinence or as irrelevant.

Q: How do you explain the suppression of democracy in Baluchistan?

As regards the assumed suppression of democracy in Baluchistan, I must first explain its background. Baluchistan is mainly a tribal area dominated by feudal chiefs. These "sardars" led a life of relative prosperity, partly on the contributions of their tribesmen. The people were beginning to realise the unfairness of paying these unnecessary homages and were raising their voices in protest. The Opposition leaders (some of them are tribal chiefs themselves) in collusion with the chieftains, tried to divert the people's attention by inciting them to an armed rebellion. Mr Bhutto, on the other hand, is trying to give the people what is due to them.

Q: Is Mr Bhutto himself making use of some of the feudal elements?

Yes. And here inter-sardar rivalry comes into play. But Mr Bhutto is genuinely interested in democratic socialism.

Q: Do you attach any premium to third party treaties like the Indo-Soviet Treaty?

I would not like to comment on that.

Q: You maintain that Mr Bhutto is a socialist. How do you then explain the existence of a theocratic state?

Theocracy prevails when the Ulemas are in power. In Pakistan this is not the case. Power is in the hands of the elected representatives and not with the religious leaders. As such Pakistan is not theocratic.

Mr Mir's justification of Mr Bhutto siding with some sardars, while condemning the Opposition for its alliance with other chiefs, was not satisfactory. But then perhaps Mr Mir had "his limitations".

Arun K. Singh

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WEST EUROPE — from page 11

Europe moves into her sphere of influence.

This can take many forms. It can come through "Finlandisation", relative independence within a Soviet power orbit. It can also take the shape of partial military occupation through satellite armies (eg East Germany) once the American nuclear guarantee has been cancelled. It can also be the extension of the East European system, the satellisation of West Europe.

President Pompidou of France says that he is pessimistic about West Europe's future. He fears a gradual neutralisation of West Germany as a result of Ostpolitik (a policy France has supported so far). He says that the super power deal about which De Gaulle always warned has now, in fact, taken place. He foresees American withdrawal (It is fair to say that France's policies in the monetary, diplomatic and military field have done a lot to encourage this departure).

The Common Market nations need to face facts, as Pompidou appears to

be doing. With about 300 million inhabitants and a very high standard of living, the EEC of Europe could play a stabilising and constructive role. It is not able to do so at the moment because of lack of unity and common political will. The quarrel between France and West Germany concerning monetary matters has, in no small way, contributed to the present monetary crisis. And a new ugly crisis concerning the Common Market's agricultural policy is expected. These crises are caused because "the Nine" have no conception beyond nationalism and self-interest.

It is said that in 1965, during a state visit in Bonn, De Gaulle offered Germany complete fusion of defence and foreign affairs. He made a moving speech and there were tears in his eyes. After the speech, the then Chancellor Erhard took a puff from his cigar and said, "It is time for lunch". De Gaulle did not partake of this lunch but left to see his old friend Adenauer in Rhoendorf.

A historic chance was missed. It is still not too late to take it.

Reduce car traffic for better weather

HEATED and dirty air masses over the large cities of Europe have led to an ever greater amount and intensity of rain in and around these cities. The number of days with snowfall is continually on the rise and summer thunder storms have become almost a daily occurrence.

Professor Wolfgang Eriksen, the distinguished German meteorologist, recently examined the climatic patterns of the cities in the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) in an extensive comparative study. The outcome: the inhabitants of densely populated areas are living to an increasing degree under extreme weather conditions.

To cite an example: 16 per cent more rain fell in Bremen in recent years than in the rural areas surrounding this Weser port. Munich and Nuremberg, both thickly populated areas in the south of the country, registered five days' more snowfall than in the

rest of the province of Bavaria. The frequency of thunder storms actually doubled in these two same cities compared to the flat lands nearby.

These aberrations are, naturally, not limited to Europe, but are occurring in most of the industrialised nations of the world.

Prof Eriksen sees the reason for these changing weather patterns over large cities in the phenomenal rise of air polluting and condensation-promoting nuclei caused by traffic and industry. He finds that this tendency is further increased by the strongly overheated city air.

When all these factors have an effect at the same time, and particularly when the city is located in a basin, the weather hits the inhabitants in an "explosive and negative" fashion, he says. The most impressive example of such an extreme city-weather situation took place a couple of years ago in Stuttgart. Giant

FRONTIERS OF SCIENCE

quantities of hail struck this industrial city, situated in a low basin, within only a few minutes. The result: total traffic chaos, flooded tunnels and basements. Several people died in the hailstorm.

The damaging effects of air pollution on health are obvious and have been known for a long time. This is the first time, however, that a definite relationship between such pollution and alterations in the weather rhythm has been clearly established. It is obviously not unlikely that such excessive rainfall over cities might very well result in a relative drought over the farming areas of the countryside.

In order to prevent such catastrophes in future, Prof Eriksen warns, only a drastic reduction in car traffic and an intensive creation of green zones in downtown city areas can be of help in the long run.

Sudhir Chandra

Letters

FOR A DEEPER CHANGE

MR GANDHI'S call "for a deeper change" in the independence issue is powerful and compelling. A cadre like the one he envisages is imperative in India at present. Rajmohan Gandhi echoes what thousands of Indians secretly have wanted. After reading his article especially the series of questions with which he concludes, one feels like saying to oneself: "It is my task to create such a force of men and women, it is my task to finance it, to keep it true to its principles, to help it make a mark on our times and on history."

Can HIMMAT bring together all those who experience an inner agitation but are unknown to each other though they may be from the same locality? Can HIMMAT satisfy the hope with which we look at it?

ADOLF LAZARUS, Bangalore 7

MADRAS TAXI DRIVERS

I was glad to see the detailed statement of Moral Re-Armament (HIMMAT, August 31) in Mr Rajmohan's article exhorting the Madras taximen to behave so as to bring fair name to Indians in general and India.

Only recently the rude and ill-mannered bus conductors in Madras started conducting themselves better due to a five per cent incentive bonus given by the Tamilnadu Government. Their whole behaviour underwent a welcome change — they began to smile and stopped being highhanded.

But one thing is clear. MRA achieved

this unique task in transforming taxi drivers by appealing to their hearts while the Tamilnadu Government wrought the desired change in busmen's behaviour mainly by appealing to their pockets.

S. SRINIVASAN, Bombay 77

FOREIGNERS IN INDIA

I read with interest the comments of Birbal under the heading "Foreign students neglected" (HIMMAT, August 24).

I recall the experience of two of my American friends who were recently in India as students. It would be of interest to quote a few sentences from the letter of one of them after her return to USA. She says, "... prior to our trip to Bombay, we had spent several hours dealing with ... mean and impossible people for our plane reservations. Apparently, the Indian Airlines Corporation, being a Government monopoly, has no worries about competition or pleasing the people ... they seemed to derive pleasure out of making it as difficult as possible for us (perhaps it was not the IAC policy just that of certain individuals). I noted however, that there were certain others who were given much more rude treatment and they were Indians holding foreign passports."

About Delhi she writes "... a day did not go by that we didn't get discouraging treatment — in every financial transaction we were either cheated or people attempted to cheat us. At the airport four beggars surrounded us and made off with my purse."

Perhaps this is just a chain of bad experiences but they certainly show the existing state of affairs in our country.

H. S. PARIKH, Bombay 1

This was a Life

ALBRECHT DURER

1471-1528

ALBRECHT DURER was born in Nuremberg to a goldsmith father. His father gave him the best education he could and then put the young lad in the family workshop. The boy, however, had harboured a fervent desire to be a painter. He did not tell anyone of his natural talent until secret and diligent practice had assured him that he was on the right track.

When he eventually told his father, the old man was not pleased. But he relented and Albrecht was apprenticed to Michael Wohlgemuth, the painter to whom Nuremberg was indebted for the art of engraving on copper.

From the beginning, Durer showed signs of marked individuality. He soon shook off the traditions of the Wohlgemuth school, retaining mainly a feeling for the charms of landscape. In his engravings he copied the details of nature in a way which entitles him to be considered the founder of modern landscape painting.

He introduced a new epoch in the art of wood engraving. He needed no colouring; his skilful use of light and shade was far more effective than colour. He made many experiments which were to be of great importance to future engravers, such as dry-point etching and the use of acid. Later he used these successfully to engrave on iron for the first time.

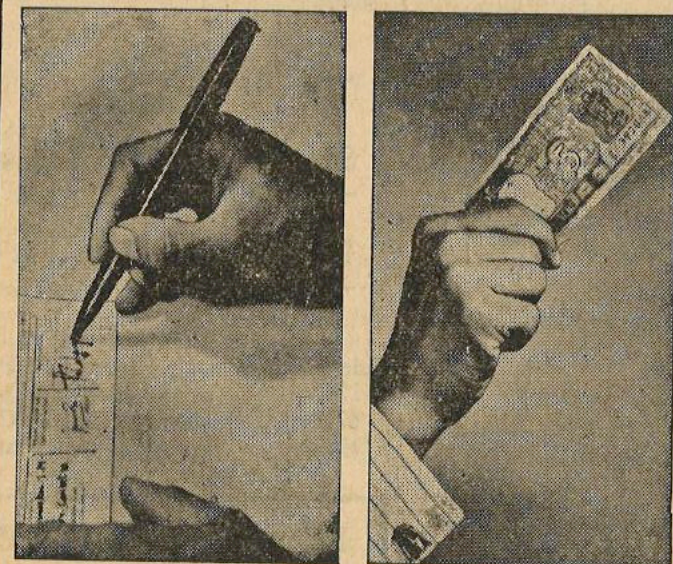
"Apocalypse", "Adoration of the Virgin", "Melancholia", "St Jerome in the Cell" and the "Triumph of Maximilian" were some of his celebrated works.

By nature and upbringing a devoutly religious man, he was restless in his pursuit of knowledge, and constantly strove to communicate his original ideas.

He enjoyed the most honoured and fortunate career as an artist, and as a man he commanded the sincere admiration of such figures as Raphael and Bellini, Erasmus and Luther.

Durer's genius lay in his individuality. Few have etched with such skill and vigour; few have showed so delicate and yet so powerful a talent.

S. C.



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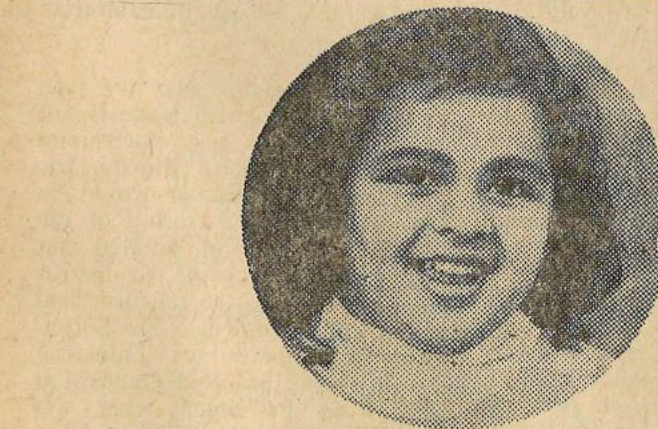
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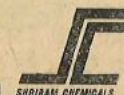
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AIYARS-SC-18/72



Critics are not enemies

by Rajmohan Gandhi

THERE is a difference between standing up to opposition and objecting to criticism.

If one is convinced of the rightness of a particular course of action, integrity lies in sticking to it. To change one's convictions because of a storm of opposition is a sign of weakness in character.

During the 1969 Congress split and the 1971 conflict with Pakistan Mrs Gandhi showed remarkable strength. She was convinced that her cause was just in 1969. The opposition of numerous experienced politicians did not deflect her. She routed them in battle.

In the 1971 conflict she was certain that India's cause was just. She was ready to take on all comers, although she was prepared also to accept a treaty with the Soviet Union. Stories that China and America would give Pakistan active military backing did not daunt her. In the contest she trounced Yahya Khan.

She believes in struggle — and in settlement. She worked tirelessly for the Simla accord — despite opposition — and now she and her team have helped achieve an agreement among Bangladesh, Pakistan and India. The achievement calls for tribute and full marks. Contrast this with her comments on the Indian press and on criticism by Congressmen of some of her Government's policies.

"The Hindu" of Madras of September 2 says the following in a story from New Delhi: "The Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, today criticised newspapers for publishing what she called malicious propaganda against the Congress party...Mrs Gandhi was equally critical of the adverse criticism by Congressmen themselves of some of the policies pursued by the Government. This, she pointed out, made matters worse and led to considerable confusion in the party ranks. She

warned that strict disciplinary action would be taken against such persons and no leniency whatsoever would be shown to them."

Is this dauntlessness in the face of opposition? Or is it oversensitiveness towards criticism?

Policies are made and administered by human beings. They are liable therefore to be imperfectly formulated and unsatisfactorily implemented. To point out the flaws is not only the right but the obligation of the press, and also of public men in or out of the ruling party. Often this exercise takes on a negative tinge, and it is possible that a number of those performing it are concerned more with themselves than with the nation. Statesmanship lies, firstly in acknowledging the possibility of errors and inadequacies, secondly in looking objectively at the criticisms, sifting the constructive ones from those merely negative and thirdly in acting in the light of those criticisms that are valid.

In this matter of the attitude to criticism neither the Prime Minister nor the Government as a whole wins full marks. More time and energies are, it would seem, spent on "combating" criticisms than is necessary. An assault is mounted on critics, sometimes at the expense of an assault on national problems.

It is not the writer's opinion that our country's policy makers are all the time living in cocoons of their own. Thus when the Prime Minister invited Mr Kamaraj for a talk she asked him for his views on the country's unhappy economic situation.

The Prime Minister should conduct this search for economic solutions more openly. We can be thankful for the current monsoon, the tragedy of the floods notwithstanding. But basic questions remain. How is production, agricul-

tural and industrial, to be rapidly increased? How are strikes and lockouts to be reduced? Is employment to be generated? Is the Government prepared to look afresh at these questions?

Large numbers of ordinary, decent Indians have practical views on these subjects; they do not, however, find the Government sufficiently interested in hearing them.

That nationalisation is not a cure-all has been often stated by Government spokesmen. Men connected with industry and business claim that if certain constraints are removed the economy would quickly expand. Is there truth in what they say? Has there been an honest attempt on the part of Government and industry to understand each other? If India, Pakistan and Bangladesh could find an agreement on the humanitarian issues affecting them, is it not possible for Government, management and labour to come together on India's humanitarian needs?

It is encouraging that the plan to take over the rice trade is not being pursued in doctrinaire fashion. The Prime Minister has said that this takeover would be "an added factor" on top of the wheat takeover and pointed out that the adequacy of the instruments to manage the takeover had to be fully studied. Mr Subramaniam, Minister for Industrial Development, has told Opposition leaders in Parliament that the Government wanted their advice on the procurement of rice and the running of the rice trade.

Whether the Government's attitude to rice indicates a change in its general approach to economic questions remains to be seen. The prestige of the Government can only go up if as a result of fresh policies the daily lives of the population are eased.

COMPETITION No. 346 SOLUTION



WINNERS

First Prize of Rs 25 goes to Jeronimo Roque, St Teresa's Seminary, 33/36 Jaipur Road, Ajmer-1. (5 mm from ball)

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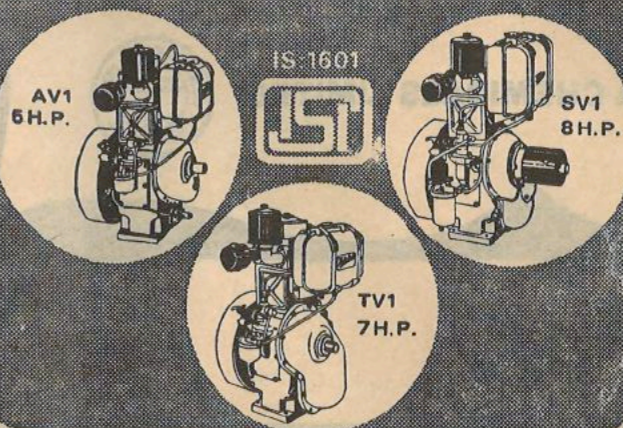
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