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In all these developments one factor remains unchanged—the GEC quality. Installed at India's farms, GEC quality products are helping to bring the country closer to agricultural self-sufficiency and farm prosperity. No wonder, they have become the most trusted weapons in the country's fight against hunger.

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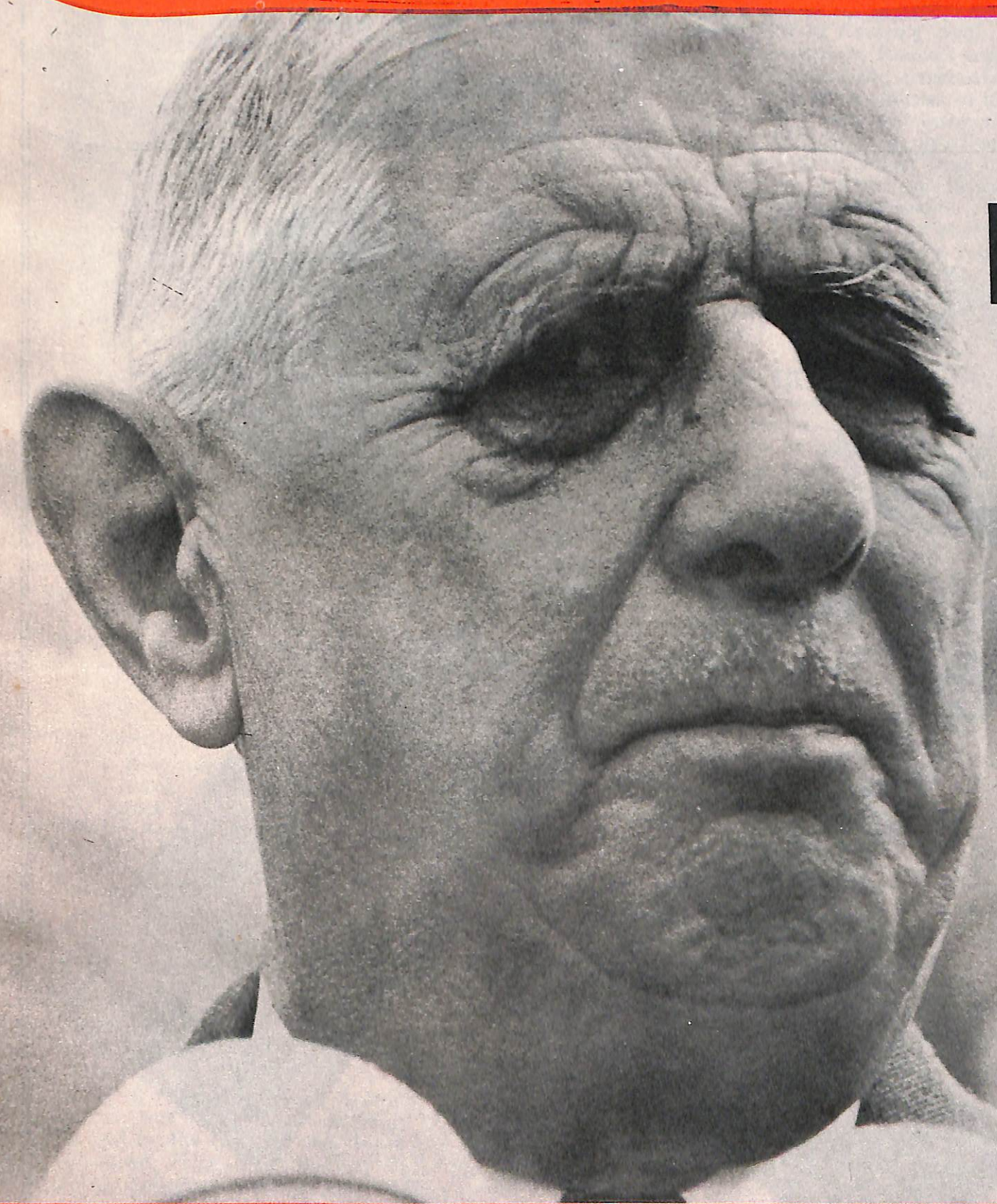


YOUR GUARANTEE

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**While
FRANCE
rocks
... the
world
waits
on DE
GAULLE**

p. 3, 22

Haryana intrigues invite defections

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Editorials

De Gaulle's dilemma

EVERY Western power has been rattled to its roots in the last six months. America has faced convulsions over Vietnam, race and the dollar; Britain because of her economy and the pound; Germany over her students and proposed changes in the Constitution; and now France. The latter two nations have been hit by violence unparalleled since the ending of the Second World War.

Surely the jubilation in Western circles over Czechoslovakia's political liberalism is matched by similar sentiments in Moscow over the turmoil in the West.

In Rumania a few days ago General de Gaulle called for Eastern Europe to free itself from Soviet domination. Having said so he had to cut short his visit and return to Paris where student rioters had put the giant Communist trade union, the CGT, in a pivotal position where it could almost dictate terms to the General.

Many observers believe the timing of these two developments is more than coincidental. The General, in his

efforts to create a third force in Europe, was courted by the Soviet Union and encouraged in his anti-American attitudes. Accompanying the "third force" notion was a glorification of Europe's tradition of liberalism. This proved infectious in Russia's own back yard and particularly in Rumania and Czechoslovakia. De Gaulle has clearly outlived his usefulness to his former suitors. It is unlikely that Russia can claim the full credit for engineering the French crisis. But there is no question they gain considerable comfort from it.

Democracy is not a *status quo* institution. It requires constant thought and re-evaluation. The ordinary man today demands more say in the running of his nation's affairs. In East and West he is rebelling against the concentration of power in a few hands. The excesses of the student demonstrators must be deplored. Could they, however, spark fresh thinking on the running of today's society?

Welcome Nigerian peace talks

THE Nigeria and Biafra representatives are at last meeting to negotiate the end of the tragic civil war.

While Biafra has strengthened her negotiating position by getting the recognition of Tanzania, Gabon, Zambia and Ivory Coast, reports come that Federal troops have captured Port Harcourt, Biafra's last effective link with the outside world. Colonel Ojukwu of Biafra now says they will fight a guerrilla war. Meanwhile the killing continues, innocent people suffer and the economy of the whole country is weakened.

The talks open under these circumstances.
Negotiating from strength will not solve the issue.

Apportioning blame will not bridge the differences. A basic trust must be built up from scratch. In the long run this human factor will be far more decisive than the detailed working out of future constitutional structure or safeguards.

Too much is at stake to risk a breakdown in the talks. This is not just a Nigerian issue, for the fragmentation and conflict in one place can have repercussions throughout the African continent and the world.

It is an opportunity for the members of the OAU to help create the atmosphere where a speedy and just solution is found.

Long overdue

HISTORY seems to be pushing India more towards South-East Asia. It is surprising but true that the first visit an Indian Prime Minister has made to Singapore and Malaysia comes 21 years after India's independence.

Singapore Premier Lee Kuan Yew has been most anxious for India to play a more active part in the region. Mrs Gandhi appears somewhat reluctant. Whether she likes it or not, Mrs Gandhi will have to steer India more into the region we geographically belong to. She also goes to Australia at a time when

Britain has announced her withdrawal from Asia and when the possibility of a future US disengagement is in the air.

There is a measure of power and potential in Australia that should prove a stabilising force in Asia. Mrs Gandhi's call to Australia and New Zealand, from Singapore, to play an increasing role in the area, shows that our countries need each other—a fact that HIMMAT, with almost a lone voice, has underlined since its very first issue in 1964.

The mad, mad race

THE Paris negotiations coincide with a renewal of the nuclear arms race. The Multiple Intercontinental Re-entry Vehicle (MIRV) has created the possibility of the ascendancy of either the United States or Russia.

So far the possession by one power of 16,000 nuclear rockets, and by the other of only 4000 has not meant that the power firing 16,000 rockets could put out of action the launching sites of the 4000. Calculations showed some sites would always escape and inflict unacceptable annihilation on vast areas of the other power.

MIRV is a rocket which releases 10 rockets all pinpointed on specific targets, and the prospect of putting

out of action the opponent's launching pads is vastly increased.

Where nuclear arms budgets were stabilised in the USA and the Soviet Union they are now soaring again, thus making the \$30,000 million spent annually on Vietnam a greater burden for the USA.

There is also an approaching breakthrough in the ability to locate submerged submarines anywhere on the globe and deal with them with MIRV, involving a change in the strategic significance of Polaris.

A new nuclear balance would put a premium again on wars of subversion.

Briefly Speaking...

Who discovered America?

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS has almost been demoted to the status of an ordinary Italian adventurer. An American scholar of ancient Mediterranean civilisations claims that the Phoenicians discovered Brazil 2000 years before Columbus reached the Bahamas. Instead of being the first to reach the American land mass it looks as though he was, at best, fourth from Europe's side of the world.

The Vikings left irrefutable signs of colonisation. Other scholars believe the Irish preceded the Norsemen.

The Phoenician claim is based on an inscription in stone found at Parahyba, Brazil, by a slave in 1872. Its grammar and vocabulary compare favourably with those found on

Phoenician relics around the Mediterranean. It seems to be a letter describing a convoy that sailed for two years around "the land belonging to Ham" (Africa) until the convoy was split up "by the hand of Baal" (a storm). One boat drifted westwards. The survivors, 12 men and three women, carved the inscription and then vanished.

Nuclear hearts

ATOMIC-powered artificial hearts may one day replace heart transplant operations, according to the head of America's Atomic Energy Commission. What then will happen to man, when the organ that tradition says fosters his affections becomes nuclear, is yet to be seen.

Prosperity is indivisible

"IT SEEMS that prosperity in people as well as in nations tends to form an attitude of detachment and indifference to the well-being of others," concludes Dr Raul Prebisch on the failure of Delhi's mammoth UNCTAD conference to come forward with any imaginative plan to bridge the world's economic gaps.

Some industrialised nations recognise that their financial aid to the developing world should total one per cent of their Gross National Product. But Prebisch had little time for the excuses put forward by Communist countries in Europe not to accept the one per cent target "on the grounds that they are not historically responsible for the divisions prevailing in developing countries".

Morals and unrest

Is student violence inseparable from the affluent society? Rioters who invaded the office of Colombia University's President smashed the furniture, stole all his mementos, broke open and photostated his personal papers. "How could human beings do anything like this?" the dazed President asked.

An American student who was himself involved first with the civil rights movement, then the violent anti-Vietnam demonstrations and finally the LSD-Hippy phenomenon told *Birbal* what was behind the flood-tide of unrest. "We rejected discipline so life became empty of values," he said. "We lived in a faith-void."

Republics are brought to their ends by luxury; monarchies by poverty.

MONTESQUIEU, 1689-1755

A German professor says that the uprising of students in his country is the outcome of the trend that first justified the New Morality, then espoused the "God is dead" philosophy and finally glorified anarchy and violence. Those who now deplore the resulting social disintegration need to assess their own measure of guilt in glibly advocating the ideas that prepared the way for it.

"Wanted, defectors"

SUCH is the state of flux in Madhya Pradesh politics that a local weekly ran the following advertisement:

"WANTED, DEFECTION: Academy of Defectors, Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal, invites applications in confidence from bright, brilliant, handsome unscrupulously skilled, *satyagraha*-oriented, *gherao*-proof politicians to be considered for the posts of Cabinet Ministers, Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers..."

No cut in Rajas' purses

THE FUTURE kings will be kings of cultivation. At Independence Square, Colombo, some 100,000 saw Prime Minister Senanayake garland 22 *Govi Rajas* (cultivator kings) who had harvested between 150-230 bushels of paddy per acre. Sixteen thousand young farmers and school children marched past. A tractor, bicycles and other prizes were distributed to winning farmers.

Birbal

VIEWPOINT COMPETITION

* Should State Governors be elected?

Closing date: June 7

** Should communal parties be banned?

Closing date: June 21

Prizes: Rs 25, Rs 15

Send entries of not more than 300 words to Viewpoint, HIMMAT, First Floor, 294, Bazargate St., Bombay-1.

COMPETITORS should note that the maximum length for entries is now 300 words and judges will deduct points for unnecessary wordage, clichés and vague arguments.—Ed.

FROM THE CAPITAL

BY ANTENNA

Intrigues in Haryana invite defections

NEW DELHI The manner in which the Congress Legislature Party of Haryana chose its leader in New Delhi on Sunday and the choice itself does not augur well for political stability in the State.

The Party, it would appear, has learnt nothing from the period of adversity it underwent from the time Mr Bhagwat Dayal Sharma's Ministry was tossed out of office last year two weeks after its installation — not because of the strength of the opposition but because of internal bickerings by power groups built round rival party leaders.

Nijalingappa intervened

Things seem to be just what they were before, and according to those who were close to the frantic behind-the-scenes lobbying among Haryana Congressmen here on Saturday and Sunday, an immediate split over Mr Bansi Lal's choice was averted only through the intervention of Congress President Nijalingappa. That Mr Nijalingappa himself does not think the future of the new Haryana Government is bright is indicated by his reported remark after Mr Bansi Lal was "unanimously" elected, that he hoped there would be no defections.

Mr Bansi Lal's qualifications

Mr Bansi Lal, a comparatively young and unknown lawyer, is not a front-rank provincial leader. He is a follower of Mr Sharma, who did not seek election and was disqualified from nomination as leader of the Legislature Party and therefore organised the election of Mr Bansi Lal from the sidelines.

Mr Sharma is a Brahmin in a State where politics is dominated by Jats. Mr Bansi Lal's chief qualification for being made leader is that he is a Jat besides being a follower of Mr Sharma.

Jats could cause trouble

The talk in Congress circles here is that he is only keeping the Chief Ministerial seat warm for Mr Sharma, who will step in when he considers the time propitious — that is, if there are no sizeable defections and the Congress is able to retain its majority in the State Legislative Assembly.

The aggrieved party who could upset Mr Sharma's apple cart is Chaudhary Ranbir Singh, the leading spokesman of the Jats in the Congress organisation. He was strongly tipped for the Chief Ministership before the elections, and it is said that the Congress got a large slice of Jat votes because of the expectation that the Chief Ministership would automatically go to their man.

Mr Ranbir Singh's supporters are said to feel that they have been sold down the river as the result of "manoeuvres" masterminded by Mr Sharma and Mr Gulzarilal Nanda, who has plunged into Haryana politics after being eased off the national political stage.

In his present state of mind, Mr Ranbir Singh is unlikely to be bought

off with the offer of a Ministership under Mr Bansi Lal. He is reported to be in a "defecting mood", and if he should walk out of the Congress with the half dozen or more Jat legislators who are personally loyal to him the Congress majority of 15 will be cut to a bare two or three.

PM's tour helped

After the Haryana elections, political commentators here said that the Congress victory was due in a large measure to the whirlwind speech-making campaign the Prime Minister undertook a few days before the polls. Mrs Gandhi left Delhi on her foreign tour in more a mood of elation that the pendulum was swinging back to the Congress. It would be a great pity if her efforts to rebuild the badly battered fortunes of her Party are frustrated by power-hungry small-time politicians.

on your toes

BOMBAY'S BROWNSHIRTS

BOMBAY hangs its head in shame this week for being the birthplace of a communal organisation like the Shiv Sena ("Maharashtra for the Maharashtrians"). After their landslide victory in the Thana Municipal elections last year and their good showing in the recent Bombay Municipal elections, many people were prepared to swallow their fears about the SS party's narrow regional and communal nature. They thought these new civic responsibilities might sober the Shiv Sena and give them a democratic means of rectifying their grievances.

But on Monday, a Shiv Sena procession through the streets of the Fort area in Bombay to protest against the hawker nuisance, became a riot. Angry over the influence of non-Maharashtrians in Bombay, the Shiv Sena have had the hawkers in their sights for some time. They also stoned and damaged shops.

But if Monday's example is anything to go by, Bombay wants none of the Shiv Sena's methods. The place to solve the hawker problem is in the Corporation. If the Shiv Sena Councilors deal with the problem by smashing windows and beating hawkers off

the streets, without the slightest attempt to solve it by processes of law, then they have forfeited any confidence some had in them.

What is more serious is evidence that some business houses are financing them. One prominent Congress candidate told *Freebooter* that when he approached his traditional sources of funds for help in the civic elections last March, he was told that their contributions were going to the Shiv Sena under the co-ordination of a prominent industrialist. If anti-Communist businessmen think they can buy time by buying the Shiv Sena they plait their own noose. Hitler was the biggest anti-Communist of all and businessmen supported him too. And the result? Half of Europe went Communist in the wake of his rampage.

Baiting "outsiders" and people of other communities has always been the stock-in-trade of the true fascist. And whipping hawkers off the streets with their trays of bangles and *bhel-puri* involves no heroism at all. It is despicable, and an insult to Shivaji, whom the Shiv Sena profess to revere.

Millions in Europe are still haunted by the marching boots of Hitler's SS. Are Bombay's millions going to quietly listen to the shuffling chappals of this new SS?

Freebooter

CHALTA HAI..



"There is no possibility of introducing more controls so we plan to relax them so we can introduce them again later."

THIS WEEKLY FEATURE comes to you through the courtesy of the **EAGLE VACUUM BOTTLE MFG CO (PVT) LTD** manufacturers of the Eagle range of vacuum flasks, jugs and insulated ware.



VALENTINE

VERDICT!

This week HIMMAT...

RECORDS that the Soviet Union made little progress last year in its economic race with America, its Gross National Product rising only to 63 per cent of America's compared to 62 per cent the year before.

MOURNS the passing of *The Swadesamitran*, Madras's 83-year-old Tamil daily.

SWEARS it has never heard of anything quite so funny as the demand by one of the deputy leaders of the Congress Party that the other deputy leaders take an oath of secrecy, and the refusal of at least one of them to do so.

FLASHES A RED LIGHT at the report in *The Washington Post* that the US is preparing for a political settlement in Vietnam in which "Hanoi will have an opportunity to win political control in the South by political methods".

BROADCASTS that joint Indo-Burmese co-operation in border areas with China has been sufficiently effective to draw Radio Peking's ire about attempts to "suppress" forces "fighting for national liberation".

GRIEVES at the news that more than 1000 people died when a 120-mile-per-hour cyclone slammed Burma's south-west coast.

REAPS PLEASURE at the report that the highest yield of paddy per hectare, 110.5 quintals, was obtained by a Kashmiri farmer and the second highest, 108.69, by an Assamese.

COMMENDS Madras Chief Minister Annadurai's suggestion that those organisations accused of indulging in communal activities meet in conference to draw up a voluntary code of conduct and if this is refused, other suitable action be taken to limit their activities.

IS AS "ASHAMED, ANGRY AND ALARMED" as Union Home Minister Chavan says he is, at the mounting intolerance practised in the name of linguism around the country.

HIMMAT'S ATOMIC SURVEY

Dr Vikram Sarabhai comments

HIMMAT, May 17, quotes my views on the cost of India acquiring a nuclear weapons capability. The Report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations on "the Effects of the Possible Use of Nuclear Weapons and on the Security and Economic Implications for States of the Acquisition and Further Development of these Weapons", in the preparation of which I participated as one of the 12 experts, makes it very clear that, for a country which has a sizeable atomic programme for peaceful purposes, the major cost of a nuclear deterrent is in the development and deployment of a delivery system.

Past experience indicates that an expenditure of about a billion dollars per year would be needed to join a nuclear arms race with a major power. This would have to be undertaken in addition to the expenditure on conventional defence forces. If the possession of a nuclear deterrent did indeed confer added security to a nation such as India, she could, with a large population, undertake it with less noticeable sacrifice on individual standard of living than a small nation with a low gross national product.

Dr H. N. Sethna writes

In the issue of HIMMAT, May 17, 1968, certain statements have been attributed to me which need clarification and I would therefore like to draw your attention to the following:—

1 On page 8 there is a statement, "This thing would not take long. All we have to do is to boil up the kettle." Nations which have acquired nuclear weapons based on plutonium have generally preferred the course of setting up plutonium producing reactors or kettles rather than using the by-product of nuclear power reactors set up to supply electricity at economic rates. India has a programme devoted to the peaceful application of atomic energy and the Kalpakkam reactor has been set up for supplying much needed power for the Southern Region. The statement attributed to me is obviously based on a misunderstanding of the conversation.

2 On page 13 there is a mention about the cut off of assistance. The progress of atomic energy like the

There is no question, however, that India can use a thousand million dollars more effectively to safeguard its security if it were to spend this sum for economic and social development and build up an industrial base which is fundamental to acquisition of military capability than by embarking on a programme for a nuclear deterrent of its own.

A sentence on page 7 refers to Vietnam and India's plans for the future. What I tried to explain was that the bomb had not conferred any military or political advantage on nations possessing it. I gave an instance of the far-reaching repercussions which were felt in the political life of the United States from a war with a small nation without nuclear weapons. This comment is not related to any personality. Moreover, in the same paragraph there is a mention about India's plans for the future. This is a matter of higher policy and in this connection statements have been made in Parliament by the Prime Minister.

VIKRAM A. SARABHAI,
Chairman,

Atomic Energy Commission, India

progress of all science and technology flourishes best through the exchange of information and ideas. Whilst recognising this fact the Indian Atomic Energy programme lays emphasis on developing indigenous capability for research and development. Therefore, in our relationship with other countries advanced in nuclear science, we strive for an increasing basis of mutuality. While we welcome foreign assistance we should not lose the will or capability of standing on our own feet.

3 On page 13 in the last column there is a statement regarding operation of glove boxes. An error has crept in, inasmuch as the sentence which reads, "In Canada this would be the job of a PhD..." should read, "In Canada this would be the job of a skilled technician..."

H. N. SETHNA
Director
Bhabha Atomic Research Centre,
Bombay

For "Best World Press", see page 21

Letters

AUSTRALIA—Asia's shy suitor

BY BRYANT HASWELL

THOUGH winter is coming "down under", Mrs Indira Gandhi will meet a warm welcome wherever she goes during her six-day visit to Australia which began last Tuesday. She will also discover that India's Commonwealth sister is entering a springtime of creative policies in so far as relations with Asia are concerned.

For 180 years, since the first British settlers (some willing, some not) landed on the shores of Sydney Harbour, Australia has been a nation in search of an identity. Until Federation in 1901, she was virtually six nations — or colonies. Today, as the Commonwealth of Australia, this continental nation (2½ times the size of India) is plunging into the future with a dare and gusto which causes even her more adventurous citizens to gasp a little.

Her 12 million people have been shaken awake by facts which are at once disturbing and exciting. The first is that Australia, at last, has to stand on her own feet. Britain's imminent withdrawal from the region is not the cause of this, though it puts a seal upon it. Dissolving fast are ties which generations of Australians have taken for granted and for their comfort, and which Britain, on her part, has done little to promote.

China's shadow

There is even the recognition that America, too, one day may be forced by domestic pressures and foreign frustrations to embark upon a phased withdrawal from Asia.

China's shadow upon all that transpires in the region is a constant cloud in Australia's future. And this she meets with a rather ambiguous policy of non-recognition alongside vast and lucrative sales of wheat and other goods.

Another factor is the extraordinary change that is reshaping the nation's traditional British society as a result of large-scale immigration. Since 1945 nearly three million immigrants have arrived; half of them from nations of continental Europe — Italy, Greece, Holland, Germany and the lands of Eastern Europe. To these people and their children, "back home" no longer refers to some nook in Britain, as it used to for generations of Australians, but to some village in Latvia or a town in Italy.

The country's "economic explo-

sion" is another fact. Her recent discoveries of enormous mineral wealth (export contracts worth \$A3000 million over the next 25 years for iron ore alone) and her rapid advance in the field of industrial and scientific development, are even surpassing in importance her traditional primary industries of wool



Premier Gorton

and wheat. All this has produced not only a new affluence, but a sober concern for those who have less. With a Gross National Product approaching \$A21,000 million (Rs 17,430 crores) shared by only 12 million people, Australia is clearly in a position to assist Asian development. A policy of outright grants, rather than loans, has distinguished Australia's aid so far. Running at something like 0.64 per cent of her GNP, it puts Australia among the first four or five aid-giving nations in per capita contributions. And one-third of this aid, excluding assistance to Papua/New Guinea, goes to India.

Burdened for so long with a "small nation" complex, the Australians and their leaders are now conscious that in terms of economic potential and strategic significance they are knocking on the doors of the big league. And a major role in this sphere of world responsibility will emerge from Australia's growing identity with the nations of Asia and their future.

Australia has been a reluctant suitor. Because of this, ironically, she may prove more acceptable as a partner to Asian countries. They can be sure that aspirations to economic or political dominance do not move her. And if she is venturing towards a larger role in Asia today, she also senses a reciprocation in Asia that was not there before. Perhaps both are realising that they need each other.

The late Prime Minister, Harold Holt, who, with his able Foreign Minister, Paul Hasluck, did so much to jolt Australia's attention towards her northern neighbours, said not

long before he died: "Our goal in Asia is stability. We don't mean by that something passive, conservative or resistant to change. Our concept of stability is a progressive one."

In Holt's successor, John Gorton, the Indian Prime Minister will find the same attitudes. We have come a long way from the aloofness which marked the relations between Mrs Gandhi's father and Sir Robert Menzies in the 1950s and early '60s. In the words of Nehru's sister, Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit, "There seemed to be no rapport between the leaders of either side."

In Asian eyes the main stigma attaching to Australia's eligibility as an Asian power has been her restrictive immigration. It is true that there has been race discrimination over the years, or, as the Australian Government prefers to put it, an attempt "to maintain a predominantly homogeneous population". But this is changing fast and public opinion, rather than "enlightened self interest", is the author of the change.

Since 1966, Asians resident for five years in Australia qualify for citizenship. This has included 347 Indians. Today nearly 40,000 non-Europeans are resident in Australia including 13,000 Asian students. And whatever motives lay behind the original immigration laws, there is ample evidence that Asians living in Australia today feel at home.

For millions of Australians, A-S-I-A has spelt Vietnam and her costly, controversial involvement there. Mrs Gandhi's visit can go a long way to broadening Australia's outlook. India's problems have moved Australian hearts. The size and challenge of her undeveloped land have struck a sympathetic response. Countless opportunities are there for future co-operation.

And India, often quick to protest a lack of interest in regional alliances, may now be ready to concede the value of a Delhi-Canberra axis. Australia is ready and, even if shyly, waits to be invited.

SO THEY SAY

We are not for a coalition government and will never be for a coalition government.

Ambassador AVERELL HARRIMAN,
on South Vietnam

The frail little lady is doing a man-sized job.

Kashmir Congress Chief MIR QASIN,
on Mrs Gandhi

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SND. 31B

FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

Violent sons and puzzled fathers

FROM PIERRE SPOERRI

ZURICH Two days before Easter, three bullets hit Rudi Dutschke, leader of Germany's left-wing students. Dutschke was badly hurt but survived. The would-be assassin was shot down by the police when he tried to escape. He landed in the same hospital as Dutschke.

At this time, Germany's Foreign Minister Willi Brandt — who is also Chairman of the Socialist Party and Vice-Chancellor — was in Senegal on an official visit. His youngest son was at his side. By cable he received the news that his older son, Peter, a 19-year-old student at the Free University of Berlin, had been arrested in the middle of the demonstrations.

Brandt has always had difficulties with his sons. Peter has taken part in many activities of the left-wing students. Lars is a leader of the Socialist High School Student's Union which demands freer sex and a voice in running their schools.

This time it was more serious. Peter was kept in jail for 30 hours. When he was let out, he refused the taxi offered him. "Only the establishment would travel in such a thing." He took a bus and during the journey gave an interview to London's *Daily Mirror*. Nobody overheard the interview but what came out next day, shocked not only Bonn but London as well.

Generation gap

Peter was supposed to have said: "This country needs two, three or even four Vietnams. I mean by this that everything here needs to be pulled out by the roots." He was

quoted as demanding the removal of his father from his post. Later he denied this.

If Willi and Peter Brandt are a spectacular father-and-son pair who do not see eye to eye this is in no way an isolated case. The whole



Willi Brandt

revolutionary movement started by the Berlin students has very much to do with the deep gap between the generations. This can be explained in different ways. One element is quite simple. A German weekly describes it: "The sons want a new world — the old one is too dull for them, too much linked with the existing order, not dynamic enough. The fathers on the other hand show proudly what they have achieved, and their desire to preserve is greater than the youthful push for reform."

What many youth ask of their elders is honesty about the past. When President Lubke was accused of having co-operated in some way with the National Socialist regime, the younger generation did not resent so much the fact of his possible co-operation as his apparent failure to say the whole truth. It may have been the fault of his advisers who tried in vain to protect the respectability of the highest post in the German Federal Republic. Lubke's case was just one in many. In many families sons must have asked their fathers questions to which they never got clear answers.

The statistics showed that after the Berlin incidents 57 per cent of young Berliners (16 — 30 years) considered demonstrations a legiti-



The week in ASIA

CAIRO — Egypt and the Soviet Union signed an agreement to build a £630 million sterling (Rs 6480 million) iron and steel complex. The massive steel centre, at Helwan near Cairo, scheduled for completion in 1976, will cover all Egypt's iron and steel needs and leave 500,000 tons of steel a year for export.

JAKARTA — President Suharto of Indonesia decided to relinquish direct command of the 300,000-strong Indonesian Army, it was announced here. General Maraden Panggabean, who has been acting Army Commander in day-to-day command of the force for the past year, would be sworn in as full Commander-in-Chief, the announcement said.

HONG KONG — A pro-Peking underground "revolutionary organisation" calling itself the "Stalin Group" has been set up in Russia, according to Peking Radio. The group recently issued an article condemning the present Soviet leadership for their "crimes of resorting to capitalism" in Russia, the radio said.

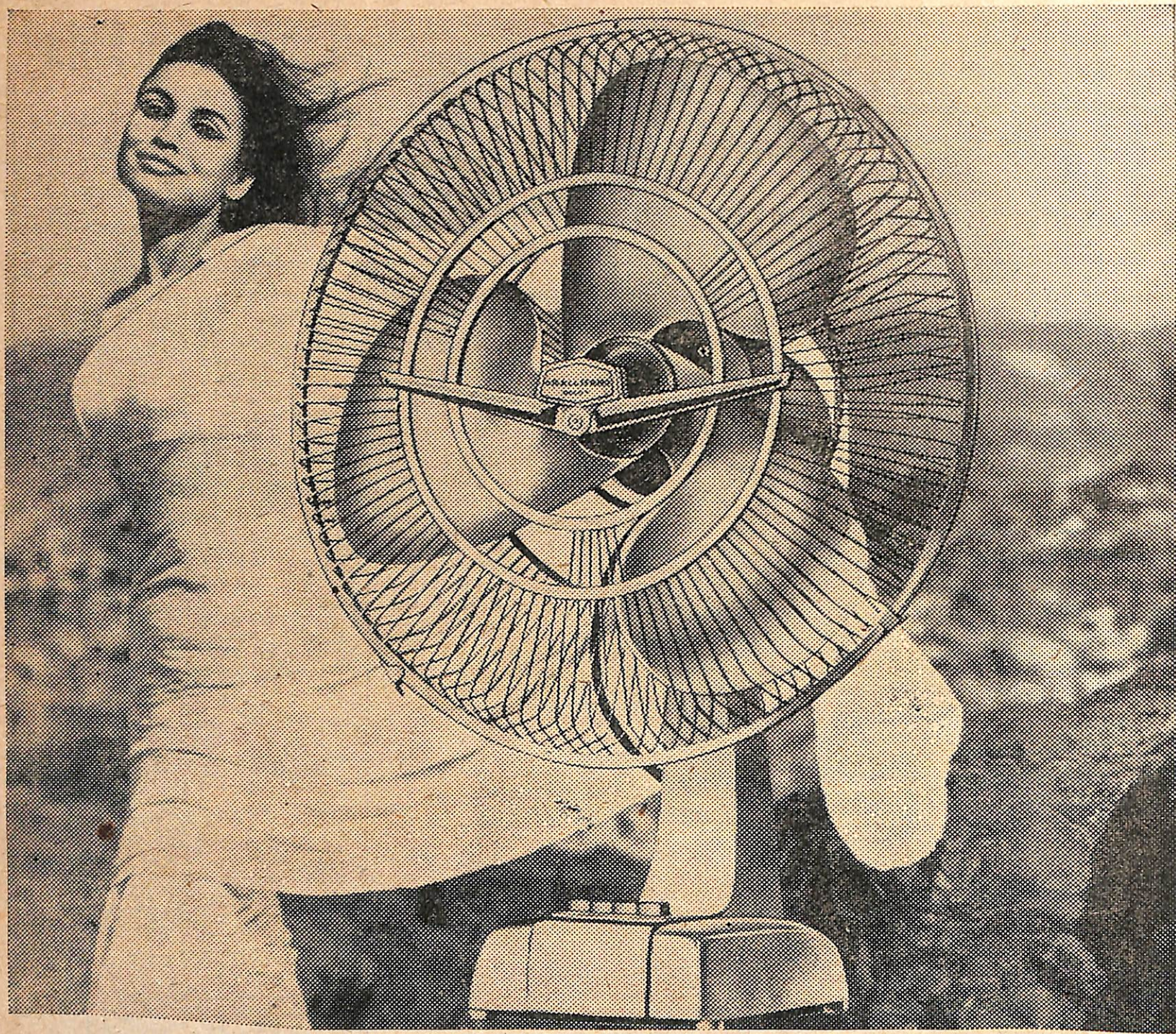
CAIRO — The Arab League's Economic Council meeting held here to forge stronger economic links between Arab States was attended by all the members of the League except Tunisia. The subjects of discussion were the creation of a £100 million Arab development fund, formation of an Arab economic bloc and the establishment of a fund to help Arabs "affected by Israeli aggression".

TOKYO — Japanese Premier Eisaku Sato banned US nuclear-powered vessels from Japanese waters pending an inquiry into the reasons for increased radioactivity in the waters of Sasebo Harbour after the stay there of the American nuclear-powered submarine *Swordfish*.

TEHERAN — The United Nations Human Rights Conference approved a resolution calling for a total ban on South Africa's participation in international sport until it changed its apartheid policy.

RAWALPINDI — Pakistan received loans totalling \$81 million from the Soviet Union and \$6.93 million from China during the Third Plan, disclosed the Parliamentary Secretary for Economic Affairs in the National Assembly here. China had agreed to give \$40 million before the end of the current plan, he said.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 11



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

mate means to advance their cause while 92 per cent of the whole population (including the youth) were against the use of violence.

The two central themes which come up in every discussion with the student leaders are "revolution" and "violence". On the question of revolution, they rely more on Che Guevara and Mao, than on traditional revolutionary leaders. They say that the present political and economic structure is rotten and has to be destroyed. In the beginning, Dutschke and his men spoke about university reform. Now they want a revolution affecting the whole of society.

But what this revolution ought to produce, none of the students can say. The fact that the workers are very slow to join the students shows that they, too, are not quite sure where Dutschke's revolution leads.

On the point of "violence" there seems to be no clear line amongst the student leaders. When the Easter riots produced two dead and about

400 wounded — more than during any disturbances since the Weimar Republic — many students sobered up considerably. The leaders continued to blame the violence of the police for the violence of the rioters.

Fortunately, Dutschke and his friends do not believe in killing the present political leaders. They believe, in theory, that assassination is justified. But they say that Chancellor Kiesinger and his men are only "character masks". Their murder would not mean anything as they would be replaced immediately by people of similar thinking.

Third way

A German weekly paper sums up the challenge the revolt presents to the present German leaders: "Between the senseless violence of the rulers who have no programme and the feeling-less violence of the protesters who have no aim, there must be a third way: the permanent reform which develops the existing order without destroying its foundations. The ability to change needs to become the decisive factor."

Political strikes menace Ceylon

FROM OUR CEYLON CORRESPONDENT

CEYLON claims, with justification, some sympathy from the world as a country dependent on primary commodities such as tea, rubber and coconuts which are underpriced on the world's markets.

The Chairman of the Planters' Association of Ceylon, Mr Warusavitarné, has now come forward with the suggestion that the world's tea producers should club together and agree on a "floor price" for their product which the richer countries would have to accept and this idea has met some response in Indian tea circles. It is to be hoped that the proposal can be made to work, especially as the UNCTAD conference in Delhi achieved so little to help primary producers.

But Ceylon can also do a lot to raise herself. Last year there were 207 strikes, costing 654,469 man-days. The 31-day general strike, led by the Ceylon Mercantile Union, which has just ended, is another example of an unnecessary stoppage.

Strike over small issue

The main demand of the union — that 23 clerks who had been "incorrectly" given supervisory duties in Trincomalee Port should be removed — was expressly agreed to in a letter from Admiral Kadirgamar at the end of February. The costly dis-

pute was waged over whether the clerks should be dismissed at once or be given the statutory one month's notice, as the Port Cargo Corporation insisted.

Refusal of workers to work with the clerks whom they called "black-legs" led to interdictions of the men and the dispute escalated swiftly across the island. Disinterested observers were struck by how petty the issue was compared with the damage done to the country.

The Ceylon Mercantile Union, under Mr Bala Tampoe as General Secretary, who conducted the strike, has been regarded as the best-run union on the island. It had seemed to abide by trade union rules. Has Mr Tampoe succumbed to the lure of politics?

Perhaps some light is thrown on this by the recent split in Mr Tampoe's party, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary). His former colleagues accuse Mr Tampoe of "maintaining fraternal relations with imperialist governments and agencies" because he did not strike on earlier issues of their choice and

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

The week in INDIA

CHANDIGARH — The Congress Party swept back to power in the mid-term election in Haryana. The Congress secured 48 seats — the same number as in the last General Election — in the 81-member State Assembly.

NEW DELHI — A division Bench of the Delhi High Court dismissed three writ petitions filed by citizens challenging the constitutional validity of the Kutch Award given by the International Tribunal. The Bench held that "the award does not amount to a cession of any territory".

UJJAIN — Twenty-seven people were killed and 40 injured when a private bus collided with the Bilaspur Express at an unmanned level crossing at Berchha, 25 kilometres from here.

NEW DELHI — India and the USA concluded a non-project loan agreement for \$225 million (Rs 168.75 crores). The loan is repayable over a period of 40 years, including a grace of ten years.

BOMBAY — The Government of India arranged for the immediate placement of 5000 unemployed engineering graduates and diploma-holders for in-service training in engineering establishments. This was announced at the 36th meeting of the West Regional Committee of the All-India Council for Technical Education held here.

CUTTACK — Over a million people in 600 *gram panchayats* spread over nine districts in Orissa are hit by a severe drought. It is estimated that 5.6 million people — one quarter of the State's population — have suffered due to the loss of the last kharif crop.

NEW DELHI — The Government of India protested to both China and Pakistan against the construction of the Resham Road linking Gilgit in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir with Sinkiang in China under a secret agreement. India charged both the countries with interference with India's sovereignty in Jammu and Kashmir.

CALICUT — Kerala's rebel group of the SSP formed a new party, called the SSP of Kerala. The new party would join other "like-minded Socialist forces" and "organise an all-India Socialist movement". The State body of the SSP decided to quit the all-India SSP when the National Committee directed the two SSP Ministers in the Kerala Ministry to resign and join the Party's anti-Kutch Award movement.



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FROM THE WORLD'S CAPITALS

went on a free trip to the USA last year.

Tourist boycott threatens Spain

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

RABAT There is much finger pointing going on in the Western Mediterranean area these days.

The Spaniards are blockading Gibraltar with a view to recuperating it from the British. This follows a riot of Gibraltarians who destroyed the property and burned the cars of five citizens of the Rock who went to Madrid and presented the Spanish Foreign Minister with some suggestions to reconcile British and Spanish interests.

Britain is now threatening to dissuade her tourists from patronising Spain in retaliation. This would be a grave blow to Spain's economy, which depends greatly on tourism.

And Morocco is saying to Spain, "You want to recuperate Gibraltar, but what about letting us recuperate the three Spanish enclaves on Moroccan territory, Ifni, Centa and Melilla?"

These last two important towns are situated on the Moroccan shore

It is now being asked: was he keener to demonstrate his militancy than to do what was best for the country and thus, too, for the workers?

of the Mediterranean roughly opposite Gibraltar. They are the first towns which all visitors coming to Morocco by land and sea reach. They are important centres of tourism and commerce.

The sore point is that Spain employs Spanish workers only in her enclaves, while there is a high rate of unemployed in Morocco. Some newspapers are calling for a blockade of these Spanish enclaves to force Spain's hand, in the same way as Spain is trying to force Britain's hand.

In all this thrust and parry an interesting comment came from Spain, directed at Morocco, "Your ancestors, the Moors, occupied Gibraltar for 750 years." In fact, its name is derived from the name of the Moorish General who conquered the Rock, Al Tazar.

Heart transplants raise questions of ethics

FROM GORDON WISE

LONDON The world's tenth heart transplant, and Britain's first, took place here. It has come and gone. The patient, Frederick West, seems fine.

What remains are a number of disturbing questions, prompted by the skilled operation itself, which is now becoming if not commonplace, then at least usual.

Dr Donald Longmore, who led the surgical team, is about to publish a book on this fresh field of medical endeavour called "spare parts surgery". He predicts, "Within the next five years heart-lung and heart transplants will become routine."

When is a man dead?

As such operations multiply one question uppermost is: How do you decide when a man is dead? Is it when the heart stops beating, or when the brain stops functioning, or what?

Dr Longmore says that a young man who has an accident which damages his brain beyond every possible hope of recovery can be

kept technically "alive" with a "ventilator" or life-support machine. As long as the machine operates, his "body functions" continue to tick over. If the machine is disconnected his heart stops and he "dies".

Another agonising question is: "Does a doctor, or anyone else besides the man's relatives, have the right to dispose of the organs of such a young man which can be removed while the ventilator is still switched on, which would give the recipient the best chance of living?"

And to go a stage further; if the relatives of the fatally injured man refuse permission for the removal of the organs, to help another who would benefit from but may die without them, should the State override the objections and order the operation to proceed?

As the law now stands the next of kin have the right to prevent such

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

HIMMAT, May 24, 1968

dismemberment of their relative's body. It would require a change of law. According to Dr Longmore, "Many would say that the law should be changed to remove that right."

Perhaps. But many would strenuously object and it is not difficult to forecast horrible and "heart-rending" situations, now that medical science has demonstrated its technical capacity here.

Even more delicate and far-reaching is the possible transplanting of the human brain. Though experts say this may prove impossible, the brain can be tampered with to the extent of a changed personality. Most experiments of this kind have been performed on animals, but scientists have applied electric impulses to human brains so that they become docile, or aggressive as the scientists decide.

People should ponder

Currently, here in Britain, the family of a 21-year-old "compulsive gambler" have agreed to him undergoing brain surgery to cure him of his habit. The surgeon will make a tiny incision in his forehead which will cut off part of the brain which determines emotional and physical behaviour.

How, then, are we going to decide what is right in these matters? For many, the hinge of the issue is whether we base the decision on material measure of man's worth, or the moral measure, a spiritual one. Many millions sincerely believe and have reason for their belief that there is more to life even than living. However well-intentioned our medical men may be, the frailties of human judgements require that the people at large ponder these issues before we abdicate the responsibility of deciding them to "experts".

Australian aid for Nepali aviation

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

KATHMANDU Nepal and Australia have agreed to a four-year project designed to develop Nepal's civil aviation system. Despite differences in topography, with Australia covered mostly by plains and Nepal by mountains, the extension of civil aviation is a problem common to both countries, the Australian Ambassador, Sir Arthur Tange, pointed out.

The joint venture involves an estimated Rs 110 lakhs of which

nearly Rs 80 lakhs will be contributed by Australia. It includes the installation of receiving and transmitting stations, fire tenders, airport lighting and other communication facilities at Nepal's major airports. At Mount Pulchoki a high-powered transmitting station will be built by the Australians. These improvements will facilitate night landing in Nepal, much needed in view of the growing tourist and internal air traffic.

Under the project, training facilities for Nepali technicians will be provided in Australia.

This civil aviation scheme is an

extension of Australian aid to Nepal which, under the Colombo Plan, amounted to Rs 73.3 lakhs in the past.

More co-operation

Welcoming the agreement, the official *Rising Nepal* said, "Australia indeed deserves our thanks and gratitude for all her present help... (the agreement) points to the need of greater and greater economic co-operation among the countries lying in South and South-East Asia and its neighbouring regions."

The week elsewhere

CONSENT DEMANDED

PARIS—Persistent reports surround the talks between American and North Vietnamese representatives that the Americans are attempting to bring the South Vietnamese Government and the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) together here and in Saigon. South Vietnam's Ambassador in Washington, who is an unofficial representative of his country at the Paris talks, issued a strong statement demanding that any arrangement affecting the future of South Vietnam must have the consent of his Government's legal representatives.

AUTHORITY PARALYSED

ADEN—The Government of South Yemen has dispatched armed units to attempt to put down rebels in the eastern province. President al-Shaabi of South Yemen said, "The Government's authority has been fully paralysed and the situation is nearing an explosion" in the rebel province.

FOREIGN CAPITAL WELCOME

PRAGUE—The Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia announced sweeping economic changes including the complete decentralisation of industry, the granting of full autonomy to individual state enterprises forcing them to compete for credits and markets. Free enterprise would be permitted in "personal services". State protection for unproductive concerns would be removed. Western capital would be welcomed in Czechoslovakia provided it was invested in "joint ventures" with state enterprises. Offers of this type were already streaming in from France, West Germany and Italy he said. When asked whether

these changes would affect his country's links with the Soviet Union and the East European economic organisation, the Prime Minister replied that decisions in Czechoslovakia's economy were a matter of "our sovereign right".

TALKS IN KAMPALA

LONDON—Full-scale peace talks between Nigerians and Biafrans will open this week in Kampala, Uganda. Biafrans want the talks to centre on what measures will be guaranteed for the security of Iboes within a unified Nigeria. The Nigerian Federal Government announced that its forces had captured Port Harcourt, last major city held by Biafran forces.

COUP BID

BRAZZAVILLE—An attempted overthrow of the Government by "foreign mercenaries" was put down, officials of the Congolese Government announced. The President was absent in Tanzania. He was also away from his country in June 1966 when an armed mutiny was crushed with the help of the 200 Cuban troops in the Presidential guard.

BREAK DOWN WALLS

BUCHAREST—President de Gaulle was given a standing ovation by members of Rumania's Parliament when he urged France and Rumania to work together to break down the ideological walls in Europe. He said France rejected any political, military, or monetary domination from any Atlantic power whilst still retaining her friendship with these powers. He urged Rumania to pursue the same policy in relationship to her neighbours.

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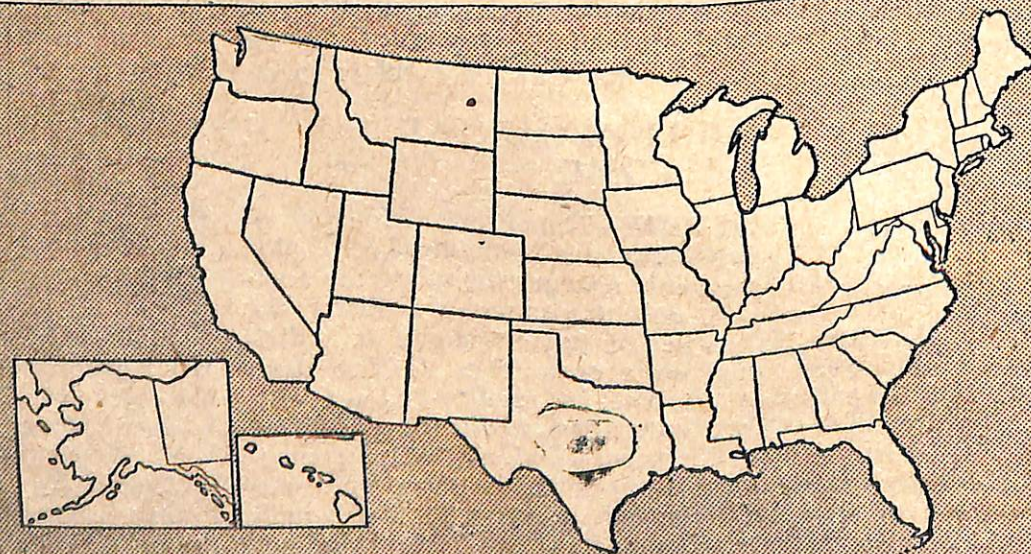
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PAA 37E3

"Without hate, we shall see Tibet free again"

LIKE many other Tibetans in exile, Ngawang Tenzin Thondup, 38-year-old Information and Publicity Secretary to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, is convinced he will see Tibet again, free from the thralldom of China who overran his Himalayan nation 18 years ago.

How can you be so sure?

"Our hopes grow each year, for three reasons. First, in Tibet itself,



Ngawang Tenzin Thondup

beneath the suffering and oppression, people are more than ever united. They live on hope of help from outside. Second, more people understand Tibet and her problems every day. The support from India and other nations increases. Third, the situation in China itself makes us feel they cannot subdue us for long."

What about your family?

"My father and two younger sisters got out safely to India. My mother, two brothers and a sister were left behind. I have no recent news. Perhaps my mother is dead. After we left I heard she had been beaten and her hip broken. We come from a middle class. My father had been treasurer in the household of a noble family. The Chinese told servants to find fault with their masters. They beat my mother and blamed her for the change in my views after my return from six years in China."

What took you to China?

"Two years after the Chinese took

over I went to study and, later, teach in Peking at Minzu Shoyoen, a newly-founded international college. Like other young Tibetans I wanted our country to become a modern state. We wanted many changes — more democracy; socialist development; industry. We wanted to find out if China could help us."

What did you find?

"At first the Chinese looked after us well. Then slowly their attitude changed. At first they had told us they wanted to liberate Tibet. Then they said that Tibet was part of China. Finally, that Tibet was under China."

When Thondup left there were 800 Tibetan students studying at the college. And rebellion had entered their ranks.

How did you rebel?

"We started by putting up wall posters stating our objections to the Chinese view that we were of the same race, etc. Then the authorities summoned a meeting of the 2000 students — Tibetans, Mongolians, Koreans and some from Sinkiang and other parts. But our ringleaders spoke up and said they stood by what they had said.

"Then a curious thing happened. The Chinese apologised and said that they would correct their policies. But during the next two months the Chinese worked to divide our students, setting one off against another. They called them one by one for questioning. In the end they singled out five boys and three girls as the leaders. We never heard of them again, through a long time later one of the girls was seen working on the roads. She had swallowed the list of the rebel leaders while being questioned."

What about life in China?

"We visited many villages and spoke with the people freely. They were often in tears as they described their problems. In the days of Chiang Kai-shek's regime, army officers would visit them and levy taxes and cause other bother. But at least they were able to own things and move about freely. 'But now,' one of them said to me, 'we do not even own ourselves. We have only what we can get today. We never know about tomorrow.'"

Did you meet any of the leaders?

"Several times we were received

ON THE Spot

HIMMAT meets people

by people like Mao Tse-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai and General Chu Teh. Mao does not speak much. He looks gentle, even like an old woman."

And after your return to Tibet?

"The situation got worse and worse. Then on March 10, 1959, there was an uprising in Lhasa, the capital. I was a member of the City Council, the youngest. One of our tasks was to guard Tsuglak Khang, the main temple in the city. There were three days of shelling and bombing. About 1000 civilians, including women and monks, helped us. We had also 200 troops commanded by Rupon Gurgur, a great hero who died later in India from his wounds. We only had rifles, machine guns, grenades and a few mortars. On the third day the Chinese troops finally appeared and by 9 pm we had to surrender. The same day they captured the Potala Palace."

What about the Dalai Lama?

"He had been living in the Norbulinga or Jewel Garden Palace. The Chinese captured the Norbulinga on the first day but he had already escaped in disguise. We did not know this at the time."

Escape to India

How did you finally flee from Tibet?

"After the surrender at Tsuglak Khang some of us tried to escape. Sixty set off but only 17 of us got through. We planned to join the guerrillas fighting in Southern Tibet. But there we were outnumbered also and so we decided to escape to India. It was April. Very cold. After a 22-day march we reached Bomdilla. Often we were buried by snow as we slept."

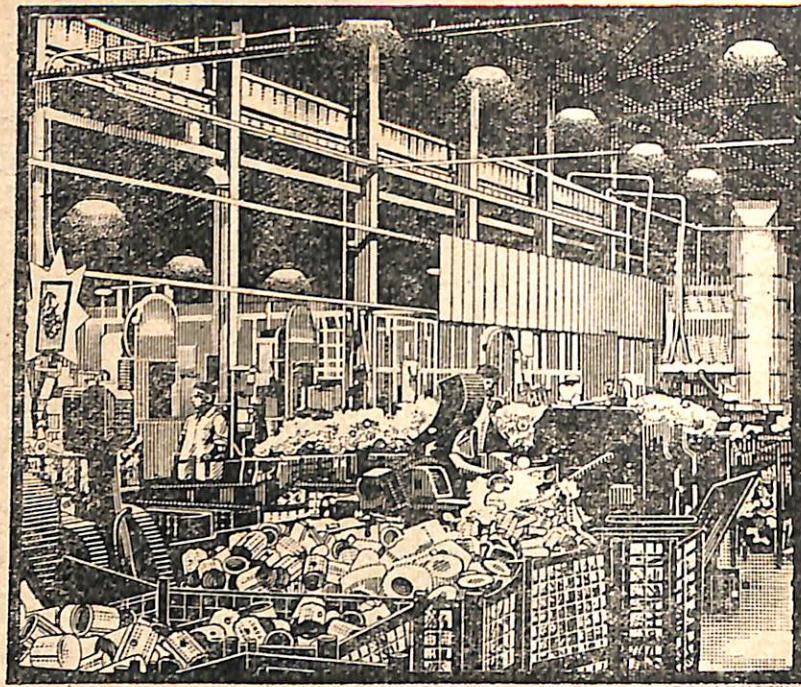
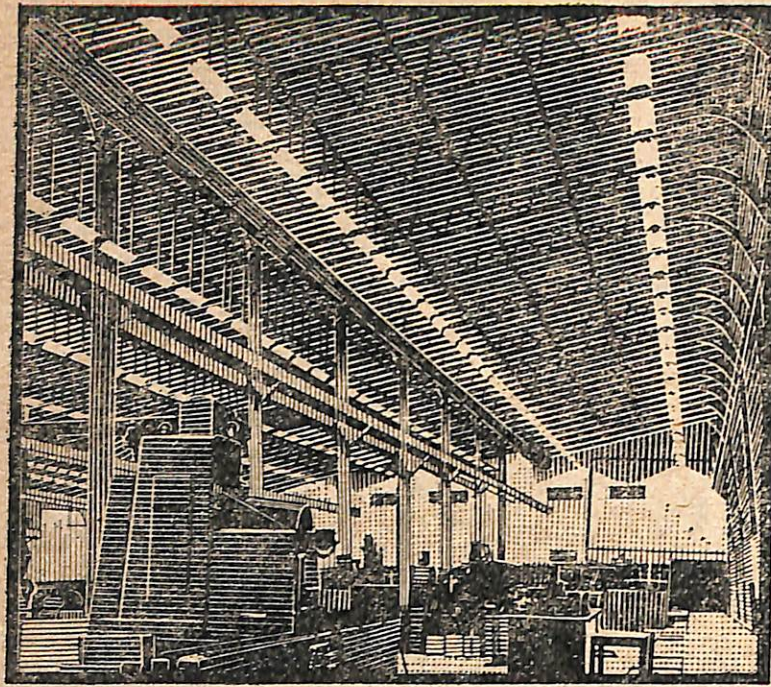
I talked with Mr Thondup at the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at Panchgani. He had been sent to represent the Dalai Lama.

And what of the future?

"When His Holiness first arrived in India he told us we must have no hate for the Chinese people. We must try and change the wrong policies of the leaders. In this respect what His Holiness told us and what Moral Re-Armament tells us is the same."

"The Chinese first got control of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17



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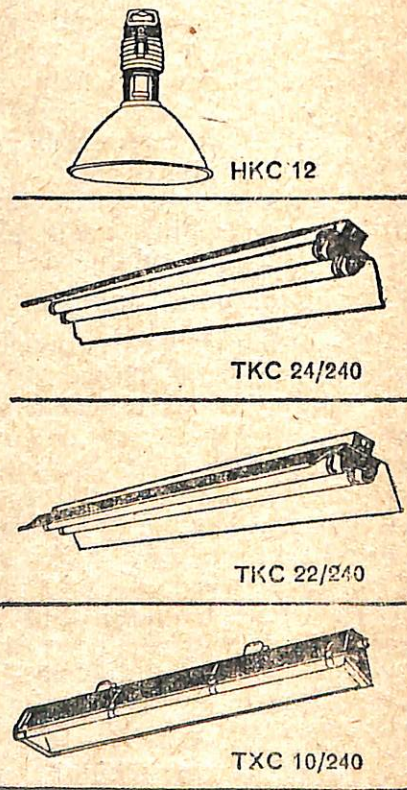
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Minority threatens civil servants

FROM S. K. MUKHOPADHYAY IN CALCUTTA

WORK in Government offices in Calcutta was virtually paralysed on May 16, as the vast majority of the non-gazetted and Class IV employees of the State Government abstained from their duties. The strike call was given by the Co-ordination Committee of the West Bengal employees unions and associations.

The entire Dalhousie Square area where a number of important Government offices are located looked desolate. News from the districts showed that attendance varied from place to place. The strike was by and large peaceful, though about 100 arrests were made.

Chief Secretary M. M. Basu said that the West Bengal Government would take disciplinary action against the strikers, which the Government called "illegal". A day's cut in pay and a break in continuity of service were some of the measures the Government intended to take.

Among the numerous demands the

State employees placed before the Government were the introduction of full-scale rationing all over the State, higher dearness allowance in line with Central DA, withdrawal of retirement notices served on employees, suspension of automation (up till now no automation has been introduced in any Government office), action against *jotedars* and black-marketeers, and the scrapping of the Government servants' conduct rules.

The Governor met Mr Jyoti Basu, who later mysteriously withdrew himself, sensing perhaps that many of these demands could not be met as, being the State Finance Minister a few months ago, he knew where the State exchequer stood. The Governor pleaded his inability to do anything about these demands, considering the dismal financial situation of the State treasury. "My hands are tied," he regretted. He promised, however, to look into the cases of those suspended.

He was adamant about not scrapping the Government servants' conduct rules, a demand which he thought preposterous.

It would be wrong to say that all State Government employees were in favour of this strike. As usual, the aggressive minority took the upper hand and the majority, somewhat sheepishly, surrendered. Many



Governor Dharma Vira

employees decided to stay away as threats were brandished by union leaders and their chelas (disciples) while office gates were picketed from early morning. Some women employees willing to attend were threatened by anti-social elements.

While the Government offered protection to the loyal ones, it appeared that police help was not available and perhaps not possible since the number of employees neared two lakhs.

The Marxists, who have virtually taken control of the many State Government employees' unions, especially during the brief tenure of the United Front Government, utilised this strike call to exhibit their show of strength before the coming election.

ON THE SPOT—FROM PAGE 15

Tibet by taking advantage of situations in some of the border regions wherever there was disunity between our own people. They supplied arms and cash, and told some of the border tribes they should stand on their own feet, separate from the rest of Tibet.

"You know the rest of the story. Our mistake in Tibet was that, up till then, we had been concerned only with our own problems. We took no responsibility for other countries. If we think only for ourselves today, we lose ourselves and we lose our people."

"Here at Panchgani I have found a great hope. It is not a question of what others can do for us but what we Tibetans can do for others. We must drive out the Chinese and rebuild Tibet. But if we are to work for freedom it has to be not just for us alone but for every country. China needs Moral Re-Armament, too."

Ngawang Thondup conveys the sure conviction that not only will his country be free again but that his people could be the ones to bring to 800 million Chinese a new illumination. An end to Tibet's own anguish may be only a step along that historic road.


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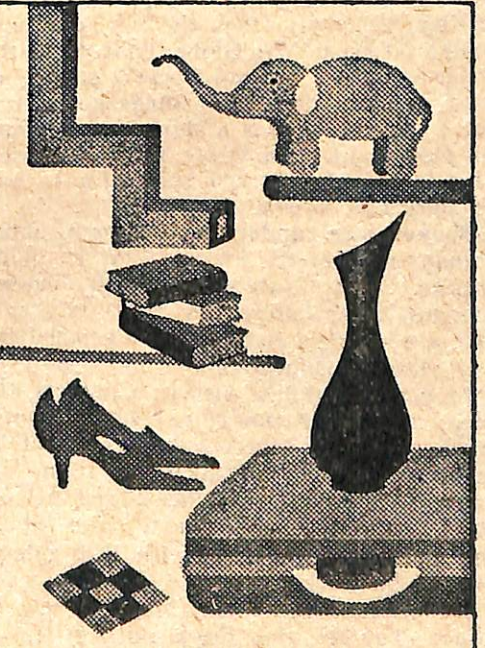
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FILMS

"Thoroughly Modern Millie"

STRAND, BOMBAY

It is not difficult to see why the producers of "Thoroughly Modern Millie" should take us back to the 'twenties. Bobbed hair, short straight dresses, long strings of beads, — it all seems so eccentric dance steps familiar in our swinging cities of 1968.

Like our own epoch, the 1920s was a period of restless change. It was "breaking-out" time in Europe and America, especially for women, newly emancipated. After the rigours of the First World War and before the economic crash of Black Tuesday, 1929, there was an interval of



Trevor Graydon (John Gavin) takes Millie Dillmount (Julie Andrews) for a spin in his 1923 bright red Pierce-Arrow roadster.

boom and prosperity which bought with it the "jazz babies" and the reckless spirit of "eat, drink and be merry". It was false, crazy, wasteful, but as long as it lasted it was fun.

It would seem therefore quite legitimate to produce on the screen a story set in a period so much in tune with our own — especially if the film had something of value to contribute to our understanding of ourselves and of our present situation. But it has not.

The whole film is, of course, a spoof. But there are so many these days that one can't help wondering whether satire is not merely a refuge for those who have nothing positive to say themselves. The other characteristic of a spoof is that it generally involves making fun — not of ourselves, as in true comedy — but of the other fellow. We get the laughs. Someone else gets the kicks.

Julie Andrews as Millie is as dynamic and tuneful as ever — but she seemed to

have lost some of the spontaneity and sparkle of the "Sound of Music" and "Mary Poppins". Perhaps it was the films she made in between. Mary Tyler Moore made a charming "old world" girl as Miss Dorothy Brown. And it was a treat to see Beatrice Lillie, one of the real old stagers, as a typically melodramatic vampire. But it was Carol Channing's storming performance as the world's wealthiest, craziest, widow, Muzzy Van Hossmere that got my cheer — and made me most uneasy.

The music is spiffy. Thoroughly 1920.

"The Taming of the Shrew"

LIBERTY, BOMBAY

THERE IS the story of the man who beat his mule to the ground with a club — "to attract its attention". This is the kind of treatment which Petruccio (Richard Burton) hands out to Katharina, or Kate (Elizabeth Taylor) in Columbia's "The Taming of the Shrew".

Petruccio soon finds out that there are more ways to tame his Kate than "killing a wife with kindness", which was his first intention. Be the glove never so velvet, the iron hand within is what does the trick.

I can hear some people muttering, "What, William Shakespeare, on the wide screen, in Technicolor, with Burton and Taylor in the leading roles? Heaven help us!" To these literary pedants I would simply say, "See for yourself." Burton started out as a Shakespearean actor — although this is his first interpretation of the Bard on the screen. But Liz! Well, let me say it in words of one syllable. She can act.

And why not Shakespeare with all the advantages of modern cinematography? No more incongruous, surely, than transferring his plays from the spacious and flexible arena of the Globe Theatre to the staid, square, "picture-frame" stages of most modern theatres? Shakespeare was not a snob. He was a showman, a popular playwright. He wrote for the masses. That is why the screen suits him — and he suits the screen.

Shakespeare understood enough about human nature to know that it could change. And Kate's shrewish nature changes, right before our eyes, in scenes that are moving and artistically satisfying and wholly believable.

France Zeffirelli's direction injects the very air of Renaissance Italy. Photographer Oswald Morris's frames might be canvases from Botticelli, Titian or Raphael. But Zeffirelli has added to this the ingredient of movement. The whole film pulsates with it — with life, gaiety, pathos, laughter, tears.

I regretted only one thing. I saw it alone. To get the most out of it — take your wife!



SCREENER

BOOKS

Fusion of authority and freedom

PARLIAMENT IN PERSPECTIVE, by David Menhennet and John Palmer, Siddhartha Publications Ltd., pp 168, Rs 4.50.

RECENTLY some influential voices (J.R.D. Tata's among them) have been raised advocating a Presidential, as against the present Parliamentary, system of government for India. While both are in themselves valid forms of modern representative democracy, say the authors of "Parliament in Perspective", there is peril in promoting the "Presidential" concept while still "outwardly proclaiming adherence to the Parliamentary system".

Two chapters out of the ten make an Indian reprint of this British book worthwhile. The first is on "The Idea of Parliament". At a time when there is some disillusionment with Parliamentary Government it is important to distinguish between essentials and mere adornments. Stripped of the later, the basic idea of Parliament, say the authors, is "the fusion of Authority and Freedom". While Parliament does not govern, it is more than a debating society because the executive governs through Parliament. It is thus the meeting place of government and represented democratic interests.

One of several models

In a later chapter, "Westminster and the World", Menhennet and Palmer (both senior officials in the House of Commons Library) concede that the Mother of Parliaments "is but one of several models in the context of world parliamentarianism". They are sensibly concerned, not that other nations adhere to the details of a particular constitution, but that they retain the essential idea of Parliament. Other nations with other backgrounds must work out the details for themselves.

The rest of the book is lucid and compact, but not particularly exciting. The best service of the authors is, indeed, in putting "Parliament in perspective".

P.W.

What US faces at Paris peace talks

BY KIM BEAZLEY, MP



Mr Beazley has represented Fremantle in the Australian House of Representatives since 1945. He is Vice-Chairman of the Joint Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, and is Chairman of the Labor Party Foreign Affairs Committee.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA is labouring under the impact of four major events. The first is the United States' decision to negotiate with North Vietnam and partially to cease bombing North Vietnam. This has aroused fears of abandonment in the hearts of the regimes in South Vietnam, Thailand and perhaps Laos. The second is the British decision for withdrawal East of Suez, confronting Malaysia and Singapore with major problems of re-adjustment in their defence and foreign policies. The third is the overthrow of Sukarno and the re-orientation of Indonesian foreign policy. Western satisfaction with this is subject to the qualification that the new regime in Indonesia is making no headway with Indonesia's economic problems and obviously will not make headway so long as 70 per cent of the budget goes on defence. The fourth is "the other war" in Laos, played down at present in the world press, but enormously significant.

The negotiations taking place in Paris are between a party whose aims are clear and a party whose aims are obscure.

North's aim is clear

North Vietnam's aim in the war, and hence in the negotiations, is quite clear. It is to unify the whole of Vietnam under the Hanoi regime. To secure this objective it seeks the total withdrawal of American and other allied forces. It stigmatises their presence as "a war of aggression" against Vietnam, and the South Vietnamese regime as a "puppet regime".

At various times the United States has claimed that the object of intervention in Vietnam was to "contain China". China has not been involved in Vietnam other than as a supplier of equipment, but China has been an ideological beneficiary from American involvement. The United States began the war with a "China syndrome", carried over from the Korean war, but it is just not true to suggest that China has been damaged in any way by American military action.

Another stated reason for American intervention has been to inflict a moral defeat on Communism, or to "contain" it, by proving that a guerrilla war of subversion will not succeed. This is not yet proven. Ho Chi Minh may well have had, as a subsidiary aim, the objective of prov-

has induced the United States to negotiate about South Vietnam with a North Vietnamese government it does not recognise as having any rights there. If the US insists that it can stop aggression anywhere, give South Vietnam freedom to choose a government without coercion, and ensure stability of South-East Asia, it has to adopt a very hard line. All these objectives seem to involve a renewal of war.

The Communists have had the skill and the determination to fight with purely Vietnamese forces. South Vietnam has needed massive outside support. The Government of Laos, faced with a quite serious threat from the Pathet Lao, believes it would alienate the nation if it brought in outside troops. It has been said that the era of land-based European troops in Asia is just about over, and the Lao-tian attitude is a manifestation of this.

A Communist take-over in Indonesia was defeated by the Indonesian Army. If the US had intervened would Indonesian opinion have swung to support the Communists? Singapore and Malaysia, on their own, at least may cease to be, by reason of cessation of their Western links with Britain, the object of residual Indonesian fears of encirclement.

The events of South-East Asia seem to indicate with complete finality that the decisions which affect the area can no longer be made in Paris, London or Washington. Indonesia may be harbinger of the fact that they can no longer be made in Peking. Is it all boiling down to self-determination, even the self-determination of violence rather than the self-determination of ballots in the area?

Ginger beer and champagne

The United States will have difficulty in making these alleged aims objectives of negotiations. At the negotiations in Paris, China will not be an issue. Her assistance has been in the form of weapons much less valuable to North Vietnam than Russia's sophisticated weaponry. China has provided the ginger beer and Russia the champagne. Maybe Mao's theory of guerrilla warfare, as applied by Giap, has been the real Chinese assistance.

The negotiations can hardly be aimed to prove that guerrilla terrorism does not pay. Guerrilla terrorism

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SPORT

Mohun Bagan's fine Beighton win.

With star sportsmen in great demand among commercial houses and public services, private clubs rarely figure among the winners of major tournaments in the country.

Among the few exceptions are some *maidan* clubs in Bengal, headed by famous names in soccer — Mohun Bagan, East Bengal and Mohammedan Sporting.

It is creditable on their part to stand at the top level in other games as well. An outstanding example is Mohun Bagan Club's winning the Beighton Hockey Cup, one of India's oldest and most prized trophies, in the teeth of challenges from powerful Services and firms' teams. It was no fluke, either; for Bagan had won the Cup five times earlier in the past 16 years.

Giant-killers

Bagan beat giant-killing Bengal Nagpur Railway in the final. In the semi-finals they had avenged last year's defeat at the hands of Bhilai Steel Plant, last runners-up. The Railway came to the final with resounding victories, over holders East Bengal in the semi-final and star-studded Border Security Police (Jullundur), recent winners of the Bombay Gold Cup, in the earlier round.

The teams were equally matched in the final. If Mohun Bagan were more enter-



Gurbux Singh

prising in the attack, the Railway defence was equal to the occasion. One goal decided the match: Bagan inside-right Beni Boodelle finding the net off a padded clearance by Railway goalkeeper Sen, late in the first half. If inside-left Inam-ur-Rehman had been prominent in this session, skipper Gurbux Singh excelled after the team had gained the lead. The international right-back deployed the Bagan defence with such precision that the Bengal Nagpur Railway's storming tactics of the previous rounds were well contained.

Gurbux, who is in the running for Olympic captaincy, is among the first choices for the training camp at Jullundur next month. Now Inam-ur-Rehman also has been called for trials.

Open tennis

Britain's successful campaign for open tennis (professionals and amateurs) has got off to a good start. The first-ever open tournament at Bournemouth not only provided attractive tennis to packed galleries but also removed any suspicion

of poor standard and fixing of matches among the star professionals.

British amateur Mark Cox caused a flutter when overcoming veteran Pancho Gonzalez and latest addition to paid ranks Roy Emerson, both former Wimbledon and Davis Cup aces. But Rod Laver, Wimbledon champion of 1961 and '62, outplayed Cox in three straight sets to restore professional prestige. Then Ken Rosewall pegged back Laver in a four-set all-Australian final to claim the first-open British Hard Court title.



Rod Laver

The open, instead of affecting interest and attendance in professional shows, seems to have enhanced them. The electronic computer was brought into action to forecast the result of the Madison Square Garden (New York) Invitation contest and picked Rosewall and Billie Jean King, last Wimbledon champion, to win the men's and women's titles. As it turned out, Laver avenged his British Open defeat by pounding Rosewall; and Britain's Ann Haydon Jones put down Mrs King in two sets.

The prospect of an Open Wimbledon is pulling more stars of yesteryear back to the game. Australians Lew Hoad and Frank Sedgeman and American Tony Trabert are among these. Then there is talk of a World Championship in tennis being inaugurated. Open tennis has given the game a shot in the arm.

Mexico calling

With South Africa voted out of participation in the Mexico Olympics, Indian sport circles are agog preparing for the tour. Unfortunately, in most of the aspiring camps there is more enthusiasm than talent and the Government is in no mood to keep on sending no-hopers.

Indian hockey, however, need have no such qualms. In eight Olympic appearances to date India has won the title seven times and finished runner-up in 1960 in Rome. So hockey will send a full complement of 18 players, one coach and one manager. It is over the numerous umpires and delegates that there is likely to be dispute.

Outside hockey, India's hope of making a fair showing is in wrestling. But the manner in which the Wrestling Federation of India is organising a large contingent of competitors means an unpleasant controversy is in the offing. A couple of athletes, a shooter, a boxer and a weight-lifter may be found good enough not to disgrace themselves though they are unlikely to figure in the finals. It would be a happy augury if the accompanying officials are other than the old regulars whose numerous past trips have benefited Indian sport little.

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This India

LOST IN HIS FILES

A MAN, a great leader of his community, was in New Delhi the other day. He comes from a part of India which is agitating for secession. It just happens that this man is not for secession.

In Delhi he went to see one of the Cabinet Ministers of our country. He was ushered into his office. Throughout the conversation the Minister kept looking through his files. Leave alone listening to the man, not once did the Minister look up from his papers.

The man came out disillusioned and resentful. His whole community will talk about this treatment when he goes back. However, this man has decided not to be resentful but to aim to change the Cabinet Minister next time he meets him.

How many times do our Cabinet Ministers treat diplomats, people who come to see them, in this fashion? How often do capitalists treat trade unionists similarly? We treat servants in our homes like dirt.

Our aim is to make ourselves great and cut everyone else down to size. If we slight others, we feel it increases our importance. How much time do we spend thinking about ourselves during the day? How many minutes do we spare for thinking about others around us, how to help them become greater people, do things better and more effectively. By people around us, I do not mean humanity in general or "the masses", but specific people. Those in our families, people who work with us, people we come in contact with.

I long, above all else, for us Indians to learn to think, feel, understand, and care for other people more than we do for ourselves, for other races of India, for other nations of the world. Because we have failed to do so, it is not surprising that many states, people, tribes do not want to be part of India. We feel they should, but they don't. We feel they should love us, they do not.

I read recently in *The Indian Express* that in Tripura there is a move by an underground tribal organisation to break away from India and to throw out all the non-tribals — Punjabis, Bengalis, Gujaratis — from that region.

Frank Buchman, who started MRA, once said that the secret of his revolution was "death to self". This was a decision he made every day of his life. He prayed to God to make him supersensitive to other people's needs, so that, as he put it, "if his friend had a hole in his shoe, he felt the cold".

Could we Indians make an effort towards learning this secret?

Neerja Chowdhury

This was a Life

EDITH PECHEY- PHIPSON 1845—1908

AT A TIME when only a few women had acquired medical degrees, a farseeing group of people in Bombay invited one of these pioneers, Dr Edith Pechey, to open a hospital there. It was to be the first of its kind in Asia as it would be staffed entirely by women. It would bring to the women who were denied, by custom, male medical care, an opportunity for proper attention from qualified doctors of their own sex.

When Dr Edith Pechey landed from England in 1882 to open the Cama Hospital she was 38 years old. She had been one of a small group who, in the previous decade, had qualified as doctors against the fiercest opposition from the medical bureaucracy of their day.

She had been a brilliant student, but when she won the First Year Chemistry Prize of £200 at Edinburgh University, it was denied her because she was a woman. After five years of outstanding achievement, she and her friends were finally ousted from the University without being allowed to sit for their degrees. Nothing daunted, Edith brushed up her French and took her MD in Switzerland.

She brought the same undaunted spirit to the difficult task of organising the hospital in Bombay, and adding to it, later, India's first School of Nursing. She really cared for her patients. Despite the immense pressure of work, she took time to learn the language so as to be able to communicate directly with them. All reform movements affecting the women of India claimed her active interest. She spoke on many platforms on the question of child marriage and enforced life-long widowhood. Always she urged fuller opportunities and better education for girls.

In 1889 she married Herbert Phipson, a wine merchant living in Bombay. He was heart and soul with her in her work. A visitor described their home as "a mixture of races and costumes".

Waning health caused her to retire in 1894 from hospital work into private practice. But when the bubonic plague struck Bombay two years later she went back to work in the worst-hit areas.

She left India in 1905 and died in England three years later.

E.L.

Paris talks

The absence of the Saigon Government's representatives from even the preliminary stage of peace talks is hardly likely to prove helpful. The Americans could not accede to anything in their absence which would compromise the present position of the South Vietnamese Government.

JAPAN TIMES, Tokyo

Riots in France

Part of General de Gaulle's trouble springs from the very success of his personal rule. For the most benevolent of autocrats cannot please all the people all of the time. A head of steam was bound to build up over ten years. With partial censorship of press and television France has had no real safety valve. The President believes that the French people for all the brilliance of their civilisation are not yet stable enough for the regime to release the brakes. And the events of the past week proved him right.

DAILY MAIL, London

Burma's socialism

As General Ne Win and Tunku Abdul Rahman went round the golf course in the Cameron Highlands, the two leaders must have developed a new camaraderie in the face of the common threat from Communist subversion openly fomented by the Chinese. This is not to say that there is any immediate likelihood of Burma giving up its neutral stance or entering into defence arrangements with Malaysia, Singapore and other Asian neighbours. But the first step has been taken and Burma is no longer living in complacent isolation. The obvious success of free enterprise in Malaysia must also have made some impression on the

For "Letters", see page 6

Best World Press

Burmese leader. The Burmese road to socialism...has not been a roaring success.

THE HINDU, Madras

Czech reforms

Mr Kosygin, who is in Czechoslovakia ostensibly on a rest cure, seems to have decided to give a measure of support to Mr Dubcek's Government. But if the Soviet leader fails to prevent the liquidation of Communist supremacy in Czechoslovakia he can expect trouble from those in the Kremlin who are calling for sterner measures...

In the short term, the illiberal policies of the Soviet and Polish Governments are unlikely to set off Czechoslovak-style reformation and if the Czechs evolve a clear and more efficient system of government the inhabitants of other East European nations might ask to be allowed to repeat the experiment.

THE SCOTSMAN, Edinburgh

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French tempest

by Rajmohan Gandhi



EUROPE is rocking, changing. The political shape of both West and East Europe has been disturbed. The disturbance could lead to a drastic alteration in the picture.

Kosygin is in Czechoslovakia "for health and rest". The world was not aware of the sudden deterioration in the Soviet Union's medical services. Nobody doubts that Kosygin is worried more about the health of East European Communism and the unrest expressed from Prague.

Kosygin's skill will be sorely tested. He may yet have to decide whether to employ the surgery of the Russian Army.

In what will rank as a momentous landmark in Communist history, *Rude Pravo*, official organ of the Czech Communist Party, asked readers a startling question, "Is Communism compatible with democracy?"

The question was not a rhetorical sentence. It was one in a questionnaire which Czechs were asked to answer. Most significantly, readers were told to be anonymous. Among other questions were the following:

Does the internal democratisation of a Communist party provide a sufficient guarantee of democracy?

Can you speak of democracy as being socialist when the leading role is held only by the Communist Party?

Is the Czech way of constructing and developing socialism our own internal matter which must be decided by the sovereign will of the people?

Daring changes

Two days later the Kan Club, composed of people who are not Communist Party members, publicly insisted on its right to be "co-responsible" for the political development of Czech society. Notwithstanding the official Prague view that no opposition outside the Communist national front would be tolerated, the Government's radio network broadcast to the nation the Kan statement.

Along with internal democratisa-

tion and a revision of the Prague-Moscow relationship is to come Western industrial investment in Czechoslovakia.

Prague experiments under Dubcek and Cernik may lead to a physical clash with Moscow, or to great and unknown freedoms. They may just die out. But they have been daring.

But the France to which de Gaulle had hurriedly to return was not preparing an ovation for him. She was, instead, shaking with widespread, exceedingly well organised and crippling agitations against his rule and policies.

We are told that the current tumult is graver than the near civil war of 1947 and the turbulence that led to de Gaulle's acquisition of power in 1958.

"Gherao comes to Paris" is an Indian headline. London's *Daily Telegraph* writes that the rebel students appear headed towards a social and cultural upheaval of Chinese lines.

Who is responsible?

According to *The Sunday Standard* the renowned automobile and aeronautical plants of Renault and Sud Aviation were occupied by strikers who locked in the supervisory and managerial staffs. On last Saturday, striking workers had occupied more than 100 factories, their leaders stating that Paris students had shown them the way.

On that day Premier Pompidou threatened to use force if students did not cease their occupation of the Sorbonne and of Nanterre, the new University of Paris.

Who, and what, is behind this tempest in France? Was it deliberately planned to coincide with the American-North Vietnamese talks in Paris? Did international Communist forces organise it? Was it indeed a "revenge" for the developments in Prague and Bucharest?

Is it possible that China is responsible? Some think so. On the other hand certain Western analysts feel that with the cultural revolution purges and the anti-foreign mood of China, that country is not, at this point, deploying many people to disrupt Europe. In any

case it seems that students from China and Algeria, and from Italy, Germany, Belgium and Holland have played active roles in the rebellion.

Or is it that there is a sudden expression of pent up feelings against President de Gaulle himself?

A risk worth taking

When de Gaulle returned to liberated France he could have become his country's popular dictator. He did not, and chose instead to create a democratic framework. In 1958 he took power at a moment crucial for France and when he was still uniquely adulated.

Are his last months—or years—of power going to be disastrous for him and his reputation and for his country? For the sake of this prodigious character and his exceptional country, **o n e** fervently hopes not.

The *London Times* suggests that the General should now retire gracefully. I am not sure that his quitting office is a must for France's stability and progress. Nor is it certain that if he did retire France's national condition would change.

Many French people, devoted to the General and admiring, in private and in public, his unusual achievements and skills, feel that he has more than his share of pride and vanity. They say this, in private, to one another and to outsiders. It appears however that not a single person has confronted the President with the truth about this aspect of his personality.

It is hard to imagine that the risk of such frankness outweighs the risk France will face without it. A lover of surprises, he may delight in astonishing people by genuinely thanking the man who speaks thus to him, and by changing on the point.

Making the other man great in one's own country, and the other nation great in the world, may be a necessary quality in a modern statesman. A country where long centuries ago a peasant girl successfully tackled a weak King may rejoice if its strong President is similarly approached.

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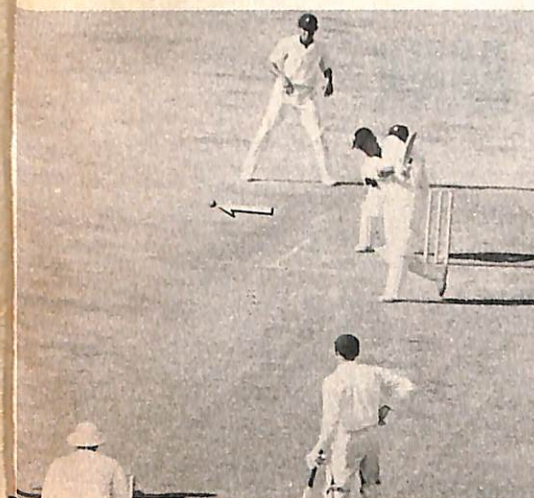
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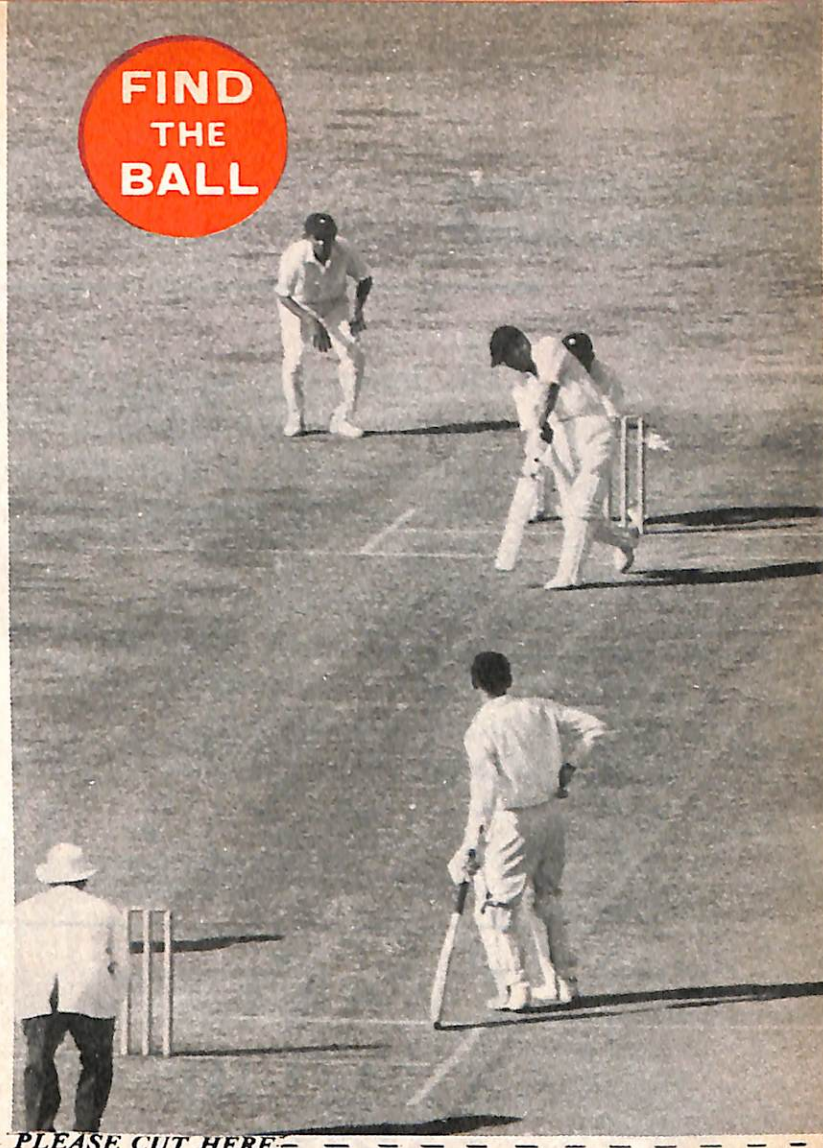


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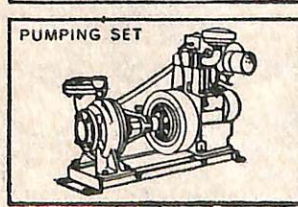
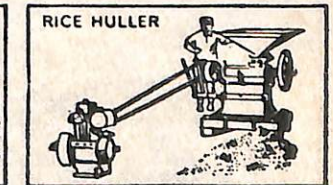
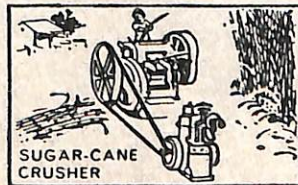
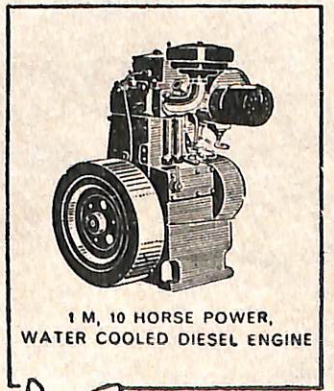
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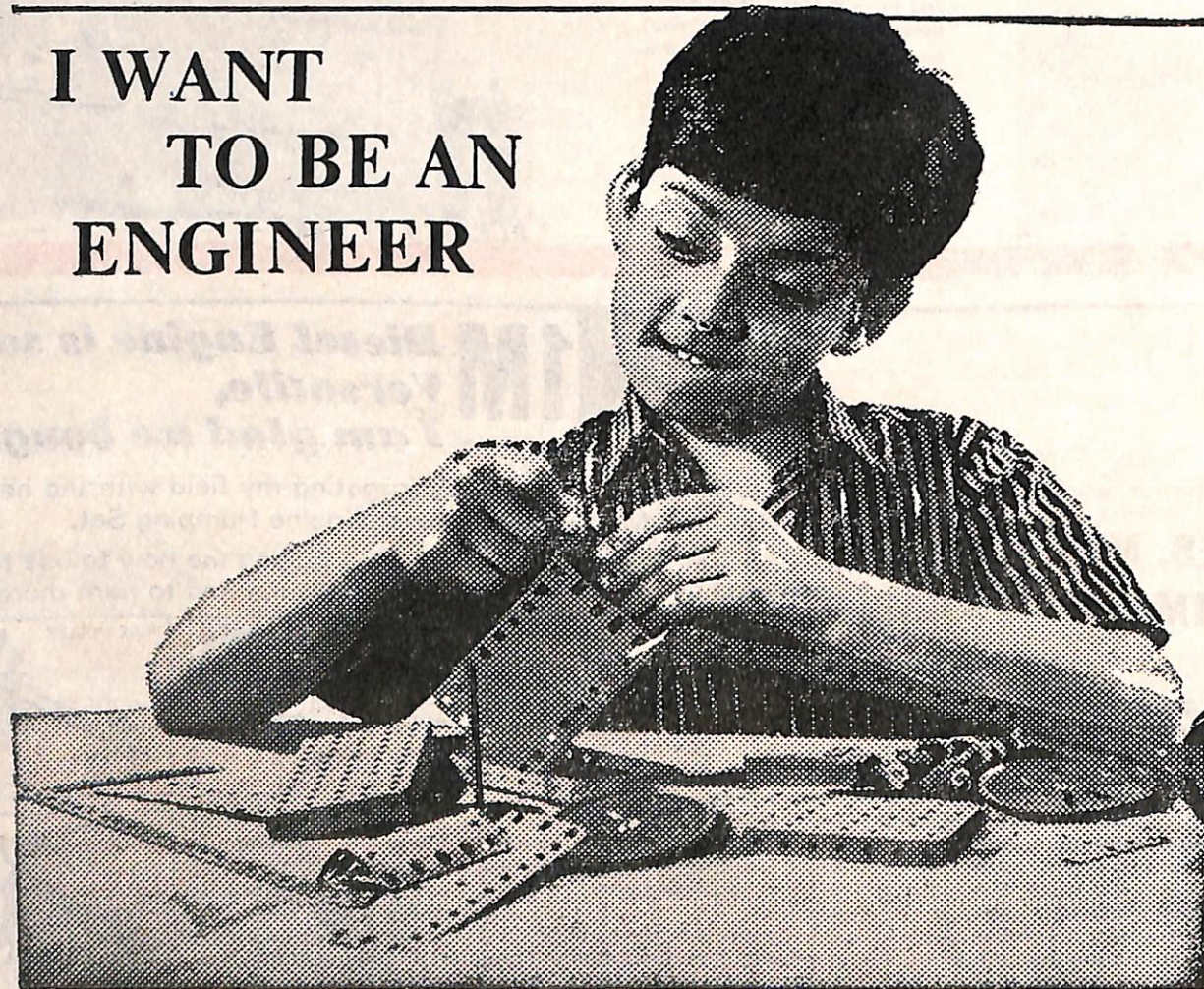
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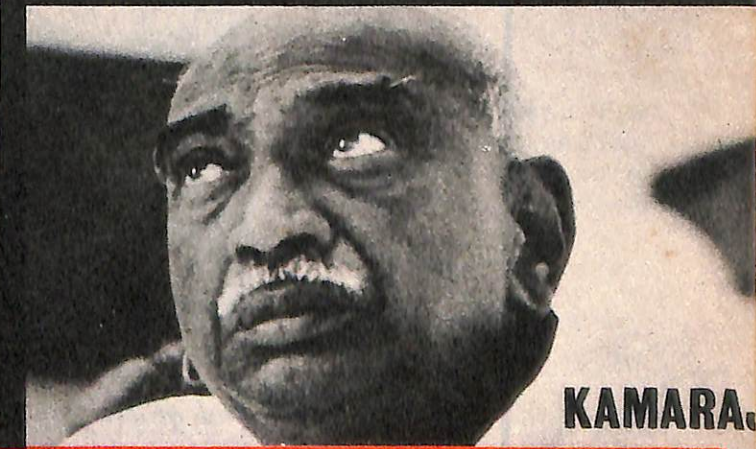
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