

# HIMMAT

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## THE WORLD IS UP IN ARMS

◆5

**ENDING** representatives of 100 countries. Two separate studies have shown the extent of the arms race and the resources going into it. The first study, published in December 1972, estimated \$ 171 billion was spent on arms in the world.

The report emphasizes the needs of developing countries for an intensive effort to reduce their dependence on arms. It is in favour of disarmament.

The necessity for shifting expenditures from arms into aid has increased, according to the report. The fact that most of the economic advantages of disarmament will accrue to rich nations, the big spenders. If the gap between rich and poor nations is to narrow, aid will be more essential than ever.

**Separate**

Describing disarmament as "one of the most important steps to the world's peace", the report adds that they stand separate from each other.

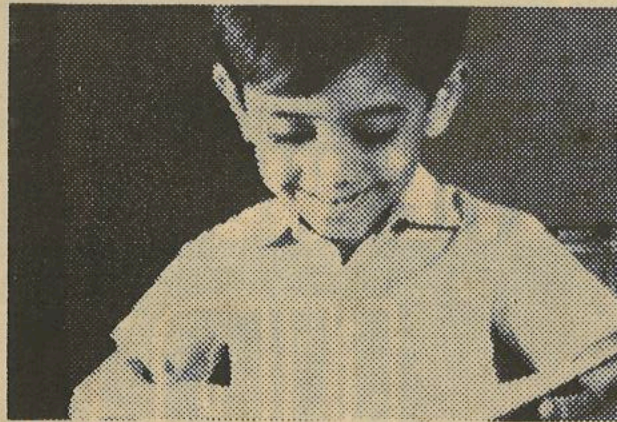
"Nations have shown that national arms races do not promote peace. They could be neither a prelude to peace nor a way to lag behind in disarmament." The report adds, however, that the aim is to create a world of peace and development for all nations and peoples under equal conditions. The report remains silent on the subject of "what is to be done" about the release of massive resources for nuclear uses.

In the meantime, the report says, several steps to disarmament should be taken.

- \* ONE IN EVERY 80 MEN IS A SOLDIER
- \* FOR EVERY 1 MILLION SPENT ON DEVELOPMENT AID 30 MILLIONS GO ON ARMS

**THE COST OF SUSPICION AND HATE** ◆3

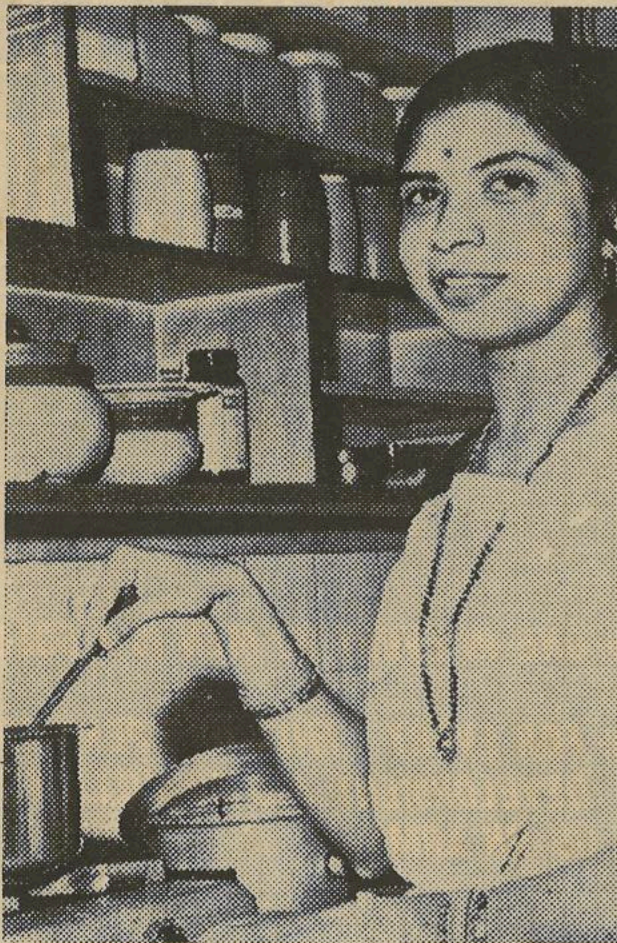
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## EDITORIALS

### The cost of suspicion and hate

It is of striking interest that the American bombing of North Vietnam at the end of last year was under strain because the United States, of all countries, lacked fuel. Raw materials and fuel are therefore going to be key components in a nation's military strength, says the annual report of the London-based Institute of Strategic Studies, released last week. Big-scale management of national resources will be more important than how many divisions a nation has.

The vast consumption of natural resources for defence and the vital role they play in the international power game highlights by contrast what could be achieved if swords could be beaten into ploughshares. On page 5 HIMMAT publishes an article on what could be spent on development aid if the world's expenditure on defence was redirected. It is a challenging study because it does spell out what hate and suspicion between nations — the root cause of war — are costing the world where one out of every 80 men is in the armed forces. But, realistically, until that hate and suspicion are removed no nation that is wise in its own defence will weaken or demobilise its defence forces. The United States for instance, according to the US Defence Secretary, does not intend to reduce its defence budget despite the ending of the Vietnam war, because of dangers elsewhere.

Unilateral disarmament in an atmosphere of tension and possible danger would be unwarranted in many

places in the world. These areas where suspicion and hate are such that war is possible are chiefly the Middle East and the Russo-Chinese frontier. War is possible, although unlikely, in Europe between the Soviet bloc and the Western European powers supported by the USA, and between white-dominated southern Africa and the rest of the continent.

Once hate and suspicion are liquidated then the expenditure of natural resources and money on arms can be slowed down. There are some hopeful examples of this. For generations France and Germany armed themselves against each other and fought three wars. Today troops from France and Germany do not face each other across the Rhine. Mutual hate has been overcome by reconciliation through decisive changes of attitude in many leaders and in thousands from both countries. Similarly the long border between the USA and Canada is completely undefended because of the basic trust, despite disagreements over economic policy, that both countries have in the other.

A statesmanship of a new order can release nations from their prison cells of bitterness and fear and this must be pioneered on a far bigger scale in the remaining years of this century. Then the world's resources of men, money and materials can be put to their best use, liquidating the titanic economic problems that face mankind today.

### Time for a summit

ANOTHER summit meeting between Mrs Gandhi and President Bhutto is long overdue. Now could be the most opportune time.

It is in India's interest to grab this opportunity when the atmosphere is conducive to a settlement, as Mr Swaran Singh himself stated recently. It is encouraging that the Prime Minister's special envoy, Mr P. N. Haksar, has been in Dacca and will soon be visiting Islamabad as part of a fresh initiative to break the stalemate.

Mr Bhutto is unpredictable, always has been and perhaps always will be. His attitude towards India has often depended on his own fluctuating political fortunes. In spite of the recent attempted coup, for which 24 per-

sons were arrested, and the Assembly boycott by the Opposition parties, Mr Bhutto is in a stronger position now than he has been for some time.

Bangladesh too is more confident and sure of the future now than before. The Foreign Minister, Dr Kamal Hossain, has stated that war crime trials will take place at the end of this month. Therefore Bangladesh may be willing to negotiate the release of those POWs not implicated in the trials.

Now is the time for the leaders of the subcontinent to rise above petty details and show the same quality of statesmanship, as at Simla last year, which the whole world respected and admired.

### Gadding about and mayoral gaddis

GANATRA has retired, long live Mayor Joshi. Apart from the political considerations involved — and they are strong enough for all the Opposition parties including the Muslim League to throw their joint weight behind Shiv Sena candidate Sudhir Joshi — a Bombay Mayor is entitled to perfectly mouth-watering perks and privileges:

a comfortable mayoral chair in an air conditioned chamber (ideally suited, if the occupant is so inclined, for take-offs to the realm of dreams);

a mansion by the sea recently redone at a cost of almost Rs 1½ lakhs;

a chauffeured limousine;

an allowance of over Rs 10,000 per annum which the former Mayor exceeded by Rs 7000 and at least one invitation to go abroad.

Re the foreign tour, former Mayor Ravji Ganatra just managed to fit one in. Due to retire on March 31,

he started his return journey on March 14. While in America he was moved to endorse President Nixon's plea against world terrorism; advocated "people-to-people" meetings for international goodwill and was deluged with compliments. One person gushed, "All you need to do is to look at him to see the kindness of a wonderful person..."

Incidentally Mr Ganatra while in the US, studied how urban problems like housing and pollution were being tackled. What a shame that no one thought of re-electing him so that, fortified with his new-found knowledge, he could have a bash at Bombay's stupendous pollution and housing problems.

Would it not be better in future to elect two mayors at a time? The "elected mayor" could, occupy the mayoral gaddi, and the "mayor apparent" in the meanwhile could go abroad and study civic problems.

HIMMAT, April 6, 1973

# Briefly Speaking.....

Fame is proof that the people are gullible.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, 1803-1882

## Fourth Estate hits back

"JOURNALISTS Beat Parliamentarians" proclaimed the incredible headline some days ago, really waking up many an early morning newspaper reader.

Had the Fourth Estate, whose lot it often is to be threatened and criticised by the politicians, lost control of itself? Nothing of the sort. It just turned out to be a sub-editor's sweet revenge. Reading further one gathered that the Journalists' cricket XI had defeated the Parliamentarians'.

## Medical Manoeuvrings

INDIANS are getting incredibly conscious of their health. The complete credit for this goes to the Government and to private firms which reimburse the amounts certain com-

panies spend on the medical expenses of their staff.

One Central Government office in Nagpur broke all records by showing its annual medical reimbursement bill as Rs 1,50,000 while the amount spent on salaries during the same period was Rs 1,00,000. One can imagine the perfect understanding that must have existed between patients, doctors and chemists to make this possible.

Unfortunately the Government was unimpressed by this staggering display of health consciousness. Members of its Anti-Corruption Bureau raided 12 chemist shops in the city and also the homes of doctors suspected of granting bogus prescriptions and arrested four Central Government employees.

Birbal considers this a most healthy reaction of the Government and hopes that the case will be completely investigated and conscientiously treated until cured.

## Strangled by red tape

BIRBAL was dismayed to hear of a recent instance of the insensitive working of our bureaucracy.

Last month CARITAS, the Catholic charity, organised a "March of Man" to raise money for drought relief funds. Children from 68 schools volunteered to take part in it. Each child had a sponsor. In addition they planned to collect money as they walked along Bombay streets. Many parents were as eager as the children.

Just as the schools were closing on the day before the March and some children had already left, the organisers got a call from the Sachivalaya asking them to cancel the march. No reason was given.

The principals of the schools were in a dilemma. They did not know how to face their children or the sponsors. The next morning scores of children turned up at 6.30 am. as planned and had to be driven back to their homes. To date these children and the organisers do not know why they are not allowed to do this walk for raising money for drought relief.

What did the Government gain by strangling voluntary initiative with red tape?

## Basking in unaccustomed friendship

WHATEVER be the reactions of the Russians and Chinese to each other in the vicinity of the Usuri River, in New Delhi recently they were extremely cordial.

Mr Chiang Hung-Chi, China's Military, Naval and Air Attache and the new doyen of the Military Diplomatic Corps at the Indian capital paid glowing tributes to Major General A. A. Popov, the outgoing doyen, at a farewell function at the British High Commission hall.

Mr Chiang Hung-Chi (China has abolished ranks and badges) complimented General Popov for the skill with which he had represented the Military Diplomatic Corps in spite of the conflicting interests of the member countries. General Popov responded by saying that he had only been able to do so because of the co-operation extended to him. What is more Mr Chiang and his wife stood with General Popov and his wife to receive and see off the guests.

## Birbal

### UPON MY WORD!

Find as many words as you can from the TEN letters given below. The words must have four letters or more and must use the letter in larger type. At least one word must use ALL TEN letters. No proper nouns, plurals or non-English words allowed, nor variations of same verb (eg. tame, tames).

UPON MY WORD  
PUZZLE NO 23

You must find 36  
Words this week.  
(Answer next week)

A R U  
G E E T  
I G T

ANSWER TO PUZZLE NO 22

Acre, agrestic, arrect, cage, care, caret, cart, carte, case, cast, caste, cater, cigar, cist, cite, crag, crate, crest, eric, grace, iatric, race, react, recast, rice, scar, scare, scat, sceat, scrag, sect, trace, trice, GERIATRICALS.

HIMMAT, April 6, 1973

# The world is Up in arms

by Steve Whitehouse

MILITARY spending represents a serious distortion of the world's economic and social priorities. Two separate United Nations studies, published last year, have hammered home the extent of arms expenditure and contrasted it with the relative trickle of resources going in aid to the Third World. The six main spenders, it points out, allocated \$171 thousand million to the military, but supplied only \$5.6 thousand million to the Third World as official development assistance.

Requested by the General Assembly in 1970, the first of these studies, entitled the "Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures", outlined the present situation in stark terms.

Among its conclusions:

— There are more than 23 million persons in the world's armed forces and it costs \$200 thousand million a year to feed and arm them, more than the combined income of a third of the planet's population — the 1,300,000,000 inhabitants of Africa, South Asia and the Far East;

— More than 6 per cent of total world output is devoted to military uses, two-and-a-half times what all governments spend on health, one-and-a-half times what they spend on education, and about 30 times total

## SO THEY SAY

To be successful a woman has to be much better at her job than men.

MRS GOLDA MEIR,  
Israeli Prime Minister

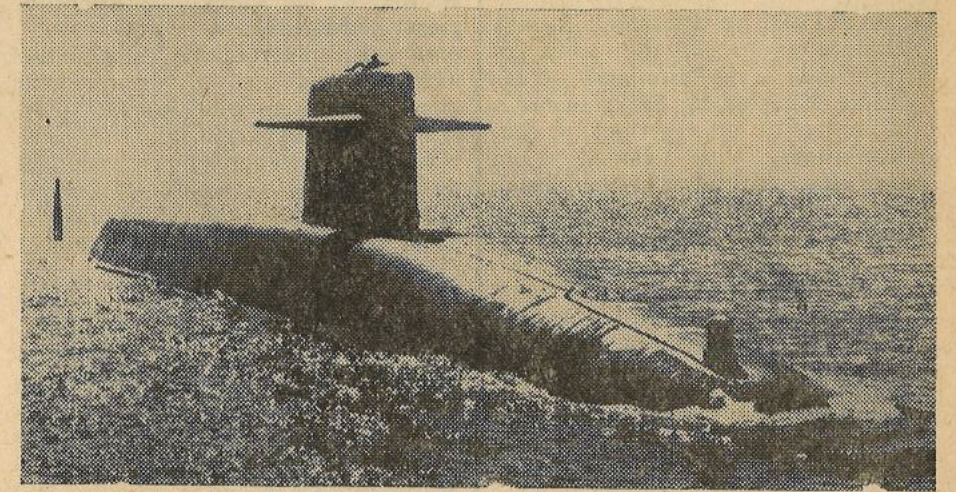
I never did anything useful in life. I think not even in flying a plane. After all you only burn up a lot of gasoline.

MRS MARION HART,  
81-year old US aviatrix

I was born in the thick of politics. I have seen its ups and downs from childhood. Therefore I have more vitality and experience (than my father) to face the Opposition challenge.

MRS INDIRA GANDHI

HIMMAT, April 6, 1973



US POLARIS SUBMARINE:  
launches atomic missiles from under the sea

official economic aid to developing countries;

— Military research devours \$25 thousand million a year, while only \$4 thousand million annually goes to medical research.

This study, carried out by 14 international specialists, also showed that the great bulk of the money — more than four-fifths — is spent by six countries: the United States, the Soviet Union, France, the People's Republic of China, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany. Except in the Middle East and Indo-China, developing countries spent proportionately less on arms and military personnel than the industrial world. (See chart, right).

Now a second study, prepared by a nine member group of international consultants, at the request of the General Assembly, has focused on the relationship between disarmament and development.

The report emphasises the unfilled needs of development and calls for an intensive effort to arouse public opinion in favour of effective disarmament.

The necessity for shifting military expenditures partly into aid is increased, according to the report, by the fact that most of the economic advantages of disarmament will accrue to rich nations, the big spenders. If the gap between rich and poor nations is to narrow, aid will

become more essential than ever.

Describing the two objectives — disarmament and development — as "of the greatest importance to the

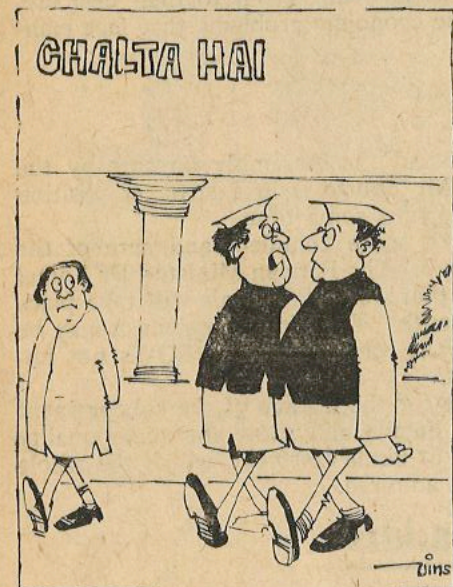
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## MILITARY AND ECONOMIC RANKING OF COUNTRIES

Rank	Country	Military Expenditures (Billions of dollars)
1	United States	77.8
2	Soviet Union	65.0
3	China	10.0
4	West Germany	6.2
5	France	6.0
6	United Kingdom	5.9
7	Italy	2.5
8	Poland	2.2
9	East Germany	2.2
10	Canada	1.9
11	India	1.8
12	Czechoslovakia	1.7
13	Japan	1.5
14	Israel	1.4
15	Australia	1.3

Rank	Country	Gross National Product (Billions of dollars)
1	United States	976.0
2	Soviet Union	497.0
3	Japan	197.2
4	West Germany	185.5
5	France	145.9
6	United Kingdom	121.0
7	China	120.0
8	Italy	91.8
9	Canada	78.1
10	India	52.9
11	Poland	39.4
12	Brazil	35.4
13	Mexico	33.0
14	Spain	32.4
15	East Germany	32.3

Source: U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1970.



"I had a very unrealistic and abnormal dream last night. I had submitted my resignation. And she accepted it."



# VERDICT!

## THIS WEEK HIMMAT...

**IS BAFFLED** by President Sadat's endless gyrations, the latest of them being the dismissal of his Prime Minister Mr Sidky in order to enter "a new period of confrontation with Israel" and **INFERS** that he is either being serious for once or is suffering from St Vitus's dance.

**IS CONCERNED** about the factional fighting within the Congress party as evidenced by the confrontation between the Nehru and the Socialist Forums and **ENDORSES** the Prime Minister's suggestion that both be disbanded.

**CHUCKLES** over the notice put up by Parisian authorities barring entry into one of its parks to "youths between the ages of 15 and 40".

**HAILS** as most fitting and proper the award of the Templeton Foundation prize worth nearly Rs 6,80,000 to Mother Teresa for her part in "widening and deepening man's knowledge and love of God" through her care of the dying derelicts of Calcutta and other places.

**IS NAUSEATED** at the poor quality of the milk powder and butter oil received as gifts from the World Food Programme and **CENSURES** the Government for its inefficient handling of food imports.

**WINCES** on reading that Indore University has insured 800 invigilators for Rs 10,000 each and **EXPECTS** the premiums to be rather high because of the great risk involved!

**IS AMUSED** at the statement of the Mayor of Bombay that the foreign exchange granted by the Reserve Bank to those going abroad was barely enough to pay tips and **REQUESTS** him to pass on this "tip" to the Central Government.

**WISHES** Godspeed to the judicial enquiry into the inaction and alleged collaboration of the Sagar University authorities when a girls' hostel was raided by miscreants during the Holi festival and **ENJOINS** the state Government to bring to book the guilty.

## UP IN ARMS — from page 5

world community"; the report adds that "fundamentally they stand separately from one another."

"Nations have agreed," it says, "that national and international efforts to promote development should be neither postponed nor allowed to lag merely because progress in disarmament is slow."

It adds, however, that the achievement of the aim of disarmament "would create very favourable conditions for development."

General and complete disarmament under effective international control remains the main objective, the report says. Such an achievement "would represent a momentous political change and would release massive resources for peaceful uses".

In the meantime, the report proposes several interim steps to speed the historic process of turning swords into ploughshares. These include a serious study of international budgetary limitations on arms spending and a call for government planning to prepare for the redeployment to peaceful work of the manpower and plant presently devoted to the arms race.

The report also lists possible humanitarian uses of the massive military research and development establishment.

Professor Wassily Leontief, the distinguished Harvard economist noted for his work on input-output theory and a member of the study group, believes that diverting arms spending partly into aid may be less disruptive to industrialised societies than shifting to domestic personal consumption.

Speaking in New York he said: "It would be foolish to deny that many groups in society, both entrepreneurs and workers, are seriously concerned as to what will happen to their livelihood if the government stops purchasing arms."

The committee calculated the effect of redeploying resources presently used in the United States for the arms race. The conclusions, he continued, apply to other industrial countries "due to similarities of structures". He added: "These figures show that there is possibly a tendency to exaggerate this effect, to be more afraid than we should be."

The calculations, he said, suggest that if military expenditures are diverted to aid rather than domestic consumption "structural adjustments will be easier to achieve, for the simple reason that aid very often consists, and should consist, of machinery, tools of production and certain

basic raw materials which also go into military production."

Based on a hypothetical 20 per cent shift of military expenditure in the United States to civilian uses, an annex to the report shows that the number of industries losing jobs would be less if the money went to aid rather than domestic personal consumption.

While welcoming arms agreements already entered into, Professor Leontief noted that the report points out that further steps will be necessary before military expenditure is actually reduced. In the words of the study, the agreements "may have forestalled increases in military spending but they have not reduced it."

"Arms limitation agreements reached up to now are not disarmament agreements," said Professor Leontief. "In my opinion, they could possibly lead to a change in the nature of arms. In fact, they may increase the cost of arms because the most effective, I hate to use the words, effective cheapest weapons—biggest kill per buck—are forbidden. So the rich nations begin to spend more on more expensive weapons."

The report says that budgetary limitations on arms spending "deserves serious study".

Professor Leontief added that "as an economist" he believes that arms expenditure could be effectively monitored by careful study of published economic data.

The study believes that it is in the interests of world society to pursue both disarmament and development. Commenting on the necessity for rich nations to step up aid, Professor Leontief said: "Speaking for myself, it is like within a country. I would say that in the United States we cannot really afford to let a minority suffer greatly, because of neglect, while the rest is prosperous."

"The choice is rather narrow. The people who have a lot really cannot live very happily if there is a strong underprivileged group within a country. Now, in a modern world, the relationship between the privileged and unprivileged groups, I think essentially displays the same characteristics. It will be terribly uncomfortable to live in the well-to-do countries if you have all the repercussions of misery, unhappiness and social turmoil in developing countries."

He also noted that many of the raw materials consumed in industrial societies come from the Third World

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19

## Fissures in the ruling Congress

THE massive march organised by the Communist Party of India in Delhi last week and the reactions to it that followed have brought to light once again the strains within the ruling Congress Party.

The growing rift at present centres around the attitude of the Congress towards the CPI. The Congress Socialist Forum organised a seminar to which prominent members of the CPI were invited. The Congress President, Dr S. D. Sharma, accepted an invitation to attend the seminar in spite of protests from other Congressmen. He reasoned that the CPI needed a "pat" on their back for their consistent support of the Congress when all other parties were working against it.

The strongest reaction to this action of the Congress President came from the Nehru Youth Forum who alleged that "they (Socialist Forum) are collaborating with the CPI in a manner which is subversive of the democratic character of the Congress."

Mrs Gandhi's reaction at the mutual recrimination between the two forums was that they probably ought to be wound up.

Radical Congress leader, Mr Chandra Sekhar, also came out criticising the CPI tactics and interference in Congress Party affairs. He stated that there was no need for the CPI to be "the managing agents" of the Congress. Mr Chandra Sekhar has been a radical and a Young Turk for years and is not one of those who mouths radical phrases only when they are in fashion. The pro-CPI elements in the Congress cannot accuse him of being a "right reactionary".

The uproar in the Lok Sabha over the alleged ticketless travel by CPI members on their way to Delhi again showed that the Congress ranks were divided. It was alleged by some



CHANDRA SEKHAR: radical

Opposition members that hundreds of CPI workers were allowed to travel ticketless to Delhi. Even bona fide passengers were deprived of their seats. In Lucknow CPI members occupied two trains and could not be enforced to detain. Mr Chandra Sekhar was one of the Congressmen who felt compelled to join the opposition demand for an explanation.

The reasons put forward by the Railway Minister were far from satisfactory. They led one critic to comment that the rally was not stage-managed but state-managed.

The question that comes to mind is: why did the CPI organise this demonstration? Some conclude that the line dividing the ruling Congress and CPI was becoming almost non-existent and that the CPI had to assert itself as an independent party. It did not wish to remain an appendage of the Congress.

The other side is that the CPI, by

moving away from the Congress, is widening the ideological rift in the Congress. Events in the last days have amply substantiated this fact.

In a pamphlet published before the March, the CPI outlines the reasons for this demonstration. It accuses the Congress of sliding back from its election promises. The pamphlet elaborates leftist efforts to jolt awake the masses and the "rightist counteroffensive" which followed. It says of the Congress: "Its refusal to reverse the slideback, its drift and indecision, its continuing to give concessions to the monopolists and compromising with the landlords, its blowing hot-and-cold vis-a-vis the US imperialists — embolden the right and confuse and demoralise the masses."

The strategy offered by the CPI for this situation is to "defeat the right counteroffensive and win a shift to the left." This they present as an integrated and comprehensive approach of the left and democratic forces in the country. They appeal to Communists and their sympathisers as well as Congressmen and their supporters to join them in this "brief, concrete, minimum programme." Their aim is to collect a minimum of 10 million signatories for this programme.

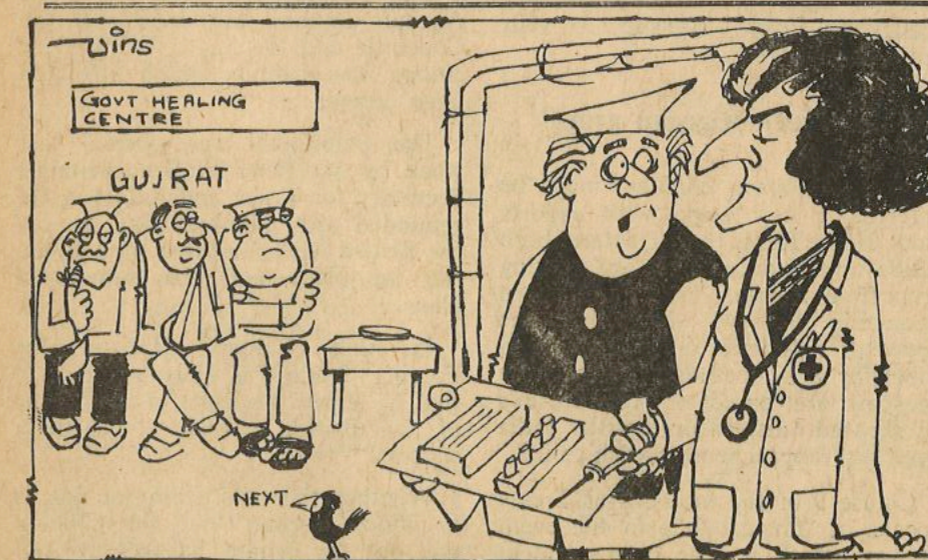
Whether such a programme will entice the more radical leftists elements in the Congress to leave the party remains to be seen. It is clear that a weak Congress, racked with dissensions within its ranks, will be more dependent on the CPI than if it is strong and united.

In the rest of India, the state Congress parties are also suffering more than their normal quota of dissensions. In Gujarat the fight is between the state legislature party and the PCC. The Chief Minister, Mr Ghanshyam Oza and dissident Congressman Kantilal Ghia had to go all the way to Delhi to settle their dispute.

In Andhra, in Orissa and in Bihar variations of the same theme are repeated. In all these states Mrs Gandhi is the only acceptable mediator.

With all these stresses and strains it will be interesting to see how the Congress fares in the forthcoming general election in UP, the Prime Minister's home state. Growing frustration because of rising prices and an inefficient administration may well lead to a few upsets.

Kalpna Sharma



"It's high time they learnt to treat minor ailments themselves, instead of coming every time to you."

## Is Gaddafi aiding Filipino rebels?

THE Muslim uprising in the south Philippine island of Mindanao became so fierce in March that President Marcos had to use jet planes and naval ships against the rebels. If it spreads further, the whole island may be engulfed in total war, according to Agence France Presse.

Mindanao is the ancestral home of 3.5 million Philippine Muslims. About 10,000 rebels are estimated to be involved in the uprising. The rebels have combined with Maoist insurgents and have turned themselves into a secessionist movement.

Officials in Manila have talked of foreign troops in Mindanao. The neighbouring Muslim nations of Indonesia and Malaysia have repudiated these hints and have referred to the accusation as a preposterous idea, maintaining that it is entirely an internal affair of the Philippines.

## Independence for the Aussies!

MANY have watched with interest Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's attempts to have a foreign policy independent of both America and Britain.

But few, if any, Asian nations would agree with Whitlam's statement that "more than any country in the world, the Chinese are satisfied to live in all senses within their own borders". Even those with close links with China would think twice before describing China as "an amazing docile country".



WHITLAM: broker for China?

After only four months in power, Whitlam has given a new sense of national awareness to Australia. He has a vision of the nation playing an important role as a regional power. But to win the friendship of Asian nations and to be accepted in Asia, he may need to be more realistic and slow down in his eagerness to please China.

But Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi seems eager to get the Muslim nations involved. He sent a special emissary to Malaysia and Indonesia to draw attention to the Muslim brothers being "exterminated". He warned that if allowed to continue, the Mindanao crisis would threaten peace in South-East Asia.

The advanced type of arms in the hands of the estimated 10,000 rebels and their guerrilla tactics has led the Philippine Government to believe that Muslim leaders in Arab countries are aiding or abetting the rebels.

The situation has become more complicated with the Islamic Foreign Ministers' conference in Benghazi, Libya, deciding to send five ministers from Asian and African Muslim nations to Manila to investigate the "sectarian oppression".

Some Asian nations have expressed interest in the concept of an "Asian forum", as put forward by President Giri when he was in Malaysia recently. Rather than acting as a broker for China, Australia would be more welcome in Asia if she took on to make the "Asian forum" a reality.

In the light of this, Whitlam's proposed visit to India in June is a welcome sign. He will be the first Australian Prime Minister to visit India since 1959.

## Tibetans seek Russian arms

THE Sino-Soviet conflict may be entering a new stage with reports from Hong Kong that Tibetans both inside and outside Tibet are seeking arms from Russia. The "Far Eastern Economic Review" says that the hopes of dissidents of Mao's rule in Tibet for a "sympathetic hearing from Moscow are based on the Soviet's anticipated displeasure with India over any rapprochement with China."

Clause 9 of the Indo-Soviet Treaty speaks of "mutual help in the event of any attack". The correspondent of the "The Indian Express" in Hong Kong says that the Chinese have

made it known that they will not normalise relations with India unless the Indian Government gives a written undertaking that this clause will not be invoked against China.

The Tibetans are also reported to have approached Taiwan for arms. If the dissidents do succeed in obtaining arms, transporting them to Tibet will not be easy. Even if some arms were to find themselves into the hands of Tibetans, there is no guarantee that supplies can be continued.

## China may buy British

CHINA'S desire to open an international air service has meant aircraft manufacturers in France, Britain, America and Russia have benefited. China went on a spending spree last year buying three Concorde, 10 Boeing 707s, 14 Trident medium range jets and also Russian aircraft.

But the market is yet open. Judging by the activity in Peking, Britain and America are still vying with one another to sell more of their aircraft to China.

Knowing that the Chinese are dissatisfied with the Russian IL-62, the British have offered to reopen production of their VC-10 airliner. Rolls Royce are hoping to bag a £20 million contract by selling manufacturing rights of their Spey engine.

The Americans are reported to be offering their Boeing 707 jets at cut prices. They are also going ahead with their efforts to sell Jumbo jets to China.

The British have now taken the battle right into Peking by opening a British Industrial Exhibition there. Aircraft engines and models of the Concorde and the Super VC-10 were among the exhibits which attracted large crowds.

The exhibition was opened last week by Mr Peter Walker, Britain's Secretary for Trade and Industry. He reminded the Chinese that it was the British who pioneered the bicycle, the jet plane and the supersonic plane.

In reply Chinese Minister for Foreign Trade Pai Hsiang-Kuo said that he hoped the fruits of the labour of the British people would be a success!

Whether this was a hint or not, it is almost certain that the Chinese will opt for Britain, as they are not keen to be over dependent on a super power for spare parts.

## Yankee gone home—but no peace for Nixon

WITHIN 24 hours of the final American soldier leaving Vietnam and the release of the last POW President Nixon began spelling out the next hurdles that faced the people of the United States. "As we end the war let us resolve not to lose the peace," he urged in a nationwide address over television and radio.



FBI CHIEF GRAY

The United States would keep to the peace agreement in Vietnam and "the North Vietnamese leaders should have no doubt of the consequences if they fail to comply to the agreement."

Using the political momentum that the ending of the war gave him the US President launched out to win the support of the American people in the various battles he has with the Congress. Rebutting the arguments of Senator Mike Mansfield, President Nixon said that it was essential that the United States remained strong militarily and did not reduce its military strength unilaterally. The defence

budget was the highest percentage of the Gross National Product that it had ever been but the recent progress that had been made towards peace in the world could not have been made without it.

If America ever slipped to becoming the "second strongest nation in the world" the chances of maintaining a world structure of peace would be threatened.

Mr Nixon said he was for a mutual reduction of forces as was being discussed in Europe. A mutual reduction of forces would reduce the danger of war, he said. (It is in Europe that America has its largest concentration of forces outside the continental United States. In West Germany there are 210,000 American men and women on military duty.)

Emphasising his programme of individual self-reliance President Nixon attacked greater government spending as advocated by the Democratic Congress and said he was out to defend the taxpayers' interests. Giving a new twist to Truman's slogan as President — "the buck stops here" — he said, "Your buck stops here", meaning he was refusing to spend the dollars authorised by Congress for certain welfare schemes.

He said that it was his experience as a Congressman that people always wrote into their Congressmen urging that money should be spent on such

and such project or programme. This of course meant other people's money, the taxpayers' money. Mr Nixon appealed to the American people who do not want the taxpayers' money wasted to make their views known to their Congressmen.

President Nixon did not however, perhaps understandably, refer to the major issue that stands between him and the Congress — that is the investigation of the Watergate affair. In this the President has invoked executive privilege to stop the Senate questioning White House officials who could shed light on the "bugging" of the Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate complex during the Presidential election last year. He has however told his officials to appear before Grand Juries when called upon. (see Best World Press on next page).

Already seven Republican Party aides have been sentenced by US courts to terms of imprisonment of up to 20 years for their part in these election espionage activities. The Senate wants to explore how high up the Republican hierarchy involvement in the spying activities goes and has summoned various White House officials to its hearings.

Senators have also accused Mr Nixon's nominee for the Directorship of the FBI, Mr Patrick Gray, of not pursuing the investigations with the objectivity and relentlessness necessary to America's top police official. He has been called a political tool of the White House and not a straight-shooter in the pursuit of justice.

The Senate could refuse to confirm Mr Gray's nomination. If a majority of the Senate felt this way they may be able to persuade Mr Nixon to allow White House officials to be questioned over Watergate as a quid pro quo for the confirmation of Mr Gray as Director of the FBI.

All this gives another side to the picture of the Nixon Presidency. To say the least it takes the shine off the rhetoric of the President's nationwide address. At worst it could lead to serious conflict between the President and the Congress. It may not be therefore surprising that President Nixon asked that people laid aside the issues of the Vietnam war that divided America "to meet the great challenges of peace that can unite us."

Mr Nixon has ended the Vietnam war and brought the American troops home but the tensions inside American society and the corruptions exposed in the last few years by columnists such as Jack Anderson are still wreaking their toll.



"I wonder what can I rattle now, so they'll keep quiet."

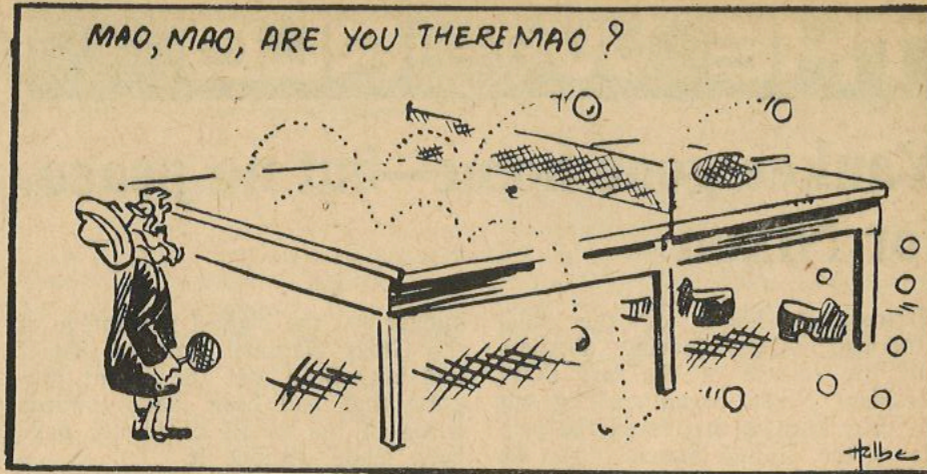
## BEST WORLD PRESS

### Peace and the IRA

So the proposal in last week's White Paper is to rebuild the North's political institutions in such a way that the minority, the Catholics, can have a guaranteed share in Government. Winner will no longer take all. There will be a new Assembly elected on a transferable-vote system, to ensure that the minority is represented in proportion to its numbers: power to make policy will be partly vested in committees, where partisanship will count for less than in the main Assembly and expertise for more; and most important, some of the committee chairmen who will form the Assembly's Executive will be Catholics.

The response of the Protestant community to arrangements which diminish its expectations has not in the main been discouraging. There has not, so far been the outburst of Protestant fury which the authorities had grounds to fear...

Yet it is in the name of "the aspirations of the Irish people as a whole" that the Provisional IRA, in the most perverse and dispiriting announcement of the week has declared its resolve to persist in armed warfare. It is the paramount business of every Catholic in Ireland whose voice may be heard, publicly or privately, by the Provisionals to explain to them that even among Ireland's Catholics there is now no interest in unity



Courtesy, The White Star Bombay

sought at the expense of tranquillity and that further bloodstained pursuit of it will only increase anxiety and suffering on their own side.

THE SUNDAY TIMES, London

In the White Paper, Prime Minister Heath and Mr Whitelaw have clearly gone about as far to right old wrongs and insure equality in Ulster as the feelings of their own British Conservative party and the temper of a million Ulster Protestants would allow. The document can be the basis for a major turn toward peace and justice if the interested parties and the moderate majorities in both Ulster communities will give it a chance.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

### White House and Watergate

Leaving the moral issue to one side, it is reasonable to wonder why the Republicans wanted to bug the Democratic headquarters at all. Why should a party fighting an election on its programme think it right to ask men to risk 55 years in gaol for the sake of tapping a Democratic telephone? Parties which have confidence in their policies do not behave like this. Presidents who are confident that their subordinates have done nothing wrong allow them to testify. If the White House wishes to be believed it should help the Senate hearings and not hinder them.

THE GUARDIAN, London

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## Britain—more commonsense needed

From Gordon Wise in London

THE rest of the world constantly finds itself marvelling at Britain's seemingly infinite capacity for absorbing self-inflicted wounds.

The headlines lurch from one industrial stoppage to another. Recently commuters were severely inconvenienced by engine drivers whose quarrel was not with them or with the management in the last resort, but with the Government. The same was true of the gasmen, whose selective stoppages meant thousands of cold hearths and acute discomfort to old people.

Three hundred medical consultants

less crusades of one kind or another. There is considerable idealism around, in fact.

Idealism seems to be lacking when it comes to either consistency among politicians, or in statesmanship which would take a firm line without making it a confrontation.

The other day, in a public opinion poll which asked people to put various professions in order of preference, MPs and estate agents came at the bottom. Estate agents, because the public blames them for the frantic increase in house prices and property (a form of speculation which



"The great majority of the British go about their work peaceably."

in Birmingham warned that the strike by hospital employees might result in loss of life.

One can argue, of course, that these stoppages represented only a fringe. The great majority of the British people either go about their work or leisure peaceably, or would like to do so. This argument does not entirely convince the non-British. They shake their heads in disbelief.

These troubles are symptomatic of a much more fundamental crisis: the lack of a great aim for Great Britain.

True, the British talk about the rest of the world. They are related to many millions abroad in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United States. But this does not prove to be enough.

There is indignation about South Africa's apartheid. The press mounts massive campaigns to get the Distillers' Company to compensate thalidomide victims. There are end-

makes the would-be householders cynical about Government freezes). Politicians are distrusted because so much of what they do and say seems, at least, to be irrelevant and or only concerned with their own advancement.

These are generalisations. There are many honest estate agents and there are a surprising number of honest and sincere politicians. But it is hard to convince the public of these facts.

It is difficult to estimate how much of the so-called permissive society has been encouraged by ideologically directed forces and how much is due to the innate thirst for indulgence which seemed to follow the debilitating effect of two world wars.

All one can say is that the general effect of what is loosely termed permissiveness — that is, anything goes in morals — is to deaden the victim

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19

## The week in INDIA

**SRINAGAR** — The Kashmir Tourism Department will be providing increased facilities for tourists this summer, including a new Japanese style restaurant and a full-fledged Institute for Mountaineering and Winter Sports.

**CHANDIGARH** — A private firm from Maharashtra has apologised to the state Government for displaying picturing of Sikh Gurus and the Golden Temple in the advertisement of its products in its calendars and ordered its dealers to remove them.

**NEW DELHI** — The Third Pay Commission has revised the pay-scales of Central Government employees by merging the dearness allowance with their basic pay and providing for automatic pay increases linked to the rise in the consumer price-index, thus conceding the two most important and long-standing demands of the employees.

— India's estimated fuel-oil deposits of 350 million tonnes will last for only 10 to 15 years at the current rate of consumption, according to a paper presented at the national seminar on "Total Energy and Energy substitution."

**MANIPUR** — President's rule has been imposed in the state, after dissolving the state assembly against the Governor's advice.

**CALCUTTA** — The capacity of the Haldia refinery will be expanded from 2.5 million tonnes to 4.5 million tonnes, with the help of the Central Government.

**BHOPAL** — Dr (Miss) Snehrani Jain, warden of the Sagar University's ladies' hostel, and Mr P. N. Telang, member of the university's executive council have resigned in protest against the reluctance of the vice-chancellor to take any action against rowdy male students who tried to invade the ladies' hostel during the Holi festival.

**AHMEDABAD** — Third year B. Com. students, at all the examination centres, turned violent, burning the furniture in the examination halls and stoning the authorities, in protest against a "tough" question paper.

**GANDHINAGAR** — The Gujarat Government has no intention to relax the dry law but it plans to go all out to make prohibition a success, according to its Social Welfare Minister.

**BOMBAY** — Civic authorities have described the city's power supply position to be now in its most critical phase.

— The state Government plans to spend Rs 110 crores in the next few years on a huge scheme to provide drinking water to all the 19,188 villages in the state.

# 'O Jerusalem!'—the violent story of Israel's birth

Reviewed by Peter Everington

At precisely four o'clock, David Ben Gurion rose and sharply rapped a walnut gavel on the table before him. Clad in a dark suit, a white shirt and, in deference to the solemnity of the occasion, a tie, the Jewish leader picked up a scroll of white parchment.

"In the land of Israel the Jewish people came into being," he began. "In this land was shaped their spiritual, religious and national character. Here they lived in sovereign independence. Here they created a culture of national and universal import and gave to the world the eternal Book of Books.

"With trust in the Almighty," he concluded, "we set our hand to this declaration ... in the city of Tel Aviv on the fourteenth day of May 1948."

When he had finished he said, "Let us all stand to adopt the Scroll of the Establishment of the Jewish State."

At almost the same time, on the banks of the Nile, another ceremony was taking place. Its focal point, too, was a scroll — the diploma of the Royal Egyptian Army Staff College. Few men's lives would be affected as much by the declaration that had been read in Tel Aviv as that of a distinguished 30-year-old graduate of that course. The cataclysm it would produce would drive him to the forefront of world politics and lead his fellow Arabs to hail him as their people's greatest leader since Saladin. For the moment a simple joy filled the heart of Captain Gamal Abdel Nasser. He had just received his first major assignment. Within 48 hours he was to report for duty as staff officer of the Sixth Battalion on its march to Tel Aviv and the destruction of the state proclaimed by Ben Gurion.

WHILE the Jewish headquarters was Tel Aviv, the heart of the struggle in 1947 and 1948 over the new Israel, which this book describes, was to be Jerusalem.

Its Wailing Wall, which had survived the Roman destruction of King Solomon's temple in 70 AD, was and is the religious focus of Jewry across the world. Its strategic position on the Judean Hills gave added importance to the fact that one sixth of the Jews in Palestine lived within its walls in 1948. For the Arabs, who made up two thirds of the population of Palestine, the control of Jerusalem was vital, as was its status as the third most important pilgrim city of Muslims across the world. These claims were perplexing to the departing British, who during the First World War had half-promised Palestine to both sides.

Few cities in the world have seen such fanatical wars as this so-called "City of Peace". Coveted by most of the great conquerors of Europe and the Middle East, it has earned the horror of humanity also by the slaying of its own most innocent citizens. Out of this tradition comes the timeless heart-cry of Jesus Christ shortly before his crucifixion: "O Jerusalem, the city that murders the prophets and stones the messengers sent to her!"

**O JERUSALEM!** by Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre; Simon and Schuster, New York; 637 pages; \$10.00

the ways of the Divine" claiming their twice-promised land with a mixture of Marxism and American money, heroism and armed ruthlessness. Tragic too are the unholy massacres encouraged by some Muslim leaders. Standing together in faith they might have rescued justice for their people. Divided as they were by personal ambitions, they lost almost everything.

Seldom can a war have been chronicled more faithfully through the daily lives of the combatants of both sides. Some incidents in the narrative are so startling that one hastens to the notes at the end of the chapter, only to find them confirmed by intelligence archives or interviews with political leaders and ordinary people.

On January 7, 1948, a young Jew called Uri Cohen from the terrorist Irgun organisation pushed a 50-gallon oil drum from a van into a crowd of Arabs at a Jerusalem bus stop. It was stuffed with old nails, rusty iron filings and a high charge of TNT. In the resulting explosion 17 Arabs were killed. Among them was the wife of

a post office manager called Hameh Majaj. It was their wedding anniversary and that morning he had given her a gold ring bought out of his savings. Cohen is now an El Al pilot and Majaj lives as a refugee in Amman. The authors have interviewed both of them to reconstruct the event.

Also in January, 1948, the daughter of a Ukrainian carpenter landed in New York from Tel Aviv with \$10 in her pocket. Her aim was to raise \$25 million in gifts for the Jewish Agency in Palestine from American Jewish businessmen. Leading Jews in New York who were hostile to the Zionist concept of a Jewish state tried to dissuade her. Undeterred she went to speak at a dinner in Chicago. By the time coffee was served she had been promised \$1 million, which was all delivered in cash within hours. By the end of one month Golda Meir had collected \$50 million.

If America has been partial to Israel, Britain was partial to the Arabs at this stage with her interest in retaining her Suez Canal Base, and her arms supplies to Glubb Pasha's Arab Legion in Transjordan. Yet neither America nor Britain lacked senior critics of their respective policies. The American Secretary of State, George Marshall, reported to President Truman the words of one of his Middle East ambassadors (George Wadsworth): "I wish to go on record as saying that if the United States recognises a Jewish state and continues its uncritical support of Zionist policy, then the Russians will be the dominant force in the Middle East within the next 20 years."

The book gives details too of the quest by both sides for arms. Unknown to each other, Captain Kerine of Syria and Ehud Avriel of the Jewish Agency travelled to Paris on the same Swissair flight one day in 1947. Within 24 hours of each other they negotiated with the directors of the same arms factory in Prague and, still unknown to each other, departed having made huge purchases. Kerine is now a general and Ehud Avriel has been Israel's Ambassador in Rome. The authors have pieced together the story from interviews with both of them.

And so the Jewish Dispersion was ended on May 14, 1948, at a cost of 6000 Jewish dead and the dispersion

of 750,000 Arab refugees. Since the events described in this book two further Arab-Israeli wars have been fought and the refugees have increased.

When will it all end? When the Arabs agree to sit down and negotiate with us, say the Israelis. When the Israelis vacate the occupied Arab territories and agree to the UN Resolution internationalising Jerusalem, say the Arabs.

## No peace in sight for the Middle East

THE Big Powers, Russia and America, would like an accommodation in the Middle East.

The American Assistant Secretary of State, Joseph Sisco, has expressed his country's readiness to "play the role of an honest broker" between the Arabs and the Israelis but said there was "no Washington blueprint" for a solution.

Last month the Soviet Prime Minister, Alexei Kosygin, said that with the ending of the Vietnam war the world's powers should concentrate on achieving a settlement of the Middle East's problems.

However the two main protagonists — Egypt and Israel — seem in no mood to make the necessary compromises that will ensure peace. This is despite the visits made to the USA by President Sadat's personal envoy, Hafez Ismail, and the Israeli Prime Minister, Mrs Golda Meir.

President Sadat has taken over the Premiership of Egypt and renamed the post as Military Governor-General. He faces serious turmoil at home and observers believe that the recent increase in his powers is to strengthen his hand against "the adventurous left and reactionary right".

In the twilight zone of "no peace no war" the tensions inside Egyptian society have increased. Also Sadat

How impartial are the authors? This is difficult to assess. Ben Gurion and the Jewish military force, Hagannah, do emerge as the heroes. One would not expect a publishing house which has produced other studies on the birth of Israel to be indifferent to the Zionist cause. What the book does clearly achieve is a warm, vivid if tragic, picture of the ordinary Arab and Jew in the streets of 1948 Jerusalem.

had promised judicial reform; a free press and the abolition of censorship; progress towards socialism and a more egalitarian society; and freedom and independence from external pressures: none of these promises in any substantial form has been fulfilled.

He is now trying to control a situation where increasing numbers of people, particularly on the left, are antagonistic to his regime. The London magazine, "New Middle East", last December was already editorialising that "a period of anarchy is not impossible and in some respects may be said to have already begun".

President Sadat, if he wanted to make peace, would find it difficult to carry a nation with such acute tensions with him. The road to peace is too great a hazard for Sadat at the moment.

In Israel, with a national election scheduled for November, the Cabinet is unlikely to make any major policy changes — the sort of changes necessary to pave the way for permanent understanding with Egypt and the other Arab nations.

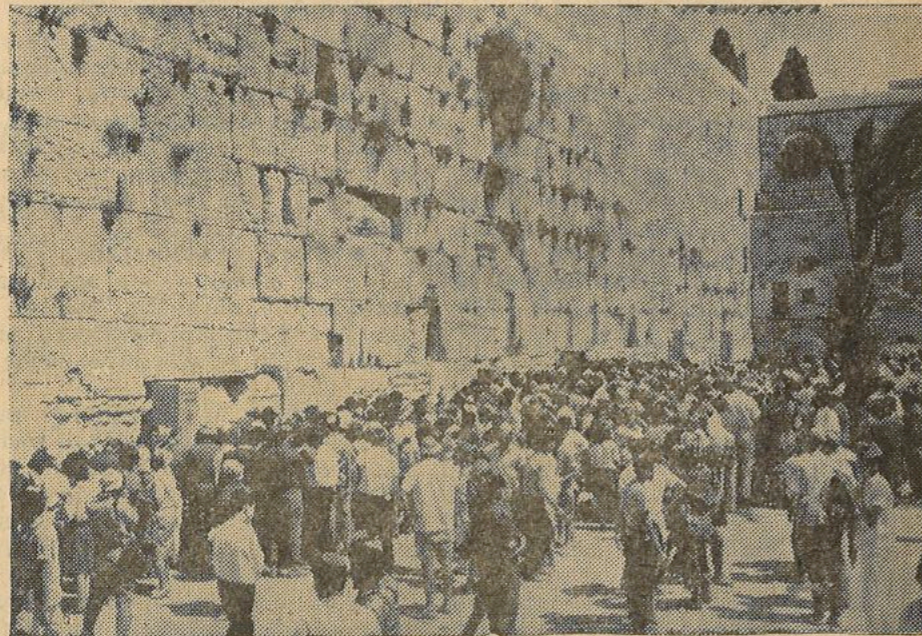
It is true there are differences of



**GOLDA MEIR:** no changes

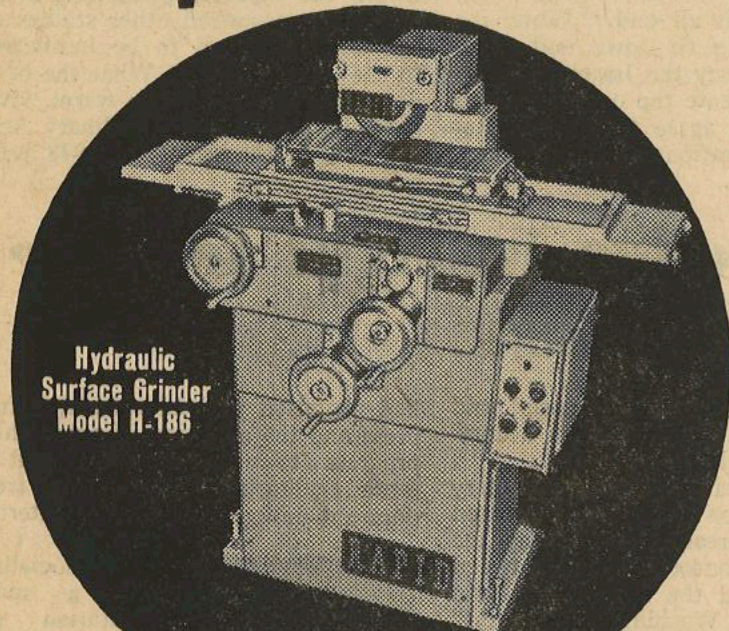


**PRESIDENT SADAT:** tense situation

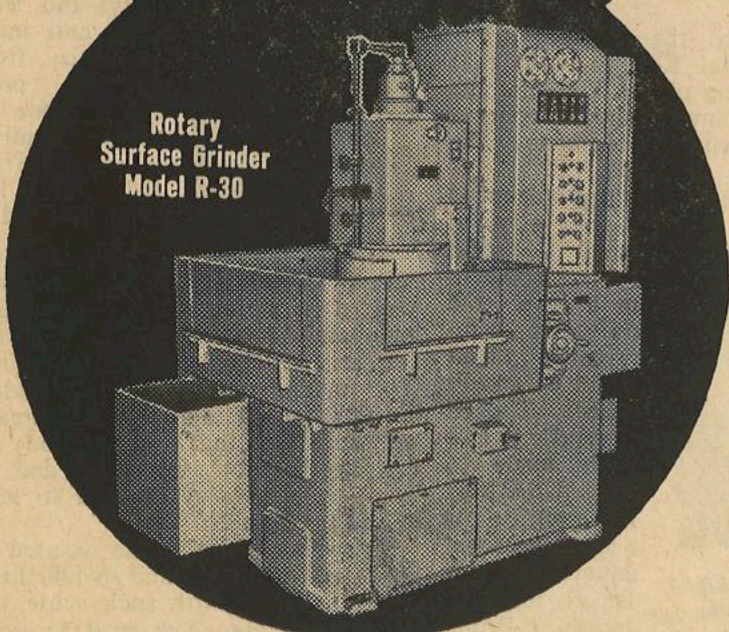


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## Viewpoint

# The Indian male is not chivalrous

Yes but women are to blame!

Rs 25 to Mrs E. Martin, Bombay 14

For a nation that has always prided itself on its chivalrous traditions, the Indian male of today can be regarded as something of an anachronism. Gone are the days when women were cosseted, pampered and coddled. It is not an uncommon sight today to see women standing in buses and trains while the male is comfortably seated, reading the morning paper. Or girls on dates sharing the expenses. Or bright young things carrying their escorts' books and belongings instead of the other way round.

The cause of this apparent volte face is not as a result of any conscious departure in masculine customs but, I feel, because of a change in the attitude of the women themselves that commenced in the West and has gradually spread to this country. This has now assumed the proportions of a worldwide movement — Women's Lib. Far from considering themselves the weaker sex, Indian women are today going out into the world, demanding equal pay and the same privileges as males. Not satisfied with this, they ape the male in dress and appearance — wearing their hair

short, their legs ensheathed in trousers and their feet in male-style shoes.

How can any self-respecting Indian male be expected to extend any chivalry to a female who competes with him in his job, his dress or for

### Chivalrous by nature

Rs 15 to Miss Shalini Kini, Mangalore

MEN in our country are by nature chivalrous and our history is replete with instances of chivalry of a very high order. Recent history speaks of Mahatma Gandhi taking up the liberation of women and their elevation to their rightful place in society. This is but another form of chivalry. He imbibed this noble quality in others by his own example.

Bus and post office queues may not bespeak of chivalry, as there equality of the sexes plays the dominant role. But the moment a lady is insulted, all the men around rush to her rescue irrespective of the risk to their own persons.

In former princely states like Hyderabad, women were given proper attention and instances were rare when males did

that matter, his position in the bus queue? And how successful the Indian woman is in her quest for equality can be gauged from the fact that we have a woman Prime Minister!

The Indian male is not chivalrous. I agree. However, unlike Charles Kingsley I feel that the age of chivalry is past not because the spirit of romance is dead but because the spirit of Women's Lib is alive!

not show kindness towards the fair sex. Now that females have come to work shoulder to shoulder with males in offices, apparently our chivalrous men folk have little opportunity to play the hero in a "damsel in distress" episode!

Times change and with it, the meaning and concept of chivalry too might have changed so much so that even when chivalry is shown it has ceased to be recognised or identified as such. Perhaps, there is a new word for chivalrous deeds in modern dictionaries.

In the final analysis, chivalry is not dead in this country but may appear to be dormant, probably because the average Indian male does not wear chivalry on his shirt sleeve or blow his own trumpet about his heroic deeds vis a vis the other sex. This quality surfaces when occasion demands it. It is built into our culture.

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\* In the interests of production and employment should the big companies be allowed to expand?

Closing date April 20

\*\* The "done things" I have refused to do and why.  
Closing date May 4





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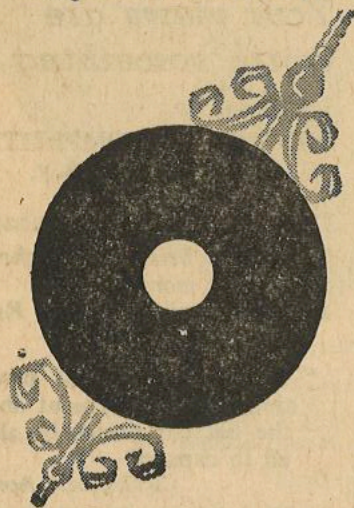
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## “Sing-song diplomacy” at its best

### The Hong Kong Arts Festival 1973

By Donald Simpson

THERE is no substitute for a live show. Cultural programmes are now being bounced off distant satellites to reach world audiences. Stereo-cassettes are bringing musical masterpieces into millions of homes. But the “personal appearance” creates its own unique chemistry. And it is so much more effective in dispelling the prejudices that complicate relations between peoples.

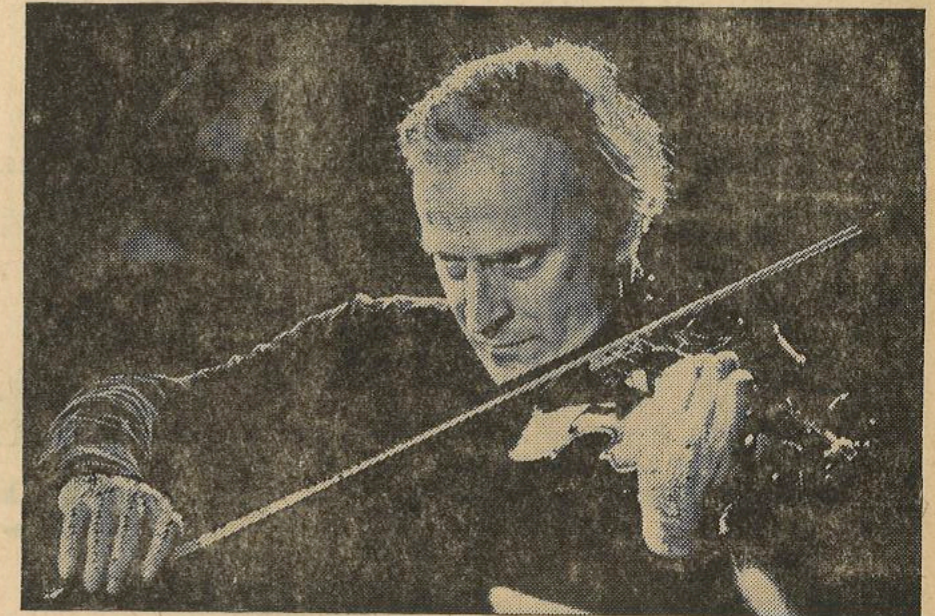
This is the reality behind the rapid growth industry of “cultural exchange”. Musicians and dancers, athletes, circuses and choirs are being shuttled across frontiers in increasing numbers in the hope that music and sport will prove the ideal means for nations to find understanding and a common interest. Many hope that culture will become the new international language. It must be admitted that these exchanges have reassured millions of people that other nations and races are at least human — which is a great help!

But as the rivalry of ideologies has developed, cultural exchange has become an instrument of diplomacy and commerce. Foreign Ministers often pay the rent for the Department of Culture. And trade, which once followed the flag, borne by a soldier or sailor, now follows the flag carried by a ballerina or swimmer. The lively diplomatic twins “Ping-Pong Diplomacy” and “Sing-Song Diplomacy” are the new super-stars of the super powers.

When it comes to competitive sport, cultural exchange often runs into trouble. It has at times opened old sores and aggravated new ones. The Munich Olympics tragedy dealt a cruel blow to many who had cherished romantic ideas of sport, by itself, uniting the nations.

Music and dance however must continue to play their key role in introducing people to people. They are able to unite people at a deeper level since their roots are more deeply set in history than the hurts and fears that decide many of our national policies.

It has therefore been of great interest to witness the most ambitious cultural festival ever held in Asia. Over the past four weeks many of the world's finest instrumentalists, dancers and vocalists have converged on Hong Kong for the 1973 Arts



VIOLINIST YEHUDI MENUHIN:  
humanitarian and genius

Festival. They have presented the public with a splendid cultural banquet. Amongst them were the New Japan Philharmonic Orchestra under the dynamic Seiji Ozawa, the Royal Danish Ballet, the Royal Classical Javanese Dancers, the Bristol Old Vic playing Shakespeare and recitals of traditional Chinese music and dancing.

While the phrase “cultural-exchange” cannot hope to command their instant and total response as say, “stock-exchange”, the people of Hong Kong have given enthusiastic support to all these events. They were rewarded with some memorable performances — Fou Tsong playing Mozart's Piano Concerto in C, Elizabeth Schwartzkopf singing Schubert and Wolf, John Lill, the modest winner of the 1969 Tchaikovsky Prize, playing a majestic “Emperor Concerto”. They saw and heard artistes who have become legends in their own life-times — Margot Fonteyn dancing “The Sleeping Beauty” and Yehudi Menuhin, as widely renowned for his humanitarianism as for his genius on the violin. He told us, “Only through the arts can races come to know one another.”

At the “pop” end of the Festival there were Julie Felix with plaintive Mexican-American folk songs and

outspoken views, Lulu from Glasgow and The Sweet, whose volume of sound was so prodigious that they had to rehearse on the campus of the Chinese University, several miles out of town. The students didn't seem to be disturbed!

During the month some twenty exhibitions were open to the public in the City Hall and in various hotels: French tapestries and Philippine painting, Chinese ceramics and ancient musical instruments, carved jade and demonstrations of calligraphy. The Indian Government had loaned an interesting collection of 100 Indian miniatures dating from the 15th to the 18th century.

The Arts Festival has come and gone. Dates have been announced for next year. The London Philharmonic tours China in exchange for an acrobatic troupe in Britain and the last notes of Schubert's “Trout” Quintet echo across the South China Sea as the Bristol Old Vic pack away their wigs and their scripts. However, there is one question that remains: here we are in a world where catch-phrases and slogans have the power to unleash violence. If culture is going to develop as an international language, don't we need to be clearer about what we are trying to say?

opinion among the leaders of the ruling coalition of parties but it is not in the interests of the Cabinet to encourage major shifts of policy before the election. The official Alignment policy, as articulated by Mrs Golda Meir, the Prime Minister, and Minister without Portfolio Israel Galili, places emphasis on maintaining a "security frontier" on the Jordan Valley, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights and other points

strategic to Israeli interests.

The Defence Minister, General Moshe Dayan, has a more flexible view of the frontiers of Israel and does not want them "frozen". He says it is more important for Arabs and Jews "to live together" than to work out clauses in a peace treaty. Once "open bridges" between the Israelis and the Arabs can be established and economic co-operation begun then the frontiers will be more

easily worked out. The Deputy Prime Minister, Yigal Allon calls this policy "creeping annexation".

In this situation of tension inside Egypt and subdued controversy in Israel the most that can be hoped for is that the leaders of both peoples, once their own internal difficulties have been overcome, will renew their determination to find the road to peace. But this may not be until the end of the year at the earliest.

Brian Lightowler

and to make him self-centred, and therefore leave the nation's affairs to somebody else to decide.

Totalitarianism has always flourished on desperation or apathy. And one of the great aids to any kind of totalitarianism, be it from Left or Right, is the generally accepted view that "there is nothing that I can do about it anyway".

Britain is a mature democracy. What people say in letters to the papers counts. People's votes count. In industrial disputes on several occasions recently public indignation has had effect in getting strikes settled, or by the same token, as with the miners last year, public sympathy has helped the union win their point. One question, therefore, is how much more can those who govern do to encourage participation of a sufficiently large number of citizens that would constantly swing the country towards sanity and commonsense?

It would not be too difficult for the Government to swing the balance away from the malcontents to a sensible approach. They would need to do two things. One, ensure that the sacrifices called for in the present inflationary situation are equal. That is, that those who make millions out of property deals (to give one example), have their excessive profits curbed just as wages are curbed. Two, that although exceptions cannot be made as such, there is a generous opportunity for those who really are at the bottom of the pay league to be lifted from penury.

It would be a splendid thing if one of the senior Ministers admitted to having made a mistake or two. A very important mistake, which has not been admitted, was made in the

early days of the Government's tenure of office. The trade unions were told that whatever they said about the Government's proposed legislation on industrial relations, there would not be any major changes contemplated or entertained. As a result, the trade unions said that there was no point in talking.

If the Government were prepared to re-open this legislation for sane discussion and possible amendment, that would retrieve a certain amount of lost ground. If they coupled with that a bold policy ensuring that justice is seen to be done by curbing men who make the big money, then the climate of opinion could quickly be turned.

UP IN ARMS — from page 6

and "for purely selfish reasons," it is in the rich world's interest to ensure stability and progress in underdeveloped regions.

The report suggests possible peaceful uses for military research and expenditure, which currently costs up to \$25 thousand million a year.

It notes, for example, that one "disarmament dividend" would be the release of some 20,000 nuclear scientists and engineers for work in peaceful nuclear programmes. If two thousand tons of fissile material were redeployed for nuclear power, it would be enough for an installed electrical capacity of 100,000 megawatts of thermal reactors or an installed capacity of about 500,000 megawatts of fast breeder reactors. This compares with expected installed world nuclear capacity of 300,000 megawatts in 1980 and 1,000,000 in 1990.

Courtesy: Development Forum, Geneva.

SPECIAL BUSINESS ISSUE

Graham Turner, British award-winning industrial journalist, addressed the Bombay Management Association at the end of his tour of India last January.

On 20th April, HIMMAT will publish Mr Turner's comments on the Indian business scene in a special business issue.

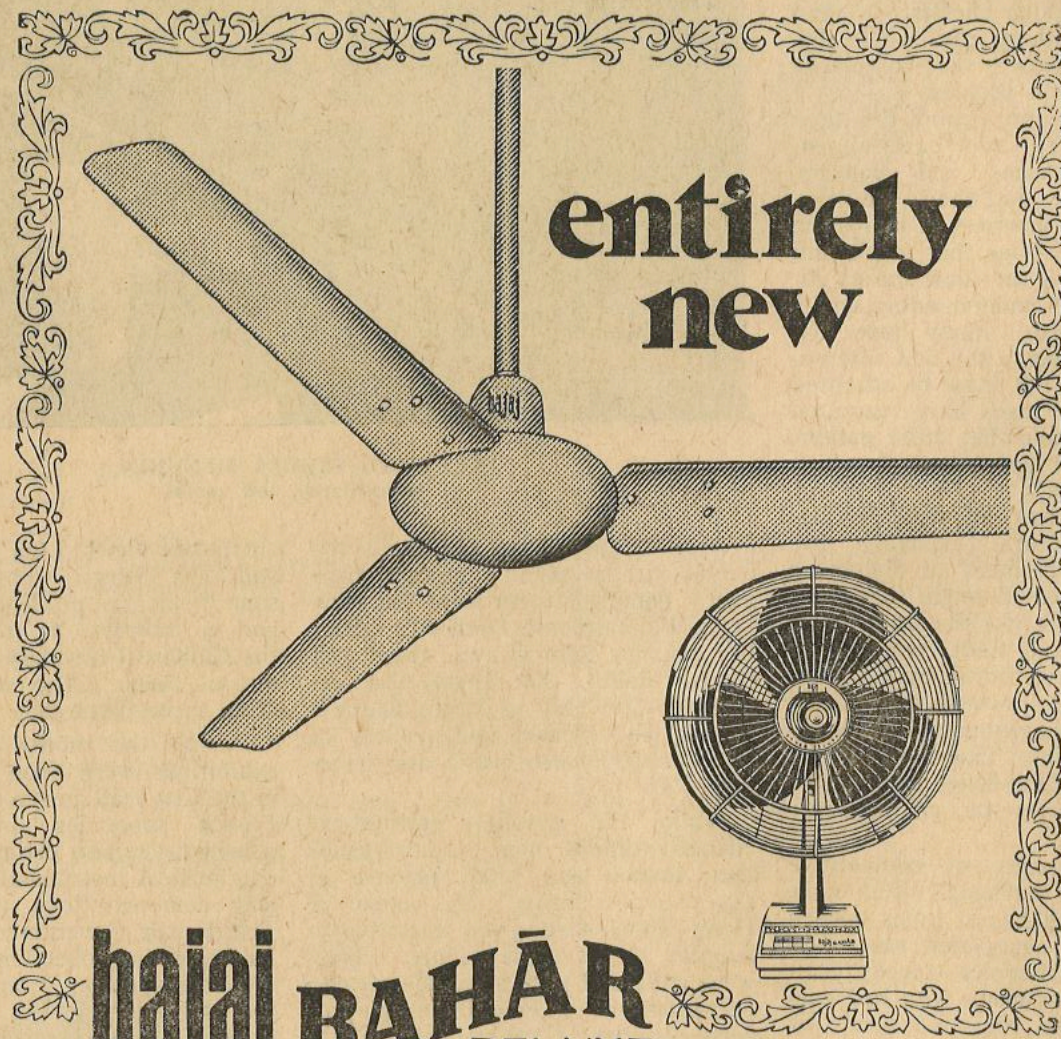
Also published will be an exclusive interview with Mr Frederick Philips, Chairman of the world-wide Philips organisation, and other features by Indian business writers.

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## THIS INDIA

### OLD MAY BE GOLD

MANY Indian customs and traditions used to fill me with scorn. "On such and such occasion such and such thing has to be done." On being confronted with such a pronouncement everything inside me used to rebel with a "why?". Of course it is sadly true that many of these rules, when put into practice, are tinged — or to be more honest, lacquered — with hypocrisy. Yet I am beginning to discover that behind most of these "what must be done" there is a fund of wisdom born out of experience. In our impatience with the old, we often throw out the gold.

To examine some of these customs at births, marriages and deaths is an interesting exercise. The customs I refer to are not necessarily prevalent all over India, but I pick on them as they are the ones I am familiar with.

At weddings, gifts are not only given to the bridal couple, but particularly the bride's family gives presents to the groom's aunts, uncles and cousins. A vice-versa arrangement can also hold true. Irksome though it may appear at times, it is a worthwhile gesture. In marriage one is meant not just to take on a partner, but

his family and community as well. The evil creeps into this custom when relatives demand that they be given gifts and the bride's family feel compelled to give beyond what they can afford.

Relatives gather from far and near for a week before the wedding. They have acquired a reputation for long noses and interfering tongues. But it is they who reckon to take care of the practical arrangements so that the parents of the bride or groom are left free to look after guests.

The couple do not go for their honeymoon immediately after the wedding ceremony. The girl and the boy first get acquainted with each others' families and friends. To countless meals and festivities they get invited for at least a week after the occasion.

When a death takes place in a family, in a way one is glad that the elders of the community appear on the scene and give orders on how the last rites must be performed.

In the olden days, a team of professional weepers would arrive, beat their breasts and spout words in such a pathetic fashion that the near ones of the dead couldn't help but break down. This custom is now dying down in the towns. The idea behind this ritual was to help the family to cry fully. Once the bottled grief and shock

was spilt out, they would get over the loss quicker.

On the day of the death, no fire is lit in the home. Understandably the family is in no mood for food. So it is the relatives of the daughter-in-law who bring the food for the first day. One feels grateful and relieved that this is taken care of since it is not a handful of people who have to be fed but all those who pour in to pay their last respects.

The near relatives of the dead gather everyday for ten days. They sit together, talk, reminisce, pay tributes to the life of the one who is no more, try to comprehend profounder questions of life, death and the life after.

The body is laid on the bare floor for people to pay their homage. Behind this gesture lies the realisation that one came to this world with nothing and one must also leave it without anything. The funeral pyre has a similar significance. It is not easy to set to fire someone who has given one life. But when the body is reduced to ashes, one can't help wondering why we cling on to our petty possessions.

*Neeraja Chowdhury*

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HIMMAT, April 6, 1973

## To fly or not to fly

*In view of the recent AVRO crash at Secunderabad HIMMAT hopes that the IAC authorities will investigate the incident mentioned in the following letter sent by a Canadian reader. It appears that knowingly a risk was taken when an AVRO, with one of its two engines not functioning properly was allowed to fly.*

ON December 14, 1972 my daughter and I were booked on an Indian Airlines HTS flight from Coimbatore to Cochin which left at teatime. However we were told by Indian Airlines that the runway at Cochin was being worked on, and that our flight would need to depart at 0815 hours the next day.

Well past 0815 hours on December 15 we noticed that a scaffold tower had been moved under the starboard engine of the HTS, and that it was being inspected. Later it was announced officially that the flight was being delayed indefinitely due to mechanical trouble.

At 0945 hours I saw officials going out to the plane again, and the scaffold was brought up to the engine once more. Shortly they returned to the office to-

gether with the plane's captain, and a further discussion was held. Then it was announced that the flight would depart immediately.

However, when I discovered that the engineer resident at Coimbatore Airport, was going to fly with us and observe the offending engine in flight, I became slightly suspicious.

Our seats were on the port side from where we could see the engines. The engineer recognisable by his "clipboard"

for notes, sat almost alongside the starboard engine. Soon we were airborne. I watched the engineer, and he watched the engine. His gaze remained glued to it throughout the 30-minute trip. He was obviously an anxious man, and he dared not relax, until we were safely on the ground. I too kept an eye on that engine, noting what appeared to be black oil oozing from the nacelle (engine casing).

Later I found myself thinking about that flight and someone's decision "to go, or, not to go". Of the facts which probably had to be balanced against each other: engine servicing facilities at a tiny airport would be minimal, many passengers on the route would be inconvenienced, it was only a half-hour flight, and so on. I came to the conclusion that flying in those parts of India is still in its infancy, and as in the backwoods of Canada, my country, or over the prairies, in our single-engined planes we are sometimes tempted to "fly by the seat of our pants".

Less than a week after this unusual flight I read in the newspapers of an Indian Airlines HTS flight from Coimbatore where an engine had caught fire shortly after take-off. The report said that the pilot "had shown great pluck" in landing safely and that fire engines from Coimbatore Airport and city had put the fire out. A coincidence? I wonder.

LOUIS FLEMING, London

## Letters

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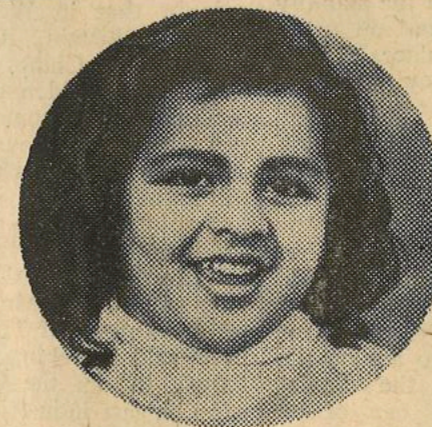
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HIMMAT, April 6, 1973

## This was a Life

**SIR CHRISTOPHER  
WREN**  
1632-1723

"If you seek his monument, look around" says the Latin inscription at the entrance to the choir of St Paul's Cathedral in London which is one of the architectural marvels of all times. This epitaph is a fitting tribute to the efforts of Sir Christopher Wren who redesigned and rebuilt St Paul's after it was completely destroyed during the Great Fire of 1666.

He was born at East Knoyle, in Wiltshire, the son of a clergyman and scholar. His father's tuition and training prepared him for an outstanding academic career at Oxford as a mathematician and astronomer. At the age of 21 he became a Fellow of All Souls College and at 29 he was appointed Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford.

The value of his geographical work was acknowledged by Newton in his "Principia". It was at the age of 30 that this versatile genius turned to architecture.

In 1661 he was made Surveyor-General of His Majesty's Works. Five years later London was burnt down. A few days after the fire had been extinguished Wren presented a plan for the rebuilding of the capital city. It was superb in every detail. But it was shelved for ever.

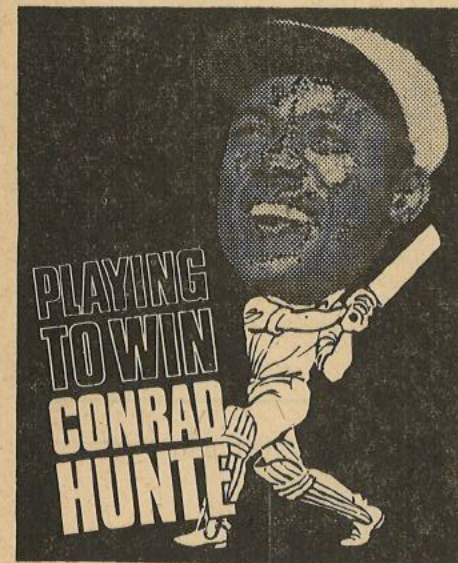
He was subjected to endless court intrigues and political wrangles. One of his first designs, though a magnificent one, to rebuild St Paul's was pulled to pieces by ignorant busy-bodies and he was driven to redesign the whole thing.

On May 14, 1675, nine years after Wren had submitted his first plan, the King issued a warrant to start the rebuilding and Wren was entrusted with the job.

He had to face colossal difficulties in carrying out the work. His own ingenuity was often put to the test. Twenty-two years after the laying of the first stone, the great choir was opened. Another five years passed before Wren's son laid the highest stone of the lantern on top of the dome. The Cathedral cost £747,661, a surprisingly small sum for such a vast construction.

Christopher Wren also rebuilt 52 of the city churches destroyed in the Fire. He died at the age of 91 and was buried beneath St Paul's.

F.M.



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# The Big Five

by Rajmohan Gandhi

THE NIXON view that the world had entered a phase where five powers would dominate has found general acceptance.

He spoke of the USA, the Soviet Union, West Europe (including Britain), China and Japan.

If influence is to be measured by the strength of industry and by military potential, Mr Nixon's is a reasonable view. This reckoning leaves out Brazil, which has a population of 120 million, enormous untapped resources, an area almost as large as China and a remarkable rate of growth. It also leaves out Australia, Canada and South Africa, countries of size, wealth and strategic location. Their small populations seem to bar their entering the big league. India, rich in size and numbers, is yet poor in economic efficiency.

The concept of the Big Five was popular after the Second World War. The USA, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China, the leading opponents of the defeated Axis powers, comprised the group. Few expected then that Germany and Italy would quickly regain a position of equality with Britain and France or that a power called West Europe, consisting of victors and vanquished, would emerge. That an almost lifeless Japan would rise, run and catch up with the rest was, likewise, not anticipated.

What will be the pattern of relationships among the new Big Five? Despite strains, the American-European link is not likely to snap easily. The friendship across the Atlantic does not rest on pacts signed by governments; it springs from intimate ties of blood, race, religion, language and tradition.

With its staggering size, and belonging to both Europe and Asia, the Soviet Union could become a powerful unifying force. In the long run it could close the cultural and geographical gap between the western world and Japan. At the moment, however, political and ideological differences separate it from West Europe and America. Closeness with Japan is prevented by culture, race and nationalism. Racially and culturally the Japanese are more at home with China than with the Soviet

Union; and Japan is unhappy over Soviet possession of the Kurile and Sakhalin islands.

The bank draft, whether it speaks of dollars, yen or roubles, is clearly looked upon by the Soviet Union as the adhesive that would bind it with the western world on the one hand and Japan on the other. Some may hold that money is nothing; the Kremlin appears to belong to the majority that thinks money to be everything. The Italian private sector has set up the world's biggest car plant in the Soviet Union. German industrialists have installed across Europe a huge network of pipes carrying Soviet oil and gas. The deals, of course, are strictly businesslike and presumably highly profitable to both sides.

Now the Soviet Union would like Japan and the United States together to invest five billion dollars to develop its Siberian oil fields. It wants pipelines that would bring oil and gas to its east coast for sale to Japan and the rest of the world. At the moment Japan is almost completely dependent on Arab and Iranian oil. Its continuing flow depends on the stability of the Middle East and on peace in and around the Malacca Straits. And the long journey makes it expensive. To have a ready source of supply next-shore, across the Sea of Japan, would be worth a great deal to Japan.

In an interview to "The New York Times", Premier Tanaka has proposed that Japan and America should jointly develop the Siberian oil fields. The US Government will not find it easy to act on the proposal. Balancing the Soviet Union and China is one of its great aims. The suggested network of pipelines would, in the words of "The Indian Express", "enhance vastly the striking power of Soviet divisions on China's border, in addition to supplying oil to Japan". Peking would strongly oppose the scheme, but business is business, and Premier Tanaka has revealed that an American oil company is pressing the Nixon administration to approve an initial investment of 200 million dollars in Siberia.

The Sino-Soviet rift will tax the

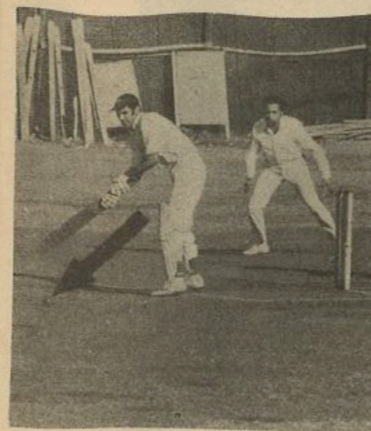
diplomatic skill of both America and Japan. Japan's heart seems to be with China; its shrewd head cannot but count the millions of tonnes of Soviet oil and the billions of cubic feet of Soviet gas. Commerce versus sentiment; this is the battle that would decide Japan's relations with Russia and China.

The Kremlin is obviously deeply attached to its plan of exploiting the Siberian oil fields. "Pravda" has, according to a PTI report, "hit back angrily at Britain for joining hands with Peking to inhibit the development of Soviet-Japanese relations". A commentator in the paper attacks "The Financial Times" of London for saying: "If Japan goes for co-operation with the USSR in the production of Siberian oil, its chances of achieving friendly and lasting relations with Peking may prove to be in jeopardy." "Pravda" attacks what it calls a hangover of the policy of "divide and rule" and warns that "the times of this British imperialist policy are over".

If America's policy is to balance Russia and China, there is no doubt that in West Europe, including Britain, Russia is feared more than China. "The Hindu" reports a sudden spurt in British political and commercial interest in China. Both countries are stated to have agreed on a two year programme of trade delegations and of accelerating the growth of trade. British banks, it seems, are hoping to do substantial business with the Chinese. Mr Peter Walker, UK Minister of Trade and Industry, said in Peking that the British trade fair in the Chinese capital, the biggest industrial show mounted there by a western country, was "an outstanding success". Evidently the Chinese are interested in aircraft and mining, chemical and engineering equipment from Britain.

All calculations and policies would be upset if Moscow and Peking were to repair the schism in the Communist church. As of now this kind of restoration hardly looks imminent. But history has not been without its surprises.

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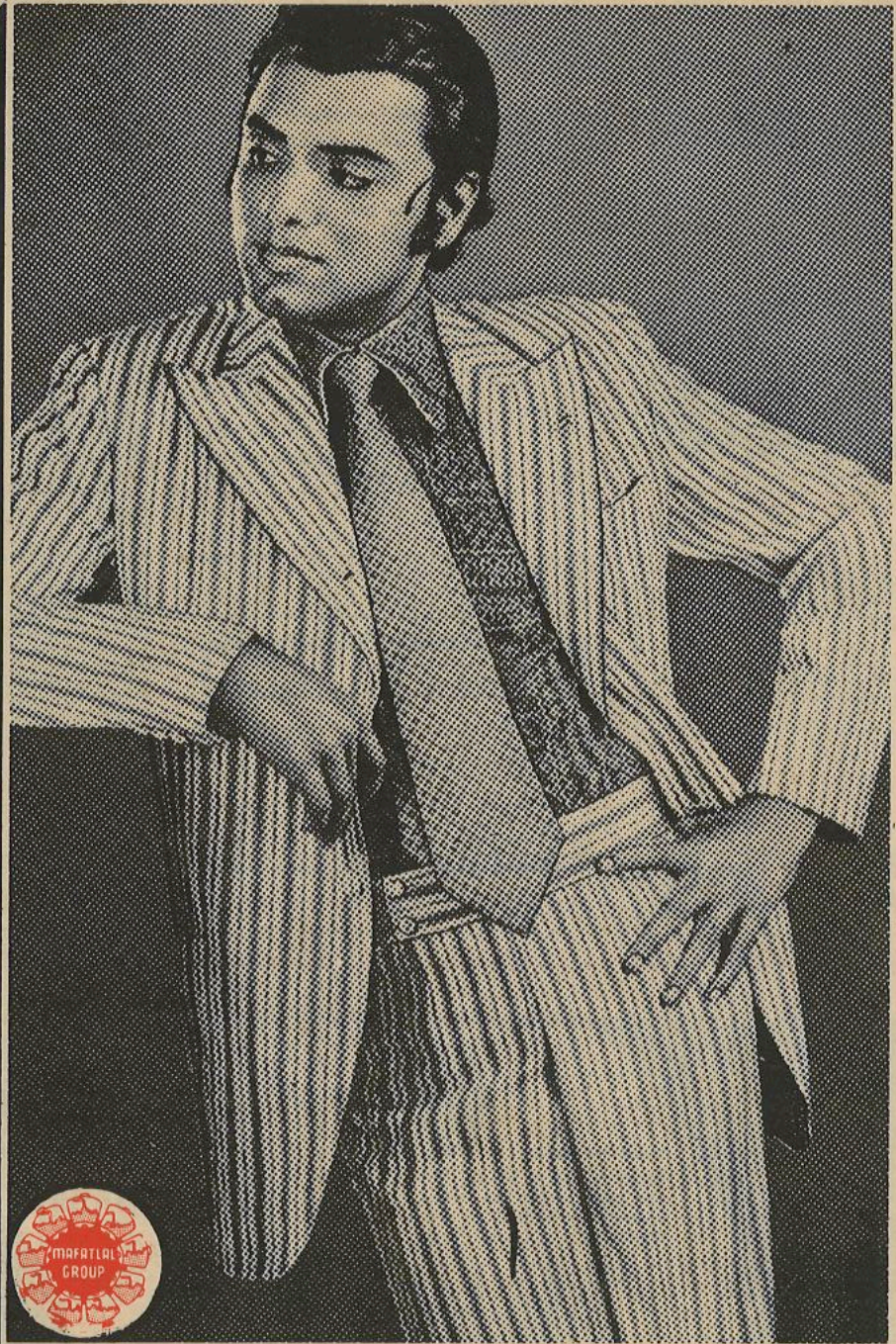
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