



THE LADY and THE BOMB BY ANTENNA



Editorials

Will it be peace at Paris?

WHEN news of President Johnson's unscheduled presidential retirement and Vietnam bombing pause broke,

there were unshaped hopes of peace on the horizon.

When, after a month's haggling, Paris was named as the site for talks, hopes gained another fillip. And those who pine for peace, and are not too fussy about the price, will read hope into every shift of scene.

Obviously, talks are better than carnage. And those who pooh-pooh them must have removed themselves very far from the agony of fellow humans on both sides. But while military might may be decisive in battle sometimes, at the conference table it is ideology that wins always. And the side that takes the ideological initiative at Paris will retain the initiative whatever twist the talks may take.

The diplomatic record of both lead negotiators is impressive. The 76-year-old Averell Harriman, Assistant Secretary for Far East Affairs, has been a top Washington trouble-shooter since the days of Roosevelt. Confronting him will be Mr Xuan Thuy, a dedicated comrade of Ho Chi Minh since 1920 and a former North Vietnamese Foreign Minister.

The latest Viet Cong assault on Saigon and a hundred other centres was predicted three weeks ago by a senior Viet Cong defector. And further concerted attacks must be expected as the Communists jockey to

improve their tactical positions in readiness for bargaining. The Korean talks lasted two years and were accompanied by some of the fiercest fighting of the war.

As then, it will be a case of both sides fighting and talking at the same time. It is foolish to imagine that Ho merely wants to sue for peace after three decades of war. He wants South Vietnam. And he will use bullets and guile and the lure of a Saigon coalition to get it.

What are America's aims?

An end to the fight. Withdrawal of North Vietnamese forces. Free elections. A chance for South Vietnam to run its own affairs.

But these won't come through skilful negotiating, though this is needed. Nor through military supremacy, however desirable. They won't come through dollar diplomacy, though aid is essential. And they won't come through a solo effort.

Peace and purpose can only come to Vietnam through a trusted leadership implementing in their national life a moral ideology powerful enough to unite the nation, heal the hate and woo away from Ho's mesmerism those millions of bitter Viet Cong who make up his strength.

Until American policy shifts its reliance from computerised human wisdom onto the human-nature-changing ideology of Moral Re-Armament, no one can say it will be peace at Paris.

Bomb-making can boomerang

PRIME MINISTER Indira Gandhi has declared that India will not sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty which commits India not to make the atomic bomb. Both Russia and America want India to sign. Mrs Gandhi says, heroically, even if aid is cut off India will not sign. It is unlikely that aid will be cut off for not signing but if the super powers have information that India is making the bomb the aid cuts may come.

Last week at Arlington, Secretary of State Dean Rusk indicated that if a country with an outstanding dispute with another went nuclear, the United States would exert her full economic pressure. He was apparently hinting at India and Pakistan, Israel and UAR. He added, "If one such party went nuclear, we might have to decide whether to help the other party, directly or indirectly, through security assurance."

If India makes the bomb, it will gain for Pakistan the sympathy and support of both America and Russia, in addition to the support she already has of China.

China is capable of offering Pakistan some of its atomic armoury and then watching the two nations disintegrate in their folly.

India is in a better position as she is—capable of producing an atomic bomb at short notice rather than making one and flourishing it.

If we make the bomb we need to know whom our preparations are against and whether they will bring peace or war to our country and our people.

Can the General turn the tide?

NIGERIA as a unit showed the greatest promise of deve-NIGERIA as a unit showed the greatest promise of developing a flourishing, modern economy. The seeds of its disintegration, tribal hostility compounded by corruption and a scramble for political power, lie in various stages of dormancy in most developing countries.

The roots of the Nigerian tragedy lie in the situation that was allowed to develop long before the murder of Prime Minister Balewa created the precedent of violence that now holds all sides to ransom.

Rempart corruption and regional rivalry convinced

Rampant corruption and regional rivalry convinced many Nigerians that they would get a larger share of the pie if their regions took more power unto themselves.

Nine million Ibos had their trust shattered by the savage massacre of their people in the northern region. The bitter fighting of the last ten months has ensured

that it will be a long time indeed before the Ibos of breakaway Biafra entrust their security to anyone other than their own people.

General Gowon, head of the Lagos government, does not seek the reputation of an ambitious military dictator. He surely launched his offensive against the secessionists in the genuine belief that it was the wisest alternative before him. Today however, the relevent fact is not the respective strengths and positions of the two armies. It is that the Lagos action has consolidated Ibo hate. Gowon's forces may be able to conquer Biafra's territory, but on the present basis they will never be able to govern it.

Militarily, General Gowon is in a position of certain strength. From such a position he could initiate measures to reverse the tide of hate.

Briefly Speaking...

Transplant or rebuild?

AFTER the spate of heart transplants of the last fortnight, it is interesting to read the comments of a Soviet doctor that the same biological process by which some animals can replace parts of their bodies, lost accidentally or in struggles with their enemies, may some day be harnessed to regenerate complex organs such as the human heart. The head of Russia's Institute of Developmental Biology believes that this process, once discovered, would be a far surer road to recovery than forcing human tissue to accept foreign matter as the heart transplants do at the moment.

In animals with the ability to replace limbs, the tissues at the point of amputation stop doing a general maintenance job and start a building programme similar to that which

CHALTA HAJ .. -

"How many times have I told you not to bother me when I am busy: it disturbs my sleep."

THIS

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carried the animal out of the embryo in the first place. Research is being carried out in the Soviet. Union aimed at forcing this regenerative process to reveal itself.

No prosecutions

DESPITE immense amounts of tax evasion there has not been a single prosecution for the concealment of income since 1940. This fact was drawn to the attention of the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance by 70 Members of Parliament belonging to all parties who urged the setting up of a high-power commission to go into the workings of the Income Tax Department.

Dangerous address

It is reported that in Peking, Russian diplomats wanting taxis have to 'phone their request through a central exchange. The girl at the taxi stand, who no doubt spends her time between calls reading Mao's Thoughts, seems to delight in answering, "Russian Embassy? What street is that in?" If they want their cab, the Russians have to reply, "Down with Revisionism Street."

Promotion by merit

THE survival of the city-state of Singapore depends on harmony among its four races - Chinese, Indians, Malays and Europeans. The scored the required one-third of the repercussions there are too imme- votes polled! diate for communal relations to be left, as they are in this country, to the mercy of political pronouncements. Here, despite what the politicians say, the very structure of power in many regions rests on fostering division between caste, language and religious groups. In Singapore, Government services are staffed strictly by merit. Civil servants are given a special course in aiding the creation of a multi-racial society. Mass media neither ignore the problem nor justify it but seek imaginative ways of breaking down the walls between communities.

Puniab falls behind

PRACTICALLY all work in Punjab's administration has been reduced to a frustrated crawl to please linguistic regionalists. On April 13. Punjabi was introduced as the State's official language. The only draw-

That the birds of worry and care fly above your head, this you cannot change. But that they build nests in your hair, this you can prevent.

CHINESE PROVERB

back has been that most senior Government servants can neither read nor write in Punjabi. So they dictate in English and their memos are translated into the official language (the accuracy of which they have no means of checking). Similarly, they are supplied with English translations of all incoming documents, many days after the documents actually arrive. Moreover Punjabi typewriters are hard to come by, and even secretaries with an efficient, working knowledge of Punjabi are scarce. It is sad indeed that Punjab, which in many fields leads the country in hard work and efficiency, should be shackled with such untimely and unnecessary chains.

Narrow victory!

A NAFEN report from Gauhati tells of two brothers who contested the same seat in a recent Panchayat election in South Kamrup.

The electorate tried in vain to persuade one of them to withdraw. Eventually they decided en bloc to vote for neither. Both brothers, however, voted for themselves. Their mother stepped in and cast her vote for the older son, who was declared elected by the presiding officer.

The younger brother lost the elec-

tion but not his security deposit because with his own vote he had

Birbal

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Німмат, Мау 10, 1968

FROM THE CAPITAL

BY ANTENNA

Faction and caste plague Haryana election

NEW DELHI Haryana, the political pundits here say, is a non-political sorry performance in office after the State. By this they mean there are no clear-cut political ideologies, and party affiliations are not binding, which makes defections easy before and particularly after elections.

This is indeed a State of defectors, who are ready to defect at the drop and the real political tussle in it will start after the elections, when the rival groups parading various party eering going on with posters and labels get down to luring members of other groups to get a legislative majority and form a government.

Caste is a big factor

Principles count for nothing in the contest that takes place on May 12 and 14, and if any group or individual has tried to approach the electorate on this basis it really does not matter at all.

The one important factor overriding all others is caste, and the voters who can be persuaded to shake their lethargy and go to the polling booths next weekend will, by and large, vote on caste lines.

This mid-term election, like the one that preceded it a little more than a year ago, is a fight between lat and non-Jat, and among the Jats, between Heedas and Khatris. It is consequently almost impossible to make an accurate overall assessment of the likely results, unless one knows the caste composition of each of the 81 constituencies in the State.

Opposition division

The Congress is banking on the fact that the opposition parties and groups are divided, evidence of which is that there will be a straight contest in only five constituencies. The great majority of the rest will see three candidates in the field and a few four or more.

On the other hand, the opposition spokesmen find comfort in the divisions in the Congress camp, in which there are four major factions.

Of the faction bosses, only one. Mr Ranbir Singh, is seeking election himself. If, however, the Congress succeeds in getting a small majority in the Legislature, his non-participating rivals are sure to step in and press their claims for the Chief Ministership on the basis of the support they get from successful Congressmen and from "Independents", a name used to designate politicians

of a coin.

In spite of the vigorous electionspeech-making tours, the response of the electorate so far has been on the whole apathetic. Mrs Gandhi did stir up a lot of interest and drew large crowds at the meetings she held in the course of a day's tour of the State last week, but this was more for personal reasons than because of sympathy for the Congress.

Jan Sangh's stiff fight

this lack of interest: in the countryside, the harvesting season is in full swing, and in the towns, people have Rao's appeal is almost purely lost confidence in both the Congress to Jat "nationalism," and the key and opposition groups after their

general election.

According to knowledgeable sources, the Jan Sangh is expected to offer a stiff fight to the Congress in the towns. Sensibly, the Jan Sangh leaders are putting up candidates mainly in the urban centres and have come to a partial electoral understanding with the Swatantra Party under which they have agreed to support each other in 48 constituencies while putting up separate candidates in 13.

Former C.M.'s appeal

The third important grouping is the Vishal Haryana Party of the former Chief Minister, Rao Birendra Singh. This Jat leader is expected to give There are two main reasons for the Congress a tough fight in the rural areas, where he enjoys considerable support among the landlords.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 17

THE KNIGHT FALLS

FOR A MAN of the law, steeped in the tradition of objective appraisal, Mr P. B. Gajendragadkar delivered a remarkably perverse judgement last Sunday.

The former Chief Justice of India who is now Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, was inaugurating in the capital the 150th birth anniversary celebrations of Karl Marx. To accept such a commission is, of course, the learned gentleman's right, but to go on to say that Marx's rational approach to the establishment of an egalitarian society had great relevance to present-day India, brings into serious question Mr Gajendragadkar's credentials.

If newspaper reports are to be believed, Mr Gajendragadkar went on to say that the ultimate objective of Communism was to eradicate poverty and remove class consciousness created by considerations of wealth and birth. Marxism, he is reported to have said, should not be taken as a dogma but a great force of change sweeping through the world.

Does Mr Gajendragadkar really subscribe to this perfumed version of the bitter, lonely 19th century revolutionary's ideas? It is hard to credit. If so, he seems short on logic and long on imagery.

Was he serious when he said that Marxism's criticism of traditional religion preached by the priests and practised by the ignorant masses had great relevance to India today?

Surely his legal perception can separate Marx's theories from Stalin's and Mao's realities.

The learned Vice-Chancellor recently took the lead in campaigning for students, and citizens generally, to eschew violence and destruction of public property. It makes a strange kedgeree if he mixes this lofty aim with praise for a revolution of violence that slowly the oppressed of East Europe are trying to overthrow, and whose propagators within India are publicly pledged to the overthrow of democratic law and order.

What sort of emancipation is this for the "ignorant masses" Mr Gajendragadkar alludes to?

Many saw in this legal luminary a knight of valour who would march against the disruptive tendencies in our nation. But they will think twice before marching with him in this

VERDICT!

This week HIMMAT...

CANNOT SEE how the Government expects to calm the anger of engineering students who have been denied employment by denying other students the chance to be trained as engineers.

SUGGESTS that those responsible for painting Mao's slogan "All political power comes out of the barrel of a gun" on wall posters in Madras, consult with "Anna" who gained his political power from an altogether different source.

RECOMMENDS India's politicians over race discrimination. take a leaf from Chinese Foreign those who speak well of me are not doing me any good."

URGES Delhi to resist the temptation to trumpet the divisions among the Naga underground and instead speedily to offer those leaders who have come out against alliance with China, solid ground to strengthen their position with their peoples.

GARLANDS the organisers of the "Tamil Nad Association of Willing Learners of Hindi" who will start 100 schools to provide free education to children based on learning Tamil, Hindi and English and to arrange tours for South Indians to get to know their brothers in the North.

CONGRATULATES Pakistan on achieving an economic growth rate of 8.3 per cent this year, the highest in the country's history.

IS AMAZED at the Chief Election Commissioner's unreality in his declaration that defections and political opportunism are the result of "teething troubles and cannot last long".

BELIEVES that a few Kerala politicians with the fortitude to change men, beginning with themselves, will do more for their State's chances of democracy and stability than those who rely only on giant political processions like the one staged by the Congress Party last weekend in Kottayam.

Boycott of British ships averted

BY A STAFF CORRESPONDENT

THE threatened boycott of British Dennison, Chairman of the Coventry workers on Monday evening in Bombay by the General Secretary of the All-India Port and Dock Workers' Federation, Mr Makhan Chatterjee.

The boycott had been proposed as retaliation against press reports of British dockers demonstrating in support of the recent speech by UK Conservative Party leader Enoch Powell, attacking coloured immigration into Britain. Powell's speech, described by his party leader as "racialist", led to his dismissal from party posts and a nation-wide furore

At Monday's meeting, Mr S. R. Minister Chen Yi's notebook Kulkarni, Federation President, told where he wrote, "Those who of assurances he had received from criticise me are helpful to me but British trade unionists that British dockers would never lend support to racialist policies propounded by extremists.

Last week a delegation of British workers' leaders had called on Mr Kulkarni and his union to give these assurances personally. They were in Bombay on their way to attend the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at Panchgani. They included Mr Les

Best World Press

Kosygin's visit to Pakistan, India

It appears that, faced with ideological changes among satellites that threaten its influence in East Europe, and with the continued definite hostility of Maoist China, Moscow is anxious to cultivate better relations with its nearest Asian neighbours.

It will be recognised that in Moscow, considered as the citadel of Communism, there has always existed a fear that sooner or later severe pressures will be put upon it by those who reject extreme forms of Socialism.

JAPAN TIMES, Tokyo

Nigerian talks

From the Nigerian point of view the diplomatic argument for ending the war must seem particularly cogent at present. Tanzania's recognition of Biafra at the beginning of April came as an unpleasant surprise for the Federal Government, but General Gowon will have fresh reason to be surprised if the war goes on and other African states follow Tanzania's example. THE FINANCIAL TIMES, London

ships calling at Indian ports has been Building Trades operatives; Mr Frank deferred. This was announced to a Abbott, an airline shop steward at mass rally of 10,000 port and dock London airport; Mr John MacKenzie, shipyard worker from Clydeside; Mr Duncan Corcoran, also from Clydeside and Mr Alec Porter, agricultural unionist from Ireland.

Mr Kulkarni said that assurances had also come from the British Transport and General Workers' Union and the International Transport Workers' Federation.

Mr Kulkarni garlanded Mr Alec Porter, who was on the platform, as "a demonstration that race didn't count with the dockers of India".

Porter was interrupted several times by applause when he assured the mass rally that the section of London dockers who had demonstrated in support of Mr Powell's provocative speech did not speak with the true voice of British labour. He was cheered loudly when he declared, Thousands of British want to work with you to establish a multi-racial society which is colour-free because it is character-built."

Porter told how, in their talks with Mr Kulkarni last week, his British union colleagues had pointed out that as shop stewards they represented both British and Indian immigrant workers on the job and had fought equally hard for the rights of both.



The Lady and the Bomb

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

NEW DELHI To proliferate or not to? To sign the treaty or to spurn it as a loaded document designed to perpetuate the supremacy of the atomic powers and without any guarantee of protection to the non-nuclear powers from attack by those with nuclear weapons?

The draft non-proliferation treaty on which the Russians and Ameri- India does not pursue its decision cans have agreed and which they not to sign to its logical conclusion, have offered the other nations for and set about making its own nuacceptance, has been the subject of clear arms. In that event a stoppage much earnest discussion here at the of aid, economic as well as military, political, official and technological

Like most or probably all the treaties ever drafted since such instru- spokesmen of the Government have ments of agreement came into exist- repeatedly assured the world powers ence, this joint Soviet-American that they will not make the bomb, effort has its good points and bad. and there is no doubt they are Perhaps if the Indian Government sincere in doing so. Hence, India's could decide what its attitude to the objection to signing the treaty, howtreaty should be on its merits, it ever good the grounds for taking this could find more good than bad in it line, is purely academic. It becomes and might accept it, perhaps with merely a futile gesture of protest an amendment or two.

But that opportunity seems to be denied by the fact that the leaders of some opposition parties who claim to be more patriotic than most other Indians are trying to make political capital out of an issue that could have an important bearing on the future of mankind.

It is in this context that one must seek to interpret the Prime Minister's recent declaration at a public meeting that India would forgo foreign aid rather than sign the treaty. On the face of it, it might look like a courageous and firm statement of principle. Actually, it is a rather pathetic piece of bravado for the consumption of an Indian newspaperreading public which has been fed on a lot of infantile talk about building up a nuclear striking force for their country's defence.

Strong expression

To those familiar with the sayings and doings of the present Government, the statement came as an incredible shock. It was indeed a strong expression of will from the head of an administration never known for steadfastness of purpose or adherence to its pledged word. So far as I can gather, nobody has

actually threatened to cut off India's doses of foreign aid if it does not sign the treaty. And nobody is likely to do so, although the climate of opinion regarding India in such important world capitals as Washington, London and Moscow might tend to get a little cooler.

The matter will end there provided from both the eastern and western blocs is pretty certain.

Mrs Gandhi and other responsible

"If we wanted to develop the bomb it could be done. These things don't take that much time in emergencies."

> DR VIKRAM SARABHAI, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission

because it does not get us anywhere. It invites displeasure from those nations which sign and offers no protection from attack by hostile powers which have nuclear weapons and those which might acquire them in the future as a result of not signing the treaty now.

Critics of the Government's vacillating policy accuse its policy advisers of failure to grasp realities. Among these are the fact that the two major powers are not giving up stockpiling nuclear weapons, nor are they going to be deterred from using them by a "scrap of paper" to which they have affixed their signatures.

The sole effective deterrent to the use of the atom bomb or any other kind of nuclear missile is world opinion. And, if President Johnson could not use it against North Vietnam in spite of the fact that no treaty existed to debar him from doing so, is it likely that anybody can use it with impunity anywhere else?

Hence, if a weapon cannot be used, of what practical use is it in a nation's arsenal? This argument is being used by those who favour signing the treaty. To the Government's demand for a total ban on nuclear prolifera-

tion as well as on further stockpiling of such weapons, they point out that this is understandable if there were no other weapons with com-



Mrs Gandhi

parable destructive powers. But, as the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong have demonstrated, a war can be fought against a much superior military power with weapons which may be individually much less destructive, provided you know how to use them to the best effect.

New Delhi must realise, they argue, that possession of a weapon that cannot be used will not prevent aggression against India, nor is the lack of such a weapon an invitation to attack. If the men in Peking take it into their heads to give India another bloody nose, the knowledge that India possesses an atomic arsenal is not going to head them off. It did not prevent the Chinese from interfering in the Korean War 18 years ago, nor has it prevented them from giving open military aid to North Vietnam.

In short, the atom bomb is nothing more than a status symbol, they say, But in the particular case of India. it is a symbol without real economic and military sanction behind it because India is neither economically nor militarily a world power, and having one bomb or a hundred will not in itself raise it to this position.

If India will not sign the treaty in its present form, which, in spite of its shortcomings, does impose a ban on the entry of new nations in the atomic weapons race, it is not on grounds of security but of political

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

SO THEY SAY

We do not want defectors from the Congress or any other party.

> PROF. N. G. RANGA, SWATANTRA LEADER

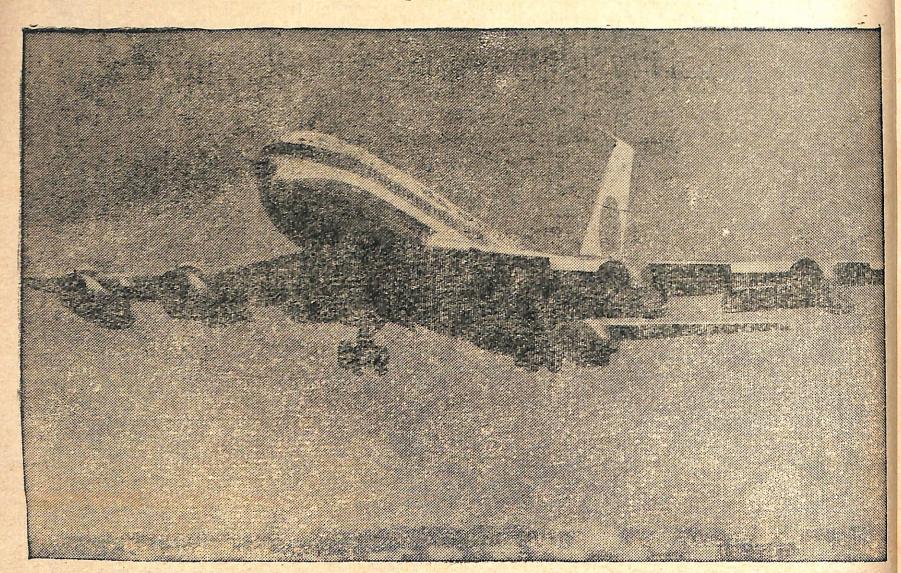
I am not confused.

GOVIND NARAYAN SINGH. Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister

Beatle George Harrison is a student of mine ... I like him as a person. I have nothing to do with him as a Beatle.

RAVI SHANKAR

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PAA 3782

Yugoslav journal views Czech changes

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

BELGRADE The Ekonomska Politika, a leading journal of Yugoslavia. looks at recent changes in Czechoslovakia through Yugoslav eyes. As the first Communist nation to break away from the Soviet pattern, Yugoslavia's view will command attention. In its April 15 issue, writer Risto Bajalski

called the stormy weeks from Janu-ary until these days, a process of "it will, probably, be found that democratic reformation. And this is indeed what the events which came system by a new one. The Party's thundering by, were. The operation of the political reformation was carried out in the Czechoslovak way, elegantly, and therefore looked less dramatic than it really was."

Only the beginning

Bajalski points out that the decisions taken at the March-April Plenum of the Central Committee should be considered "only the beginning" of what is yet to happen in Czechoslovakia. Significantly he underlines that it was "the general public" as well as Party members who "declared them-selves resolutely for a deep and substantial democratisation of Soviet relations". And the Party Plenum opened up prospects "for realising such wishes".

"Although it was complicated enough publicly to come down



"The Czechs and Slovaks have against the dogmas of a deep-rooted this was easier than to replace this action programme which was adopted by the Central Committee is a revolution with respect to the past, and represents a political platform which stimulates the process of democratisation to develop further. but it is also a programme which presupposes practical solutions. These solutions have yet to be found, and practice will have to prove their progressiveness. This will be an incomparably more difficult task than the one by which it was preceded from January until April,

Party power shaken

"The whole society — if we may say so -- has declared itself for the 'Czechoslovak path to Socialism'. The leading role of the Communist Party has been confirmed, but the Party's monopoly over power has been shaken strongly, the monopoly which — as practice in many parts has shown — it is so difficult to re-nounce. The Central Committee of the Party, and the general public, came forward for a new model of Socialist Democracy. This model is still not defined in every respect, but it has been decided that its basic postulates must be founded on a free and frank confrontation of views and positions."

While this new approach has been approved in the shape of a Party document, Bajalski admits there are forces "both in Czechoslovakia and outside" which feel this is "a rather risky path" to democracy.

Referring to the "unquestionably progressive" trend away from the former system of management in the economy, he cities "the imperative

The week in ASIA

SAIGON - The defence committees of South Vietnam's Senate and House reached an agreement that men between the age of 18 and 40 should be called up into the regular armed forces, according to the Saigon Post. The Committees also decided to call all those in the 16-17 and 41-50 age group into civil defence units, the paper said.

KATHMANDU - Mr Kirti Nidhi Bista, Nepal's Deputy Premier, will pay an official visit to China towards the end of May, the Nepalese Foreign Ministry announced.

SAIGON - The Viet Cong, in an attempted repeat of the Tet offensive, struck at Saigon, six provincial capitals and scores of American

LAHORE — 20 people were killed and several injured when a duststorm lashed Bannu and the neighbouring areas of the Frontier Province. Extensive damage was caused to standing crops and houses.

TOKYO - Japan will import 100,000 tonnes of rice from Communist China, according to Mr Naoomi Nishimura, Japan's Agriculture Minister.

TEHERAN - Eight nations, including India and the UAR, asked the United Nations Conference on Human Rights to include family planning as a basic right of man. The population explosion seriously hampered efforts to gain the right to an adequate standard of living, they said.

DACCA — A cholera epidemic claimed 47 lives in Khulna district of East Pakistan in April, reports AP. Already 531 people are hospitalised and the epidemic is spreading fast in the district.

TOKYO - Japan reached an agreement with India to send a technical survey team by the end of the year to help India in its agricultural development programme.

TEHERAN — Over 35 people were killed and many injured when a severe earthquake rocked a large area of Western Iran between Maku and Rezaeith.

CAIRO - Six million Egyptians went to the polls to vote on President Nasser's March 30 manifesto - a document calling for a struggle for the liberation of Israelioccupied Arab lands and outlining proposed internal reforms. Only 786 people voted against the plans.



need for enterprises to be independent in their work as well as in the management of their work, as well as for the workers to feel they are owners of the enterprise".

"Czechoslovakia is sticking to the same foreign policy which it has been pursuing so far," Bajalski continues. "This was emphasised along with the fact that this country wishes to formulate her own views on every major international question. The Socialist character of the present-day trends in Czechoslovakia... is beyond any doubt. Simultaneously, however, one insists that the model of the new path to Socialism ought to comply with the traditions and wishes of Czechoslovak society."

Bajalski makes it clear that these are the "principal political postulates" of a programme and do not have "the pretension of being a programme". They are rather "a point of departure in the determination of its general

He looks to "progressive forces in the Party as as well as in the general public" to guarantee that "revolutionary slogans will not be betrayed".

concludes Bajalski, "either for the great advantage for the progressive Party, or for the entire Czechoslovak forces in a struggle which will consociety, although the political vic- tinue."

"It is not going to be an easy job," tories already achieved represent a

Britain, Spain and the Rock

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

RABAT This month the British and Gibraltar Governments meet to reexamine the present Gibraltar constitution. It is felt that the Treaty of Utrecht, made in 1713, governing relations between Britain and the Rock, is now an anachronism. For instance, one clause excludes Jews and Moors from Gibraltar. Yet today, the Colony's Chief Minister is a Jew from a Moroccan family.

miles on the southern tip of Spain. Britain has held the Rock for 250 years, though today it has internal self-rule under a coalition government led by Sir Joshua Hassan. Spain wants to take Gibraltar back. The links with Britain. The General voted for the Rock to be decolonised.

Spain's option

This latter course seems to be ruled out, because the Treaty of tries to grant, sell or by any means alienate Gibraltar from the Crown",

25,000 people inhabit this 24-square Spain is given the option to regain the Rock.

So what the two Governments will discuss this month will not be decolonisation, but a change in the internal governing apparatus. It has been said that three well-trained population have voted to keep the civil servants, free from the entanglements of Westminster red tape but Assembly of the United Nations has subject to the criticisms of a wellinformed electorate, would go far to meet the political needs of the Rock.

One other factor which makes the Treaty of Utrecht an anachronism is that today the British Navy is not alone in the Mediterranean. The Utrecht clearly states that "if Britain waters of this sea are also being patrolled by American and Russian fleets. Britain's and Spain's security

vivendi in Gibraltar.

both Britain and herself to find a Constitutional Conference.

dictates that they find a modus new and constructive approach, ending the present deadlock. A step The fact that Spain may well soon towards this could be taken if the be admitted to the European Eco- British and the Gibraltarians invited nomic Community should encourage Spain to join them at the coming

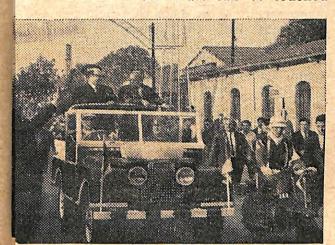
Fresh hopes seen in Cyprus talks

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

NICOSIA The Turkish community of Cyprus was overwhelmed at the announcement of the return of their leader, Mr Rauf Denktash, after more than four years of exile in Turkey. Flags went up and with them rose the hope of seeing soon an end to the present Cyprus conflict.

London, and in the Turkish capital. He will represent them at the forthcoming talks with the Greeks of the island.

A brilliant lawyer, a fiery speaker, a man whose heart can be touched



Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash is greeted on his return

and who could initiate nation-saving moves, Rauf Denktash was welcomed, with his wife and four children, like a hero as he stepped on to

Cyprus soil again.

The police, who had arrested him some months earlier when he tried unsuccessfully to return secretly to his native land, escorted him from the airport to the entry of the Turkish sector of the town. Turkish school children waving Turkish flags, and thousands of citizens lined the road to Ataturk Square as he drove in an open car, side by side with Dr Kutchuk, the Vice-President of the communities." Republic.

Two days later, Denktash addressed Cypriot and foreign pressmen. He appealed for "courage and realism" in the talks to come. He underlined the common destiny of this small island "to be the uniting factor between Greece and Turkey, and not to be the factor that disrupts their existing unity and brings war and calamity between our cherished motherlands".

Denktash has fought for his Since the return of Rauf Denktash Turkish community at the UN, in to his country, U Thant's special representative here, Senor Osorio-Tafall, has been trying to arrange intercommunal talks. Already the first obstacles have appeared.

> The Greeks want the talks to take place on Cyprus "since they concern only the two communities". The Turks insist on having them in secrecy, outside Cyprus, in a place free of pressures, and away from the possibilities of leakage which has done so much harm in the past. Both sides are adamant.

Should the country's constitution be the starting point? So much has been said about the ill-fated constitution issued after the Zurich and London agreements that prestige makes it almost impossible to accept it now as a working basis. The Cyprus press inflicts its news, rumours and opinions, day after day, on an avid population.

What is right for the island? For the communities? What is Cyprus' task in the world? These are questions which have to be asked and answered.

Addressing pressmen, Denktash said, "If we have any sense of responsibility, not only to ourselves, not only to Greece and Turkey, but to the generations who by destiny have to live on this island, we will tackle today's problems with courage. We must have a vision to make Cyprus a happy land which will be an example to the world, where intercommunal relations can be maintained justly and fairly between the two

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The week in INDIA

NEW DELHI - India and Malaysia agreed to hold periodic consultations both at Ministerial and official level on matters of common interest, Tun Abdul Razak, Deputy Premier of Malaysia, disclosed on a visit here. These discussions would begin at the official level in June, he said.

PATNA - Mr H. V. Kamath, Chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board of the Praja Socialist Party, announced that the Bihar Unit of the party would join the Ministry headed by Bhola Paswan Shastri "to prevent the return of the Congress to power and to avert President's rule".

BOMBAY - Over 200,000 children. 60 per cent of the 375,000 pupils in the 6-8 age-group, are undernourished, a survey made by the medical officers of the Bombay Municipal Corporation revealed.

NEW DELHI - The public expenditure in India over the past 17 years has gone up by 600 per cent, according to Mr K. Hanumanthaiya, chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission.

CALCUTTA - Some students belonging to the Naxalbari group of Left Communists gheraoed the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University for over three hours demanding postponement of BA/BSC examinations. They raised pro-Mao slogans.

CALICUT — Mr E. M. S. Nam-boodiripad, Chief Minister of Kerala, said here that a "clash" between the Centre and the State would be inevitable if the Centre did not consider proper industrialisation of the State.

NEW DELHI — Mr Jagivan Ram, Union Food Minister, affirmed his intention to do away with imported US PL 480 food grains as early as possible. Next year's imports will be limited to three million tonnes against this year's provision for 7.5 million tonnes.

AHMEDABAD - Nearly 50 textile printing and designing factories were gutted in an accidental blaze. The loss is estimated to be several lakhs of rupees.

SHILLONG - About one million people are facing near-starvation in vast areas of Goalpara, Garo Hills and Mangaldai due to the failure of crops as a result of severe drought. The Assam Cabinet announced a sanction of Rs 2.6 lakhs for relief.

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Wanted: a new role for the aged

FROM GORDON WISE

LONDON All political parties nowadays accept the essential elements of the welfare state, with its benefits of health, economic security and family provision available for every citizen.

The very young are probably better cared for, at least on the physical level and even before birth, than ever. What about the very old?

A recent survey published by the Office of Health Economics (OHE) gives the picture, some of it reassuring, some alarming. It was found that the vast majority of the aged in Britain live in private households, and of these the majority live with or near children or relations.

The popular conception of the lives of old people in this country has sometimes been one of ill health, immobility, loneliness and social isolation from their families. Apparently this description only applies to a minority. Of those living in private households 72 per | cent claimed they were never lonely.

Families still care

One survey concludes that care of old people by their families is not disappearing and indicates that without the care which is given to sick and infirm elderly people by their families, the burden on the welfare services night be five times greater.

Nonetheless, about 1,400,000 old people live completely alone. 300,000 live in institutions — and this is the continuing trend. The most urgent problem is perhaps the 5 per cent of old persons (over 300,000) living in private households, alone and incapacitated.

Mental health hospitals

Another quite startling figure is the number of elderly people who occupy beds in the mental health hospitals. The proportion is over one third, although they account for only one eighth of the population.

An important factor in the West is that the percentage of the very old

total population. In 1901 the figures were one and a half million, 5 per cent of the then population. On the other hand, the number of children aged 0-14 is, today, almost exactly the same as in 1911.

Medical science and its successful fight against disease has meant that a rising proportion can realise their potential life span. Interestingly enough, there has not been, over many generations, much progress in increasing this span.

How do the retired, aged, fare financially? Seven out of every ten rely on the state for the main source of their income.

in disputes. In western society, the pace of technological change may make it more difficult for the aged to function in these ways. But if our planners operate on the basis that every hand and heart is needed, then solu-

tions can be found.

——The week elsewhere -

US PRIMARY UPSETS

BOSTON-Governor Nelson Rockefeller defeated Richard Nixon in the Republican primary in Massachausetts despite the fact that he was not on the ballot. Senator Eugene Mc-Carthy came first in the Democratic primary though Massachausetts is known as Kennedy-country.

NIGERIAN TALKS

LONDON-Negotiators from the Nigerian Federal Government and breakaway Biafra met to arrange fullscale peace talks. Reports from Port Harcourt, the one major city still S. AFRICA AIDS MALAWI under Biafran control, state that rioters burned down the headquarters of the Shell-British Petroleum Company in retaliation for alleged British support to the Nigerian Federal

CZECH LEADERS RUSH TO MOSCOW

PRAGUE-Alexander Dubcek, chief of the Czech Communist Party, and Prime Minister Oldrich Cernik returned from a hastily-called conference in Moscow. The discussions, which were said to have been "open and comradely", covered developments in both countries and reviewed economic and other ties between Prague and Moscow.

AYUB MAY SEEK **ELECTION COMPROMISE**

is higher and is increasing. So more RAWALPINDI—Sources close to care needs to be taken. In 1966, in President Ayub suggest that the England and Wales, there were about President may seek a compromise six million people aged sixty-five and with the Opposition parties before over, more than 12 per cent of the election in 1968 of 120,000 "basic

democrats". If he fails to reach an agreement with the Opposition he will be faced with a strenuous election campaign in which the Constitution demands he meet "basic democrats" in numerous confrontation meetings. Such a campaign may gravely endanger his health. In exchange for not putting up a rival candidate for the Presidency, the Opposition may demand a return to parliamentary government or at least that the National Assembly be elected by direct adult franchise rather than by the "basic democrats".

It should be said that "the state"

has benefited earlier from the pro-

ductivity and tax contributions of old people. There needs to be much

more imaginative effort put into

utilising the wisdom and skills of old

people. In simpler societies the aged

are often repositories of knowledge,

imparters of wisdom and mediators

PRETORIA-South Africa has loaned the Government of Malawi £4,500,000 towards the construction of a new capital for the African republic. Malawi's President Banda called the action "most significant".

POLISH "SUPPRESSION"

PRAGUE—A crowd of 5000 students enthusiastically endorsed a letter to be sent to the Polish Government accusing it of "brutal suppression" of Polish students' demands. The rally also called for the resumption of diplomatic ties with Israel.

PARIS PREPARATIONS

PARIS-Thirty tons of communications equipment to be used by the Americans during their talks with the North Vietnamese were flown in by the American Air Force. Chief negotiators Averell Harriman and Xuan Thuy watched each other closely for two years when they took part in the Geneva conference on Laos during 1961-2.

Campaigning US Vice-President promises "politics of joy"

speculation was rife as to why the American Vice-President, Hubert Horatio Humphrey, did not represent President Johnson at the funeral. Humorist Art Buchwald wrote: "Now it can be told. The real reason is that Hubert Humphrey can't look sad."

On April 27, Mr Humphrey, with beaming countenance declared himself a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President. He called for unity in his party and unity in the country. Above all, he said, his would be a "politics of happiness, a politics of purpose, and a politics of joy".

The genial Vice-President is known for a number of things: a long record of social legislation, a fertile brain constantly generating hundreds of ideas for the improvement of mankind, a gift of expression which borders on wordiness, an incurable optimism, a steadfast loyalty to his party and his President, and a devotion to home and family.

His talkitiveness is a legend. "They wanted me to speak for five minutes." he said on one occasion, "but those who know me know it takes me five minutes to clear my throat." An article in the Saturday Evening Post once stated: "Hubert Humphrey is a man who never gropes for words. He may occasionally use an inappropriate word. But he never has to grope."

Remarkable career

The declaration for the presidency came as the latest remarkable event in a remarkable career. Born in 1911 in an apartment over his father's drug store in tiny Wallace, South Dakota, he came to maturity in the severe depression of the 1930's. His passion that the ordinary man receive social justice got its early boost from the poverty of those years. At first he studed pharmacy to follow his father's career, but later took an interest in political science and received his Master's degree in that subject at Louisiana State University in 1940.

In the early 1940's he began working with labour and civic groups for social and political reform. In 1945 his dynamism carried him into two terms as Mayor of corruption-ridden Minneapolis.

WHEN Winston Churchill died, Minneapolis, Mr Humphrey began following the progress of the world ideology of Moral Re-Armament. As Mayor, he invited the programme to his city, and as Senator endorsed its aims.

> The young dynamo became the magnetic force that fused the almost defunct Democratic organisation in Minnesota with a rather vital populist movement called the Farmer-Labour Party.

The combination was strong enough to send the voluble eager beaver, now aged 36, to the United States Senate in 1948. He was re-elected in 1954 and 1960 and served as Democratic party whip under the majority leadership of Senator Lyndon Johnson.

Humphrey tried for the Presidential nomination in 1960, but



yielded to John F. Kennedy. In 1965 President Johnson tapped Humphrey as his running mate. Since their victory Mr Humphrey has been a faithful lieutenant to his chief. When criticised by some of his liberal friends for his unswerving allegiance, especially on controversial issues like the Vietnam policy, Humphrey would simply say, "I have only one constituent, Lyndon Johnson."

At one time the Minnesotan was the darling of the activist liberals. He hammered through a strong civil rights plank in the Democratic platform of 1948. He was one of the founders of the provocative Americans for Democratic Action, an intellectual and political focus of the non-Communist left. But when ADA resolved against the conduct of the Vietnam war last year, Mr Humphrey felt compelled to resign. Mr Humphrey now occupies a much more moderate position and commands broad middle-of-the-road support.

Fantastic as it would have seemed a few years ago, Humphrey is now the choice among Democratic candidates of much of the business community and the Party leaders in the South. Because of this phenomenon, together with the backing of most labour leaders of America and many Even before he became Mayor of Negroes and leaders of other mino-



Vice-President Hubert Humphrey

rity groups, the Vice-President is now being given an almost even chance to stop Bobby Kennedy and to seize the Democrat's top prize when they meet in Chicago in August.

At 56, Humphrey is 14 years older than Kennedy, and is developing greater appeal to the broad middle class adult voter who may be somewhat apprehensive over the frenzied mobs of youth that swirl around

Humphrey also has the advantage of being the incumbent, and will probably get the endorsement of President Johnson at the opportune moment. By the same token, he will carry some of the disadvantages of the President's unpopularity. However, the most serious of these, the "credibility gap", should not rub off on to Hubert, as he is widely trusted as a man of integrity.

But however the winds of political fortune blow in this incredible Year of the Great Surprises, the nation will be treated by Humphrey to a campaign dominated by hope, optimism, an eloquent case for national unity and, above all, the "politics of joy"

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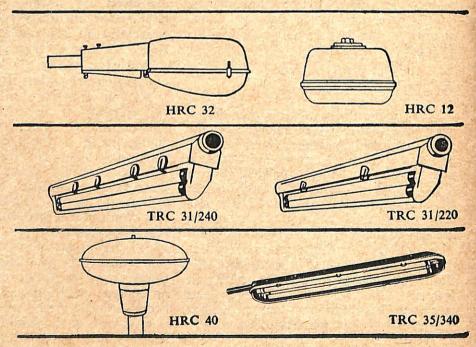
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Німмат, Мау 10, 1968

WEST BENGAL

Stern action against profiteers

FROM S. K. MUKHOPADHYAY IN CALCUTTA

Bengal. The average price for rice has gone up to around Rs 1.79 a kilogram in recent weeks as against Rs 1.37 last year. Prices of a number of essential commodities, including rice, had come down when President's rule was proclaimed in the State. But the recent increases are causing concern and hardship.

"Enemies of the country"

The Governor, Mr Dharma Vira, called a food conference on April 29 at Writers Building to discuss this alarming trend. He reviewed the overall food situation in the State and stressed the importance of taking stern measure against profiteers, hoarders, blackmarketeers and anti-social elements. These enemies of the country, the Governor said, should be arrested immediately and paraded, if necessary, in the open streets in handcuffs. In this connection he referred to the good effect such measures produced in Punjab while he was Governor there.

Legal snags pointed out

Most District Magistrates present at the conference were reported to have expressed doubts about taking immediate stern measures against profiteers because of the legal snags involved in implementing such

Mr Dharma Vira hinted that the climate at the moment was most suitable for stern action. Normally, political considerations stood in the way of effecting such measures, he said. He advised the officers present to go ahead without bothering about the legal implication. "You just do your duty and arrest them; let the courts decide later on regarding their conviction or acquittal," he stressed.

No reason for price increase

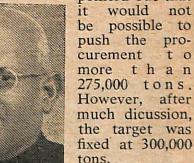
The Governor found no reason for the increase in rice price as this year's output, he said, was better than the previous year's and the Centre as well other states had released a liberal share of food supplies to West Bengal. There was no doubt that

FOOD PRICES are rising again in West anti-social elements had once again been active, the Governor emphasised.

> Food Commissioner B. R. Gupta, who was also present, announced that the aman rice output of this year was 4.75 million tons as against 4.34 million tons last year. The arrival of maize, wheat and other foodgrains, the Commissioner said, would lower further the price of rice but even so, there was no reason for the sudden rise in the first place, and he, too,

the Food Department's revised rice its inflation,

procurement target of 335,000 tons. The same was 700,000 tons during the PDF-Congress regime while it was one million tons during the United Front regime. The district officials pointed out that



Mr Dharma Vira

the target was fixed at 300,000 tons. It was decided that the pre-

sent cordoning system would continue. The consensus was that production as well as procurement must be stepped agreed that profiteers were behind it. up and all necessary measures be Most of the District Magistrates taken to stabilise the rice price and present, however, did not agree with to smash the racket responsible for

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85,000 Tibetans guard their culture

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

DHARAMSALA Tibetans, both within and outside their country, took to this hill station overlooking the beautiful Kangra Valley in Himachal Pradesh for hope and inspiration. Here His Holiness the Dalai Lama has his temporary headquarters, regarded by Tibetans as a government-in-exile, although for reasons of protocol described as his personal secretariat.

uprising of March 10, 1959 against Tibetan scholars.

Chinese rule. There are now said to be 85,000 Tibetans in exile, 55,000 of them in India, and other large groups in Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. There a r e smaller numbers i n European countries. Of those in India, half



The Dalai Lama

are in agricultural settlements in different states; 20,000 work on the roads in hill areas, as no land is available for them.

Bare minimum

One of the Dalai Lama's main concerns in to preserve the language, faith and culture of his people. Education is seen as a key to this. In the agricultural and road-building camps, Tibetans have their own schools. In Dharamsala, a nursery school built with aid from Switzerland, Sweden, Holland and other countries has 850 children, many of them orphans or with parent unable to look after them. Mrs Pema, the Dalai Lama's sister, is its Principal.

Even with outside help, these schools run on the bare minimum materially. Dormitories are cramped, with in one case 100 children sleeping four to a bed in double and tripletiered bunks in a medium-sized room. Worn clothes are unstitched and remade into blankets so nothing is wasted.

More advanced schools

For more advanced education, seven boarding schools have been set up, with the Indian Government's help, in different hill stations. In these schools English and Hindi are taught as well as Tibetan. The medium of instruction is English. On January 1, the Dalai Lama formally opened an Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies at Varanasi Sanskrit Univer-

Some 80,000 people, from all sity. Sponsored by the Indian Govclasses, fled from Tibet after the ernment, it is staffed mainly by

> Despite material shortages, the Tibetans seem to have given more thought, at the highest level, to education than most governments. One is struck by the spirit of one young man, who left Lhasa when 10 years old, and after completing his education was sent to America for a year's training in administration. Unlike many from other countries, he longed to return to his people. As a member of the Dalai Lama's staff he now earns Rs 200 a month.

> History gives ample evidence of peoples surviving the seizure of their country. If the Tibetans resist modern materialism - a more insidious invader than Chinese Communism — this correspondent has no doubt that they will survive and develop.

Kerala man wins subscription contest

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Kumar of the F.A.C.T. Cooperative Society, Udyogamandal P.O., Kerala wins this BUSH BA-RON Transistor (short/ medium

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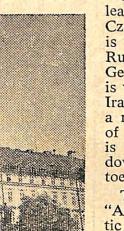
Will Czechoslovakia give Communism a new turn?

BY R. M. LALA

THERE is something very deep stir- of flower-tossing Czechs marched ring in the heart of Czechoslovakia. through flag-draped streets demon-The god of Communism that millions were forced to worship has failed and what is more — it has been found

Party, decent men were murdered in so I don't have to search for it when cold blood, accused of crimes they had never committed. Its non-Comthrown over a balcony in 1948 so that the juggernaut of Communism could march to absolute power.

Czechoslovakia's present Interior Minister, Jozef Pavel, indicated that he was tortured by a prison doctor,



Formerly the seat of the Kings of Bohemia, Hradcany Castle in Prague is now the Czech Presidential Palace.

Jozef Sommer, who committed suicide two weeks ago. The Interior Minister told a Prague newspaper, "He was testing me on how much a man can stand to be kept between life and death." Supreme Court Judge Brestansky was found hanged in a wood near Prague not long ago after a newspaper had charged him with having presided over a Stalinist-type trial in 1955.

Three Slovak Communists, executed in 1950, were recently retried and posthumously acquitted. The judges said that the "accusations of anti-State activities have been fabricated by the security police. It was also found out that unlawful methods including physical and psychical pressure were used."

No wonder the Czechs now say, to those days.'

ed her military might, Prague was moral purity, unselfish labour for beginning to smile again. Thousands society and love of his fellows.

strating their support to the new Party leader Alexander Dubcek. One man carried on his shoulder a small boy who waved a placard on which In the name of the Communist was chalked, "Tell me the truth now, I grow up."

Whilst Mr Dubcek dutifully paid munist Foreign Minister, Jan his respects to the Soviet Union Masaryk, it is strongly believed, was there were none of the old banners branding "the warmongers of the West". Instead, the 46-year-old leader said that Czechoslovakia was making a critical re-evaluation of the past in its search for new values.

> Reports indicate that Russian leaders are seriously alarmed by the Czech experiment with freedom. It is bound to have repercussions in Rumania, Hungary, Poland, East Germany — and even Russia. That is why Kosygin cut short his visit to Iran recently and returned to attend a meeting of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. That is why Brezhnev recently cracked down on Soviet writers who do not toe the Party line.

The Economist of London reports, "A ghost is haunting the bureaucratic leaders of Eastern Europe. It is a ghost of change." But what kind of change will it be?

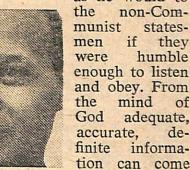
Following the May Day parade, the BBC reported an item from Washington stating that the United States was watching the political situation in Czechoslovakia with sympathy and interest. They hoped to have closer links with her people. However the United States has also said that the Czechoslovakia Government has not yet made any move to repay the \$20 million worth of gold belonging to America, which was seized by the Nazis in Prague and presumably inherited by the Communists.

The United States has gold worth \$11,000 million even after the recent drain on its reserves. When Czechoslovakia is struggling to find something new, is \$20 million worth of gold what Washington should be worrying about?

The 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party gave some indication of the crisis and needs facing "Never again do we want to go back the Communist world. It called upon every Party member to observe him-On May Day, when Moscow parad-self, and cultivate in others, honesty,

Absolute moral standards are a place where all men can make a start, be they Communist or non-Communist. These absolute standards are the highroad to faith in the living God, which in turn is the best protection against a repetition of tyranny.

When the rulers of Prague listen to God he will speak to them as clearly as he would to



Alexander Dubcek

the mind of God adequate, accurate, de-finite information can come to the mind of man. It is a revolutionary con-

cept for both the Communist and the non-Communist worlds.

The late Peter Howard, who had a vision for the Communist world, once wrote a full-page article which was sent to Izvestia and Pravda and principal newspapers of other Communist countries.

He concluded in it, "The Communists, governed by God, could be peace-makers for the world in the greatest revolution of all time, where all men are needed, no man is exploited, and where leaders and led pay the price of a new society by paying the price of change in their own lives."

Czechoslovakia was the most industrially advanced nation to go Communist. It may now be her destiny to open up a new way for the whole Communist — and non-Communist - world.

ANTENNA-FROM PAGE 5

plank of his election platform is the handing-over outright of Chandigarh to Haryana without arbitration or any such "nonsense"

The Communist Party of India, which is fielding three candidates and is trying to get a toehold in the State, is supporting this demand very vociferously.

The elections may result in another stalemate, with no party able to form a government on its own, and the ultimate outcome may be another prolonged spell of President's rule.

Німмат, Мау 10, 1968

BOOKS

Case against Mahajan Report

MAHAJAN REPORT UN-COVERED, by A. R. Antulay. Allied Publishers, Price Rs 14.

ABLY ARGUED, barrister Antulay makes out a case against the verdict of the Mahajan Commission Report on the Maharashtra-Mysore border dispute. Mr Antulay, an MLA and a General Secretary of the MPCC, felt "pained" when he read the Mahajan Report, not because of a recommendation of a town or village here or there, but because it shook his esteem for the judiciary as it was not an objective report. Since then, he has devoted his energies to demolish it.

The area under dispute was 3000 square miles — about the same as in the Kutch dispute. Maharashtra, which launched the agitation to inte-

grate parts of Mysore which spoke Marathi, came out second best. Mr Antulay shows the inconsistencies of the report and the prejudice of the late Chief Justice of India, Mr Mahajan, towards "linguistic fanatics".

BRITAIN — AN OFFICIAL HANDBOOK, 1968. Her Majan, towards "linguistic fanatics".

Mr Mahajan can hardly be blamed for being prejudiced against fanatics. Most of those he interviewed were briefed either by the Congress Party or the Karnatak or Maharashtra Samitis. "Most of them," complained Mr Mahajan, "presented to me memos which seem to have been prepared from a common source."

The lesson of this book, for the Government of India, is never to appoint a Commission without clear terms of reference. A lesson for the nation is that Commissions cannot settle disputes which people are not willing to settle themselves.

And for Mr Antulay, a word of advice. There are many fair-minded, intelligent people who are fed-to-the-teeth with sectional agitations and hence begin with a prejudice against regional jingoes. He need not be surprised. His talents are meant to work for the unity of India.

R.M.L.

NUCLEAR TREATY-FROM PAGE 7

Having first raised a national scare about atomic attack and then created the belief that an attack of this nature would be met with matching atomic force, the Government cannot sign the treaty without giving rise to the criticism that India will become vulnerable to aggression from China and by signing. Politically it is the wise Pakistan if the right to make the bomb is renounced.

The truth of the matter is that we have tacitly, but nonetheless positively, accepted the protection of the US and the Soviet Union from nuclear attack, but we like to keep up the pretence that we can build up a sufficiently powerful nuclear deterrent of our control of the protection of the US and the Soviet Union from the US and the Soviet Union from the US and the rent of our own. This helps us make believe that we have the potential to be a world military power.

The Government has shown the

way, and the Opposition in Parliament has been quick to seize the opportunity to employ this stick to beat the Government with. It is not fear of what China or Pakistan or the two combined will do to us that prevents Mrs Gandhi from making up her mind to sign the treaty, but what the Opposition will say and do if she

The only tangible result one can forsee from refusing to accept the treaty is that Pakistan will seize on it as proof of India's hostile intentions and set about building its own atomic weapons or get them from

The pro-signers argue that the nonproliferation treaty, like any other document of the same type, is always open to revision or repudiation. Even if we sign it now, we can always retrace our steps if circumstances compel us to do so. We lose nothing thing to do.

Facts on Britain

jesty's Stationery Office, London. Pp 557. Rs 22.50.

Designed "to answer most of the questions about the UK which are most frequently asked overseas", this is the nineteenth of the series of official British handbooks.

It is a model for such surveys excellently printed and bound, a veritable mine of well-tabulated in-formation where all can quarry in the corner that interests them most.

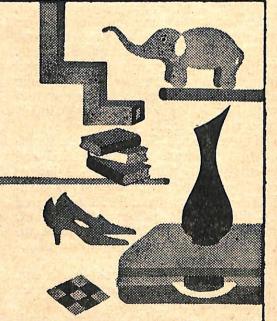
For those curious about the habits of the modern British themselves there are some interesting details. For example, although following "the television revolution" 80 per cent of British families have TV sets, there are still 20 million spare-time gardeners. Thirty million watch League Football matches in the season. Three out of four adults gamble for small stakes and the nation spends £915 million a year on organised gambling. Spain and Italy are most popular for holidays abroad.

In 1966 there were 51,000 immigrants from the Commonwealth while 161,000 emigrated from Britain to other Commonwealth countries. Ten per cent of Britain's electricity is generated by nuclear power stations — as much as the rest of the world put together. The average wage for an industrial worker is £20.6.1 per week (Rs 1460 per month). You can go on and on and on...

P.W.

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MAKING INDIA'S CONSTITUTION:

Battle royal over languages

BY DR K. M. MUNSHI

Most Members of the Constituent Assembly were of the view that a provision about the national language should form an essential part of the Constitution, to secure national soli-

Far back in 1905, I had pledged myself to work, among other things, for a national language which I then called "Hindustani". The sharp line between Hindi and Hindustani had not then been drawn.

Gandhiji's acceptance of Hindi as a national language gave a great impetus to the movement for the spread of Hindi in the country.

Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Gopala-

swamy Aiyangar and myself, three representatives of non-Hindi-speaking provinces, were anxious to produce a formula which would set the country in the direction of developing a national medium.

Informal draft

The Congress Party passed a resolution, moved by me, accepting Hindi and Devanagari as the national language and script respectively. There was a storm in the meeting.
Jawaharlal Nehru was very unhappy. Matters then stood adjourned to the last stage of the Constituent Assem-

In July 1949, a few of us met informally and drafted articles, making Hindi the official language and Devanagari the official script of the country, with English as the additional official language for a period of ten years. It was supported by about 30 members of the Constituent Assembly - the largest group in the Congress Party.

The group which did not want any

official language to be mentioned in the Constitution soon gave up its position, so also did those who wanted English alone to continue. The protagonists of Hindustani found little support.

Battle royal

A battle royal raged in the National Language Committee, at party metings and in informal confer-

Indian representatives that Arabic numerals should be used in the

Author, educationist, lawyer and statesman, Dr K. M. Munshi played a leading part in drafting India's Constitution. In his new book, "Pilgrimage to Freedom" (published by Bharatya Vidhya Bhavan), Dr Munshi shows how English was maintained as the associate language for the first 15 years after adopting the Constitution. When passions are again aroused over the language question his perspective is timely.

Devanagari script immediately raised a fierce controversy. If I remember aright, in the National Language Committee, the move was sponsored by Santhanam and T. T. Krishnamachari. It was strongly resisted by the Hindi protagonists.

The South had, for several generations, adopted the Arabic numerals in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada, and they were used even in Sanskrit books. However, when it was discovered that the Arabic numerals were Indian, both in origin and by adoption in the South, the opposition to Arabic numerals lost its edge.

Formula drawn up

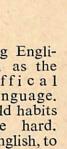
I supported the South Indian point of view, and a section of those members who had supported me so far in the matter of Hindi, parted company with me. If I, coming from a non-Hindi-speaking region, accepted Hindi as the instrument of national consolidation, I could have no hesitation in accepting the inter-national numerals, if, by so doing, the whole country accepted Hindi.

It is out of these conflicts that the

formula, which came to be known in the press as the "Munshi-Aiyangar Formula", was drawn up as representing the most realistic approach to the problem, attracting the largest support. It rightly emphasised the genius of Hindi and the necessity of drawing its vocabulary principally ences. Passions were roused; there from Sanskrit. Ultimately, with sevewere also some threats of walk-out. ral changes, it became part of Arti-The proposal by some South cles 343 and 344 of the Constitution.

A large number of members in the Congress Party were against accept- ately become real.

ing English as the offical language. Old habits die hard. English, to our mind,



Dr K. M. Munshi

was the language of the hated foreign rulers; when they had gone, the hatred was transferred to their language, forgetting that it was the most valuable legacy they had left

With passion running high, the acceptance in the language formula of English as an associate official language was called by Hindi enthusiasts the handiwork of men with a slave mentality. Naturally, many members were apt to forget the realities:

First, the whole texture of our constitutional and legal concepts had been woven with ideas represented by English words.

Scholarship's debt

Secondly, Indian scholarship owed its standard to the close contact with English scholarship and its expression through the medium of English.

Thirdly, if our universities, law courts, and legislatures were rushed into accepting Hindi in place of English, the whole intellectual and administrative standards of the country would deteriorate.

Fourthly, Hindi could grow in precision and range of expression only by close contact with English.

Fifthly, for a long time to come. progress in science and technology in the country will be possible only through the medium of English language because of its international character.

Sixthly, for successfully carrying on international trade and commerce, an international language like English is

Lastly, English was the only available medium for inter-State communication, both official and non-official, and as an instrument of national

We did not give sufficient weight to these considerations, and now the anticipated dangers have unfortun-



A sporting Minister

No one has left such an indelible impression on the Bombay sports press as has Mr Bhagwat Jha Azad, Union Minister of State for Education. In two sessions with sport writers he not only displayed a deep understanding of the many ills which have retarded sport in the country but also indicated that at last the Government was finding an effective cure.

A test case is the Indian Olympic Association's boast that it can take on the conduct of the sixth Asian Games in 1970 with a grant of Rs five lakhs from the Government. The IOA has offered to find another Rs 10 lakhs "from other sources". Those who have studied the enormous funds and efforts which nations like Japan and Thailand lavished on past Asian Games, feel that India will need crores of rupees, not lakhs, to be able to make even a fair showing as hosts. Mr Azad, like the Bombay sport journalists, is convinced that at the short time now available neither the IOA nor sporting India can muster the funds, facilities or personnel to make the 1970 Asian Games in India a success.

Inefficient

This project apart, Mr Azad fully concurred with the unanimous verdict of Bombay's journalists that most national games federations were inefficient in the promotion of sport and the management of moneys entrusted to them by Government and public. They either fought shy of presenting audited accounts in time or showed that a sizeable proportion of aid had been utilised on officials, leaving very little for the game and the players. Scrutiny is resisted on the untenable claim of "autonomy." The Minister rightly pointed out that rendering account to the donor cannot infringe any type of "autonomy".

Mr Azad agreed that the holding of multiple office in sport and the presence of life-time presidents and secretaries were detrimental to progress. If in two decades the nation could not produce a second person worthy of taking over a responsible post, stagnation was inevitable, he said.

The Minister's fitness and appearance suggest more an active sportsman than a politician.

Hockey trials

Thanks to India being undisputed world hockey champion it is but natural that the national team's preparation to defend the title in Mexico next October should take precedence over all other sporting efforts. But there must be a limit to this concentration.

From the time the present hockey ad- absorb liquids and can be repeatedly ministration took over the Federation washed in hot water or dish washing

more than a decade back it has been a series of trials, camps and tours for the top players with little time for their normal occupations and family life.

Indian Air Force, the holders, in both matches, 1-0 and 3-1 for a goal aggregate of 4-1: For some strange reason — the gate-takings, perhaps — the organising

The past few months were no exception. The National Championship in the Nilgiri Hills was announced as a meet for Olympic selection. The players were all there, but not the selectors. The Gold Cup Tournament in Bombay was next nominated as the trial. Again the candidates turned up, only to find the selection committee absent. So the trials and travails of the national players continue. Some forty of them have been called now to the inevitable camp at Jullunder—seat of the Federation president.

By the time the final choice is made — many say that it is already made by the demi-gods of Indian hocky, to be duly ratified by the absent selectors — the players from one region, probably one favourite team, will eventually represent India, with a couple of outsiders thrown in to keep up pretences. This farce may be the reason why hockey is not developing as a national game.

Worthy winners

The Bombay Gold Cup Tournament standard was good, but not as high as one would have expected in the Olympic year. A Punjab team, playing as Border Security Force, won the trophy. Though sporting a new name, the players were vintage wine in new jars. As Punjab Hawks in 1957 and later as Punjab Police they had figured in several Gold Cup finals, winning the title in 1958, 1959 and again in 1963.

Border Security Force, as they choose to call themselves now, were worthy winners. In the two-way final they beat

Indian Air Force, the holders, in both matches, 1-0 and 3-1 for a goal aggregate of 4-1: For some strange reason — the gate-takings, perhaps — the organising Bombay Hockey Association changed its tournament rules half-way through the competition, forcing each team to play twice in the semi-finals and final.

A highlight of the final matches was a classic goal by veteran Udham Singh in the second meeting. Playing at insideright, Udham gained possession midfield, dashed through a host of Air Force defenders and scored with a rasping shot, the like of which is rarely seen in modern hockey.

Krishnan back

Talking of veterans, the return to international competition of Ramanathan Krishnan, greatest of India's tennis aces, is intriguing. Only a few months ago Krishnan announced his final retirement on physical grounds and business preoccupation. Almost overnight — after a long lay-off — he not only decided to play tennis again but came out with a cut-and-dried foreign tour campaign in a matter of days.

India could do with a player of Krishnan's calibre, particularly after the brittle form of the others who have been donning national colours. Still, how he convinced the Indian Lawn Tennis Association to bless his return and tour so abruptly is a mystery. We hope he will justify his return to the game by a return to his best form as well.

topscorer

FRONTIERS OF SCIENCE

Tough wood

Wood can now be made to resist cracking, swelling and warping. It can also be made stronger and non-absorbent to liquids. It becomes, in fact, a new material for industry.

First the wood is impregnated with plastic and then hardened by radiation. It still looks like wood but has new properties.

The Wantage Research Laboratory of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority has just produced in its irradiation plant the first batch of 24,000 handles for a new range of table cutlery. These handles are specially hygienic since they do not absorb liquids and can be repeatedly washed in hot water or dish washing

machines without losing their appearance. They are made of sycamore wood.

Natural wood is an attractive material, but it tends to absorb moisture and easily wears out by friction or abrasion. It also tends to shrink and expand with changing temperatures, and when exposed to heat it may split. Such properties make it difficult to keep a good surface finish with wood.

Composite material

These problems are overcome in wood-plastic composites where the natural pore structure of the wood is filled with an inert plastic consisting of a liquid monomer. This is then hardened by radiation. The new material has great strength and withstands moist and dry heat without cracking. Its surface can be machine finished to a durable high polish which enhances the wood grain.

REGINALD HOLME

This was a Life

GALILEO GALILEI 1564-1642

An enthusiastic and excited seeker after truth and a non-conformist, Galileo believed that one should learn about nature by observation and experiment rather than from the works of ancient scholars.

Born in Pisa, Italy, Galileo studied medicine, mathematics and physical science. At the age of 18 he noticed a swinging lamp in the cathedral and discovered that the steady oscillation could be utilised for exact measurement of time. This led to the invention of the pendulum used in clocks.

Aged 25 he became a professor of mathematics in the University of Pisa. Besides teaching, he continued his experiments and disproved the Aristotalian theory that the speed of falling objects was proportionate to their weight.

His denunciations made him unpopular. He was dismissed and went to the Padua University. Later he returned to Pisa and to his old post.

He devised the first thermometer in 1592 and a microscope in 1609. In the same year he constructed the first astronomical telescope.

It was Galileo who found out that planets shone by the reflected light of the sun. He also explored the Milky Way and discovered four more satellites of Jupiter.

When Galileo ascertained the Copernican Theory that the earth revolved around the sun, Pope Paul V warned him not to "hold, teach or defend" the theory. Despite the warning, in 1632, he published "Dialogue Concerning the Two Principal Systems of the World" — a satire exposing the falsity of the traditional geocentric theory and the truth of the Copernican Theory.

Galileo was summoned by Pope Urban before the Inquisition. He was forced to swear that his beliefs were false, though he is reported to have added, under his breath, "Nevertheless the earth does move around the sun." Later his prison sentence was commuted by the Pope.

He spent his last years in Arcetri, where he wrote "Dialogues Concerning Two New Sciences". This was smuggled to Holland and published in 1638. By then Galileo was totally blind and he died in 1642.

T.P.A.

VINDICTIVENESS?

THE kindness and hard work with which Father Vincent Ferrer has dedicated himself to the villagers of Manmad for so many years comes surely from his desire for the uplift of mankind rather than the ruin of India. It seems so mean to expel a social worker who has done so much. Yet, what is his reward? "Quit India".

If the Government of Maharashtra has a case, why does it not trust its own people and let them know all the facts? Is it that it is ashamed to admit its own bungling, its own apathy towards the welfare of its people, its own jealousy and vindictiveness towards those who sincerely try to help them?

It will be a lasting shame to all of us to expel such a man from such a land where religious tolerance is one of our proudest boasts, and respect for all religions a cherished part of our heritage.

KOUSHIK DUTT, Hazaribagh

SUCCESS

LET me congratulate you on the bold manner in which you have presented the case of Father Ferrer. I am very happy indeed that your efforts together with the efforts made by other organisations in this direction have been crowned with success.

M. DE MELO, Bombay 1

UNECONOMIC RAIL LINES

In its latest report, the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament has called for an early decision by the Railway Ministry on the closure of uneconomical rail lines.

First of all, to term rail lines economical or uneconomical is itself a wrong idea, and then to advise the closure of uneconomical lines is nothing short of a blunder. Some railway lines may run at a good profit and others at a loss, but

Letters

the efficiency of the Railway Administration lies in balancing both and running the Indian Railways as a public conveyance on a no-profit and no-loss basis.

In spite of all, if our Railways still cannot run certain lines economically, and if they don't want to bear the liabilities any more, then let them hand over those sick rail lines to private companies to run on trial basis for a certain period, or on a contract basis. Many capable private companies are ready to turn the uneconomical rail lines into profitable ones and accept the challenge.

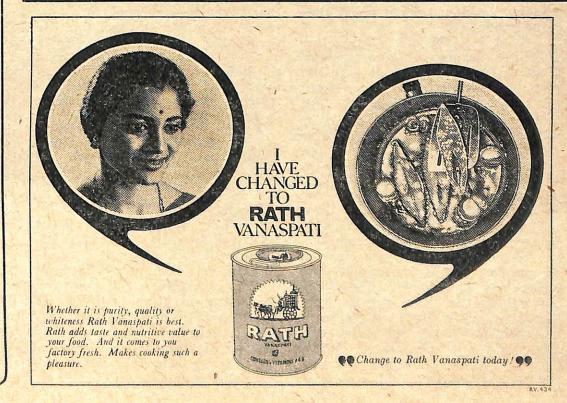
K. RAMASWAMY, Bombay 22

UF PROPAGANDA MISFIRES

Congress leaders seem entitled to the satisfaction that the United Front's propaganda blaming the Centre for the food crisis in Kerala has misfired. Perhaps the United Front over-reached itself in this regard. It emphasised so much what it called the Union Government's starvation policy towards Kerala that the people understandably suspected the Front of holding up the Centre as a scapegoat for all its failures. If, on the other hand, it had effectively pursued a procurement policy without fear or favour, the charge against the Centre of deliberately witholding promised food supplies would have hurt the Congress cause and helped the Front.

The majority of the urban population were dismayed by the vulgar quarrels of the Front partners in the Government, prompting the question whether they were voted to office merely to keep the Congress out of it.

T. S. PRASAD, Mysore 1



Accents, faces and places

by Rajmohan Gandhi

My father was Gujarati. My unworthy to be known, Asian mother is Tamil. I was born and raised in Delhi and went to a particular school and a particular Khasis and Garos and the hund-

buted to what I thought was my splendid accent. Others, less fortunate, spoke crudely, inelegantly and funnily in their Punjabi, Bengali, Malayali or some inferior style. Secretly or openly, I laughed at the way they spoke.

lucky felt exactly the same way about me. My mixed-up product was amusing in front of his chiselled Punjabi or cultured Bengali or rhythmic Malayali accent.

Before I saw the light it was almost impossible for me to send a telegram over the phone. The accent of the person taking down the message would curl me up with laughter. But he or she had the final laugh because my telegram was either mutilated or delayed as a result of my struggle with myself.

Not in the "mainstream"

Now I have learnt my lesson. When in Calcutta I tried to speak to telephone operators in a Bengali accent. In Bombay, in Maharashtrian style. In Madras, in South and money.

What is it in our natures that dislikes, despises or ignores some-Or look like us?

Many South Indians, for instance, feel that the man from Punjab, Delhi, Lucknow or Patna is not quite it. A number of northerners are convinced that the "Madrasi" is somehow a bit less of an Indian than they. Nearly all think that the Nagas, Mizos, Khasis, Garos and other tribals do not belong to the mainstream.

"Which part of Japan do you come from?" "Are you from Hong Kong or Singapore?" These are thoughtful people of what the strange people from unknown, and the plains people.

Some of us expect Nagas, Mizos, reds of great tribes living in our All these glorious factors contri- North-East, including NEFA, instantly to break into Hindi when they meet us. Or we expect them to dress the way we do, eat what we eat, worship how we worship and honour the historical heroes we honour. We lose our temper when they don't. The perplexed Somehow I did not perceive that and proud tribal people are not every fellow I found odd and un- then encouraged in their desire to

Lesser-known facts

There are other facts of course. A Mizo working as an official of the Central Government in Delhi told me about some of them. He said that only a few years ago there was harmony in the Mizo Hills. Mizos were enjoying Hindi films and their women were learning classical Indian-dancing.

Some officials found that men and women mixed more freely with one another in the Mizo Hills than where they came from. They took advantage of this and took liberty with Mizo women. This did not increase Mizo

He said it was also the experience of many Mizos and Nagas Indian fashion. I have saved time that other Indians could not bear to let them get to the top. He related the story of a Mizo boy in an Assam college who reached one if he does not talk like us? the finals of a badminton tournament, but found that the last match was never played, because he was expected to win.

A Khasi leader says that leading and well-educated Khasi families resent the fact that the richer non-Khasis from the plains buy the favours of their women.

We try to find explanations for the lack of rapport between the tribal people and the rest of India. Missionaries are accused of creating discord. There may be indiquestions the tribal people have two visits to the North-East I been asked by some of the more found that, by and large, the result of the missionaries' work has



Foreign lands are accused of deliberate subversion. They probably are planning for it, but only if hate exists can it be exploited.

The truth may be simpler, and more uncomfortable. The self-love. indifference, conceit and lust in all of us may be the real reason for the alienation of so many in the crucial North-East.

"What is needed," a government official who has worked for years in the area told me, "is Moral Re-Armament at every level in the relationships with the feel they belong to the mainstream. people of the North-East." This would mean that the Governor, the Chief Minister, politicians, government officials, all try to deal with the Nagas, Mizos, Khasis and others with absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love.

It would mean that businessmen in Gauhati, Shillong, Tura, Kohima and Aijal apply these standards in their dealings. It would mean that professors and fellow students in the numerous colleges all over the country, where Nagas, Mizos, Khasis, Garos and others study, put them into practice.

It would mean army officers, soldiers, police officers and constables conducting their lives according to them. It would mean travellers and tourists taking this road. And the missionaries, and we must not forget newspapermen.

Diversity is wealth

Recently, two women from Mysore and Punjab went to Assam and Nagaland. Their attempt was to live and give Moral Re-Armament. They spoke honestly about their aims, and sincerely about their vision of what the people of hill and valley could do. The response to them was staggering. Everywhere, and by every kind of group, they were asked to come

It is donkey-like to think that our country's diversity is a problem. To have in our country vidual exceptions, but on my races and peoples who look like East and South-East Asians is incalculable wealth. They, far more than the rest of us, can win latter think is India proper. Others been to increase, not decrease, Asia, and indeed other parts of merely think they are meeting the unity between the tribals and the world, to the concepts and aims India chooses to stand for.

FIND THE BALL Competition No 71

HOW TO PLAY

The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to mark a cross (not circle, arrow, etc) where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and coupon and send it to "Find the Ball", c/o HIMMAT, 294 Bazargate Street, Bombay 1 before noon on Monday, May 20

The winner will be announced in the following issue. You may make not more than Six Entries, in any competition. N.B only one cross may be marked on each picture. The Editor's decision is final.

Nearest entry wins Rs. 25 On the ball wins the Jackpot*

*Each week half the prize of Rs. 50 will be awarded to to a "Jackpot" to be won by the first competitor who marks EXACTLY the centre of the ball. This Jackpot late by Rs. 25 per week until it is won.

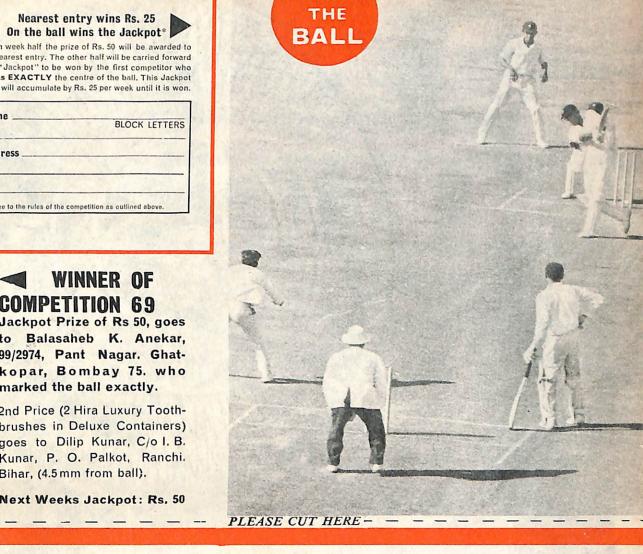
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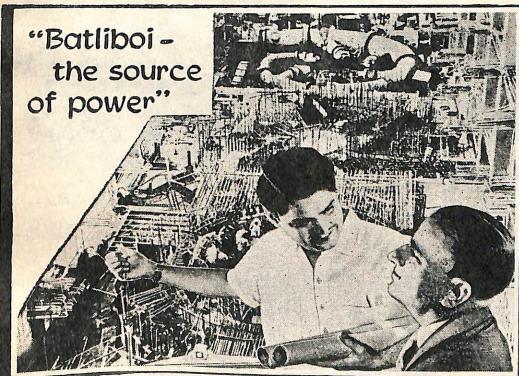
WINNER OF **COMPETITION 69**

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2nd Price (2 Hira Luxury Toothbrushes in Deluxe Containers) goes to Dilip Kunar, C/o I. B. Kunar, P. O. Palkot, Ranchi. Bihar, (4.5 mm from ball).

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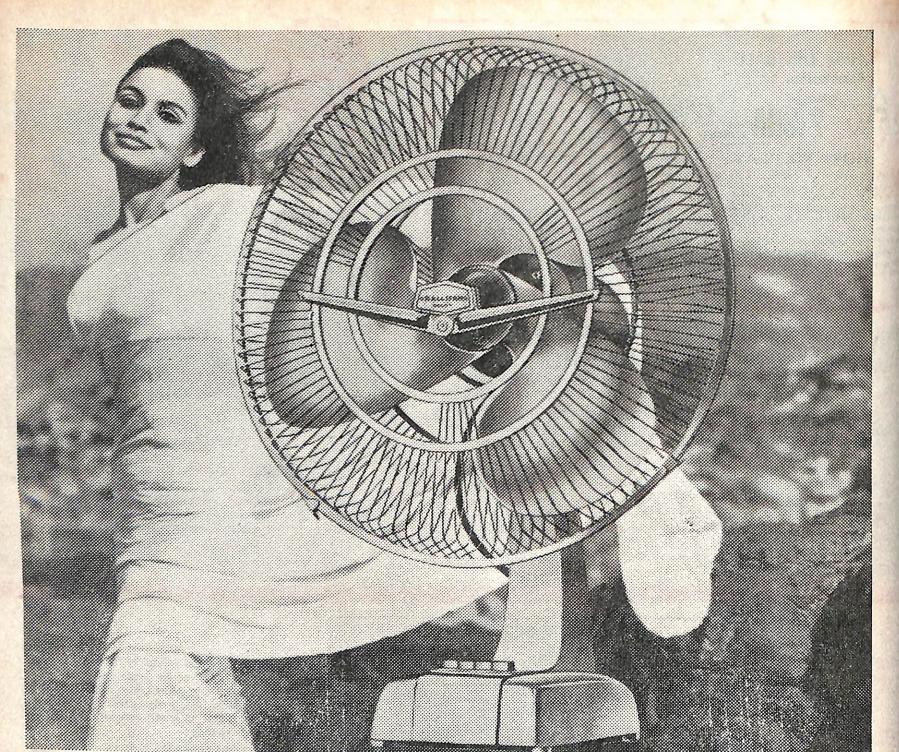
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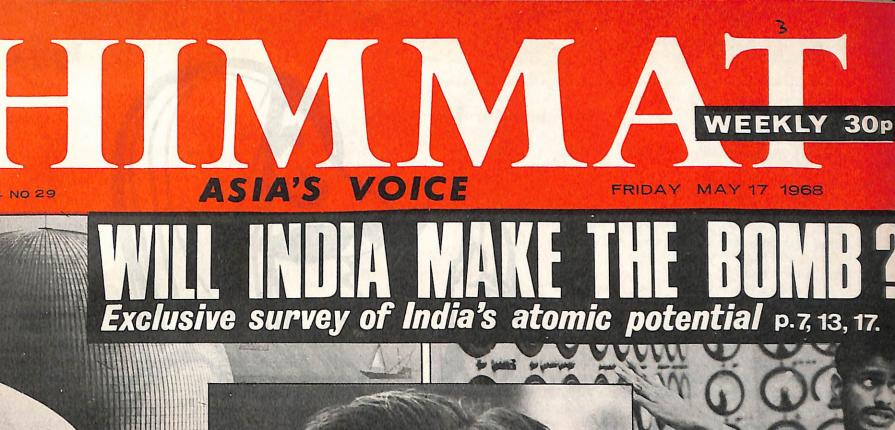
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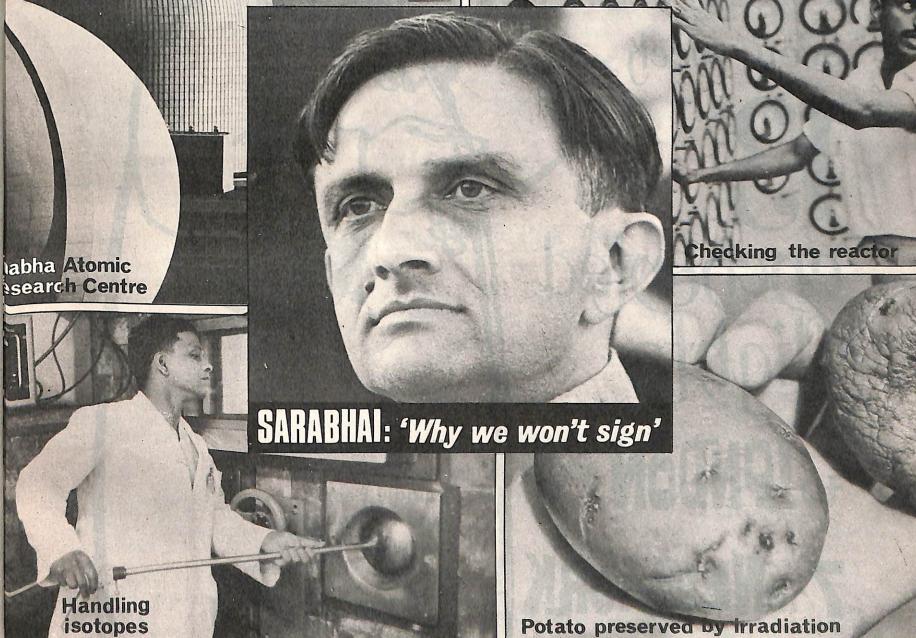
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Dr. Sethna, Atomic Research Chief, says: 'We only have to boil up the kettle'