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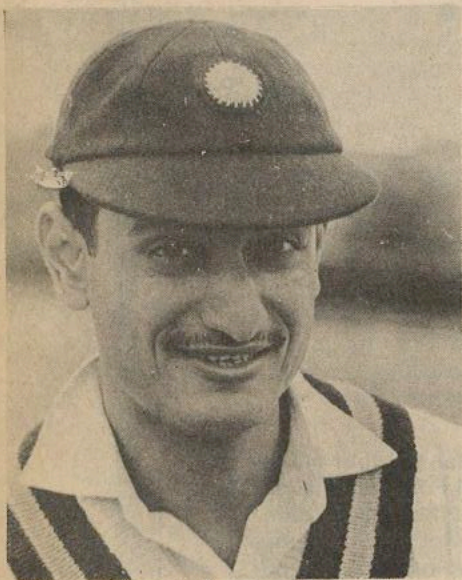
ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY JANUARY 12 1973

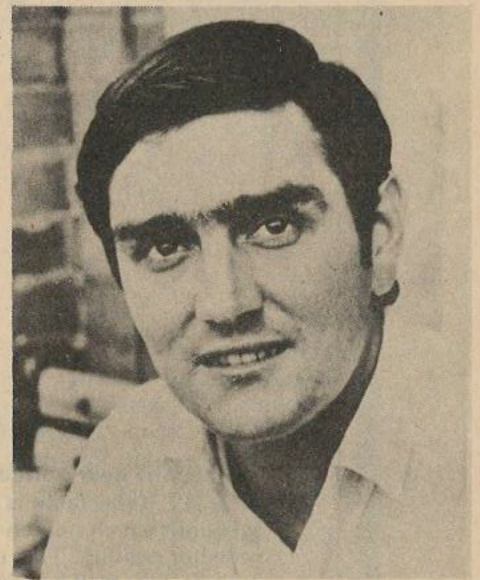
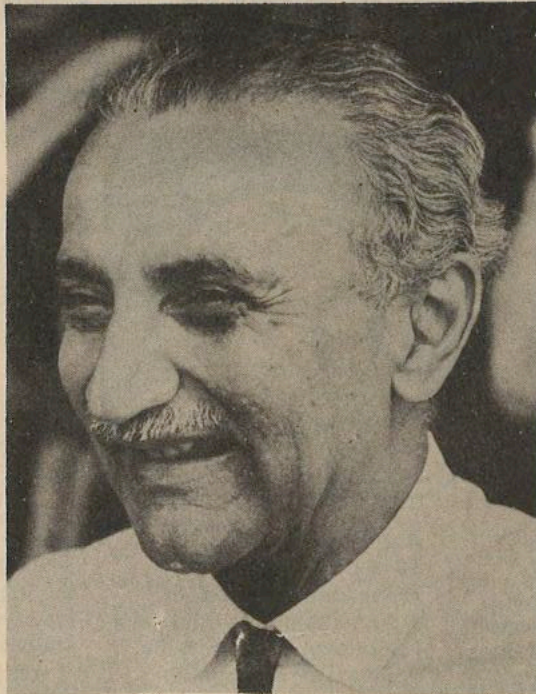
Q: Will INDIA win against MCC?

VIJAY MERCHANT

Speaks to HIMMAT on
The Calcutta Test and After



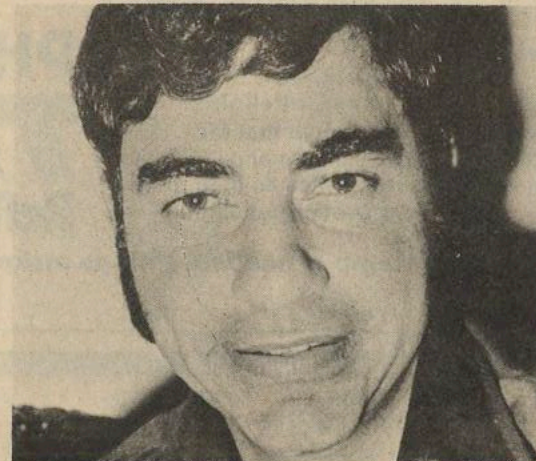
WADEKAR
Winning Captain



LEWIS
'taught us to keep fighting'



CHANDRA
'never bowled better'



ENGINEER
'aggressive and capable'



PATAUDI
'tremendous asset'

Will good sense prevail in Andhra?

IN Andhra the Centre is faced with a dilemma. The trouble is caused by Congressmen and not by any Opposition party. One of the reasons which has led to division along regionalistic lines in the state legislature has been the thoughtless remarks of Chief Minister P. Narasimha Rao, who is from Telengana, after the five-point formula was accepted unanimously by the Andhra Assembly. The result is that Andhra MLAs have broken away and are using street violence to press separatist demands.

In addition 11 Congress MPs have had the audacity to issue a directive to their people to "paralyse the state administration" and are using the resulting chaos, loss of life and property as a justification for the bifurcation of Andhra. Such an act defies all logic when one considers that these men are supposed to be a vital part of our parliamentary democracy.

Mr Govind Narain, the Union Home Secretary, visiting Hyderabad, rightly pointed out that the staff of the State Electricity Board, who responded to the call for a political strike, are part of a statutory autonomous body and therefore are not even affected by the Mulki Rules, which the agitation is against.

The options before the Centre are, first, to bifurcate the State. This would have terrible repercussions around India. Not only would other regions follow suit but it would strengthen the faith of those who

believe in using violence to get their demands. At present Mrs Gandhi is determined not to follow this course.

The second option is to declare President's Rule and restore some semblance of normalcy in the state. Mrs Gandhi does not appear too anxious to follow this course if it can be avoided.

The third option is for the Centre to remain firm in its decision to implement the Mulki Rules Act. Mrs Gandhi is trying to appeal to the moderate elements to accept her five-point formula, which is very fair. As the Home Secretary states, the Prime Minister has "equal love and affection" for the people of both the Telengana and the Andhra regions of the disturbed state.

The leaders and peoples of both regions should give the five-point formula a fair trial for at least one year. Then they can see whether it is impartial or one-sided. If they are dissatisfied at the end of this period they can always negotiate again. But taking to the streets without permitting the Prime Minister's plan to work shows scant respect for the PM and even less concern for the nation's interests.

By calling off their language agitation the people of Cachar in Assam have strengthened the roots of democracy. Can the people of Andhra be inspired to do the same?

Swaran in Tokyo

THE four day mission of External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh to Japan — probably the key country in the changes likely to take place in Asia this year — is indeed welcome.

Japan this year and in the near future has to make decisions that will determine her course probably until the end of this century. As the third largest industrial power in the world with an energetic population culturally akin to the Chinese, Japan's importance cannot be underrated in India. The issues the Japanese leadership faces are whether to rearm on a large scale, how to ensure markets and sources of raw material in the years ahead, what Japan's relationships should be with the arch-rivals, China and Russia.

Recently the Chief Administrator of the Japanese Defence Council, Mr Osamu Kaihara, said the immediate creation of a People's Defence Militia was essential to the defence of the country. Japan "could not hold out for an hour" against the Russian forces now deployed in Eastern Asia, Mr Kaihara claimed. It was quite impossible to defend Japan with only 260,000 men.

However, unlike other men who are dissatisfied with Japanese defence capabilities, Mr Kaihara does not advocate that Japan becomes a nuclear power. The Government of Japan will not find it easy to increase to any large extent the country's Self-Defence Forces without running into the deep-seated Japanese revulsion to war and the military following the horrors and defeat of the Second World War.

Already the drive — and what some would regard as

the ruthlessness — of Japanese business expansion abroad has brought unfavourable repercussions. To meet these reactions in South-East Asia Foreign Minister Ohira said that Japan would take an active role in channelling funds to rebuild Indo-China. He understood the resentments created by his country's aggressive commercial techniques and was requesting firms to do business on the basis of "a full understanding of the peoples of the countries concerned". And as the "Far Eastern Economic Review" states "Japanese business is uniquely responsive to Liberal Democrat Party (ie Government) 'guidance'."

The Russians have offered the Japanese great opportunities in the development of Siberia — estimated to be the richest zone in the world for minerals and the raw materials of industrial strength. Similarly the Chinese are attracting Japanese businessmen to their vast land with the possibilities of a big consumer market and the opportunities to build factories and aid the Chinese with their technological skills. Japan may be compelled to make an economic choice between Russia and China and this choice will have worldwide repercussions.

As far as India is concerned it would be worthwhile for India's labour-intensive industry to manufacture components for Japanese industry. Japan's increased participation in India's economic development would be most welcome. Both from the economic and political viewpoints Mr Swaran Singh's visit comes at the right time.

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Briefly Speaking.....

Talent is developed in retirement: character is formed in the rush of the world.

GOETHE, 1749-1832

Happy New Year

THIRTY South Italian warlocks and witches, dressed in cloaks and tall peaked hats met for five hours amidst fumes of incense in a remote mountain cave. Later Antonio Battista, the association's President, flanked by two witches each with a crow perched on her shoulder, announced their predictions:

● Lasting peace in the Middle East is nearer than ever before.

● In Ulster relations between Protestants and Catholics will continue to worsen till mid '73 but in September there will be a solution partly due to Pope Paul's efforts.

● King Hussein of Jordan will again be in great peril but once again his "stars are favourable to him".

● The Vietnam negotiations will remain confused for the time being.

● Some important person somewhere in the world will be ousted in a brief revolution.

If the witches and warlocks are right we seem to be in for a fairly happy new year!

Hope soars skyward

GLYN JAMES is a fiery, red-headed Welsh nationalist dubbed "the Rhondda rebel" by the press. He and his wife have campaigned for equal status for the Welsh language with English inside Wales. This is an issue that arouses strong feelings in Wales against what is regarded as English dominance. But on the eve of Britain's entry into the European Economic Community, James and a group of supporters were up all night doing something not just for Wales or even Britain but for the whole of Europe.

In a cabin on Mount Snowdon they inflated 1000 balloons with helium. Each balloon carried a message which the Welsh hoped would reach continental Europe. The message said: "We are finding that a determined application of the revolutionary ideas at the heart of our heritage — as restated in "The Black and White Book"* — is providing a path of unity for all Welshmen, and shows us its relevance to the building of a new world.

"With this new spirit, Britain and Europe will find a uniting purpose and passion to meet the needs of the whole world."

Victory for a song

THE secret behind the success of Chappell's cricket team in England has been revealed by Keith Stackpole, the Aussie vice-captain, in an

* Extracts from the BLACK AND WHITE BOOK by Sydney Cook and Garth Lean (Blandford Press) were published in the issue of HIMMAT dated July 28, 1972. Copies of the book are available from MRA Publications, 501 Arun Chambers, (fifth floor), Tardeo Road, Bombay 34, for Rs 3.80 (postage included).

exclusive article for Sydney's "Daily Telegraph".

Writes Stackpole: "It was a sing-along... Ross Edwards on guitar would supply the rhythm and everyone would join in the chorus... We had our own resident Rogers and Hammerstein in Paul Sheahan and Greg Chappell who would write topical verses for the team song. It might sound a bit like kid's stuff, but in fact these singalong nights were great for team spirit."

Isn't it time Ajit Wadekar started a singalong for the Indian team? But it may be a little difficult to know just what to sing as Sunil Gavaskar likes Western pop music and Chandrashekar may go in for classical Karnatakai beat, Farokh Engineer prefers soft and melodious "geets" by Saigal, Pankaj Mallick and Hemant Kumar. And perhaps Bishen Singh Bedi, who has just bagged his 100th Test wicket, may prefer dance — bhangra — to songs.

If someone were able to achieve a synthesis of all these tastes he would make a significant service not just to the cause of cricket but to that of national integration.

Birbal

HIMMAT

Selected Air Mail Rates

	Local or Sterling	Indian Rs.
AUSTRALIA	\$(Aus) 12	99
BANGLADESH	85p	15
CANADA	\$ 18.50	127
EAST AFRICA	£ 4.70	84
FIJI	£ 5.85	105
FINLAND	£ 4.70	84
FRANCE	£ 4.70	84
GERMANY	£ 4.70	84
HOLLAND	£ 4.70	84
JAPAN	£ 4.70	84
NEPAL	—	40
NEW ZEALAND	\$ 13	108
PAKISTAN	—	40
S. AFRICA	£ 4.70	84
S. AMERICA	\$ 17.50	127
S. EAST ASIA	£ 3.50	63
SCANDINAVIA	£ 5.85	105
SRI LANKA	Rs 32	40
SWITZERLAND	£ 4.70	84
U. K.	£ 4.70	84
U. S. A.	\$ 17.50	127
U. S. S. R.	—	84
WEST AFRICA	£ 5.85	105

INDIA: 1 yr Rs 15; 3 yrs Rs 40

Vijay Merchant on Calcutta Test and after

On behalf of HIMMAT Satish Shah interviewed India's former Test captain, Vijay Merchant. One of the great names in Indian cricket Mr Merchant is also a wellknown commentator.

Q: Who was chiefly responsible for the miracle that took place at Eden Gardens on January 4?

A: Team work, discipline and the determination to win were chiefly responsible for the "miracle" that took place at Eden Gardens on January 4. Our players did not give up even when the going looked hopeless and fought it out to the bitter end. This great trait in our cricket has been apparent for the last two years and the Indian team deserves full credit for their fighting powers. And of course in the final stages the tremendous bowling performance of Chandrasekhar assisted by equally magnificent Bedi turned the tide in our favour. But our outstanding fielding must not be denied its credit. Some of the catches and the saves that our cricketers have brought about would do credit to any international team. Farokh Engineer behind the wicket was most inspiring. He kept everyone on his toes by his magnificent wicket-keeping.

Q: What do you think about the tremendous spin bowling by Chandrasekhar and Bedi?

A: No amount of praise that anyone can offer can be adequate for what Chandrasekhar and Bedi did in this match. They were the heroes of Calcutta. They were just superb. Bedi is a great foil for Chandrasekhar who has the genius to upset the world's greatest batsmen. I do not think he has ever bowled better than in this match and what a change from the second innings of the Delhi Test! He not only attacked all the time on a wicket which was a little responsive but he extracted a lot of

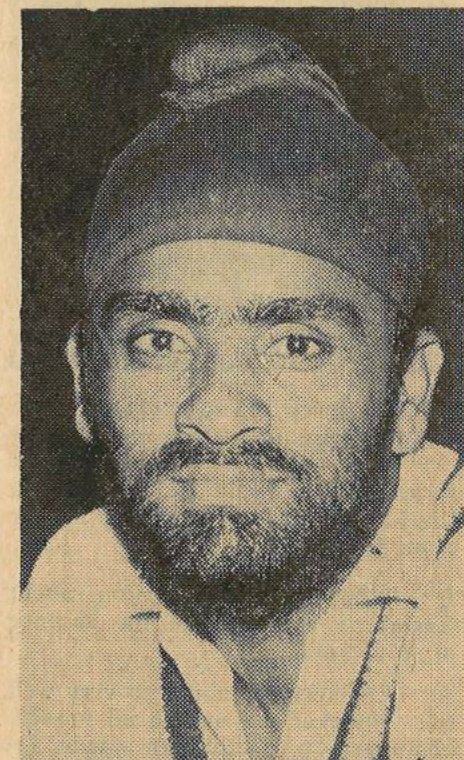
SO THEY SAY

I have already put in 40 years of service. I am getting tired now.
FIELD MARSHAL S.H.F.J. MANEKSHAW

We want friendship with all. But this does not mean that we will be a satellite of any power.
SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN

Please bear with the present Government, which will help regain paradise within the next three years.
DR N. M. PERERA,
Sri Lanka's Finance Minister

life out of the wicket. For a bowler of his type, he was most economical and he has proved beyond doubt that he is one of the finest in the world in contemporary cricket. Bedi put in a tremendous performance and his class can never be judged



B. S. BEDI:
keeping the series alive

only by the number of wickets that he takes. Bedi and Chandrasekhar will be known as from now as a pair of great bowlers and in the same breath as Grimmet and O'Reilly, Laker and Lock and similar combinations. Bravo Chandrasekhar and Bedi. India is extremely proud of you both, but more than that India is extremely grateful to you for keeping us in the picture and the series very much alive.

Q: What replacement do you suggest in the third Test at Madras? Can Chetan Chauhan replace Abid Ali?

A: I never look at the score board and hence it is impossible for me to know how our cricketers played in Calcutta. The fact that all the 15 have been retained for the Madras

Test suggests that our selectors have been satisfied with the overall performance of the team. It is best left to them to make the final choice. Chetan Chauhan, if given a chance, could only replace an opening batsman.

Q: None of the team has scored more than 250 runs so far in any innings. What reason do you give for that?

A: All accounts indicate that the batting on both the sides has not played up to its form and reputation. The wickets at Delhi and Calcutta were responsive but not to the extent of 7½ innings being played with a score of 300 not being reached. Good bowling on a wicket which helped a little and excellent fielding on both the sides may be to a large extent responsible for smaller scores; but who could grumble considering that matches of small scores have contributed to some of the most exciting and palpitating cricket which India has ever witnessed?

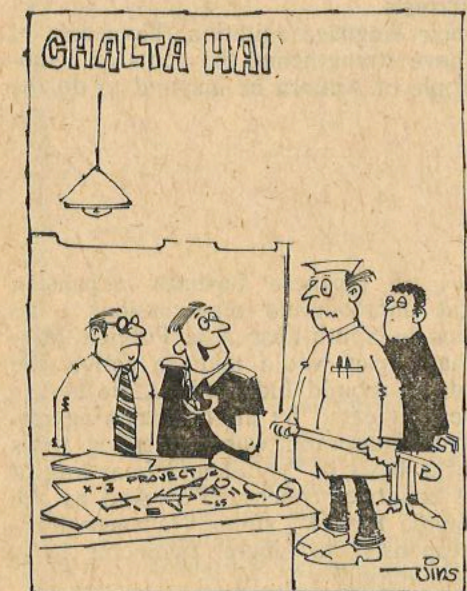
Q: Compared to our fielding in West Indies and England, why did our fielders fail at Delhi and Calcutta?

A: Our fielders in Delhi and Calcutta did not fail us. On the contrary they did us every possible credit, considering the number of outstanding catches that were held and number of runs saved in the field. Some of the catches bordered on the miraculous. Fielding has to be considered overall and not one or two catches missed here and there under severe tension.

Q: What is the reason behind Gavaskar's failure?

A: I am unable to make it out myself. He knows the mistakes he is making and yet in spite of his best efforts, at a critical moment he just makes them. He has not had much luck in the series either. He told me at Delhi, "Nothing seems to go right with me, Vijay. The harder I am trying, the more wrong I am going." I can tell his admirers without the least hesitation that he has not lost his head and his cap is not too small for him. He still remains the modest cricketer who returned from West Indies last year with performances so outstanding that they would have done credit to a Bradman. No

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



"We can't break promises. We said the project would be ready in the New Year, luckily we didn't mention which year."

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VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT ...

AWARDS the "Order of the Chameleon" to former Orissa Chief Minister, Mr Harekrishna Mahtab, who with great regularity continues to change his political affiliations and **FAILS TO COMPREHEND** why he should give a new name to his old party.

IS AMUSED that Delhi University students have concluded that their job is to study and have ended their 50-day agitation and **CONSIDERS** that DUSU President Shri Ram Khanna is well set on the road of a political career now that he has successfully concluded a week long hunger strike.

RAISES ITS VOICE against Philippine President Marcos for revoking his order allowing a free discussion on the new constitution and **WARNS** that totalitarian methods are no way to fight communist subversion.

IS KNOCKED OUT by the statement of heavyweight boxing champion Muhammed Ali that the Libyan leader Colonel Gaddafi has donated \$4 million to Black Moslems in the US to build a mosque.

DIALS A DOCTOR on discovering that over one fifth of the country's textile mills are sick and are run by the National Textile Corporation or state Governments and **APPEALS** for emergency measures to combat this epidemic.

SAYS HALLELUJAH that Michelangelo's famous Pieta has been completely restored after it was damaged in May 1972 by a man wielding a hammer.

CONGRATULATES the Centre for clearing the state Government's proposal on four railway projects, including the Konkan railway, which will not only provide employment for drought-stricken people in Maharashtra but also open up Marathwada for economic development.

MOURNS the passing away of Dr N. B. Parulekar, Editor of the Marathi daily "Sakal" and Chairman of the Press Trust of India, and **WILL MISS** his pungent yet constructive comments on national and international issues.

VIJAY MERCHANT — from page 5

swollen-headed cricketer would have said what he said to me in Delhi. He is too great a cricketer to continuously fail and let us all hope that he has not played his last Test in this



SUNIL GAVASKAR:
too great to continuously fail

series. That would be more of a tragedy for Indian cricket than for Sunil Gavaskar.

Q: What is your opinion about Engineer's captaincy in the absence of Wadekar?

A: Engineer captained so very well that Wadekar was not at all missed. His approach to captaincy was as aggressive as his own batting and he certainly opened the eyes of many people about his capability as a captain. The fact that Ajit Wadekar did not handover the charge to the senior cricketer of the side, Salim Durrani, but to Farokh Engineer indicates how much Ajit Wadekar respects his opinions. Even at Delhi where Venkataraghavan was playing, Wadekar continuously consulted Engineer.

Q: Does Pataudi stand any chance in the Indian team at this stage?*

A: Why not? He has just made a big score and that is all that he wanted to restore his confidence. There is nothing wrong with Pataudi's batting as there is nothing wrong with Gavaskar's. All that has been lost is the confidence and let us hope it will be built up sufficiently for Pataudi to help Indian batting in this

* This question was asked a few hours before Pataudi was selected.

series. It is a wrong impression that the selectors cannot add to the 15 selected for Madras. They can certainly do so and select Pataudi even for Madras. But then, the selectors would know how well he played in Bangalore and whether he should be given preference over others. That he would be a tremendous asset in the field goes without saying.

Q: Do you think India will win the series?

A: No man in his right mind can forecast the result of this series — more so after what has happened in Delhi and Calcutta. In Delhi we should have won and in Calcutta England should have won because the atmosphere and the wicket were more like English conditions and hence more suitable to the visitors. And yet, what happened? So let us leave the result of the series for the time being and say, "may the better side win." We shall be grateful to India and England if they keep up this tremendous tempo and exciting finishes. That would be a greater contribution to the game than for one or the other country to win the series.

Q: When the MCC announced their team to tour India, there were many who criticised and called them a 'second-rate team'. Do you think the MCC have proved themselves to be an equal match for India?

A: My reactions to the England side are too well-known to need repetition. They appeared in the press and what has happened has merely confirmed my point of view. It will be touch and go for either team, to clinch the series. So far as the Calcutta test is concerned, let me say to India, "Bravo, we are proud of you." To England, "You taught us how to fight and keep on fighting to the bitter end. You were superbly glorious in defeat."

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A call for conspicuous austerity

by N. A. Palkhivala

Recently HIMMAT presented two views on social justice and economic growth, those of the Planning Minister, Mr D. P. Dhar, and Professor C. N. Vakil (December 15, 1972). This week we present another view, of the industrialist and eminent lawyer, Mr N. A. Palkhivala. The following is an extract from his speech as Chairman to the shareholders of the Associated Cement Companies Limited.

ON August 15, 1972, we completed 25 years of our independence with some impressive gains to our credit, and started the next quarter with a bewildering array of problems and difficulties. In the words of G. K. Chesterton, we seem to have not only lost the way but to have lost the map.

The tide refused to roll back at the dictate of the King; and poverty has shown no signs of leaving India despite the stern and repeated admonition "Quit Poverty" uttered by men in power. Poverty is cruel but curable; perhaps the time has come to select a new cure on considerations of efficacy alone.

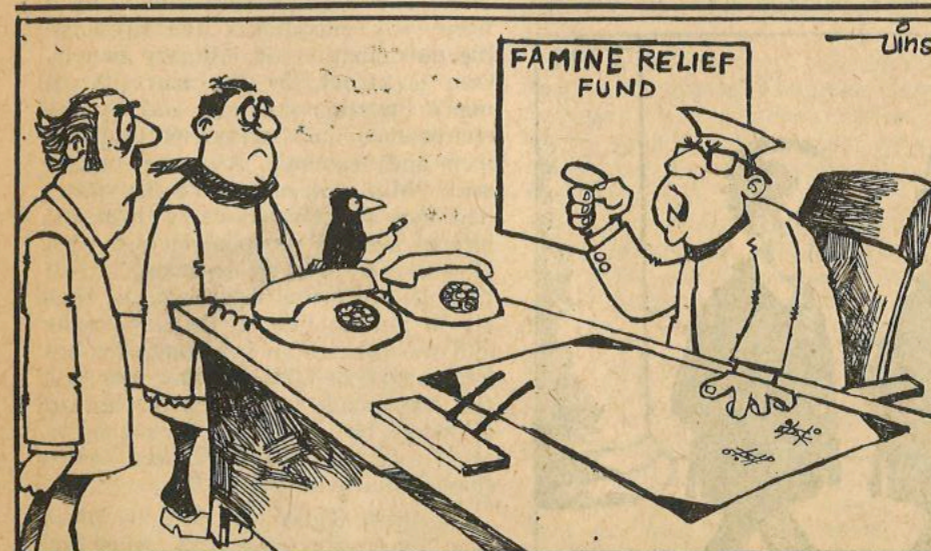
There is no dispute that social justice is not merely a moral imperative but a political imperative, if democracy is to survive and restlessness is not to grow into rebellion. The vital point which is normally missed in political histrionics is that while it is possible, in a poor country like India, to have economic growth without social justice, it is utterly impossible to have social justice without economic growth.

There is need in our time and land to recall the wise words of Robert S. McNamara who has done more to better the lot of the underdeveloped countries than any other single individual in history. "For a

poor country to operate an economy which distributes income among the people more justly, there manifestly must be economic growth. Without economic growth a poor country can only remain poor. There is little point in trying to redistribute indigence."

While the country is in the grip of a grave crisis, it would be the height of folly to let our reaction to the crisis be determined by what is loosely assumed or hastily described or piously hoped. We should isolate and excise the malevolent cells in our planning and policies, which are responsible for our economic ill-health. Unfortunately, only the finest of statesmen have the courage and perspicacity to do such an exercise.

If we were able and willing to learn in the school of experience and error, we would begin to understand that the public sector does not necessarily spell public good and the private sector does not merely spell private gain. Our scarce financial resources should not be wasted on ideological preferences which envisage a dichotomy between the public sector and the private sector. The Government and the people should think of only one sector — the national sector.



"Who said we are doing nothing? Already we've spent Rs 60 lakhs on Ministers inspecting the affected areas."

If politics were behind our economic thinking and not in front of it, we would realise that it is wholly in the interest of the unprivileged, bowed by the weight of centuries of poverty, that many enterprises in the private sector, which subserve the common good and which we take such incredible pains to constrict, must be actively helped to expand far and fast. At the same time, a pattern of fair and equitable distribution of income must be built into our planning strategy and we must insist upon social justice as a concomitant of economic growth. Our planning should aim at the goal that every one per cent increase in the average per capita income should be simultaneously accompanied by three per cent increase in the per capita income of the bottom 40 per cent of the population who live below the official poverty line; and our industrial controls should ensure that a reasonable percentage of the production of the basic industrial commodities like steel and cement is earmarked for the poorest sector.

Every company should be encouraged to provide, wherever possible, bare essentials like water, all-weather roads, schools, simple houses and medical aid, within a substantially wide area around the company's works, and the expense should be made deductible for tax purposes. This would help to reduce the degrading deprivations that entrap our poorest classes who have been benefited so little out of the taxes collected all these years.

In the last analysis it is only a sense of dedication and self-discipline which can enable us to ride the storm. The affluent section of society should have a self-denying ordinance to restrain their expenditure, instead of waiting for legislation to bring about that result. Conspicuous consumption should be voluntarily replaced by conspicuous austerity. Organised industrial labour has an equally important duty towards the nation. It is generally forgotten that even the lowest-paid unskilled worker in large-scale industries gets total emoluments which place him among the top 10 per cent of the nation in terms of income. Pushing up industrial wages further would not merely accentuate inflation but would blight the prospects of industrial stability and job potential and be gravely unfair to the poorest third of the nation who would be further hit by spiralling prices.

Egypt's restless mood

FROM A CORRESPONDENT RECENTLY IN CAIRO

As the Palestine National Congress assembled in Cairo last week President Sadat sent a message to the opening session appealing urgently for unity among its numerous groups. At the same time Cairo's students erupted in violence, and all the country's colleges and universities were closed. The Palestine delegates may well have asked how united is Egypt herself.

Police with batons and tear gas managed to contain the actual violence to an area surrounding Cairo University, but student opposition has been far more widely organised, for instance in Alexandria University.

No special privilege

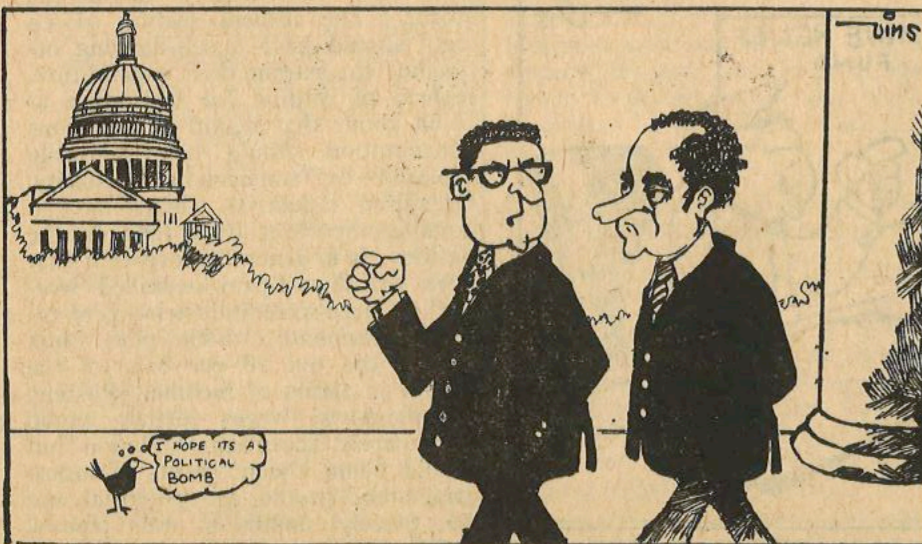
The main cause of discontent is the students' fury at not being allowed to express themselves freely on national issues. Sadat has relaxed censorship a shade since Nasser's day, but enough only to encourage the demand that it be lifted completely. The Minister of Interior stated the position very clearly on January 8 in a speech to the police. He said the students were free to express their beliefs, but only within the structure of the Arab Socialist Union, Egypt's one political party. They could not claim a "special privilege" over the rest of society.

The other side of censorship is the shortage of information given by the Government to the people. A few weeks ago the BBC were severely reproved by Egypt for reporting there had been troop movements in Cairo and an attempted coup. At the very least it seems that an army officer made an anti-Government speech in a mosque and several officers were suspended. But as one medical student said, "We just do not know what is going on."

The students' action reflects a mood of baffled frustration in the country at large, which is being expressed more and more openly.

The Prime Minister in a major policy speech last November said the country was ready to fight Israel. In the debate in the People's Assembly which followed, members openly doubted the truth of this. One referred to a freak rainstorm a week before, which put at least half of Cairo's telephones out of action for a week. He voiced the suspicion that the country was just as unprepared for military emergencies.

The Egyptian working man still has the capacity to joke about the most sombre situations. One "man in the street" said that if Israel wants to paralyse Egypt, all she needs to do is drop not giant bombs but giant tanks of water on Cairo.



"If the Congress cuts off our war funds, we can always bomb them."

But in student debate there is little to joke about — one third of Egypt's territory occupied, one million Egyptian refugees from the Suez Canal Zone, an uncertain policy of "no peace, no war" for five and a half years, and above all conscription. Every Egyptian male graduate unless he is an only son, is drafted into the Army on leaving university — supposedly for two years, but often for an indefinite period.

The expulsion of the Russian military advisers in 1972 has also given rise to heated ideological debate among the students themselves. Some state that outright acceptance of Communism and Russian aid is the answer. Many others assert with equal vigour that a return to the militant practice of Muslim values is needed. Fears are then raised of the revival of the extreme Muslim Brothers. And the Coptic Christians are taking the chance to press for greater respect for their 17 per cent of the Egyptian population.

Further discontent arises from the fact that Egypt's universities and schools are over-crowded. A medical class of 1200 is not uncommon, and books and equipment are scarce. Groups of students sometimes have to pay lecturers to give them some personal tuition. One parent said: "Education is free in this country. But I have paid £100 this year for extra evening classes for my son."

Inept leadership

One does not envy President Sadat in the face of this discontent. The people clamour for a clear-cut leadership such as Gamal Abdel Nasser gave. Yet the time may have come for a leadership which in a fresh way encourages the responsible participation of ordinary people. One is struck by the sincerity of many Egyptian students and by the competence of many professional men and women. A senior official said: "Ministers often take the wrong decisions and officials carry them out just to keep in personal favour. This is where we are all to blame. The trouble with the Egyptians is that all 30 million believe they are right and the other man is wrong. We are beginning to realise that it is not just the Americans, Israelis, etc., who are to blame but something wrong in us also." As he put it "We need something abnormal."

President Sadat will need to allow free expression for this kind of integrity if he is to give the abnormal leadership needed now.

Go ahead for British industry

FROM GORDON WISE IN LONDON

Two of the Conservative Government's boldest industrial policy statements of recent weeks give hope for the expansion and long term importance of two of Britain's major state-owned industries: coal and steel.

Secretary of State for Trade and Industry Peter Walker told the House of Commons that the Coal Industry Bill will write off the National Coal Board's outstanding debt to the Government — £475 million. The aim is to help the National Coal Board (NCB) and the miners to "put their own house in order".

Since the disastrous miners' strike, the first major road-block encountered on Mr Heath's onward march, relations between the miners and the Government, and between the miners and the Coal Board, have measurably improved. True, there is another wage claim on the table from the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). But the Minister for Industry, Mr T. G. Boardman, says he is confident that union leadership "would avoid any sort of action which will make a success impossible." He added, "We are not writing out a cheque for three years or five years and saying, 'Here, we don't mind how you behave.' But there is this spirit that we can give a new life and vitality to the industry."

This is the point, whether the generous Government treatment of the mining industry is going to bring in a new life and spirit. The main justification for the Government's policy is that it will help to "moderate" the contraction of the mining industry.

A further consideration is the world outlook for energy supplies. Various authorities are warning about a serious world energy crisis. Europe and Japan are geared industrially to Middle East oil. Prices are going up there. The United States, formerly an oil exporter, is now an oil importer. West Germany is importing natural gas from Russia. North Sea gas and oil which will be used by Britain will have only a limited life.

At the current rate of consumption (2000 million tons of oil a year), world oil reserves, including the North Sea discoveries, are estimated to last only 36 years.

At present mankind is burning in one year the amount of fossil fuel which geologically took a million years to create.

A rapid expansion of nuclear po-

wer capacity is planned. Britain is well ahead in this field. But there are various hazards, including long term ones from radioactive waste, and the threat of diversion to potential weapons material.



CABINET MINISTER WALKER: biggest expansion yet

Now the picture for steel. Secretary for Industry Walker has announced a £3000 million modernisation and expansion policy for steel, spread over the next 10 years.

True, 30,000 jobs will vanish as outdated steel mills are closed. But the promise is that the British Steel Corporation (the nationalised employer) and the Government will work together with the unions to ensure minimum hardship.

The plan has been welcomed by the Trades Union Congress General Secretary Vic Feather. Whitehall "flying squads" will be sent to steel towns threatened by works closures. Their jobs will be to introduce new industries to Government-built factories, to provide jobs for displaced steel men. Time and co-operation should avoid hardships.

Said Peter Walker: "The substantial expansion and modernisation programme I have announced today dwarfs anything conceived by the previous Government."

The initial response of the steel workers was mixed. Some said, "We will fight." But a Welsh trade

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

The week in ASIA

PEKING — The Chinese Premier, Mr Chou En-lai, met the North Vietnamese chief peace negotiator, Mr Le Duc Tho, before the latter returned to Paris to resume the secret talks with the US presidential adviser, Dr Henry Kissinger.

TOKYO — India's External Affairs Minister, Mr Swaran Singh, has had the first serious talks with a Japanese Foreign Minister since Mr Kiichi Aichi, the Japanese Foreign Minister, visited New Delhi four years ago.

HANOI — The Hanoi city authorities were busy organising work to clear the debris in the bombed areas of the city since the bombing raids where 700,000 tons of bombs were dropped in the last two weeks over North Vietnam.

MANILA — President Marcos announced a "selective amnesty" for the Muslim rebels in Mindano, the so-called "Muslim country" 800 km south of Manila, where there had been a series of clashes between Government troops and the insurgents.

KARACHI — While addressing a public meeting President Bhutto said that recognition of Bangladesh could not be allowed to hang on too long and that Pakistan had to shoulder a "tremendous economic burden" on account of the delay.

TEHERAN — French and Iranian archaeologists have claimed the discovery of a stone statue of King Darius of the Achaemenid period, bearing Egyptian hieroglyphics which has led experts to suspect that Egyptians were among other nationals who helped to build Persepolis and other 2500-year-old palaces.

JERUSALEM — The Israeli Government has renewed its demand that East Germany — in view of its diplomatic stature — should pay Israel compensation for Nazi war crimes, as did West Germany.

CAIRO — Egypt closed down all universities and higher educational institutions till January 11 as the police laid virtual siege to Cairo University after running battles between striking students and the police.

BEIRUT — A serious crisis is developing between Iraq and its rich but tiny neighbour, Kuwait, and there have been reports that the Baghdad regime is concentrating forces along the border.

BEST WORLD PRESS

UN failure over terrorism

The 27th session of the United Nations General Assembly, which opened soon after the new Secretary-General had reported a "great disillusionment" setting in, has ended with little achieved that could restore this loss of faith in the world today...

The freeing of the Munich terrorists showed that there can be no real deterrent to this sort of calculated crime — in which the criminal plans on living to enjoy the spoils, whether ransom money or just their freedom — while sanctuaries remain. As far as closing off the Middle East sanctuaries for Arab hijackers is concerned, we can obviously expect no willing co-operation from the countries themselves. But, with two of the favourite jumping-off places for hijackers from other parts of the world, hopeful signs have appeared. The United States and Cuban Governments are now negotiating, through the Swiss Embassy in Havana, for a bilateral agreement that would provide for the punishment of hijackers from each other's territory. Already the hijackers who have made it to Cuba are having a most uncomfortable time, either in custody or in forced labour. In Algeria, ransom money and aircraft have been returned to their owners by President Boume-

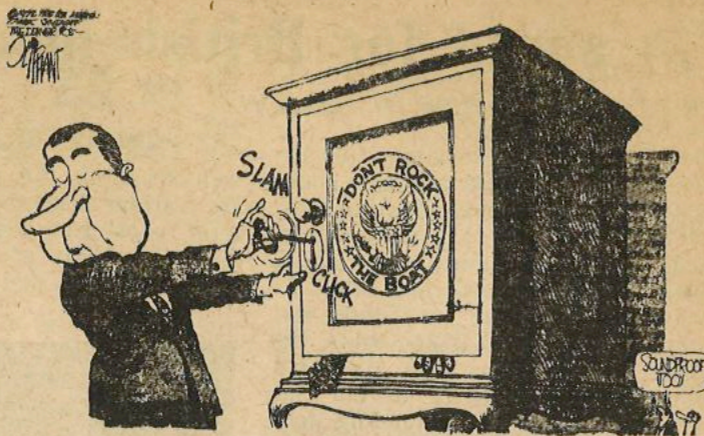
dienne's Government. Hijackers are living on meagre allowances and are confined to their town of residence.

...Truly, the Assembly had failed to "come to grips" with the problem of terrorism, as many delegates lamented. The problem continues; it may even worsen. An international convention against terrorism, defining what are internationally unacceptable crimes for whatever purpose, should be worked out, and ought to incorporate sanctions against the countries that continue to provide a refuge for the criminals.

SYDNEY MORNING HERALD

US policy in Vietnam

After clapping Peking and Moscow into the detente trap, the US President is availing himself of the detente to win his case in the major international confrontations. In threatening to reconsider the Soviet-American accord on gas, as rumoured, Washington, anticipating the reaction of Moscow, is making another



'...And That Is Why We Call It A Cabinet.'

Courtesy, THE DENVER POST, USA

gamble on its own strength. Hardly two weeks ago, the Vietnam conflict was an anachronism which had to be rapidly eliminated to pass on to the achievement of the grand design, "peace for a generation," the platform on which Mr Nixon was elected.

Today one feels that "pax Americana" in Vietnam constitutes the finality to which everything must contribute, in the first place the Chief Executive's visits to Peking and Moscow and the economic and human dividends he held out before his hosts, the Soviets especially, to make them believe that the delights of consumption have now become indispensable to them.

COMBAT, Paris

Sri Lanka's press freedom battle

FROM VIJITHA YAPA

THE Sri Lanka Government went ahead on January 4 with the second reading of the controversial Press Council Bill despite the questions raised about its constitutional validity.

The bill seeks to curb the freedom of the press through a government appointed Press Council. Furthermore, the Government's denial now of the citizen's right of appeal in the country's Constitutional Court against the bill, has caused many to ask whether guarantees of fundamental rights in Sri Lanka's constitution are not a mockery.

Under Sri Lanka's republican constitution within a week of a bill being presented in the National State Assembly, any citizen has the right to appeal to the Constitutional Court, if he feels the bill is inconsistent with the Constitution. But the court has to give its decision within 14 days to the State Assembly.

When the Press Council Bill was introduced in the State Assembly in November, nine petitions were submitted to the Constitutional Court. Mr T. S. Fernando headed the panel of three judges who were to hear the petitions. He called it the "most important case in my life".

Mr Fernando asked the petitioners not to rush with their submissions, as the Bill could not become law until the court gave its decision. He added that he was not going to be bound by the 14 day time limit.

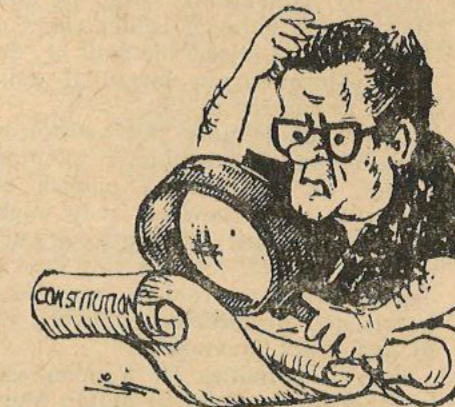
Mr S. Nadesan, counsel for the Civil Rights Movement (one of the petitioners), said, "I would prefer to stick to the 14 day period." He pointed out that the National State Assembly could make the bill law if the decision was not given by the court in 14 days. But Mr T. S. Fernando said he thought that would not happen as he believed the assembly would behave reasonably.

But that was exactly what did happen after the 14 days had elapsed—the Government wanted to proceed with the bill. The Speaker ruled that this was in order. Government representatives then boycotted the proceedings of the Constitutional Court. Three judges submitted their resignations in protest.

The Government's main argument was that unless a time limit was set for the court to give a decision, many petitions could be submitted against any unpopular bill and a hearing could go on for years. Such filibustering could occur, but 14 days

seems an unrealistically short time to hear petitions concerning the fundamental rights of a people who have always jealously guarded their democratic way of life. What many cannot understand is why citizens should be denied appeal to the Constitutional Court just because a judge thought he could extend the time limit.

The Trotskyites are strongly for the bill being passed quickly. The architect of the Constitution, Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Colvin



Dr Colvin R. de Silva,
Minister of Constitutional Affairs.
Courtesy, 'Observer Magazine', Colombo

R. de Silva (Trotskyite), says that the supreme National State Assembly has supreme legislative power and is the sole channel of the exercise of the people's sovereignty. Therefore the Press Council Bill could become law without reference to a court, he claimed.

The other coalition partner in Mrs Bandaranaike's United Front Government, the Communist Party (Moscow wing), is not for the bill. When the bill was first gazetted, CP leader Dr S. A. Wickremasinghe called it "a fascist bill". But having been readmitted to the Government Parliamentary Group only a month ago (after a seven month suspension due to their opposition to new legislation framed to try the Che Guevarists under a special court) it is difficult to see the Communists openly voting against the Press Bill.

The petitioners, who include the Leader of the Opposition, are holding meetings throughout the nation to tell the people the facts and mobilise public opinion. On whether the public responds and clamours for justice and a fair hearing for the petitioners may depend the future of "guaranteed fundamental rights" in Sri Lanka.

The week in INDIA

SHILLONG — All educational institutions in Assam are functioning smoothly and a large number of Bengali students have also begun attending medical, engineering and technical institutions in the Brahmaputra Valley, scene of recent troubles.

NEW DELHI — Lieutenant-General G. G. Bewoor has been appointed the new Chief of the Army Staff and will take over from Field Marshal S.H.F.J. Manekshaw on January 15, with the rank of General.

Congress leaders from Cachar district in Assam decided to withdraw the language agitation so that the whole issue could be reconsidered in a calm atmosphere.

JAIPUR — The Rajasthan Government has promulgated an ordinance lowering the ceiling on agricultural holdings in the state and the ceiling varies from 18 acres to 200 acres for different categories of land.

AHMEDABAD — Thousands of agriculture-based cottage industries are expected to come up in Gujarat in the next few years through a new scheme evolved by the state Government and these will include power driven oil crushers and small rice mills.

RAJAHMUNDRY — A separatist group has formed an "Andhra Sena" to fight for a separate Andhra State and has appointed Mr M. N. Chari as president.

NAGPUR — Nearly 10 per cent of the population of the Vidarbha area is affected by scarcity conditions and though not as serious as the situation in western Maharashtra and Marathwada, a large number of people were affected, stated the divisional commissioner, Mr G. Gavai.

PANAJI — The Indian Navy plans to build "Corvette-type" combat ships as well as seaward defence boats, construction of which would start from the next financial year, announced Admiral S. M. Nanda.

BANGALORE — As a result of scanty rainfall the world famous Jog Falls, where the Shrivathy river takes a 300-metre plunge, have completely dried up.

COCHIN — The Rs 80 crore Idikki hydro-electric project in Kerala, which has had many hold-ups, is now expected to generate power from June 1974 when the first of the six generators of 130 mw each will be commissioned.

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Dr Yalman—Turkey's heroic fighter for Press Freedom

Jailed many times for democracy

by Reginald Holme

The latest report of the International Press Institute says press freedom is on the retreat in the world. One man who has fought internationally for press freedom is Dr Ahmed Emin Yalman, editor of the Turkish daily "Vatan", who died last month.

DR AHMED EMIN YALMAN, though small in stature, was a giant tree in the forest—some would say jungle — of the world's press.

A lifelong fighter for press freedom under years of despotism he was for 20 years editor of the Turkish liberal daily paper "Vatan", which he founded. Many times he was imprisoned and once nearly killed for standing up for democratic liberties.

Dr Yalman died on December 19

**DR AHMED EMIN
YALMAN**
1888 — 1972

aged 84. In a long obituary "The Times" of London described him as "one of the most distinguished and indefatigable Turkish journalists".

For 13 years he was a member of the Executive Board of the International Press Institute from its foundation in 1951. This institute has some 1500 members, mostly senior editors, in 50 countries. Among the first board members with Dr Yalman were Kasturi Srinivasan, editor of "The Hindu", and Tushar Kanti Ghosh, publisher and chief editor of "Amrita Bazar Patrika" and "Jugantar" in Calcutta, who is still a member. At IPI conferences in Berlin, Stockholm and Geneva I have seen the respect in which Dr Yalman was held when he entered the conference hall to take his place on the platform.

He nearly lost his life when he was the only journalist covering a story in Central Turkey about the then new liberalising and westernising policies of Kemal Ataturk, Turkey's ruler. As Yalman left a phone booth after phoning his story, a right-wing fanatic shot him five times in the stomach, leg and hand. Yalman was taken to hospital in a coma but recovered, asked to see his assailant, forgave him and arranged that he could continue his law studies in prison.

Dr Yalman told me once in Lon-

don that at the age of nine he wrote and hand-printed a weekly paper "Niyet" (Intention). But his first step on the national ladder came in 1907 when he joined the staff of "Sabah" (Morning), an Istanbul daily paper, at the age of 18.

At 28 he became chief editor of "Sabah" and his country's foremost fighter for freedom to publish all points of view, however they might displease authority. The risks of such a policy can be seen to this day in Turkey where journalists have been imprisoned for articles published up to five years previously.

For his activities Dr Yalman was banished to Anatolia by Sultan Mehmed VI in 1919. He was then exiled to Malta by the British to a prison camp in which some 200 Turkish statesmen, MPs, editors were held for two years. In 1925 his old friend Ataturk, then dictator of Turkey, suppressed "Vatan". Ataturk objected to criticism of one-party rule and stopped Yalman from practising his profession for 10 years. Yalman had to turn his hand to business, which he disliked. He formed a company which imported Dodge and Goodyear products from America.

Professor Toynbee to Dr Yalman:
"You must have run neck and neck with another friend of mine, Jawaharlal Nehru, in the number of years you have spent in prison."

In 1936 Ataturk and Yalman were reconciled, but soon a stream of editorials from his pen criticised, among other things, repressive press laws. Yalman's policy was always to praise what he felt was right and attack what he felt was wrong. He would not curry favour with any Government by being their uncritical supporter.

Twenty years later, after he had helped the Democrats to power in free elections the new Government's officials imprisoned Yalman. The

International Press Institute organised world-wide protests and he was released, partly because of his frail health. He became President of the Turkish Press Institute.

Yalman strove to promote unity between Turkey and her neighbour and sometime enemy, Greece. At a time of acute tension between the



DR A. E. YALMAN:
forgave assailant

two countries over Cyprus in 1958 he went to Athens and wrote articles in Athens papers. Greece and Turkey, he said, had so much in common. They must be conscious of their resemblances not their differences. They were sitting on the same branch of a tree and sawing it off behind them. He also wrote articles in the Cyprus papers.

"The Times" of London wrote editorially on March 8, 1960, a few months before Cypriot independence:

"Probably no Turk has achieved more respect among all communities during recent years in Cyprus than Dr Yalman. His moderate and conciliatory writings on the Cyprus question and Greco-Turkish relations are considered to have helped to create the atmosphere that made the Zurich settlement possible."

For his "outstanding service to journalism and the fundamental freedom of the press" Dr Yalman was awarded the Gold Medal of the Institute of Journalists in 1966 in London. He regarded this award as the greatest honour of his life.

Dr Yalman said on this occasion:

"If I were given a chance to start life all over again, I would feel happy to choose exactly the same life, in spite of its hardships. It was an existence full of constant inner satisfaction and enthusiasm. I don't hesitate to recommend to my young colleagues all over the world to choose this type of fighting journalism and to consider its hardships as pleasures and rewards worthy of this noble profession".

Dr Yalman was a strong supporter of Moral Re-Armament. On one occasion he brought the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Turkey to a reception at the London home of Dr Buchman who launched

MRA in the world. Five times the Turkish editor attended MRA conferences at Caux in Switzerland. After one conference he wrote 13 articles in "Vatan" describing MRA as a "New Noah's Ark for Humanity".

Dr Yalman wrote several books. Among the best known is "Turkey in My Time" (1956). Before his death he completed his memoirs which filled four volumes. He was keen to get them published in English.

Professor Arnold Toynbee, the world historian, wrote to him: "You have not only lived through, but have taken a leading part in and

have recorded a whole chapter of Turkey's history — and of the World's history, for Turkey has been in the centre of World affairs.

"You must have run neck and neck with another friend of mine, Jawaharlal Nehru, in the number of years you have spent in prison. Your memoirs are an historic document. They ought to be translated, not only into English, but into French, German, Russian and I would add, Japanese."

A great helpmate in life was Dr Yalman's wife, who was also a journalist. His son is an actor and producer, a graduate of the Yale School of Drama.

Espionage: Agents and Heroes

Facts that make fiction look tame

by David Rees

THE subject of espionage has proved irresistible to the reading public throughout most of the post-war period. In the background lie the extra-ordinary and tumultuous events of World War II, which were immediately followed by the "cold war" between the West and the Communist powers, so perpetuating the acceptance of permanent, worldwide conflict in one form or another. Now, in the 1970s, comes the new cult of revolutionary violence and international terrorism, again implying a decisive conflict of loyalty.

Nevertheless, such vastly popular books as those of the late Ian Fleming, with their guys and dolls

*THE FIVE BOOKS:

The Game of the Foxes by Ladislav Farago; Hodder and Stoughton; £3.95.

The Double-Cross System by J. C. Masterman; Yale University Press; £2.95.

Codeword: Direktor by Heinz Hohne; Secker and Warburg; £3.50.

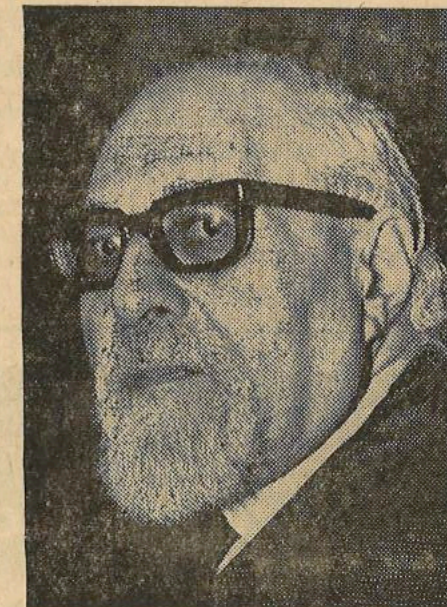
Network: The Truth about General Gehlen by Heinz Hohne and Hermann Zolling; Introduction by R. Trevor Roper; Secker and Warburg; £3.50.

Gehlen: spy of the Century by E. H. Cookridge; Hodder and Stoughton; £3.75.

approach to international intrigue, have obscured the paradox that in an age of revolutionary world change, the facts of espionage are often more complex and dramatic than any spy fiction. That truth is often stranger than fiction is once again shown by five books* on international espionage, all carefully researched and responsibly presented, and all published in London. Much of the material has never been published before.

First on the list is clearly Ladislav Farago's massive and thorough study of British and German intelligence operations before, and during, World War II — "The Game of the Foxes". The author personally discovered the long-lost microfilmed archives of the former German Military Intelligence (Abwehr), and it is on these papers, found in the American National Archives in Washington, that the book is based.

What perhaps emerges most clearly from Farago's book is the extent to which the British and Germans were at odds long before the outbreak of war in September 1939. With the advent of Hitler's regime in 1933, the British had already begun to build up new networks in Denmark and Holland, but they were overtaken by the Germans. In early 1937, Hitler personally gave the head of the Abwehr, Admiral



AUTHOR LADISLAV FARAGO:
wartime chief of planning in US Naval Intelligence. Among his books are "Patton" and "Tora Tora Tora"

Canaris, the green light for extended operations in Britain.

By the outbreak of war in 1939, what Farago calls "an unbeatable feat by any standard of modern intelligence collection" had resulted in the Germans amassing a huge amount of strategic information on British airfields, radar, docks and other in-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

Viewpoint

What should be the medium of instruction for higher education in India?

English—the ideal language

Rs 25 to P. Narayan, Bangalore 1
EDUCATION is a drawing out process. It develops the latent abilities of an individual. For this to be achieved communication is essential. The higher the education the more the reliance on books and self-teaching and therefore the need for an ideal language.

For any higher education especially in the fields of engineering, technology, or medicine, knowledge of advancements and know-how from countries like the United States, Great Britain, Germany and Japan is crucial. Being aware of this, one cannot fail to note that only an international language is suitable as a medium of instruction.

The choice lies between a few — English, French, German or possibly Russian, which leaves us but one choice — English.

Having learned English for over 300 years, established schools so painstakingly and Indianised it to such an extent — for one who decries it suddenly as a "foreign" language only Shakespeare's words are suitable, "God made him and so let him pass for a man! But, how did he learn to be so stupid?" (with apologies to the bard).

Let's face it! First of all, no Indian language has either the vocabu-

lary or the script for any higher education in technical fields. Further the partition of Indian states is such that no two states have the same language and therefore the number of people versed in a simple language is pitifully few. No useful purpose is therefore served by an acute patriotic fervour for a single national language.

A land is judged by her people,

Accept challenge to develop Hindi

Rs 15 to A. N. Banerjee, Bombay 8
HINDI should be the sole medium of instruction for higher education in India, for the following four reasons:

1) Hindi, apart from being an integrating force, will give mobility to our teachers and students, if it is accepted as the only medium of instruction.

2) Devnagri script, in which Hindi is written, is the most scientific script in the world. This is not the view of biased laymen but experts of international repute. Devnagri has the maximum sounds for expressing any spoken language in the world. Therefore, in Devnagri it is easy to write correctly any scientific, technical or literary word of foreign origin. Even the Chinese groups of languages, which are tonal, can be written to express the correct sounds and tones only in Devnagri.

3) Some people argue that Hindi is a plebeian language not yet sufficiently de-

veloped to be the medium of instruction for higher education. The first part of the argument is correct and ironically the second part of the argument is another strong qualification in favour of Hindi. At the present hour Hindi is certainly undeveloped, but that is no reason to abandon the language. All the advanced languages of the world such as English, German, Russian and Japanese were undeveloped at one time or another. But their speakers developed it to the required level. We also should accept the challenge and develop Hindi, in the first instance by translating material from other advanced languages. This will create the demand for a large number of linguists for translation work and thereby create job opportunities for millions of educated unemployed including jobless doctors, engineers, technicians, etc.

4) If Hindi is developed by borrowing from major international languages it will at once broaden our mental horizon and liberate us from slavish dependence upon only one language, namely English.

Viewpoint Competition

THIS week's viewpoint competition drew a large number of entries. Many were well written and therefore we present extracts from three other entries besides the prize winners. Eighty per cent of the entrants wanted English to be the medium of instruction for higher education.

English — the only answer

K. L. Sethumadhavan, Ahmedabad 13

This has been a highly controversial and delicate problem facing our universities ever since Independence and perhaps even before that. Controversial because ours is a multi-linguistic state. Delicate because a faulty decision might shatter the integrity of the nation.

We want our youth to be educated through a medium which will equip them to keep themselves abreast of the new developments in their respective fields. Knowledge is never stagnant. Continuous research carried on all round the world, in every field, adds to and modifies man's wisdom.

We wish that our experts emerging from the different universities of our country are able to exchange their ideas freely. Let there be a common medium for all universities in India, so that free movement of students from one university to the other is facilitated!

And finally, we want to safeguard the integrity of India by binding the youth together with a powerful code, that is, a common language which will allow free intercourse among the youth,

Is there any language which meets all

these requirements completely? Yes. English is perhaps the only answer. Discarding a language simply because it is of foreign origin does not reflect true patriotism.

Let us be practical

Miss Santha Ramachandran, Quilon

THE problem of the medium of instruction at the university stage in India is one bristling with difficulties of all kinds. The most rational medium of instruction at any stage is indisputably the mother-tongue. We can think our deepest thoughts and give expression to our deepest feelings only with the help of our mother-tongue. But the abstract principle is one thing and the practical application of the principle is quite another.

If every Indian university adopts the regional language as the medium of instruction up to the highest level, it will make communication impossible. We cannot afford to have the products of our universities incapable of communicating with one another. It is the common English medium that has enabled the

educated Indians to communicate with one another. For centuries, Sanskrit was the common medium of culture. Then came English, which has been the bond of unity during the last one century. A common medium of communication is indispensable. And the most sensible thing would be to retain the English medium.

Bilingual policy for national unity

K. J. Joseph, Poona 14

THE three language formula of Hindi, English and other regional languages is proposed as a solution. But I would like to rule out the possibility of regional languages for higher education because of the practical difficulties and consequences connected with it.

Now we are left with two options—Hindi and English. Some favour English while others Hindi. I feel we should have both Hindi and English as the medium of instruction for higher education. I prefer this compromise formula in view of national unity.

The bilingual policy will not jeopardise our national unity, for countries like Belgium and Switzerland have more than one official language. I am convinced, that we should follow a bilingual policy in the field of higher education, since it ensures our national unity.

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Boron deficiency causes serious loss of crops as a result of low yield and poor quality, but can be cured very cheaply by supplying boron to the crop. Borax (Disodium Tetraborate Decahydrate) manufactured by Borax Morarji Limited, Ambarnath, contains boron and it is therefore used to prevent and correct boron deficiency in crops. It is available in special packing for agricultural use.

Illustrated descriptions of boron deficiency symptoms, details of dosages of borax to be applied to particular crops for correction of this deficiency and methods of applying borax to the crop can be obtained from:

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You could win Rs 25 or Rs 15.

* Campus unrest — who is the chief culprit?
Closing date January 26

** Too much time is spent on cricket!
Closing date February 9

UPON MY WORD!

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

UPON MY WORD
PUZZLE NO. 11

You should find 52 words this week,
(Answer next week)

ANSWER TO PUZZLE NO. 10

Author, hart, hurt, iota, oath, otary, ratio, rota, rout, taro, tarot, tart, tatou, taut, that, thirty, throat, trait, troat, trot, troth, trout, tray, tuart, tutor, youth, AUTHORITY.

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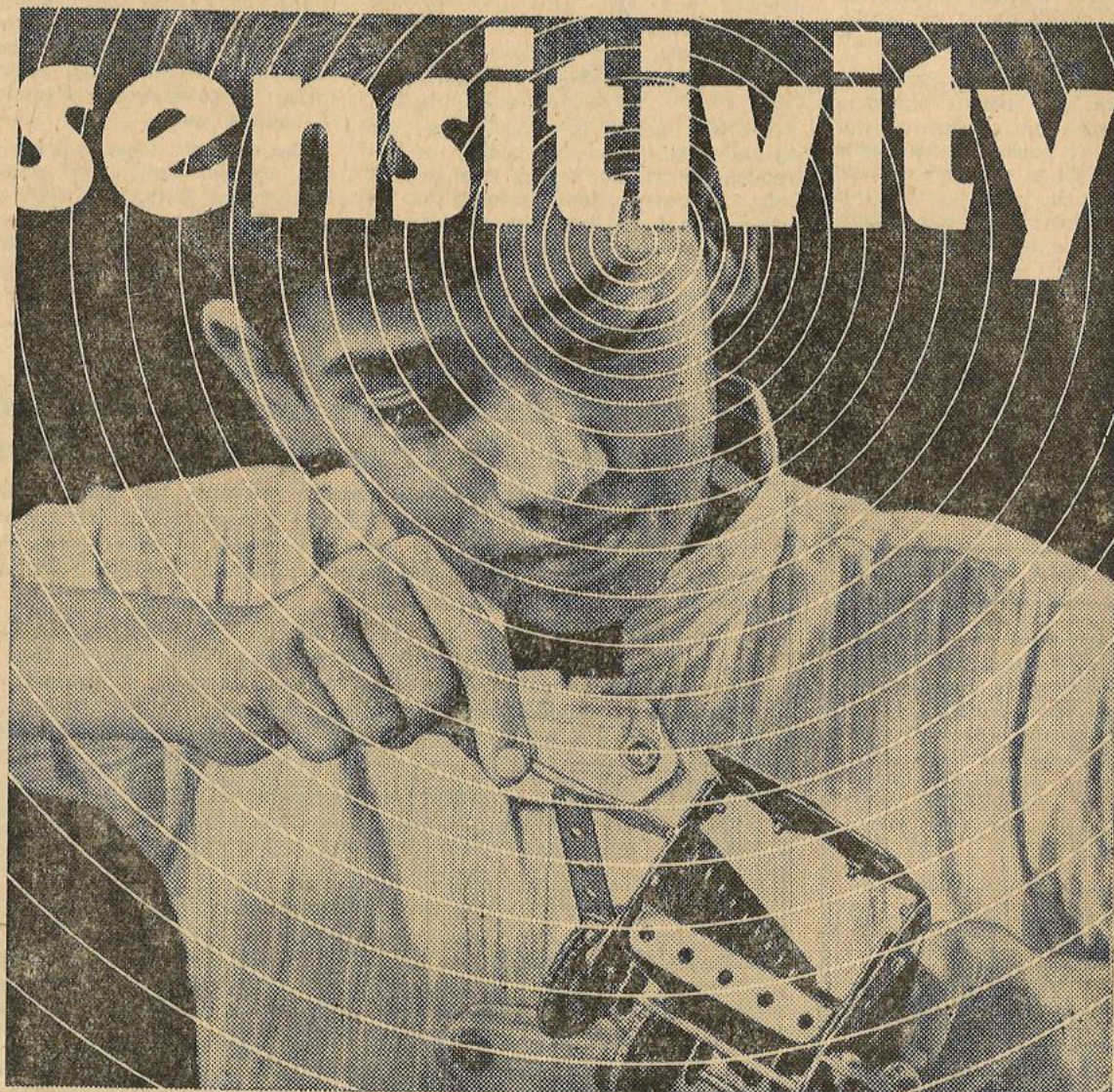
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Thoughts of a Nobel prize-winning economist

by Vinod Chowdhury

SIR JOHN HICKS of Britain's Oxford University is, for students of Economics, a household name. He is joint winner (with Professor Kenneth Arrow of Harvard University, USA) of the Nobel Prize in Economics. Before flying to Stockholm to receive the award last month he spoke to an excited group of economic students and teachers in Delhi University.

Picking on "The Keynesian Revolution — some Personal Reminis-

USA was enjoying a period of great prosperity — books were being written with titles like 'America the Golden' — but England was in a less happy position what with the week-long General Strike of 1926 leading to a nine-month coalminers' strike and so on.

"As I shed my student status to become a teacher, the world of the 1920s crashed...in 1929, a Depression, beginning in the USA, travelled throughout the world bringing in its wake falling prices, rising unemployment and great misery," said Sir John.

At this point, Lord John Maynard Keynes enters the narrative. This English aristocrat turned economist (who had achieved some success as a pamphleteer and propagandist after 1919 on subjects like reparations to be paid after the Treaty of Versailles) wrote his "General Treatise on Money" in 1930 and the monumental "General Theory of Income, Employment, and Wages" in 1936. In these works, Keynes broke entirely new ground by building up a case for widespread Government intervention in a depression-struck capitalist economy like the USA and UK at that time.

"I met Keynes only a few times, but we corresponded with each other quite regularly. Truth to tell, when his works first came out, I was not able to follow them," Sir John murmured modestly and went on: "From hindsight, the great significance of the events of the 1930s was that great statesmen — including the then (Labour) Chancellor of the Exchequer in Britain and the Finance Minister in Germany — took steps completely contrary to those advocated by Keynes for meeting the Depression and thus worsened the situation... Hitler's rise in Germany can be attributed to the social collapse which occurred in Germany, while Britain could recover from the Depression only around 1936."

Keynes lived till 1946 and had the satisfaction of seeing his policies implemented (although very belatedly).

"Today the setting is vastly different. Basically Keynesian policies have been in vogue throughout the world and the role of the Government has been fast expanding," Sir John Hicks observed and added: "The result has been inflation — in varying degrees — in countries around the

world, especially in the last 10 years. We have interpreted the Keynesian gospel to mean an expansion of Government activities in all circumstances (rather than just in a deflationary setting) and inflation has followed... It is time to acknowledge that Keynesianism provides only part of the answer to current-day economic problems."

For an Indian audience, these were important words. As the country faces runaway inflation, it might do well to reflect that at least part of the blame attaches to the ever-increasing number of currency notes printed by the Reserve Bank and the continual deficit financing of the Government.

This increase in money supply — truly a case of indiscriminate "expansion of Government activities" — is not backed up by increasing production and high prices result. In his characteristically gentle way, Sir John was pointing to an important truth.

"Keynes-Hicks formulation"

The audience admired him even more for what he left unsaid. While Keynes postulated a major equilibrium theory in 1936 (meaning, in simple terms, the concept of balance among economic forces and the tendency of an economic system to react to any disturbance or change in such a way as to restore the balance), Sir John Hicks, beginning in 1939 with the publication of "Value and Capital", refined Keynes' insights so much so that we now hear of a "Keynes-Hicks formulation".

Yet this co-author of the Keynesian theory talked as if he had made no contribution of his own — it was modesty indeed!

Sir John, however, did make one indirect defence of his position as a Nobel prizewinner. Referring obliquely to criticism (echoed in "Time" magazine of November 6) that theoretical economists have bagged all the economics awards since the Nobel Committee began giving prizes in the subject in 1969, Sir John said: "It is on the basis of the work of theoreticians that practical economists make their findings."

Sir John Hicks will donate most of his prize money (totalling £20,887.5) for the extension being built to the library of his "alma mater" — the London School of Economics. This magnanimity seems in keeping with his modesty.



SIR JOHN HICKS:

Keynesianism — only part of the answer

ences", as his topic Sir John, looking a dignified, whitehaired 68, indulged in some pardonable nostalgia about his salad days.

"I first spoke in Delhi University in 1950 and am very glad to be back now with my wife," began the quiet-voiced don as Lady Ursula, an eminent economist in her own right, smiled on.

"It is more than 40 years since my first book was published. I have had the privilege of living through one of the great periods of economics, and have been a participant in many important controversies...while present day economists construct fantastic models in the air, as it were, in the 1930s we were dealing with one of the urgent problems of the day — the Great Depression," reminisced Sir John.

"I was a student of economics in the 1920s when the world was recovering from World War I. The

stallations. It was this information which targeted the Luftwaffe in the blitz of 1940-1941.

In general, Farago shows just how vulnerable a peacetime democracy, politically unprepared by its leaders, is to a sustained intelligence offensive by a potential adversary.

However, in the supreme crisis of 1940-1941, the British reacted decisively to the German threat. Faced with invasion they rolled up German networks in the UK, and in the words of Sir John Masterman in "The Double-Cross System", "actively ran and controlled the German espionage system in Britain."

Masterman, a pre-war Oxford don, became a senior official of the British Security Service (MI5) on the outbreak of war and chaired the appropriately named XX or Twenty Committee. This group of senior British Intelligence officers which ran the XX Committee "turned" scores of German agents — others were executed, just to encourage the others, no doubt. As Masterman describes it, this was "a very long, laborious and complicated task," but the rewards

were commensurate.

This classic deception operation culminated in a master-plot which fooled Hitler into believing that the Allied invasion of France was coming in the Pas-de-Calais and not Normandy.

The Red Orchestra

Masterman's book shows how a democratic country at war was able to beat the Abwehr at its own game, despite the head start of the Germans in the 1930s. But what happens when the intelligence service of a totalitarian state tries to subvert another autocracy? For Hitler's Reich was curiously vulnerable to the Soviet Military Intelligence network known as the Rote Kapelle, the Red Orchestra. The network was headed by an official in Goering's Air Ministry, Harro Schulze-Boysen, and transmitted considerable amounts of intelligence to Moscow during the crucial years of 1941-1942.

The bizarre characters of the group, the complex story of how the German security services broke the network through a lapse in its own signals security, and the post-war aftermath are told in "Codeword: Direktor", an inspired piece of research by German journalist Hans Hohne. For many years it was suggested in West Germany that Schulze-Boysen was a democratic opponent of Hitler's, but at last, in 1969, he was canonised by Moscow as a "hero of socialism" and posthumously given the "Order of the Red Banner". Yet as Herr Hohne sums up, the men of the Rote Kapelle worked in fact for a power "which would have suppressed liberty in Germany as effectively as National Socialism succeeded in doing."

General Gehlen: luckiest master-spy

Some of the broader conflicts of loyalty implied in the three books above are more fully developed, along with new research material, in two full-scale studies of General Reinhard Gehlen by Herr Hohne and British writer, E. H. Cookridge. To some extent the studies overlap, but what both bring out is that Gehlen's extraordinary career contains one of the most remarkable (and skilful) apostasies of modern times.

A professional German soldier, Gehlen became head of German Army Military Intelligence on the Russian

front in World War II. He himself was an old-fashioned German conservative, nauseated by Hitler and his gang as much as by the Communists. What does seem certain is that as early as 1942, Gehlen decided that the US was the coming power in world politics. He carefully micro-filmed his voluminous reports on the USSR, together with his rosters of agents, and buried his archives when the Hitler regime collapsed in April 1945. After hiding in the Bavarian mountains, Gehlen then obtained an interview with General Sibert, the senior US intelligence officer in the American occupation zone of Germany.

In his long interview with the silent American, Gehlen poured out his expertise on Russia and its regime. According to Herr Hohne, Sibert confined himself to remarking, "You know a lot about the Russians, General." But within a matter of weeks Gehlen was flown to Washington. The political background of the time is well described by Mr Cookridge, with the rising antagonism between the US and the Russians. By 1946, Gehlen was back in Germany, his archives at the disposal of the Americans, business as usual. In 1956, Gehlen became official head of the West German Intelligence Service, the BND, and only recently retired.

Undoubtedly, as can be seen from these studies, Gehlen was not only one of the ablest, but one of the luckiest master-spies of modern times. In a profession where the dead outnumber the quick, his timing was impeccable. As the famous French Foreign Minister, Count Talleyrand, once suggested, "Treason is a matter of dates."

BRITISH INDUSTRY — from page 9

union leader said, "This is far better than we expected."

One of the difficulties in modernising British industry has been the workers' traditional fear of unemployment, and the reluctance to embrace new methods of technology which would mean fewer jobs. So if the Government really does press ahead with creating a new job for every one which ends, and thereby modernising and making more efficient the steel industry and the coal industry, this will be a very important base on which to build a newly industrialised Britain. As such, the nation will be an important component of the new Community which the nine nations of Europe are trying to create.

Letters

AN AMERICAN VIEW

WHAT I value in HIMMAT is the insight it gives into the great Asian questions and dilemmas about which many of us here are hard-pressed to understand; and on what are the inspired approaches the US could take that would be supportive of a just society throughout Asia, without controlling. I believe Americans want to support the rightful aspirations of the Asian nations and people and are willing to sacrifice at some level to see it done, if they are clear on what the right is. HIMMAT becomes a valuable ideological weapon as it helps us in this area; and as it helps us to see ourselves as others see us; and perhaps why feeling is strong against Mr Nixon and current American policy — in a way that helps us.

JOHN MORRISON, USA

BRITON'S TRIBUTE TO RAJAJI

My wife and I and our family had just watched our Queen's television broadcast to the Commonwealth on the afternoon of Christmas Day, in which she spoke powerfully for the value and joy of the family, and equally of the need for a family of nations, when word reached us over the radio that Rajaji had gone.

Much moved by this news we sat and pondered our memories of him. Apart from letters, we vividly remembered a talk with him in his home in Madras. The grace and warmth of his welcome all his friends know. Each person to him was a royal soul. We left enriched also by his farseeing insight. He spoke to us of our own country, Britain, of the things he loved and valued in Britain and of the places where he felt change was needed. He said that our present pre-occupation with ourselves, with our own national life and our own internal problems and needs, was out of keeping with our national character, and that we needed great goals and aims far beyond our own shores which would draw out the hidden qualities of our people.

No one could have spoken with more grace. Yet no more penetrating word could have been said. We have ourselves tried to live in the spirit of that word. And at a time when so many in India who knew him better than we did must feel a sadness at the passing of a man who made history, we write to say that we share your sense of gratitude for him and his hope for the future.

ROLAND WILSON, London

AUSTRALIAN CHILDREN SACRIFICE

WHEN the children heard about the drought in Maharashtra and about the dockers of Bombay who had given a day's wages to the Relief Fund, they wanted

me to send money to your paper and ask if you would help by forwarding it on to the Drought Relief Fund.

One of the 11-year-old boys started what he termed a "sacrifice box" where we were all invited to put any money we could save that had represented a sacrifice to us.

They added \$5.68 to their sacrifice money from money they earn by saving paper salvage — bringing the amount to \$10.00.

MRS B. GROVE, Australia

The amount was personally handed over to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Mr V. P. Naik, by the Editor on January 5, 1973.

POLITICIANS MUST END DOUBLE-THINK

I enjoyed reading the two articles (HIMMAT, December 15, 1972) on Social Justice, by D. P. Dhar, Planning Minister and Mr C. N. Vakil. During his speech, D. P. Dhar says very truly that our businessmen must end double-think because they really do not want radical social changes though they clamour for it.

The honourable Minister attacks businessmen for making profits by any means though they may even distribute a part of this profit through philanthropic works. But the worst of all sins of the businessmen, according to the Minister, is that they spend money in building "a place of worship and forge yet another chain that binds people helplessly to their past."

Not long after condemning this guilt "of binding people helplessly to their past", does the Minister in his same speech bind himself helplessly to the

past by affirming the oftspoken fact that Mrs Indira Gandhi is the true inheritor of the ideas of Nehru.

Would the Ministers please end double-think first and then ask the businessmen! Would they, and all politicians for that matter, do some homework and get their ideas straight before opening their mouths in public! And may the Prime Minister admonish her Ministers at least not to talk about herself in public if she is not prepared to accept the suggestion of Mr C. N. Vakil that the Prime Minister should issue a self-denying ordinance on all Ministers prohibiting them from talking on economic matters.

XAVIER VALAYATHIL,
Via Khandwa, MP

VERDICT UPHELD

You are perfectly correct in your Verdict in December 29 issue of HIMMAT in disapproving of Mr Basu's charge against the Government for nepotism.

Being a son of the Prime Minister one does not lose one's qualification, capacity and talent. Mr Sanjay Gandhi is a qualified engineer and a talented technician and has taken great pains in drafting out the plan for his model car: Maruti. Any other citizen was free to do what Mr Sanjay Gandhi has done. He must be congratulated for his model of an all-indigenous motor car.

I feel the Opposition party members have chosen a silly subject on which to attack the ruling party. In fact they should be busy with solving the people's problems which the ruling party has failed to do. And that is the correct way of coming up in the eyes of people.

B. R. KHONA, Bombay 80

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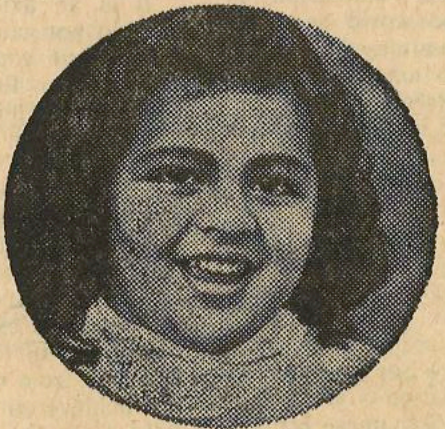
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PROMISE OF PLENTY WITH 

MIYARS-60-18/73



The bombings

by Rajmohan Gandhi

"PEACE IS at hand," Henry Kissinger said last October. The world was not to know that its hopes would be deafeningly shattered, or that the shattering would take place in the season of peace and goodwill.

As this is written on January 8, it is stated that Dr Kissinger and Mr Le Duc Tho are to resume peace talks in Paris. Without a basic change in the attitude of official America the best these talks can produce would be a bitter peace.

Most of the world and much of America has protested against the gargantuan bombing. Ordinary men everywhere hope that wisdom would still assert itself in America. Courageous reflection is not a popular practice. America needs to resort to it, and others will not be harmed by it either.

America's leaders are not the only people who have tried to meet Communism with firepower. It is a dismally ineffective response. But men seldom accept its failure; instead of seeing the limitations of firepower they merely ask for more and more of it. In the end a cruel dimension is reached, and the world sees the spectacle of a nation that prints "In God we trust" on its coins, led by a Quaker President, blasting hospitals to dust in the Christmas season.

Why did Nixon and Kissinger do what they did? It has been stated on their behalf that the North Vietnamese reneged on the agreement to release the American prisoners of war and wanted to link it with the freeing of political prisoners held by South Vietnam. Another explanation offered is that the North Vietnamese refused to come to a precise settlement on the nature and size of the international force to supervise peace in Indo-China after ceasefire. A third is that the North Vietnamese refused to guarantee the autonomy and integrity of South Vietnam. We are told that the bombing was ordered to force Hanoi to return to the negotiating table with a different stand on the three issues.

Is this the truth? We do not know. If it is, what prevented

President Nixon or Dr Kissinger from letting their country and the world know, before the bombing, of the difference between the positions of Hanoi and Washington, and from mobilising world opinion? If such gaps existed, how did Kissinger claim in October that only a few minor details remained to be discussed, and that one more session between him and Le Duc Tho was all that was necessary? Is it wise for the world's most powerful democracy to allow its President and his non-elected adviser to switch war on and off at will and escalate it to horrifying proportions? By what canons is it right for them to make such switches without consulting a fair number of colleagues and allies, and without giving the reasons?

Peace is a gift that can follow statesmanship. It cannot be the creation of the clever brains of a man who seems to have a fascination for stealth, secrecy and a play-boy's life. That America should have sought peace along a dark and corrupt alley and spurned the open, if steep, road that leads to it will be remembered as a profound tragedy of this century.

It is an axiom of history that you do not gain at the negotiating table what you have lost on the battlefield. Even if the reasons for the bombing leaked out by White House officials are the genuine ones, was the US leadership entitled to ask in Paris for the concessions and guarantees it has been unable to win on the ground in Vietnam and the rest of Indo-China? Is it morally right or politically expedient for the US leadership to try to gain by over-bombing from the air what it could not achieve on the Vietnam battlefield or in the Paris talks? What the bombing has added militarily to the American position is debatable. Psychologically, there is no doubt at all; the North Vietnamese passion to remove American influence from Indo-China must now be immensely greater.

Messrs Nixon, Kissinger and any others who help formulate American policy seem to have decided to get out of the ground war in Indo-China without losing their political objectives. They

appear to want to withdraw from the war and to win it at the same time. Even with aerial bombardment, this would seem to be an impossible feat.

"Defeat" in some form will accompany peace, and what President Nixon and his advisers have to see is that, for America and mankind, there are things worse than "defeat", and that there are things greater than "victory".

The tragedies and failures that have marked America's involvement with Indo-China have not been merely American. America tried to uphold a cause in which large sections around the world and in Indo-China believed, and the methods America adopted were also those on which much of our world relied and still relies. And the whole world knows that hundreds of thousands of Americans have been killed or wounded in, and for, a far country, and have displayed valour and sacrifice. They believed that freedom and democracy were worth fighting for, and nothing can take away the justness of that belief.

But Communism is a passionate way of life, and can only be answered if another and more challenging way of life is demonstrated around it. It cannot be defeated by guns, dollars, talks or bombs. Might is not right, nor can it defeat Communism.

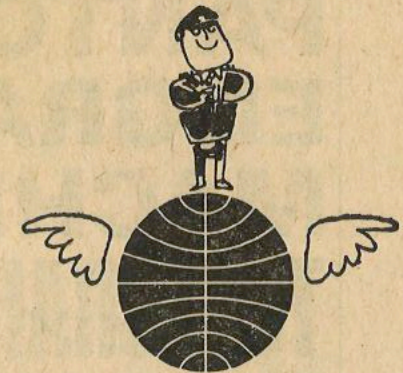
This writer's conviction is that the Americans should now withdraw from Vietnam and Indo-China. Nothing would increase the world respect for America as much as this. And world opinion would assist in the return of the American prisoners of war.

His further belief is that in the coming months and years men with a new moral quality could emerge in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and that as a result of their ways of life and selfless leadership peace, justice and democracy could grow in Indo-China. If and when this happens it would really be a victory of the truths Penn and Lincoln stood for, a victory for the true American tradition. "In God we trust", not in bombs or dollars or clever negotiators. Will America dare to live by her belief?

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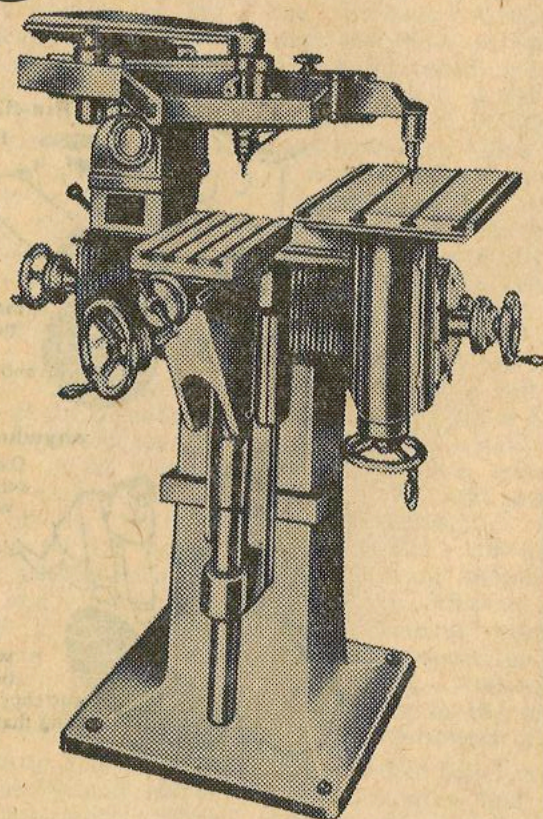
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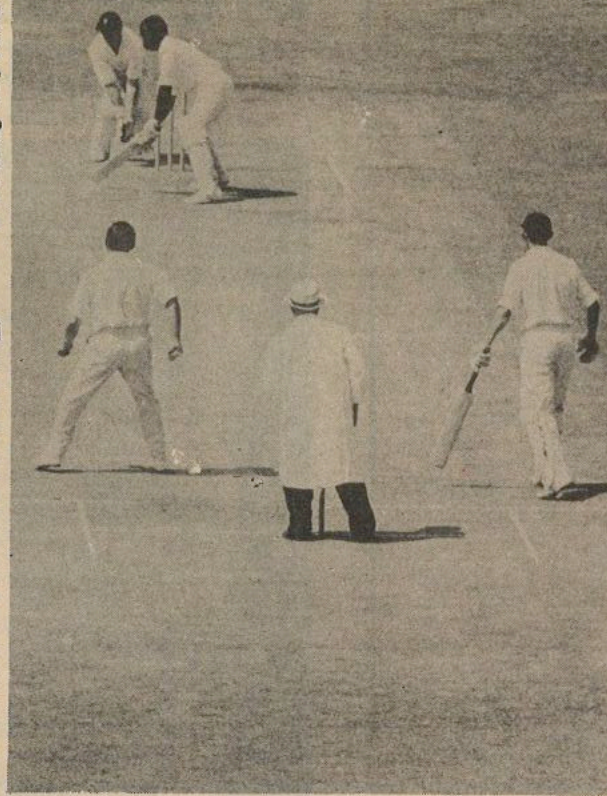
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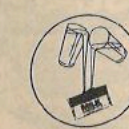
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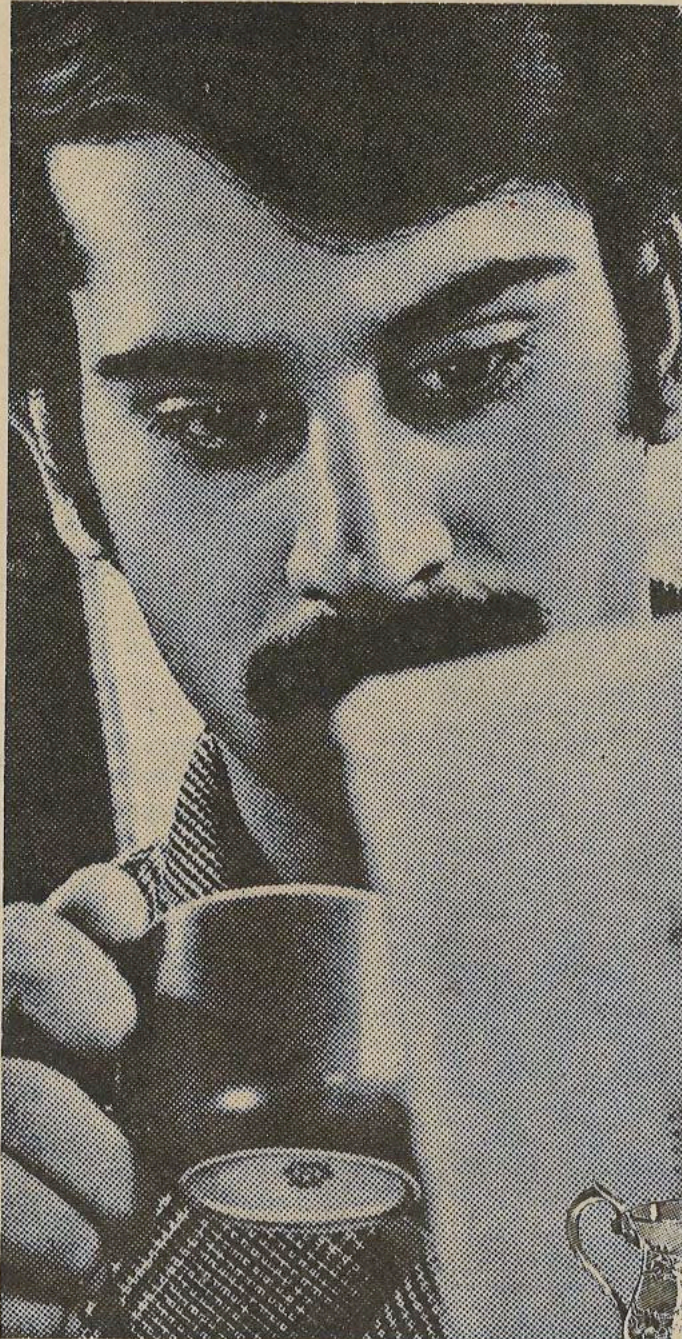
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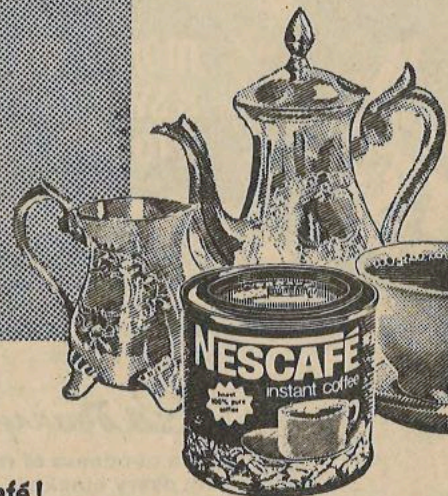
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