

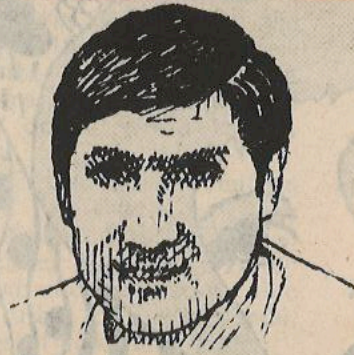
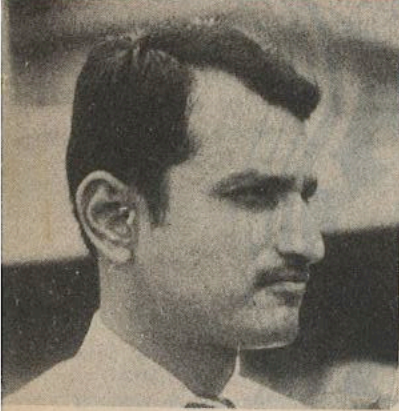
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WEEKLY 35p

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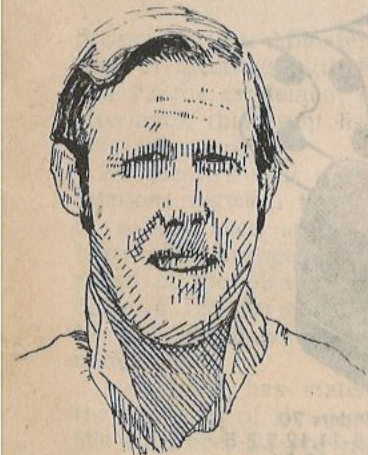
ASIA'S VOICE

FRIDAY FEBRUARY 9 1973



Tony Lewis

Ajit Wadekar



Farokh Engineer

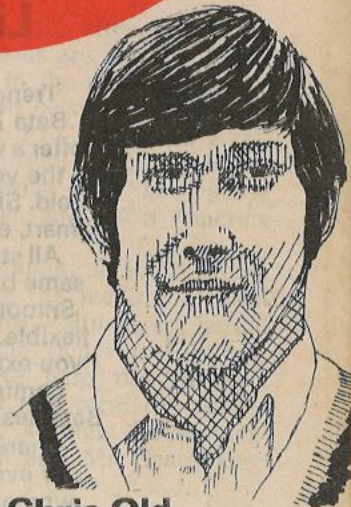
Tony Greig

**Test series in suspense**

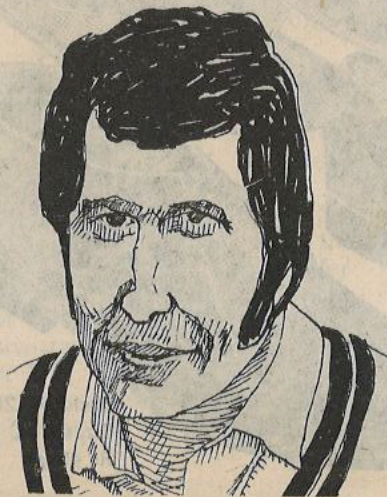
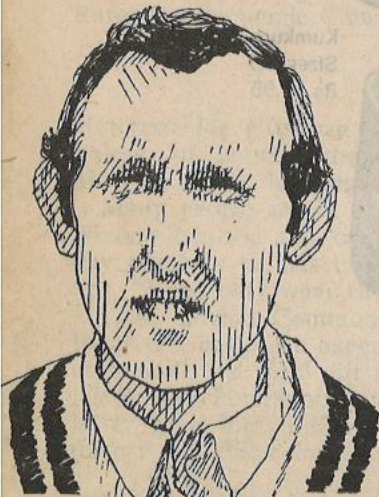
**by B.B.MAMA p12**



E.A.S. Prasanna



Chris Old



Geoff Arnold

Graham Roope

Sketches by Philip Coulter, Australia

Eknath Solkar



## Exciting Styles in Leather



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# Bata

## EDITORIALS

### One Asia

IT IS FITTING that the One Asia Assembly should meet in India's capital where the first Asian relations conference took place in March 1947. As the speakers on the opening day pointed out, it was in India that the One Asia concept was initiated in 1918 and was underlined in the resolutions of the Congress Party in 1922, 1936 and 1937. As a Japanese delegate pointed out the concept was misused during World War II by Japan for its own ambitions.

Today, twenty five years after most Asian countries are independent, the concept of Pan-Asia is no closer than before. Perhaps the vastness and variety of the region itself is a handicap to closer relations. Yet the world is coming closer together and associations like the ASEAN, though regional rather than continental, may prove to be the beginnings of something larger.

More important than the fact of unity within Asia is how Asia can answer the problems of giving an ade-

quate quality of life to its millions. Nutrition and freedom are the main issues in Asia, said one speaker, underlining the hope that this is within the framework of freedom that millions find a dignified life.

Gunnar Myrdal, author of the celebrated work "Asian Drama", said, "No men in Government are so superior that they are not in need of criticism." Asian Governments that do not stand criticism usually stand for the status quo. Mr Myrdal also pointed out that planning has failed because the human personality, which was the basis of Gandhiji's planning, has been neglected by India.

It was Dr Kamal Hossain of Bangladesh who made the excellent point that what was needed for the transformation of society was a transformation not in management but in men.

One hopes that the search of the One Asia Assembly will bring Asia closer to its destiny.

### US and the post-Vietnam era

BRITISH Prime Minister Edward Heath has had two days of meetings with President Nixon in Washington. Amidst the excitement of the Vietnam ceasefire and its aftermath, this event has gone by almost unnoticed by the Indian press.

Mr Heath's visit took place at a crucial stage in the relations between East and West Europe. Preliminary talks have been taking place in Helsinki on the possibility of a European security conference. The second phase of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) between the Soviet Union and the US is in progress. Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions in Europe are underway.

Mr Heath has stated emphatically in Washington that in spite of the growing detente between East and West Europe, US presence is required in Europe. If the US left only a token force in Europe he said, "the conclusion would be that America has become isolationist, not interested any more in world affairs." Further Mr Heath fears that with the US withdrawing, the Soviet Union would become the only major military power in Europe and therefore would wield much greater influence in European affairs.

In his talks Mr Heath also made an attempt to avoid an impending trade war between the US and the European Economic Community. He came out strongly

against US trade barriers and said that they could either "become competitors in a constructive way" or "engage in economic confrontation that could lead to bitterness and...hurt us both." Mr Heath, however, did not have a free hand on this subject as he has to keep in mind the old Gaullist fears that once in the EEC, Britain would help the US gain a larger foothold in Europe.

What ultimately comes to the fore after these discussions is the question many nations are asking: What is going to be the role of the US in the world since the Vietnam ceasefire? Is she going to become increasingly isolationist? Are the US and the EEC countries going to improve trade relations for mutual benefit? What will they use the resultant prosperity for? Is it going to mean more aid for Africa, Asia and Latin America or less?

Time, of course, will tell. But looking at these events in Europe and the US from Asia the inevitable question comes to mind — will this post-Vietnam era herald a closing of the gap between the richer and poorer nations as all nations go out to help the war-torn nations of Indo-China, or will the rich band themselves into a closer unit aloof from the struggle for survival in Asia? Would President Nixon and Mr Heath keep this in mind?

### Presentations: past and present

HUNTING for gifts can be quite a perplexing business unless, of course, the intended recipient obligingly hints or states his wishes.

Many people would do well to tear a page from Mr Nixon's book in this context. On the subject of birthday presents he has expressed a strong preference for ties, "I can only wear them once or twice."

The Soviet Communist Party Chief, Mr Leonid Brezhnev, has more expensive tastes. A keen motoring enthusiast, the ideal gift for him would be a car as Mr Nixon and Pompidou have been quick to realise. The latter gave him a Citroen Maserati in 1971 and the former a Cadillac in 1972.

Here are a few suggestions for those wishing to give gifts to Indians who have power and all that it can bestow. A purse (filled with money) is an old fashioned idea but still quite well received. But for those whose budgets are more modest, how about a sports jacket for Mr D. P. Dhar, the Union Planning Minister; an economy sized packet of tranquilisers for Mr Dhillon, the Lok Sabha Speaker, both for distribution among excitable MPs as well as internal consumption. These are a few ideas to spur the imagination.

Aspirins and indigestion tablets always go down well with those who have to perform in the national and international limelight.



# Briefly Speaking . . . . .

He is not an honest man who has burned his tongue and does not tell the company that the soup is hot.

Yugoslav Proverb

## Coloured outlook

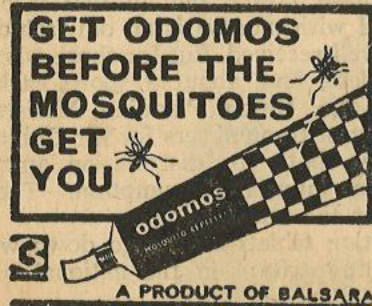
THE children of foreign workers in the Federal Republic of Germany — 200 Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Greeks and Turks aged between seven and thirteen years — have expressed their view of Germany in paintings that will be displayed all over that country.

Although there are some pictures of green meadows, yellow suns and a blue Rhine, Germany is seldom portrayed. Links with home — railways, aeroplanes and ships are more common subjects. The colours used are drab and gloomy, which is very unusual in children's paintings.

One social psychologist has des-



"That's his 500th trip abroad while in office."



cribed the paintings as "mirrors of the inner petrification of the children." According to a Common Market study the Federal Republic of Germany is the member most willing to integrate. The fact that these paintings are being shown and studied all over the country, indicates a genuine desire to do something for the homesick and lonely children of immigrant workers.

## Flowing out

ACCORDING to a report published by the US National Science Foundation 13,300 immigrant scientists and engineers were admitted into America in 1970. The same report says that the largest single increments of scientific and technological manpower from abroad have been scientists and engineers from India and physicians from the Philippines.

Changes in the Immigration Laws of the US in 1965 together with a lack of job opportunities in the home countries are held responsible for the growing number of technically trained Asian personnel entering the US.

These are facts that we in India must take serious note of. Our country needs all the scientific and technological knowhow it can get. Instead of cherishing our trained personnel we are almost encouraging them to go and settle abroad.

## Attitudes contrasted

GREGORY CLARK writing in the "Far Eastern Economic Review" of January 8 contrasts the Chinese and Japanese attitude to life:

"At a Peking steel-mill producing between 2 and 3 million tons a year with old machinery and four under-sized blast furnaces, they boasted how they had sent their foreign-trained technologists out to the fields to be re-educated. They told us proudly how, relying on the initiative of the masses, they had in 1968 built a converter in three months, far less time than the technologists said was needed.

"Had they built any more converters since? No. Then why the hurry? To prove the creativeness of the workers. A few weeks earlier I had been to a new Japanese steel complex producing 12 million tons with three furnaces and less workers. There they were busily using every scrap

of technology from around the globe so they could build even more efficient furnaces."

## Fizzy tea

INDIA and Sri Lanka, the largest exporters of tea in the world, have suffered because of the growing popularity of soft drinks in their traditional markets in the West. Attempts to introduce instant tea and tea bags have met with only partial success.

The Sri Lanka Tea Propaganda Board has now revealed that scientists working for them have at last succeeded in putting a fizz into tea. The carbonated drink will be marketed under the trade name, Tea-ko.

Though having the same colour as Coke and Pepsi, it remains to be seen whether Tea-ko will K. O. (knock out) the soft drinks.

## Birbal

### UPON MY WORD!

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

UPON MY WORD  
PUZZLE NO. 15

you should find 67  
words this week.

(Answer next week)

ANSWER TO PUZZLE NO. 14

Ahoy, graph, gray, harp, harpy, harry, hoar, hypha, parry, pray, roar, yahoo, yoga, HOROGRAPHY.

O T O  
R P S M  
I L E

# Why Sheikh Abdullah is changing his stand?

## From O. N. Koul in Kashmir

SINCE the emergence of Bangladesh as a sovereign nation, Sheikh Abdullah and his chosen heir, Mr Afzal Beg, have been stating and reiterating their "new stand" on Kashmir, the essence of which is that their dispute with New Delhi is not on the "factum of accession" but on the "quantum of accession".

This is in sharp contrast to the repeated assertions made by them in the past that the issue of Kashmir's accession was open and the choices available to the State were to accede either to India or Pakistan or to remain independent.

The factors responsible for this change in attitudes are too obvious to require a mention. What is important is that what once was projected as an "accession issue" has now boiled down to a problem of Centre-State relations which, so far as many other States of the country are concerned, has been raised in relation to the devolution of financial resources etc.

Sheikh Abdullah, however, raises the question of "quantum of accession" on the strength of Kashmir's Instrument of Accession under which only the three subjects of defence, communications and foreign policy were to be central subjects. In other words, Kashmir had the constitutional right to retain "residual sovereignty" as, perhaps, in the case of Sikkim or Bhutan. This is the main implication of the Instrument of Accession.

It is probably this which the Sheikh

### SO THEY SAY

I am against the concentration of power in the hands of a few.

SHEIKH ABDULLAH

Between the Communists and us the winner will be the one with the greater patience.

NGUYEN VAN THIEU

You have to leave men alone to their business. They know what is best.

MME CONSUELO GONZALES DE VELASCO,

Wife of the President of Peru

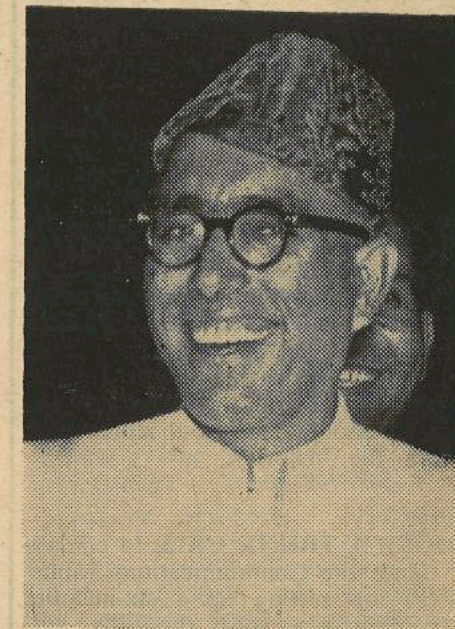
had in mind when he asserted, in an interview to a news agency on January 22, 1973 that the "relationship between the State and the rest of the country had to be governed by the Instrument of Accession with all its implications" adding that "There is no ambiguity about this. The whole relationship stands on this". The Instrument of Accession, according to the Sheikh, had been given "constitutional shape by Article 370 of the Constitution".

## Solution within India

To that extent, therefore, the issue of Kashmir's relationship with the rest of the country does not assume the character of mere Centre-State relations. To a responsible section of public opinion, it is a reiteration of the Sheikh's "cherished desire" of having an independent State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Whatever may be the force of that argument, it has to be conceded that the Sheikh is now looking for a solution within the Indian Union. Mr J. P. Narayan in 1968, while inaugurating the State People's Convention, put forward such a suggestion but the Sheikh at that time reacted to it in violent terms. Considering that the situation in the subcontinent has changed materially since then, it can be assumed that in any final round of discussions, the Sheikh would go beyond the Instrument of Accession.

Contrary to his past statements, he almost rejects Pakistan as a party to the dispute ("It is for Pakistan to establish its position in the dispute. Why should I plead for them?" he says). Though arrogating to himself the task of "carrying with me the people of Kashmir" he recognises that the aspirations of the two important constituents of the State — Jammu and Ladakh — will not be met by anything short of regional autonomy. He even seems to be envisaging the possibility of stabilising the line of actual control in Jammu and Kashmir when he says, "If 'Azad Kashmir' wants to remain away, it is for them to decide. We cannot force them to do anything against their wishes. But we want the State to remain together."



SHEIKH ABDULLAH: ball in other court now

In effect, the Sheikh wants the Government of India to initiate a "settlement process" in spite of Pakistan. He has made his stand more than amply clear. To quote his own words: "We have made our stand clear. The ball is in the other court now."

It appears that the other court has been guided by the motive of making the Sheikh and his representative, Mr Beg, make all the moves they can. Nothing whatever has so far emanated from the Vice-Chancellor of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, Mr G. Parthasarthy, who has reportedly been confabulating, as the Prime Minister's representative, with Mr Beg since June last. That a lot of ground remains to be covered is clear from the observation made by the Sheikh himself, that while he could meet the Prime Minister any time, "the stage has not come for talking business yet".

The question is: is the Government of India in a position to reverse its steps in Kashmir and go back to 1947 when the Instrument of Accession was signed? Will it be politic, in the overall national context to

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



# VERDICT!

## THIS WEEK HIMMAT . . .

**SHUDDERS** at the size of the task facing the US Government in rehabilitating 23,000 ex-servicemen due to return from Vietnam and **REALISES** that the task is harder as one out of every three of these men are drug addicts.

**UNDERLINES** the warning given by Mr Naval H. Tata that there will be a revolution in this country unless the Government drops its double standards in its dealing with the organised urban workers who are a minority and with the poor unorganised rural labour who are the majority.

**BOOKS A TRUNK CALL** to congratulate the Communications Ministry for setting up a six-member committee to study the billing system of Delhi Telephones following a spate of complaints from the public and Members of Parliament and **REQUESTS** it to also appoint such committees in other parts of India.

**WELCOMES** the formation of the Steel Authority of India Ltd (SAIL) and **HOPES** that it will not run into bad weather.

**GIVES TOP MARKS** to the Bangladesh Education Commission Chairman, Dr Muhammed Qudrat-i-Khuda, who has worked out a broad framework for reconstructing his country's educational system on job-oriented lines and **IS RELIEVED** after hearing Planning Minister D. P. Dhar's statement that Indian planners have also begun to pay attention to this important aspect.

**IS GLAD** Bhutan has agreed to supply seed potatoes to West Bengal, which has 200,000 acres under potatoe cultivation but has so far been hampered by the poor quality of seed potatoes available and **LOOKS FORWARD** to a stage of potatoes, potatoes everywhere!

## SHEIKH ABDULLAH — from page 5

withdraw the application of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, the Election Commission and the Auditor General as implied in the statements made by the Sheikh?

New Delhi may not do anything of the kind. Is there then no meeting point?

This writer believes that the Sheikh may still be prepared for a settlement if, for instance, the Government of India withdraws the application of Articles 356 and 357 of the Constitution to the State. These Articles provide for the imposition of President's Rule under certain circumstances. The Sheikh may accept this as the necessary gesture and the base for "removing the doubts of the people".

The whole discussion, it seems, is still in the realm of academics, with many other elements like Maulvi Farooq, founder-chief of the Awami Action Committee, who has started asserting all over again that Pakistan cannot be "wished away as a party to the Kashmir dispute", trying to claim that they have a right to be associated with any kind of talks on Kashmir.

The only concrete development in recent months has been the willingness of the powers-that-be to permit participation of people owing allegiance to Sheikh Abdullah, Maulvi Farooq and others, in the democratic institutions operating in the State.

This started with the participation of Jamait-i-Islami in the last assembly elections. Then came the United Front formed by supporters of Sheikh Abdullah and Maulvi Farooq in the first ever civic elections held in the state in about two decades. Whether or not a stage will be reached when Sheikh Abdullah can talk "business" with Mrs Gandhi, the continuation of this process, that of increasing the participation of people and parties in democratic institutions, may by itself lead to a solution of outstanding issues. The ban on the Sheikh-patronised Plebiscite Front has expired. Mr Beg, founder-President of the party, is in the process of giving a new name to the party, having dissolved the Plebiscite Front Working Committee. Auspicious beginnings have been made and have to be followed in the right spirit.

### Better With Boron A Little Boron Can Make a Very Big Difference To Crop Yield And Quality

For healthy growth, plants require not only the major plant food nutrients such as nitrogen, phosphorus and potash, which are supplied in commercial fertilizers, but small quantities of other trace elements as well. Boron is one of the more important of these essential trace elements.

Boron deficiency in the field was clearly recognised over thirty years ago (heart rot in sugarbeet and mangolds). Since then many reports have appeared describing the characteristic symptoms of boron deficiency in a wide variety of crops. These include apples, banana, citrus, cocoanut palm, coffee, cotton, groundnut, maize, sugarbeet, tea, tobacco, etc.

Many crops have particularly high boron requirement and remove appreciable quantities of boron from the soil, but some crops have a relatively low requirement for boron and do not tolerate heavy applications.

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:

### Borax Morarji Limited

Mahatma Gandhi Road, Ambarnath P. O.,  
District Thana, Maharashtra.

## Pakistan re-armed

by Ravi Rikhye

*A few weeks back, in his first interview to a Pakistani journalist since becoming President of Pakistan, Mr Z. A. Bhutto stated that his country has been making "effective military preparations" over the last 11 months to defend itself from any possible aggression from India. He also declared that his Government was spending more on defence than the previous regimes of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan.*

*This week Mr Ravi Rikhye, who is Assistant Editor of the "Vikrant" magazine which is a defence journal, outlines the extent of Pakistan's military re-armament.*

THE last post has been sounded, the troops have come home: India and Pakistan have vacated areas each occupied during the 1971 war. Yet the state of military alert continues and both sides are steadily strengthening their forces.

As early as March 1972 Pakistan has replaced its equipment losses. In 1972 it spent 50 per cent more on defence than it did just two years back, and the total manpower under arms (including Rangers and Frontier Corps) has actually gone up from the pre-war total of 480,000 to 510,000.

### Obtaining weapons

Losing 32 infantry battalions in East, Pakistan has raised 38, thus strengthening its deployment on the Indo-Pakistan frontier by four division-equivalents, twice India's additional re-inforcement. Credited with 14 divisions, Pakistan fields the equivalent of 20 because so much of its strength is in independent formations and over-strength divisions. One or two mountain divisions are to be raised, probably by a rationalisation of the Kashmir forces. This can mean only one thing: Pakistan is preparing to open up the sector east of Kargil and positioning itself to exploit a Chinese-created diversion in Ladakh.

Pakistan is remarkably catholic in obtaining weapons. France, China, and Iran are the main suppliers, but several European and Arab countries are also sources.

From France will come an additional 30 Mirages, besides the 30 delivered this year. Libya has "loaned" Mirages; and despite Abu Dhabi's denials in the interest of cordial Indo-Abu Dhabi relations, there is no reason to doubt that its 14 Mirage-5s will be available to Pakistan. By 1974 Pakistan will have tripled its Mirage force since 1971, and together with approximately 150 MiG-19s will outnumber the IAF two-to-one in high performance aircraft. The Exocet missile for missile boats

will also probably be purchased from France.

### Made up losses

Reports indicate that some Tu-16 medium bombers may be transferred from China, opening up a new escalatory dimension in the subcontinent. At least 100 T-59 tanks and 60 MiG-19s (some say 150 T-59s and 80 MiG-19s) are under delivery from China, as are at least four patrol boats to be converted to missile boats in Karachi. Additional equipment for the new levies, including long-range artillery, is flowing in.

According to Indian sources, Pakistan lost 244 tanks in the 1971 war, and even allowing for errors and recoveries the total will be at least 150 tanks. It is estimated that Pakistan could by now have 1750 tanks, an

increase of about 350 medium tanks since the 1971 war.

Indian officials are worried lest Iran become the agency for massive transfers of US arms: Iran is buying so much equipment on the world market that the US in any case will be hard put to check transfers of arms for which Iran has paid hard cash. Further possibilities are the 300 remaining M-47 Patton tanks and the six squadrons of F-5As which in 1974 will begin to be replaced by the more advanced F-5Es.

It is possible that M-113 armoured personnel carriers have been transferred either from Iran or Turkey because Pakistan appears to have made up its losses in this item. Long-range heavy artillery from US or NATO stocks through Iran is another possibility.

Bankrolled by oil-rich Arab friends, Pakistan is free to buy arms whenever it wishes. With oil revenues running into the tens of billions of dollars by the mid-1970s, an indefinite subsidy becomes possible.

Pakistan suffered a tremendous shock when East Bengal was liberated by India: there is nothing to indicate that Pakistanis, particularly the younger ones, have reconciled themselves to this loss. Pakistan's re-armament should put India on notice: Pakistan may be down but it is not out.



Of course there is a possibility of film directors watching the test match on T.V. But your chances of entering films this way are remote."

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## Silver Jubilee in Sri Lanka

SRI LANKA entered her 25th year of Independence on February 4. Dwindling prices for her traditional exports and increased prices for her imports coupled with uncertainty by the private sector about their future has created the gravest economic crisis in her history. Yet Ceylonese can be proud that democracy has survived.



DUDLEY SENANAYAKE

At a mass meeting in late January, Mr Jinadasa Niya-thapala, leader of the Opposition United National Party's trade unions alleged that there was a Marxist plot to make Mrs Bandaranaike President and appoint a puppet prime minister. He alleged that the Prime Minister's cousin, Mr Hector Kobekaduwa (the present Agricultural Minister) was the likely candidate. The "Daily Mirror" printed a front page story confirming that there was truth in these allegations.

Dr N. M. Perera, Minister of Finance and leader of the LSSP (Trotskyites), is reported to have said that it was necessary to set up a dictatorship to solve the nation's problems.

The gravity of the situation can be gauged by the statement of former Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake last week that he would lead a people's struggle to topple the United Front Government if they acted against the principles of democracy. The leader of the Opposition, Mr J. R. Jayawardene, has also warned that if the Bill to create a state-controlled Press Council is passed without amendments to the undemocratic clauses, the UNP and the masses would rise to oppose these provisions. When moderates begin to speak in such terms, there is reason for concern.

The new Constitutional Court will decide this month on the petitions of citizens claiming that the controversial Press Council Bill contravenes

guaranteed fundamental rights.

It seems a pity that instead of enlisting the Opposition and putting the nation on a war footing, Mrs Bandaranaike is dividing the nation by continuing with the Bill.

### Will the Jordan front reopen?

AN uneasy peace continues in West Asia, with both sides preparing for war. At the meeting of the Joint Defence Council of 18 Arab states which was held in Cairo last week, Egyptian War Minister, General Ahmed Ismail, was nominated as Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian fronts.

But King Hussein, in a broadcast prior to his departure to Washington, outlined the terms under which he would allow the Jordan front to be opened again.

1) There must be a complete co-ordination of policies among the Arab countries.

2) Restoration of financial aid cut off to Jordan after the action taken against Palestinian guerrillas.

3) The guerrillas will not be allowed to operate freely, even if they are allowed to return. (This is virtually saying "no" to the guerrillas).

It is doubtful whether the Palestinian guerrillas will agree to the third condition. At the Cairo meeting, they demanded that:

1) The plan for turning Jordan into a United Arab Kingdom, with the West bank as the Palestinian unit, be withdrawn.

2) The guerrillas be allowed to return and given the freedom to operate within Jordan.

While the Arabs prepare for war and a Soviet military team is in Cairo, Israel has developed a new high speed 400-ton missile boat. This has seven missile launchers and the range of Libya and even Algeria, a thousand miles away. The boat can have a crew of 45 and travel at 40 knots speed. This vessel is superior to the vessels supplied to the Arabs by the Russians.

Reports from Beirut indicate that the Israelis have discovered that there are large deposits of high quality tungsten, copper and other valuable non-ferrous minerals in the Si-

nai desert. This area was captured from Egypt in the 1967 war. If these reports are true, the Israelis will be very keen to retain the area.

### Peking woos Hanoi

WHEN the North Vietnamese leaders, Le Duc Tho, Xuan Thuy and Nguyen Duy Trinh were in Peking last week, Mao Tse-tung told them, "Our help has been little." But the North Vietnamese said they came to "pay our respects and regards to you and the Chinese Communist Party for giving us great help and encouragement against US aggression and for national salvation." Later at the banquet given by Chou En-lai, all the top Chinese leaders were present.

What seems to worry the Chinese most though is whether Hanoi will now want to follow an independent line and assert herself as a power in Indo-China.

Ever since President Nixon's visit to China, the belligerency of the Chinese about "US aggression" has become muted. Neither the US naval blockade of North Vietnam nor the pounding that Hanoi received over Christmas from American bombs stirred the Chinese to any practical action.

But now that the war is over, Chinese leaders are obviously keen to step in and bring Hanoi within their orbit. If the proposed ceasefire in Laos and Cambodia also becomes a reality, it will mark the beginning of the next stage of the "war" — a battle to woo nations to join the Peking or Moscow band wagon.

### A Yen for revaluation

ACCORDING to the Bank of Japan Governor Tadashi Sasaki, Japan may have to revalue her currency again! Mr Sasaki told Parliament last week that unless measures to restore equilibrium in Japan's balance of payments were implemented seriously, a revaluation is a possibility.

Figures released by Japan's Finance Ministry reveal that the economy continued to flourish. Japanese exports were up by 18.9 per cent, with a surplus of a record US \$8972 million. This was despite the 16.88 per cent Yen devaluation in December 1971. At the end of 1972, Japan held foreign exchange to the value of \$18.365 million. She had an overall surplus of \$4739 million in her international balance of payments in 1972.

## Henry Kissinger—not yet out of a job

THE last question at Dr Henry Kissinger's press conference in Washington, after the Vietnam ceasefire accord, was: "Have you worked yourself out of a job?" The now famous peace negotiator is far from unemployed as he gets ready for a visit to Hanoi next week and later to Peking.

In a wide-ranging television interview from his White House office the US President's National Security Adviser gave his opinions on a number of subjects.

Commenting on the Vietnam agreement Dr Kissinger stated: "The biggest task now is to move a generation that has known nothing but war toward an attitude of peace — and that is an intangible quality."

He said that he did not trust goodwill alone and that a lot depended on the actions of the Soviet Union

and the People's Republic of China. Though there were no agreements with them on holding back arms deliveries to Vietnam he said, "We would like the Chinese and the Russians to behave responsibly in preserving the peace in Indo-China."

On the reason for his impending trip to Hanoi, Dr Kissinger explained, "Having established a pattern of coexistence with Moscow and Peking, it seems to us not inconceivable that if we can coexist with Peking we can coexist with Hanoi."

However, when asked if the US would establish diplomatic relations with Hanoi he said such an action was "far down the road".

Dr Kissinger also gave the first detailed explanation of President Nixon's decision to bomb the Hanoi-Haiphong area in December after the breakdown in the Paris talks. He

called it "the most painful, the most difficult and the most lonely" decision that the President had to make.

The Presidential adviser stated that Mr Nixon did not consult the American people on this issue because it would have ruined the confidential nature of the Paris talks. Mr Nixon decided, said Dr Kissinger, that if the bombing produced positive results, "it would speak for itself, and, if it failed, he would give a full report to the nation."

Dr Kissinger, however, refused to say that the bombing

had helped in settlement. He also said it would serve no useful purpose to speculate on Hanoi's motives before he himself visited Hanoi.

During the television interview Dr Kissinger added interesting sketches of three men he has had dealings with in the last years. Of the North Vietnamese peace negotiator, Le Duc Tho, Dr Kissinger said, "He's a man who's never known tranquility. And where necessary to fight in order to end the war, he fights in order to achieve certain objectives he's held all his life." He added that Mr Tho was "an impressive man" driven by "a certain missionary zeal".

### Special brand of diplomacy

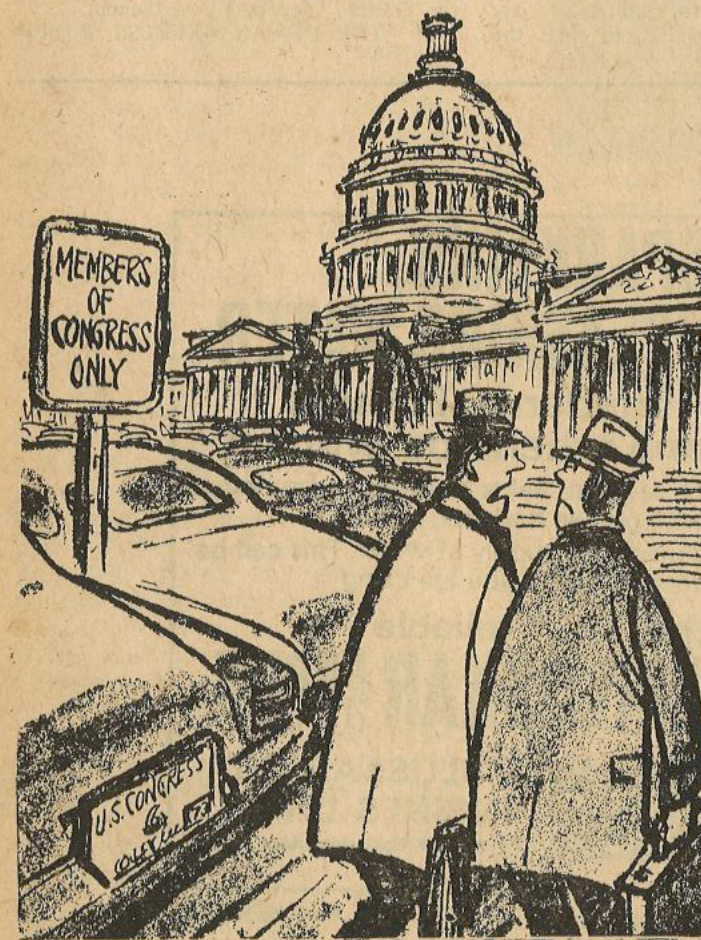
Mr Chou En-lai, Dr Kissinger thought, was "very intellectual and subtle" while Russia's Mr Leonid Brezhnev was "more elemental and more physical". Mr Chou was of the earlier school of Communists — more evangelical than Mr Brezhnev's generation of skilled bureaucrats. In Dr Kissinger's assessment both men are impressive individuals who rose to the top through considerable competition.

Earlier in another television interview, the South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu was asked whether major violations of the ceasefire would prompt him to ask US troops to return. Mr Thieu had replied, "We will never ask US troops to come back here" but he said he could envisage a return of American air power to Vietnam.

Commenting on Mr Thieu's statement Dr Kissinger felt that in the near future North Vietnam was militarily incapable of launching "an overwhelming attack" on the South. However, he could not say what would happen in a year or two.

It is obvious that Dr Kissinger will continue his special brand of diplomacy in the next months. In Hanoi he expects to meet Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, who leads a Government in exile in Peking.

There has been a great deal of speculation on the extent of the influence of Dr Kissinger on President Nixon's decisions. To settle that point Dr Kissinger stressed, in his television interview, that Mr Nixon himself was responsible for making decisions and not his adviser. "One does not become President of the United States by having a weak will," he said.



"Now you think he might send Kissinger over to make peace with us?" Courtesy: International Herald Tribune



## BEST WORLD PRESS

### Nothing new

One should not give credit to the idea that there is only one Vietnam which the colonial powers have cut in two pieces. There has always been a conquering Tonkin, a North on the warpath determined to capture the pacifist South. This is a historic, established fact, which colonisation had, by the way, been forced to take into account.

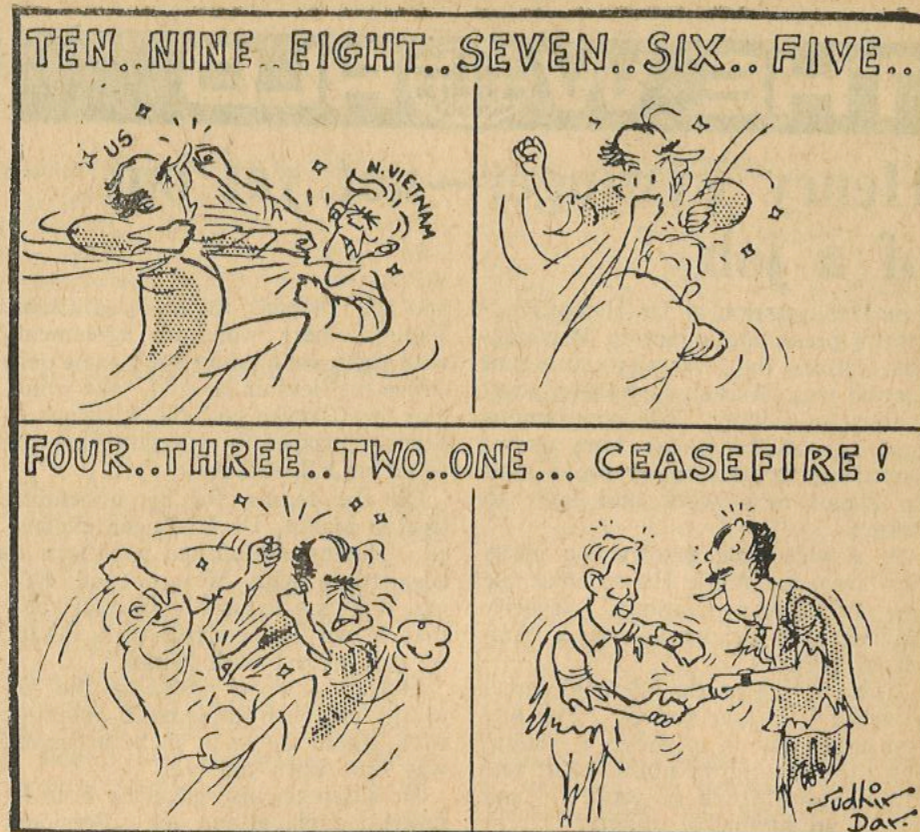
Communism is, therefore, only a modern dress to a very old custom, which goes back to the 14th century. This does not excuse the stupidity of the American attitude.

L'EXPRESS, Paris

### Laos and Cambodia

The uneasy course of events in Saigon, unfortunately, looks like delaying the return to peace in Cambodia and Laos. Lon Nol's unilateral ceasefire in Cambodia has not yet evoked a response from the Khmer Rouge or the other insurgent groups. Indeed, Prince Sihanouk is already on record for the statement that he will not negotiate except with the Americans and only on the condition of the prior acceptance of the restored legitimacy of his deposed Government.

In Laos, the prospects look brighter. Obviously, Prince Souvanna Phouma



Courtesy: The Hindustan Times, New Delhi

would like to avoid the intrusion of big-power rivalries in the Laos situation as far as it is possible for him to do so. That is why he would like to treat the

problem as one of fulfilling the Geneva agreement of 1954 than as one calling for another negotiated settlement.

THE INDIAN EXPRESS, Bombay

## British press highlights Vietnam anguish

FROM GORDON WISE IN LONDON

LE DUC THO, the chief North Vietnamese negotiator, said in Paris after having initialled the Vietnamese Peace Agreement, that according to Marxist-Leninist theory, "As long as imperialism exists in the world, there will be war".

This approach to the prospects for peace, shows in a nutshell why President Nixon, at a briefing session for Congressional leaders in Washington admitted that the agreement was "fragile". True, the President added, "we have hopes it will endure".

The normally self-contained Nixon was understandably emotional. Senator Hugh Scott, the Republican Party Leader, said afterwards that there "wasn't a dry eye in the House" after the President had paid tribute to the Americans who had fought and died in Vietnam.

The North Vietnamese delegation in Paris made it quite clear that they regarded the ceasefire agreement as a victory. One has to make up one's mind about whether it is really, in Nixon's words "peace with honour", or, in the words of Le Duc Tho, "Right has triumphed over wrong and the desire to live in freedom has won out over cruelty".

### UK's role in reconstruction

The four nation force of 1,160 officers and men from Canada, Poland, Hungary and Indonesia face a difficult prospect. Their decisions will have to be unanimous. A unit of only twelve will supervise the forty miles of the demilitarized zone.

But the prospects for peace hang a good deal on the effectiveness of those who will supervise this ceasefire. If they do their job properly, they will expose any attempts to undermine the truce by either side. Then, if the facts are made known, it will be up to the great powers China, Russia and the United States, to restrain their allies.

In the task of reconstruction, Britain has a small but vital role to play. Sir Anthony Eden's (Lord Avon's) initiative helped to bring about the first Vietnam peace after the defeat of the French in 1954. So the British are gratified that this country has been again invited to the International Conference on Vietnam. Perhaps it is timely that Mr Heath and Sir Alec Douglas-Home

should be visiting President Nixon this week.

The line the British will take, perhaps, will be to remind the negotiators of the late Sir Winston Churchill's maxim: Jaw-jaw is always better than war-war.

In the House of Commons, Foreign



SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME  
"prospects of peace at last"

Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home warned MPs that "the history of Indo-China gives little scope for easy optimism". But he made the best of it when he said, "After nearly thirty years of war and near-war, this agreement, if observed in good faith appears to offer the prospects of peace at last".

The Shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr James Callaghan, chimed in that "the whole country would join in the collective sense of relief which will be felt around the world at the end of this phase of this terrible conflict". But he too warned that "it is realistic to recognize that other problems are only now beginning to emerge. There is no sense of euphoria that this stage of the conflict is over".

Backbench MPs on both sides of the House urged that Britain should come forward with substantial contributions to help ease the suffering in Vietnam, as part of a world effort for rehabilitation of the stricken country. Sir Alec promised to follow through once "we know what other

CONTINUED ON PAGE 19

## The week in INDIA

NEW DELHI — A dry port in Tughlakabad near Delhi will soon be established which will facilitate the export of one lakh tonnes of cargo valued at about Rs 14 crores that originates principally from Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana.

— The Union Steel Minister, Mr Mohan Kumaramangalam, explained that the Government was keen to benefit from the highly economic Japanese steel making techniques which had made it possible for that country to market the cheapest steel in the world and in that light the Nippon Steel Company would undertake a feasibility study for the expansion of the TISCO (Tata Iron and Steel Company) plant in Jamshedpur.

— Under the ordinance promulgated by the President, 464 non-coking coal mines in the private sector have been taken over by the Government of India.

LUCKNOW — The Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Commission announced that the UP Government had decided to instal computers at all the major development projects in the state during the current year.

JAIPUR — At the request of the Rajasthan Government a second fact-finding team is visiting the state to assess the famine situation and recommend financial assistance.

BHUBANESHWAR — Student unrest has once again erupted in Orissa, affecting almost all the major colleges in the state, the main trouble being students' demands for better teaching conditions and other facilities.

BOMBAY — As against 60,000 TV sets in Delhi only, 14,728 have been sold in Bombay until a few weeks ago and because of unimaginative programmes TV dealers in Bombay are going out of business.

PANAJI — The Union Deputy Minister for Telecommunications, Mr Jagannath Pahadia, while laying the foundation stone of a housing colony in Goa announced that the Union Government had decided to provide postal and telephone facilities in the hilly tracts and backward areas of the country at concessional rates.


MADRAS — The Kerala Government has rejected the request of the Tamilnadu Government to hand over the temple dedicated to Kannagi, heroine of the Tamil epic "Silapathigaram" and believed to have been built by the Chera King Senguttuvan about 2000 years ago.

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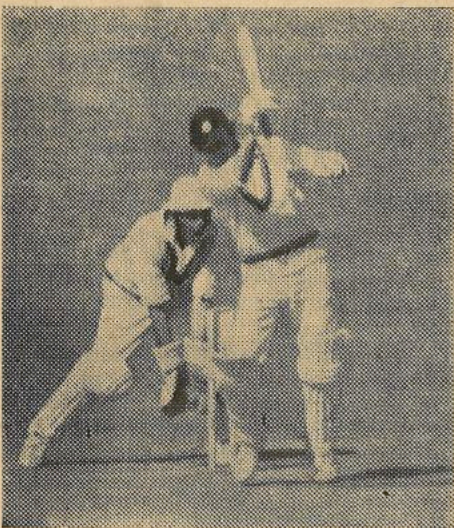
# The Test series in suspense

## Solkar needs four catches for world record

by B. B. Mama

BY the time this appears in print, the final act of an unprecedented cricket drama will have just started to unfold before a jam-packed audience at the Brabourne Stadium, Bombay, with thousands watching on television and millions all over the country listening on the radio.

Every excited cricket fan is asking: How will it all end? Will India win the series outright or will England exploit the psychological breakthrough they achieved at Kanpur to share the rubber? Whatever the outcome, it is bound to enthuse many and disappoint none, for this has indeed been a tussle to remember; both



Mike Denness drives off Solkar

sides have deserved to win and neither to lose.

Never before in our cricket history have we had such a tremendously close-run series. It began like a Hitchcock suspense film and is now reaching a fitting climax which could provide an O. Henryish twist-ending.

Since the first test match was played in India almost 40 years ago we have had 16 series on our soil — 10 of them a full rubber of five tests. But, surprisingly, none of them have provided the sort of sustained interest and tension-charged fervour we have experienced this season. This is professional cricket at its fighting

best (or worst?) — diamond-hard and merciless, though we must deplore the frayed tempers and jangled nerves, the glove-flinging tantrums and rude intimidation of the umpires.

### Pedestrian batting

India leads by two matches to one with the final decisive Test now on. England has so far been unable to unravel the tangled skein of India's spin-magic with those two maestros, Chandrasekhar and Bedi, holding the Englishmen in perpetual thrall. However, at Kanpur, Tony Lewis gave a magnificent display of controlled aggression to chalk up the first century of the current series.

Generally speaking, this has so far been a series dominated by bowlers with pedestrian batting enlivened by some rare individual innings of character and purpose, like those of Tony Greig and Farokh Engineer in the first two Tests, and of Pataudi and Fletcher in the third. Glancing at the averages table of both contending teams upto the Kanpur Test, one is at once struck by a startling similarity in the batting pattern.

England, in the first four tests, has compiled 1543 runs for an average of 24.49 as against India's 1716 averaging 23.83. The top-scorer are the respective captains, Tony Lewis with 125 and Wadekar with 90. Tony Greig (234) and Engineer (228) have scored the most runs for their teams. Others who have respectable totals are Denness (228), Lewis (217), Wadekar (214), Vishwanath (204) and Fletcher (199).

As regards fielding, though India's close-catching usually obtains spectacular results, the tally of catches is remarkably similar — 41 by England as against India's 42, the outstanding "vultures" being Eknath Solkar with 12 and Greig with 9. **Solkar hovers on the threshold of a new world record in Test Cricket. Only Australia's J. M. Gregory (15 catches) and Bobby Simpson (13) have held more catches in a series.**

The real difference between the teams has been the penetrative destructiveness and lethal venom of

India's spin-bowling. Chandrasekhar with 29 wickets at 17.27 apiece and Bedi 21 wickets averaging 22.33 are virtually the only bowlers on whom we have depended for results. Apart from Prasanna's 10 wickets, no one else has taken more than a couple of wickets.

England's bowling honours, on the other hand, have been more evenly shared out between the three me-

## SPORT

dium-pacers Arnold (14), Old (12) and Greig (10), and the spinners Underwood (12) and Pocock (11).

The Brabourne Stadium wicket has of late acquired a reputation for aiding medium-paced bowling. This would argue a case for England holding the edge, but already in this series all predictions have been confounded by the twists and turns of cricket destiny. (By the same token, Chandrasekhar may find the greater bounce and nip of the pitch to his liking!)

### Unpredictable struggle

The Eden Gardens, Calcutta, is normally deemed a seamer's paradise, yet the ball spun within an hour of the start of play, and Lewis brought on Underwood after 45 minutes with only 13 runs on the board. When on the last day England needed just 87 to win with six wickets in hand — a victory which would have virtually clinched the rubber for them — Bedi and Chandra bowled with superb control and hostile intent to earn for India a reprieve and a surge towards ultimate triumph in the series. This very clearly was the turning point of this engrossing and unpredictable struggle.

The Madras Test witnessed the triumphant return of Mansur Ali

Khan Pataudi to the Test scene. All at once India's lack-lustre batting acquired a touch of class and pedigree, and England's hopes of retrieving the series were practically snuffed out. Pataudi's 73 at Madras was invested with all the time-hallowed glamour of a memorable Test comeback.

India, anxious to hold on to their lead and deny England the series, played for a draw at Kanpur from the start, and almost lost the Test in an extraordinary collapse on a feather-bed of a wicket! A Test which was dying a slow strangulated death sprang to inexplicable life when India, trailing by 40 runs, lost 4 wickets for 39. A couple of quick wickets then, and anything could have happened. It was, in truth, quite in keeping with the fantastic convolutions of this marvellous series!

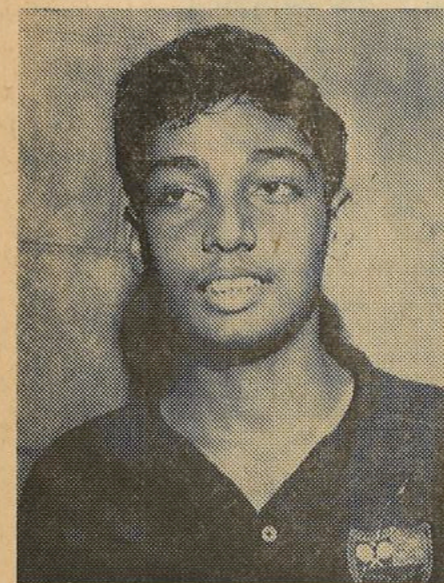


KANPUR TEST: Ajit Wadekar hooks Arnold (back to camera). Also in the picture are wicket keeper Alan Knott and Tony Greig

## Niraj Bajaj—he never gave up

A triumph over adversity — that's how one would like to describe Niraj Bajaj's success in the National Table Tennis Championships at Ahmedabad.

At 18, Bajaj is not the youngest to win the country's most coveted honour. That distinction belongs to another Bombay product, Gautam Divan, who was barely 16 when he achieved the first of his six triumphs.



Niraj Bajaj

The remarkable thing about Bajaj's success is that ill health nearly forced him to give up the game. He had shown distinct promise even as a schoolboy and became the national junior champion in 1969. But he had

to quit the scene for a while and it looked as though his career as a player had come to an end.

Few budding players can withstand a break of this kind. Try as they might, they seldom regain their true stature. Bajaj did meet with heart-breaking reverses in his come-back trail but he battled on nevertheless. His perseverance and pluck have now paid ample dividends.

Thus it will not be difficult to discern the most striking quality about Bajaj—his never-say-die spirit. Irrespective of the state of the match, he carries on the battle in a cool, collected manner. No histrionics for him. No war cries and screams of anguish and despair whenever an opponent claims a lucky edge or netcord. Even off the table, he is a lad of few words.

Bajaj's skill and spirit were put to the most severe tests during the Nationals. In the team championship, he barely got past Delhi's Manjit Dua at 28-26 in the decider. And against Andhra Pradesh he met with reverses at the hands of both Dilip Raj Saxena and Mir Khasim Ali.

On the basis of these results, Bajaj was not a hot favourite for the title. He was one of the strong contenders, no doubt, but Mir Khasim, Saxena and Dua were equally fancied. It is a tribute to his quality of play as well as his ability to learn from mistakes that Bajaj successively overcame Dua, Mir Khasim and Saxena to crown himself the national champion.

A six footer, Bajaj plays with a minimum of fuss. His game is sim-

licity itself: a forehand drive and a backhand half-volley better known as the "jab" among the players.

However, Bajaj has achieved such a high degree of skill with those two strokes that he virtually needs no other. He can hit a forehand consistently and well. With his long limbs and consequent reach, he can pounce on a half-chance and unleash a powerful smash. The "jab" takes care of those who try to prevent Bajaj from employing his forehand.

The judicious blend of these two strokes and the speed with which he can execute them make Bajaj the force he is. Dua, a hard hitting player himself, seldom got a look in in the quarter-final. Mir Khasim waged a gallant rally from two games down only to be left standing after 7-all in the fifth. Saxena was a game up in the final and led 19-16 in the second and yet could not clinch the title.

Bajaj has now established himself as the Indian champion and the question that every lover of the game will now ask is whether he can climb to greater heights. Youth clearly is on his side. But he needs to improve his physical fitness. He still seems to suffer from the after effects of his illness. Should he pay special attention to overcoming this, Bajaj can surely go much farther. He will have his first big test when he makes his bow in the World Championship next April.



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## Viewpoint

### Ruthless politicians

Rs 25 to K. Ravindran, Trichur 680004

In my opinion the chief culprit is none other than the self-seeking, malicious and ruthless politician. This choice is made from among the four—parents, politicians, teachers and students.

The different student organisations in our country are affiliated to particular political parties. Nobody is reluctant or ashamed to admit this. These student organisations draw the much needed funds for their activities from their respective parent bodies. How expensive the student elections have become! One has to witness them at close quarters to believe this.

All the dirty games of everyday politics are truly reflected in the student elections. If a powerful student leader is denied a ticket for a post of his choice he wastes no time in forming an organisation of his own. He has seen his political gurus do it very often.

Whether a local or a national issue, the concerned political parties try to get the support of the student community. The live example is that of the involvement of some students belonging to a particular organisation in the recent partial strike of Non-Gazetted Officers in Kerala.

## Campus unrest— who is the chief culprit?

Unless the party which spearheaded the strike instigated these students how did they get involved with the NGOs?

### Education policy makers

Rs 15 to Subroto Sen Gupta, Tezpur 784001

THE cancerous growth of campus unrest is eating into the very vitals of our society at present. Why do the students indulge in such agitational activities? Is it inherent in their nature? If not, who is creating such indiscipline in the campuses?

The air is heavy with the rumour that the political parties have a hand in creating such troubles in academic campuses. This is a weightless and a biased view. They are simply exploiting the gravity of the situation for their narrow political ends. Politicians are not magicians to make trouble out of nothing.

It has been realised that our education has been able to contribute very little to the prosperity of the nation. It has rather, aggravated the problem of educated unemployment. There is a mushrooming of educational institutions on the one side and a snail-speed growth of the service sector with a resultant sluggish demand for workers, on the other.

If the demand of the time is to be fulfilled, education, be it technical, voca-

tional or general, must be oriented to self-employment. But, in practice, in our society there has been no co-ordination among the various policies, viz, educational policy, employment policy etc. The entire education system needs to be refashioned taking into account the needs of society.

The students are just protesting against the system reflecting the lapses of those entrusted with the work of framing policies.

It is crystal clear that the real culprits are our policy designers.

### Aimless education system

An extract from the entry of Bhanu Kale Bombay-19

I feel that the root cause of campus unrest is our aimless and ineffective education system.

We hardly come across a student who is genuinely interested in acquiring knowledge. Professors who have to mould the character of a student hardly have any personal touch with him. When colleges are run like a factory, professors are bound to be like machines.

Our education system has failed to draw the best out of students and often their surplus energy is manifested in things like burning buses and smashing street lamps. When there is no big purpose to live for, no wonder the idea of going on strike for petty things like dress freedom, easy examination papers and concessional rates in theatres catches their imagination.

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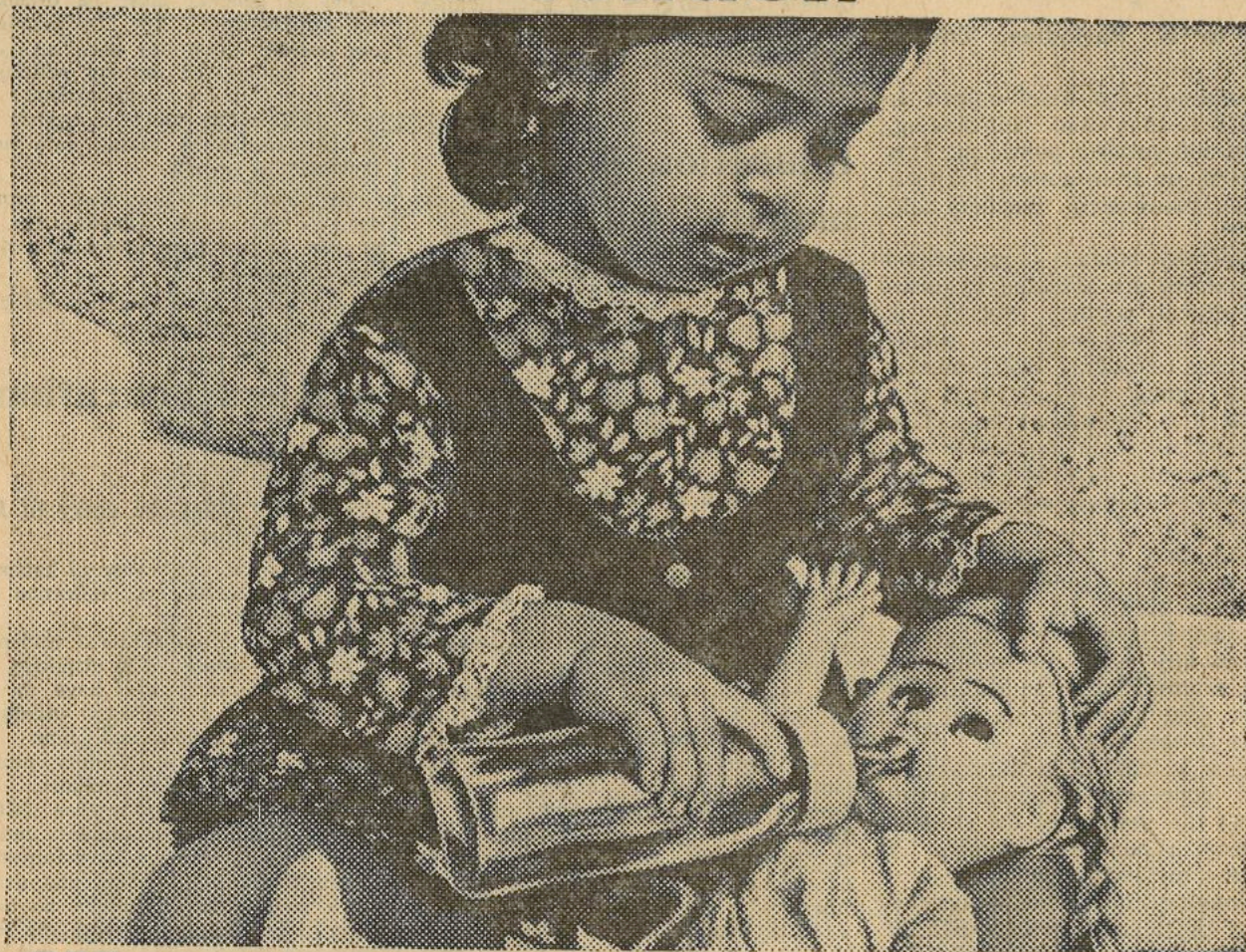
Closing date February 23

\*\* Should there be smaller states? What should be the yardstick of division?

Closing date March 9



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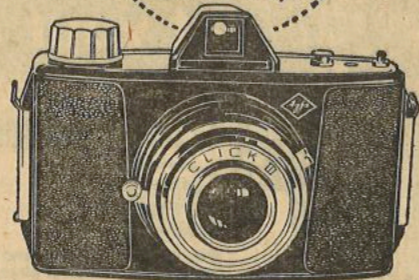
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# Food policy needs change

From M.P. Bakiwala in Jaipur

**STARVATION** deaths have become an everyday occurrence in Rajasthan. If there is no improvement in the food situation in the immediate future it is feared that riots may break out.

New Delhi is blamed for people living in starvation in Rajasthan as the allotment of foodgrains made to the state is nowhere near a reasonable level. And Rajasthan, as any other state in the country, has no alternative but to depend wholly on the Centre for its food requirements. New Delhi makes the excuse of dwindling buffer stocks for poor allocations.

Rajasthan's monthly needs of

sum of Rs 25 crores will be needed for its successful operation. The Government is not in a position to invest funds of this magnitude. Rajasthan will thus depend on the funds from New Delhi.

It is also suggested that since 80 per cent of people in Rajasthan eat coarse grains, no purpose will be served by taking over only wheat and rice. The Government should

thus take over the wholesale trade in coarse grains also if real relief is to be provided to the people.

It is also suggested that the Government should have its own procurement system and everything should not be left to the Food Corporation of India (FCI) which has failed to produce the goods. In the past when the food situation had been bad the Government could meet it because of the buffer stocks at its disposal.

But the FCI has failed to procure coarse grains in Rajasthan this year. As against the target of 30,000 tonnes of coarse grains only about 1500 tonnes have been procured.

There is need for a basic change in the food policy if people are to be anywhere near satisfied.

## RAJASTHAN

foodgrains for distribution by the fair price shops is to the order of about one lakh tonnes. This is the estimate the Government has prepared. But New Delhi is not prepared to meet even half of the demands and, above all, there is no certainty that the allotted foodgrains will reach the state in time. In December the Government could not lift 18,000 tonnes of maize from Punjab because the railways could not give the wagons. The quota, already very meagre, lapsed.

Though the Rajasthan Government is said to have opened about 4000 fair price shops in the state, people hardly get their requirements as the food supply is inadequate and erratic. So far these shops have remained only on paper and this shows that the Government has failed to meet the precarious situation.

As it looks as though the Government will take over the wholesale trade in wheat and rice from April next, the traders hardly take any interest in supplying foodgrains. On the other hand they are creating problems for the Government and making the position more grim.

It is strongly argued that the Government in Rajasthan should put off the decision of take over as both the kharif and rabi crops have failed. But Mr Barkatullah Khan, the Chief Minister is guided by the Centre.

HIMMAT learns that a revolving fund of Rs 150 crores will have to be created in Rajasthan to take over the wholesale trade. This is the recommendation of a high-powered committee set up by the Government to study the whole matter. Another



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## BRITISH PRESS HIGHLIGHTS — from page 11

countries are going to do and discuss it with them".

The British press is giving extensive coverage to the personal anguish behind the statistics. Stories of refugees, of fatherless families, fill the pages. Statistics themselves are horrific. 1,200,000 were forced to flee from their homes when the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong began their offensive in late March of last year. 700,000 of these refugees were still living in camps at the end of 1972.

According to official American estimates, between 6 and 7 million South Vietnamese, or about one-third of the population, have been refugees at one time or another since 1964. About half have been refugees more than once.

American sources estimate North Vietnamese and Viet Cong casualties at close to 1,000,000. South Vietnamese military casualties are said to be 560,000, of whom 160,000 were killed.

And one particularly moving statistic: at least 675,000 children have lost one or both their parents in the war.

The Americans lost 46,000 lives. The war cost them an estimated \$110,000,000.

In Saigon itself, there was muted relief. President Thieu said firmly that the ceasefire is "only the beginning of the end of the Communist aggression by force". A few hastily-strung banners said, "All the people will defend the ceasefire". South Vietnamese flags came out in force in response to the President's order

that they be flown.

It was reported that at the United States headquarters at Tan Son Nhut Airport, it was "business as usual". The daily news bulletin warned personnel against Hong Kong heroin (which is adulterated with strychnine) and warning personnel not to park vehicles on the baseball field. A few fresh chuckles were raised at an old joke on the main notice board: "Will the last person to leave please switch off the lights". The last person of the 23,000 American troops remaining are due to be out in sixty days.

London's "Daily Telegraph" struck a realistic note at the end of a sane editorial. "The future depends first and foremost on whether China, in order to develop her relations with America to offset Russian pressure, is prepared to exercise a restraining influence on Hanoi. China certainly wants to eliminate Russia's influence as Hanoi's main arms' supplier in a continuing war. Russia, who has so much to gain from increased co-operation with America, may also cooperate in making the peace agreement work, after a fashion. The portents are not all grim".

Columnist Ian Ward, writing from Singapore says "Separate estimates of Hanoi's intentions compared to Saigon's capabilities over the next five years seem to concur that the Communists would be unable to effect a military take-over of the South in the period. Furthermore, predictions are that North Vietnamese leaders finally appreciate the fact".

According to Ward, President

Thieu's stubborn refusal to be stampeded into a peace agreement, despite American pressure, earned the admiration of Asia's anti-Communist leaders. It is felt that Saigon's handling of the Moscow and Peking backed North Vietnamese invasion has firmly established the South as a power to be reckoned with.



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## Letters

### JUDGEMENTS ON AIR

OF late the news reports of All India Radio have become more and more lopsided. For instance, whenever a police firing is reported (e.g. the recent firings in Andhra Pradesh) the report invariably runs as "... the police had to open fire in self-defence ...". This is tantamount to saying that the police were in the right. Supposing at a future date a judicial enquiry reveals that the police were not justified in opening fire?

An objective way of reporting would be to say "...the police opened fire on an unruly mob ...". This does not support either side. It is not for a news medium to pass judgement as to who is right. It is for the judiciary to do so.

The BBC takes extraordinary care to avoid such judgements. If AIR wants to retain its credibility it is time it followed suit.

MOHAMED IQBAL Jamshedpur 831001

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terials and then separate copper, zinc and aluminium. We should build plants in major cities to handle refuse. The sanitation department in all major cities should install magnetic separators.

Pulverised refuse, free of glass and metals, contains about half the heat value of coal, according to the Union Electric Company of St Louis, USA. The pulverised refuse burns well in a standard boiler equipped to burn coal or gas. The steam can be used to generate electricity.

S. S. BANKESHWAR, Bombay 55

### NOT THE CAPTAIN

VIJAY MERCHANT'S interview in the January 12 issue is superb. But there's one small mistake. You have introduced Vijay Merchant as "India's former Test Captain..." which I think is not correct. Vijay Merchant, though a great name in Indian cricket, has never captained India. Please confirm.

BHANU KALE, Bombay 19

The reader is right and we thank him for pointing out the mistake.

— Ed.

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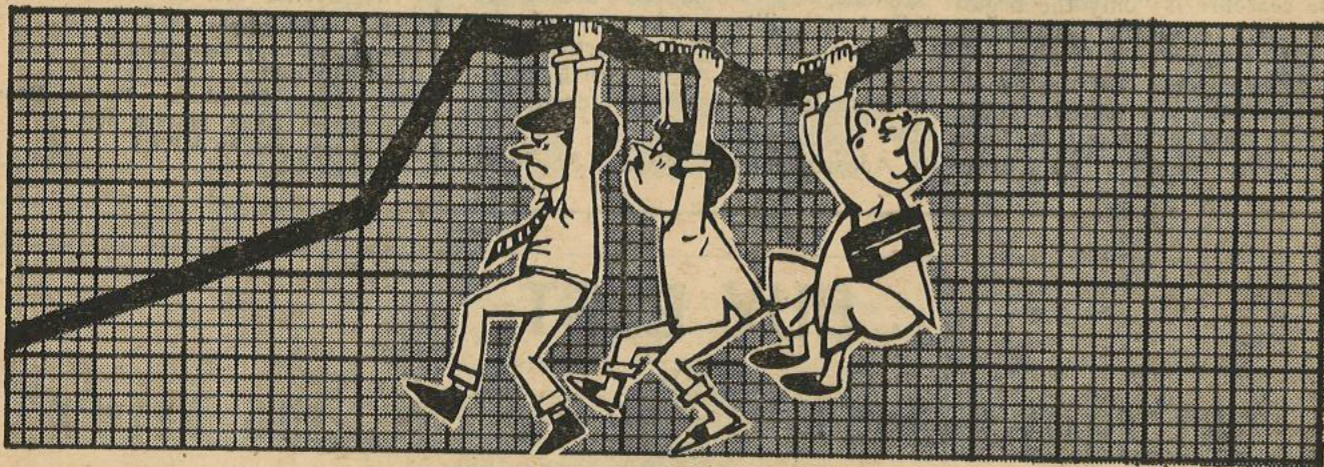
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HIMMAT, February 9, 1973

## This was a Life

### NIELS BOHR

1885-1962

Two scientists were travelling to Copenhagen in Denmark in 1929, during the golden age of discovery about the atom and its nucleus. "Now you are going to get to know Niels Bohr," said the older, "and that's the most important thing that can happen in the life of a young physicist." Many others held Bohr in similar regard.

Early in his career Bohr went to work under the great Professor Ernest Rutherford in Manchester, and there in 1913 he published his famous theory of the structure of the atom, which opened the way to the whole subsequent development of atomic science. His achievement won him the Nobel Prize in 1922, and many further honours.

In 1921 Copenhagen University created an Institute of Theoretical Physics under Bohr's direction. There he became a magnet for the world's leading physicists, among them Homi Bhabha, later head of the Indian atomic energy programme. Bohr's zest and depth of insight inspired them. They formed an international fraternity, quite small in numbers, united in a great enterprise.

The idyll began to fade as Hitler rose to power in Germany. Scientists reacted in different ways to ideology, and rifts appeared in their unity. Bohr himself aided many refugees from the Nazis, perhaps ensuring thereby that the atom bomb would be developed in America and not Germany.

When war came, the Bohr family stayed in Denmark for the sake of the nation's morale, but in 1943, when arrest by the Gestapo was imminent, they escaped to America via Sweden.

Through nuclear warfare and nuclear power, Bohr's chosen field changed from a fascinating academic study to a major world issue, and he felt a weight of responsibility for the whole development. He dreamt of co-operation between the nations, as free and open as that between the scientists in the great years of the twenties and thirties. Though his appeals to the United Nations and other high authorities were little heeded, he played an important part in establishing the European high energy physics laboratory near Geneva and the Scandinavian theoretical physics centre in his old Institute in Copenhagen, as well as the Danish atomic energy laboratories near Roskilde.

H.A.C. McK.





## A new statesmanship?

by Rajmohan Gandhi

"LET the drums of war go silent and let the drums of righteousness resound."

Ashoka said this nearly 2000 years ago after the Kalinga war. He preceded this remark by saying, "It is easy to perceive the faults of others, but not so easy to perceive our own faults."

Ashoka's words are fresh despite their long journey across the centuries. We think of them, of course, in relation to Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

Numerous issues are involved. The vast majority in North and South Vietnam hope one day to see reunification. Hanoi proclaims it as a definite goal. Saigon accepts the long-term objective, but is committed to preventing the communisation of South Vietnam. It would oppose reunification if it were accompanied by communisation.

Peace for Cambodia and Laos is yet to be agreed upon. Cambodia has two governments, President Lon Nol's and Prince Sihanouk's, both claiming legality. There is a bitter cleavage between them, and Sihanouk has announced in Peking that nothing short of Lon Nol's ouster and his own restoration to leadership in Phnom Penh will be acceptable to him. Yet both regimes are fearful of the Vietnamese, North or South. "The Indian Express" states that, "North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces now occupy the whole eastern and northern areas" of Cambodia. It is claimed that they find Cambodia a suitable base for action against South Vietnam.

Can Sihanouk and Phnom Penh find an accord? If they do what will be Cambodia's attitude to the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong on her soil? What will be Cambodia's attitude to the Saigon regime?

Over the centuries fears and hurts have divided Cambodians from their Vietnamese neighbours and also from Thailand. All Cambodians, pro-Sihanouk or anti-Sihanouk, sympathetic to Communism or wary of it, feel the pain caused by the unhappy relationship between Cambodia and Vietnam. If this relationship were repaired Cambodians might find internal

unity easier. Equally, an internally united Cambodia would find it easier to restore friendly and normal relations with Vietnam.

Cambodia also remembers the wounds caused as a result of dealings with Thailand over a long stretch of history. The only landlocked country in the region and the smallest in population, Laos could be a reconciler in the area.

Yet Laos too suffers internal anguish. The Pathet Lao control large though sparsely populated parts of the country. North Vietnamese troops move about on Laotian territory. Prince Souphanouvong, the Pathet Lao leader, is half-brother to the Laotian Premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma. The two have not met for 10 years. There are reports that a meeting may now take place.

Those who know Laos think that a settlement of differences between the two could enable the country's different factions to pull together. Such a rapprochement, in their view, would also make an impression on Vietnam; Prince Souphanouvong's wife is North Vietnamese and carries weight in Hanoi.

Vietnam has a sizeable Catholic minority, but the religion that pervades the three countries of Indo-China and Thailand is Buddhism. Tolerance and compassion form the core of the Buddha's teachings.

Surely we are meant to see these qualities at last find their places of honour in the life of the Indo-China-Thailand peninsula. Communism, anti-Communism, colonialism and the American involvement have been external influences in the region's life. They have jolted that life without merging with it. In a sense Indo-China has returned, after a period of bitter travail and ugliness, to a less artificial state. Though scarred and shaken, she is herself and on her own. Her helpers and escorts seem ready to leave her to herself.

This, of course, is true only in a limited sense. The Americans will have a presence of some sort in Thailand and may not completely abandon the seas of the region. The Chinese and the

Russians are also available to support Hanoi. But one perceives a desire on the part of Washington, Moscow and Peking to give Indo-China some time to find and fashion her destiny.

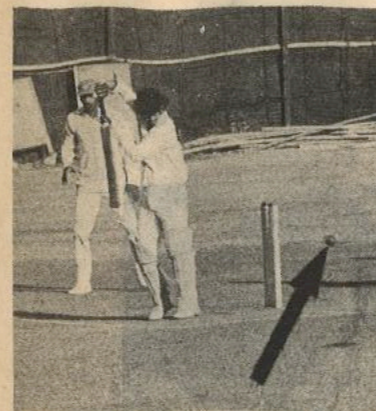
The real problems of the region are in focus again. What are the real problems? The relationships among the Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians and Thais. Hurts and misunderstandings dividing men who should be working together. The love of comfort and ease that induces some to overlook national interest. The failure to live up to the injunctions of tolerance and compassion. The spirit of revenge, accentuated by the unwillingness of those who have committed injustice to put it right, and the unwillingness of the victims of injustice to forgive.

These are large problems. But they are being seen with increasing clarity. And men are not lacking who want to seek noble and courageous ways of overcoming them.

A young and sensitive spokesman of the region says, "I represent the aspirations of our people for unity, not only my own people but of the South-East Asian nations. Five centuries of hidden diplomacy and of ambitious aims have led to the attitude of suspicion and mistrust. The game which some think is intelligent, of seeing who can checkmate the other, has led nowhere in the relationship between Thailand, Cambodia and Laos and between Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. If instead of trying to defend what we think to be our legitimate interests we co-operate and share, there would be no conflict and no war such as had ravaged Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. India has left us her heritage, China her vitality and we hope that Japan will help in the development of our area."

The world and its powers aggravated Indo-China's ills. If in this new phase of non-interference from outside Indo-China can show the spirit indicated in the preceding paragraphs, the region would be helping the whole world.

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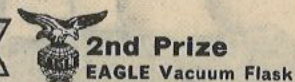
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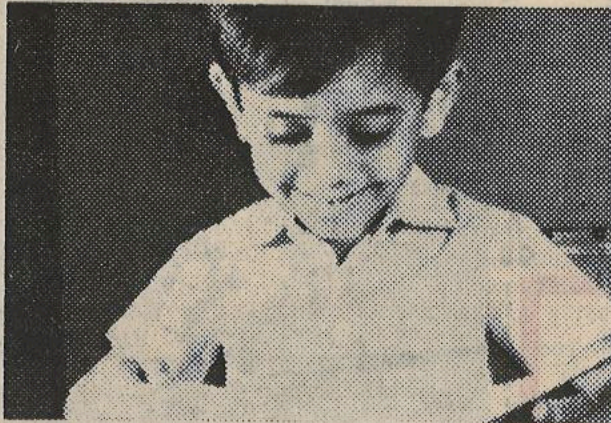
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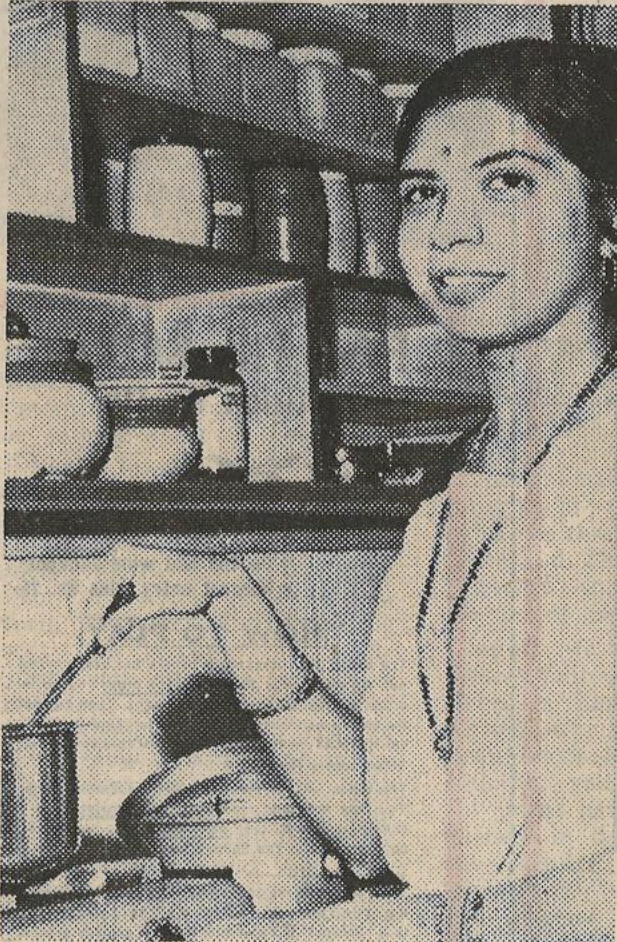
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