

HUMANIT

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Focus on West Germany

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"I've no illusions on Ostpolitik"

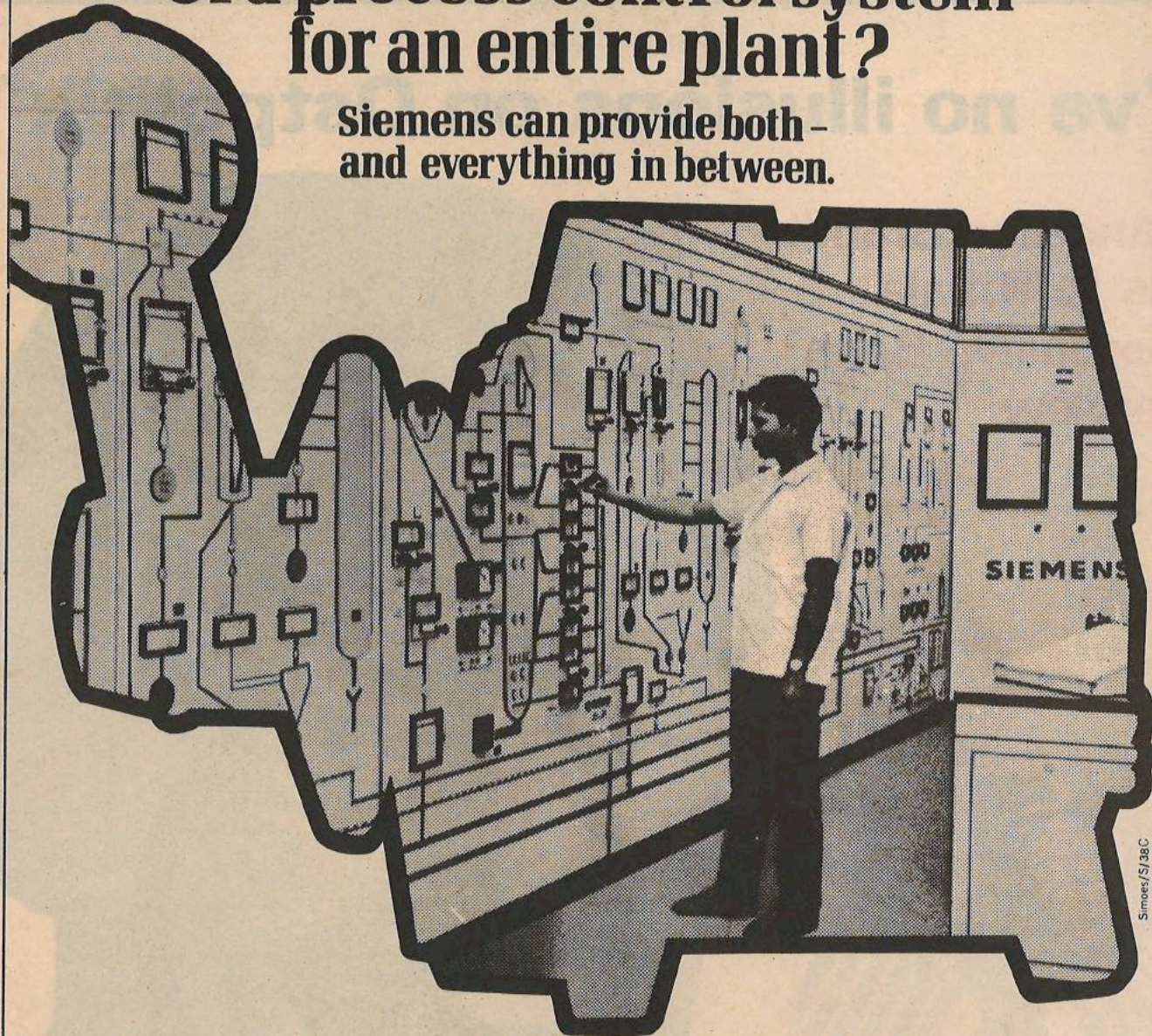
Chancellor Brandt
tells R.M.Lala
in exclusive Bonn
interview





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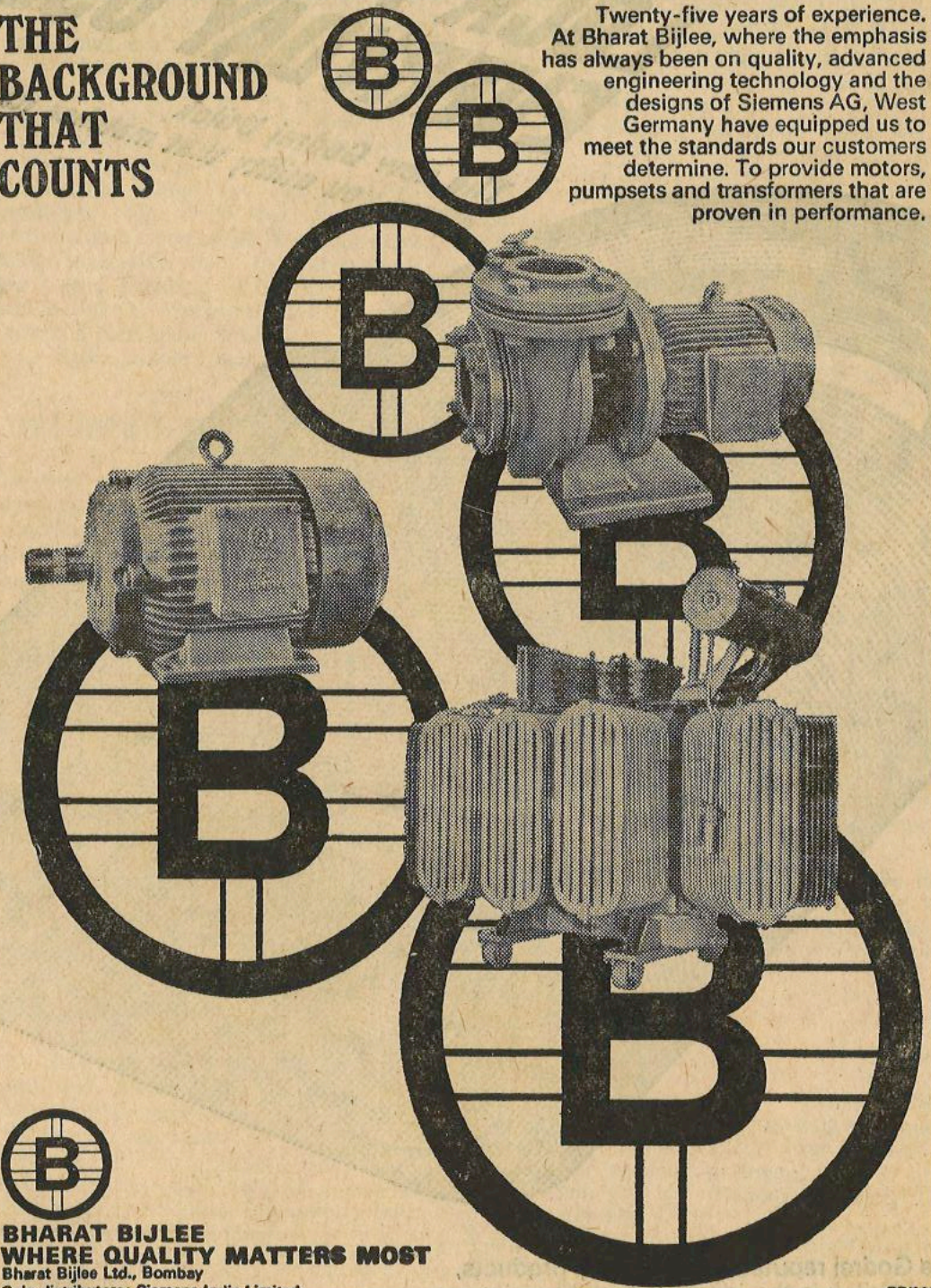
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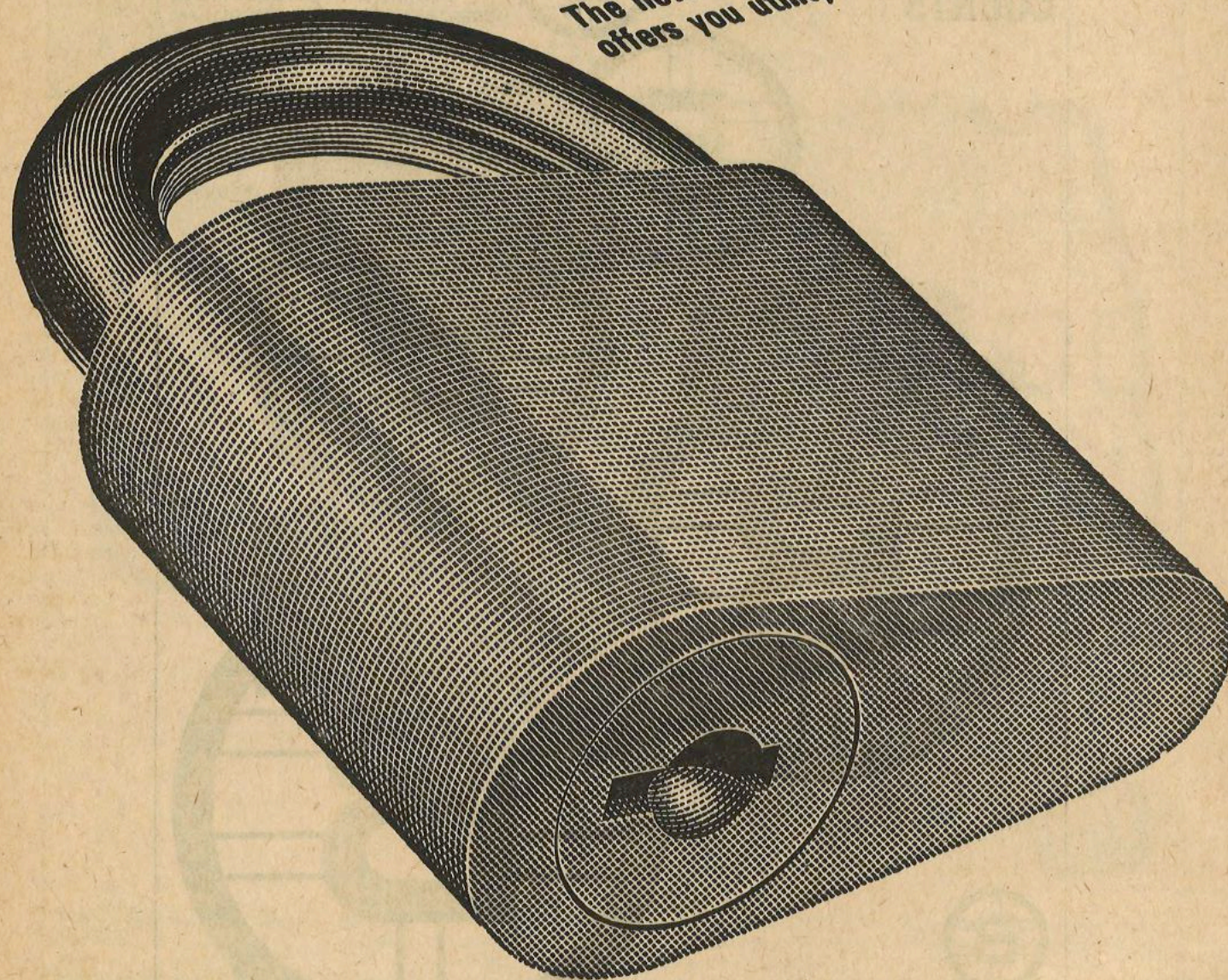


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Godrej Utilok

ULKA-08L-6

Pivot of Europe

GERMANY is a nation of thinkers and doers. Luther's reformation had far-reaching effects on Europe. In more recent times two other German products, Communism and Nazism, have set millions on the march.

Germany's part in shaping the future may be no less crucial. Her geographic position in the heart of Europe makes her the pivotal nation of the continent: east of her the Slav peoples, west of her the Latin, Flemish and Anglo-Saxon nations.

There are two German states now with entirely different social systems. The front line dividing a Communist East from a non-Communist West nowhere finds more dramatic expression than in the wall of concrete and barbed wire dividing Berlin, the former capital. In launching out to overcome it, Chancellor Brandt has set himself a formidable goal.

Germany's biggest asset is her exceptionally gifted

and dynamic people. Beethoven, Bach and Handel are composers who have enriched the lives of millions. Thinkers like Kant, Goethe and Nietzsche have stirred the world. The technical genius of a Karl Benz or a Wernher von Braun helped give birth to the automobile and the rocket.

The rebuilding of a nation which lay in total ruin in 1945 has been termed one of the miracles of our age. Today the Federal Republic of Germany is the fourth largest industrial power on earth, and the German Democratic Republic in the East is the third largest industrial power among the Communist nations.

Where is this dynamo of a nation heading? And where does she take Europe? Will she be a force for peace or a breeding ground of future trouble?

These are some of the questions which we hope this special issue of HIMMAT will help to throw light on.

Toppling outdated motives

TOPPLED Chief Ministers are becoming common phenomena. Mr Ghanashyam Oza of Gujarat and Mr Kedar Pande in Bihar are the most recent to bow to the wishes of dissidents in their own party.

Many are the allegations hurled against the Congress. Its real sin is that it has forgotten the people of India, that four-fifths of them live in degrading poverty, and that for the last five years the per capita income has remained more or less steady at Rs 28 per month. No other explanation is possible for its tolerance of such unseemly behaviour by its members in the states.

We Indians have an allergy to reviewing our theories and concepts in the light of realities and Congressmen are no exception. Instead of probing and coming to grips with the causes of the toppling mania, and its own responsibility for it, the Congress continues to appoint one puppet Chief Minister after another.

As has been said in these columns earlier, Mrs Gandhi's Achilles' heel could be the states. One can-

not expect the people to patiently endure such ungainly antics indefinitely. And the more patient they are today the more will be their anger when patience finally evaporates. Rather than manoeuvring to keep Congress Governments in the state saddles, is not the point to see how stable and efficient Government might be provided for the people? It is not just national interest but enlightened party interest.

It is essential that Mrs Gandhi halt the present custom of imposing her choice of Chief Minister on the Congress-held states. While one can understand that she is afraid of a repetition of what happened in her father's time when Chief Ministers assumed excessive powers, she may need to view the situation from a different angle.

There is more credit at being at the top of an able group of people rather than standing on a wobbly pyramid of weaklings. Developing able leadership in the states and at the centre is national priority number one.

Before the take-off

DR SHANKAR DAYAL SHARMA, the Congress President, has left on a foreign tour (news item). Perhaps this is an appropriate occasion to publish excerpts from an "interview" with him before he took off.

Inside the VIP lounge at Palam airport, the stout figure of Dr Sharma is hardly visible behind a facade of giant size garlands and mammoth bouquets. But his voice is coming through loud and clear.

Question — Mr President, is there any special significance to your present tour?

Sharma — It is very significant. We have decided that ministers and party higher-ups shall not go on foreign tours en masse but by rotation. The PM has just returned from abroad and it's my indisputable right to go next.

Q — How long will you stay abroad?

S — Three weeks possibly; unless they invite me to

stay longer.

Q — What do you hope to achieve during your visit?

S — The press should stop asking silly questions. I was persuaded to undertake this tour only to gain perspective on our national problems.

Q — When you say "national problems" what do you have in mind?

S — Opposition parties constantly trying to arouse disaffection against the Government.

Q — Is that all?

S — Well, there are some others like drought, scarcity and inflation but we have them firmly under control.

Q — Any message to the country before you depart?

S — I shall carry in my heart the millions of our countrymen. Please keep an eye on foreign subversive elements during my absence. You never know what they will do next. Goodbye.

Briefly Speaking.....

A wise man knows everything, a shrewd one everybody.

ANONYMOUS

Clutches of thirst

RURAL India, except for a few fortunate exceptions, has hardly any drinking water. Andhra Pradesh is passing through the worst water famine in 30 years. Nearly 80 per cent of Rajasthan's rural population is yet to be provided with drinking water. In Tamilnadu over 1900 villages have no source of water and people must trek over five kilometres for it. In Kerala only 14 per cent of the rural population and 40 per cent of the urban population is provided with drinking water. No state is unaffected by the problem.

The clutches of thirst are worse than those of the most blackguardly blood-sucking moneylender. Will next year's statistics spell out the same sorry tale?

Drought in Africa

BEING as we are in the grip of famine ourselves, we can feel for the plight of people in the African countries of Niger, Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Upper Volta and Chad, where a five-year drought has put over 23 million people on the dole.

United Nations relief workers fear that 6 million people could die of starvation by October. In the meanwhile there have been outbreaks of meningitis, cholera and measles. Many of those who have succumbed to these would not have done so had they not been undernourished. This is just one aspect of the nightmare experiences these countries are living through.

If we had licked our own tendency to fall prey to drought and famine we could have offered to these unfortunate people something more concrete than sympathy.

Involvement of the uninvolved

A classic exponent of the art of passing the buck is the Punjab deputy minister who has wondered aloud whether IAS stands for "I am sorry". It is his contention that any progressive acts contemplated by the Government to improve the lot of the people is "sabotaged" by the Indian Administrative Service officers who say they are sorry but it can't be done.

Far be it from Birbal to defend the sluggish ways of our administrative personnel but to set them up as scapegoats for ministerial myopia and inefficiency... "I am sorry" Mr Minister but we just aren't convinced. Unfortunately ministerial efforts to tone up the bureaucracy have been limited to exhortations to it to be "committed" and "involved" in fulfilling the aspirations of the people. While far from "committed" it is certainly (procedurally) involved!

Graft in high places

HONG KONG and skyscrapers have become synonymous. It comes as a shock to know that even in Hong Kong, where housing has so creditably kept pace with the increasing demand, there are allegations of corruption against the Public Works Department. It is alleged that the PWD has, for more than a decade, been hand in glove with crooked contractors and the like.

Hong Kong's anti-corruption bureau, which has not won laurels from the press, has stated a determination

to root out these malpractices. But this only expected to lead to a number of scandals followed by counter-attacks from the well-established vested interests.

To our shame

BIRBAL was shocked to read of Chanchalaben, a 96 year-old Gujarati freedom fighter who has "no money to eat". Chanchalaben was awarded a Tamrapatra (award) on Republic Day. She was also promised a pension under the Government's scheme of giving pensions to freedom fighters. This is yet to materialise. The true nonviolent agitator that she is, she plans to send back the Tamrapatra to register her protest.

It is a shame on all us Indians that a lady whose sacrifice enables us to live in freedom should be reduced to this state. The pensions were announced with fanfare when they should have been given quietly, gratefully, as a matter of course long ago. One hopes that Chanchalaben's case was only an unfortunate oversight and will be gracefully rectified immediately. And while they are about it could the powers that be ensure that no others have been similarly mistreated?

Birbal

UPON MY WORD!

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

UPON MY WORD C P I

PUZZLE NO. 35

You should find

43 words this week.

(Answer next week)

NEYK

RTE

ANSWER TO PUZZLE NO. 34

Coop, coot, crop, poop, poor, port, proctor, prop, root, rotor, troop, PROPROCTOR, — A proctor's assistant.

WIMBLEDON—

A splendid display by Vijay Amritraj

AFTER well over a decade India has produced a quarter-finalist at Wimbledon. It is a splendid feat by Vijay Amritraj. Even though most of the leading professionals have decided to keep out of it this year, Wimbledon has still not been lacking in competition or colour. Events have demonstrated that it is still the world's greatest lawn tennis tournament.

What a tough struggle it still is to advance in Wimbledon may be gauged by the fact that Australia, whose standards are much higher than India's does not have a single representative in the last eight. Though Newcombe and others were missing they still had quite a few in the running like Owen Davidson, the seventh seed, John Cooper, A. McDonald and W. Durham, all of them players who are not to be trifled with.

The point is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that a star of Ilie Nastase's stature faltered in the fourth round. He already had the American, French and Italian titles under his belt and was after the Grand Slam. He was the top seed and odds-on favourite. One of the world's best pros, however, was beaten by a little known amateur, Alex Mayer, of the US.

Wimbledon is a tough grind. Only

SO THEY SAY

For the sake of Iran's security and integrity this country cannot witness another blow to Pakistan's integrity.

SHAH OF IRAN

We have not agreed to anything that smacks of a Super Power condominium.

DR HENRY KISSINGER

The White Australian immigration policy — if it ever existed — is dead.

ALBERT GRASSBY, Australian Minister for Immigration

the fittest and most durable of players can make it to the top. One needs a bit of luck, no doubt, but more important, one needs quick powers of recovery to remain in peak form and condition for a fortnight and overcome the competition which becomes more fierce with each round.

The inimitable Ramanathan Krishnan was the last Indian to have progressed to the last stages of the men's singles. He went as far as the semi-final in successive years in 1960 and '61. On each occasion he was beaten by the eventual winner. Before him, only Ghaus Mohammed had gone up to the quarter-final. So Vijay is only the third Indian to have reached the last eight since S. W. Gore defeated W. Marshall in the inaugural year of Wimbledon in 1877.

Vijay breezed past Harry Turnbull of Australia, and Bernard Mignot, the Belgian number two, in straight sets in the first two rounds but had to fight for all his worth to overcome one of Britain's most promising players, John Lloyd. Despite winning the first two sets at 7-5, Vijay had to wait till the fifth and could clinch the issue only at 7-5. He must have felt pretty lonely as the packed crowd at number two court rooted for their lad.

Even more commendable was Vijay's success over Owen Davidson in the fourth round. A semi-finalist in 1966, Davidson had won the Australian Open doubles with Ken Rosewall last year. Since all Australians are physical fitness fanatics, one need not attach too much importance to the fact that Davidson was nearly 10 years older than Vijay. And as a professional coach, Davidson knew all the tricks of the trade. Despite the irritation caused by cut fingers, Vijay played the better tennis to be home at 7-5, 8-9, 6-3, 6-4.

Numerically, India had a higher number of entries this year than previously. There were six in the fray, the Amritraj brothers, Vijay and Anand, the Mukherjea brothers, Jaideep and Chiradeep, Premjit Lall and Gaurav Misra.

SPORT

By reaching the last 16 for a third time in his career, Jaideep showed that he is still a player to reckon with. It is significant that he downed Anand Amritraj, who was India's second singles player in the Davis Cup match against Australia, in four sets. Jaideep also put up a commendable fight before going down to the second seed, Jan Kodes, in four sets in the fourth round.

Chiradeep made a successful debut against West German Hans Engert, while Gaurav Misra, returning after a long lay-off through illness, was not so fortunate against the Czech, Vladimir Zednik. Lall was beaten by the new darling of Wimbledon and the sixth seed, Bjorn Borg. The 17 year-old Swede, however needed nine match points before he could clinch the issue by 20 points to 18 in the tie-breaker third set.

It has been a highly controversial Wimbledon this year but it has produced its quota of thrills and excitement nevertheless. Indians, however, will always recall it for Vijay Amritraj's splendid display. It fills one with not only pride but hope for the future. Vijay has conclusively demonstrated that he is our finest prospect since Krishnan.

Playfair

FOCUS ON WEST GERMANY

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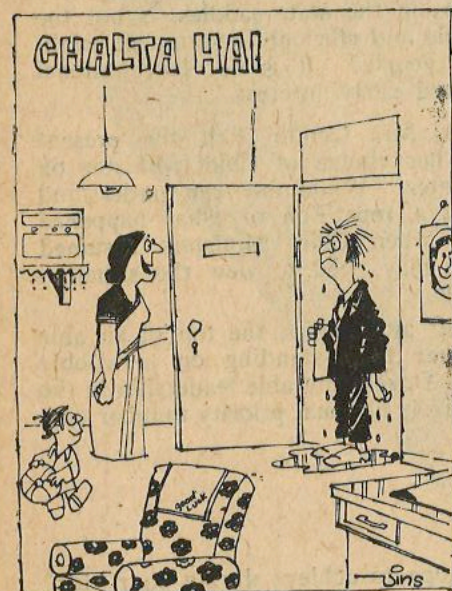
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"I am glad you've had your bath dear there isn't a drop in the tap."



CAMBODIA:

Come September, who will control Phnom Penh?

PRESIDENT NIXON'S indirect acceptance of August 15 as the legal deadline for ending US military involvement in Indo-China has avoided a constitutional showdown. Both Houses of the US Congress, which earlier forbade the use of any funds for Cambodian bombing and other warlike acts, have given him a six weeks extension. Relaying Nixon's assurance about the end of the bombing, the House Republican leader, Mr Gerald R Ford, said however that the President would come to Congress and ask for specific authority to continue bombing after August 15 if necessary.

The deadline may make the search for a solution favourable to the Phnom Penh regime and the US more elusive. It is no secret that the Lon Nol regime and Phnom Penh have not fallen because of massive American air support. The rebel forces have virtually encircled Phnom Penh. On three fronts, the fighting

is only 15 miles from the capital; B-52 bombers continue to keep the rebel forces at bay. What will happen if American bombing stops on August 15 is almost a foregone conclusion.

But one factor to be reckoned with is whether South Vietnam would extend military support to the Phnom Penh Government, if a request were made for help. Government spokesman Bui Bao Truc has already made it clear that "if the US air support in Cambodia were stopped and if this created a serious situation that could harm the security of Vietnam, we certainly would respond to the request."

US Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger is expected to approach Russia and China to reach a compromise. But the Russians are not the favourites of the rebel forces; throughout the war, diplomatic relations between Phnom Penh and Moscow have remained intact. The Chinese may prove more helpful. Prince Sihanouk has been a guest in Peking for over three years; but more than this, a continuation of the war would only increase Hanoi's stature, which would not be in China's interest.

The Chinese viewpoint is that negotiations should be between



SIHANOUK:
Peking guest

Sihanouk and a Phnom Penh Government which excludes Lon Nol. The Americans resisted this condition, but indications are that they may be ready to accept the inevitable.

Lon Nol's half-brother, Lon Non, was forced to resign his minister-ship and is now in Paris. President Lon Nol, who is semi-paralysed, will soon be going to America for medical treatment. Though Sirik Matak is next in line, one man who is strongly believed to be acceptable to both sides is former Prime Minister Son Sann.

In the last weeks, Son Sann has been an unofficial negotiator between the Phnom Penh regime and the pro-Sihanouk faction. "We are two hands with many fingers — I will try to catch the wrists and join the Cambodians together," he says. To him, the Cambodian fighting is like a feuding couple.

But in the long run, Hanoi because of its overwhelming military presence in Indo-China will dictate the terms of peace. Their interest in Cambodia is mainly for access to the Ho Chi Minh trail. Their aim to create a united Vietnam under Communist control remains.

KOREAS:

Two to UN

SOUTH KOREAN President Park's dramatic announcement in late June that his country was now ready to apply for UN membership along with North Korea, has led to interesting developments.

President Park said in his announcement that South Korea will not object to North Korea representation in any international forum as a part of a dual representation system. The announcement is virtually a de facto recognition of North Korea. Ever since North Korea was unexpectedly admitted to the World Health Organisation in May, the South Koreans have been examining their policies. Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil's recent visit to Japan and Western Europe was to find out what Korea's friends think.

The field is now free for South Korea. But whether Communist countries will respond to South Korea's diplomatic overtures for recognition remain to be seen.

North Koreans have made a lot of noise by stating that entering the UN as North and South Korea will mean the permanent division of the country. They want to enter the UN under the name of the Confederal Republic of Korea.

Watergate—will justice be done?

It has been an uncomfortable Independence Day break this year for President Nixon, Messrs Haldeman and Ehrlichman and possibly others of the erstwhile White House team.

The young, slick former White House legal counsel John Dean last week charged the President with complicity in the Watergate cover-up, before the Senate investigation committee.

Following this bombshell the committee suspended its hearings for the Independence Day recess until July 10. Before the committee reassembles many in the USA and outside are assessing what is happening in the unravelling of truth about Watergate and in the pursuit of justice.

There are certain facts about the American legal system which are considerably different from Indian or British practice. There is no equivalent, for instance, to the Senate committee investigating the Watergate affair. Constitutionally Congress committees hold hearings on a variety of topics, ostensibly to elicit information for the formulation of new legislation. Senator Sam Ervin's Watergate committee is officially designated the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities.

Often however these Congressional committees throw light on abuses and wrong practices and prod the Justice Department to take legal action. A committee can subpoena witnesses and when witnesses testify before it under oath they are liable to perjury. However the committee makes no legal charges, does not determine innocence or guilt, nor pass sentence. Initially Senator Ervin's committee hearings were conducted in private but much of the key testimony was, however, leaked to the press. Now they are being conducted with full public exposure via press, radio and television. There is no cross-examination of witnesses by legal counsel, although the Senators themselves often put witnesses through an intensive grilling.

The former Attorney-General, Mr. John Mitchell, testified last month before a grand jury in New York. A grand jury operates behind closed doors and its purpose is to establish whether there is sufficient evidence to warrant an indictment being made

against a person. A grand jury cannot however decide matters of guilt or innocence: that has to be determined by a state or Federal court.

The final point of difference in the United States with respect to its legal procedures now affecting the Watergate affair is in the law of libel. The press, radio and television are much freer to comment and make unsubstantiated accusations about people than is the case in India or most democratic countries.

These three factors militate against a calm and rigorous pursuit of justice and inject rather the sensational and even melodramatic into the proceedings.

No party to abuses

The word McCarthyism has blackened the name of the United States for a generation. Men's careers and lives were sometimes ruined by statements made before the Senate committee of Senator McCarthy. The normal judicial procedures of cross-examination of witnesses and so forth did not apply. Senator McCarthy was operating within the same constitutional framework that presently obtains as far as Senator Ervin's Watergate committee is concerned. Senator Ervin is a very different man from Senator McCarthy and does not intend to become party to such abuses that McCarthy's name is associated with. But the

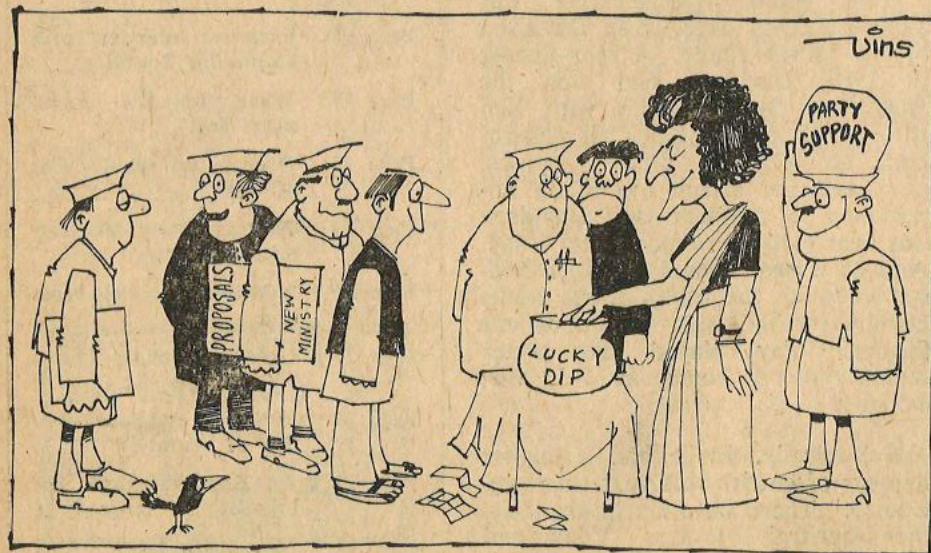
system and the constitutional powers are the same.

The essential point in the Watergate proceedings now is the reliability of John Dean's blockbusting testimony last week. If it is proved true then President Nixon is in an extremely difficult position, although it is unlikely that Congress would go to the lengths of impeaching him. Mr John Ehrlichman, formerly a close adviser of the President, in an interview with the "Christian Science Monitor", has promised that he would prove from White House records of meetings and telephone logs that Mr Dean's testimony does not stand up.

The unfortunate feature in this approach to justice is that Mr Dean's motivation in giving such startling evidence could be to gain immunity from charges by the Public Prosecutor or that his case will be thrown out of court because of the publicity making impartial justice impossible. If, in the public interest of revealing the truth, he completely exposes himself Mr Dean may hope that he will be granted immunity, at least from some charges.

The Justice Department however state that they have sufficient evidence to bring Mr Dean to trial without reliance on the evidence brought out by his testimony before the Senate committee.

It will be interesting to follow what happens next week in Washington when Senator Ervin's committee reassembles. It is to be hoped that the wide-ranging public exposure and the dramatic thrusts and counter-thrusts in the press and over television will not muddy the streams of justice, but will rather unsluice the gates of the truth. Only time will tell. The world watches.



"We didn't want to take any decision by chance ourselves, so we let her do it in a definite manner."



"I am glad Dick you came back to look after him."

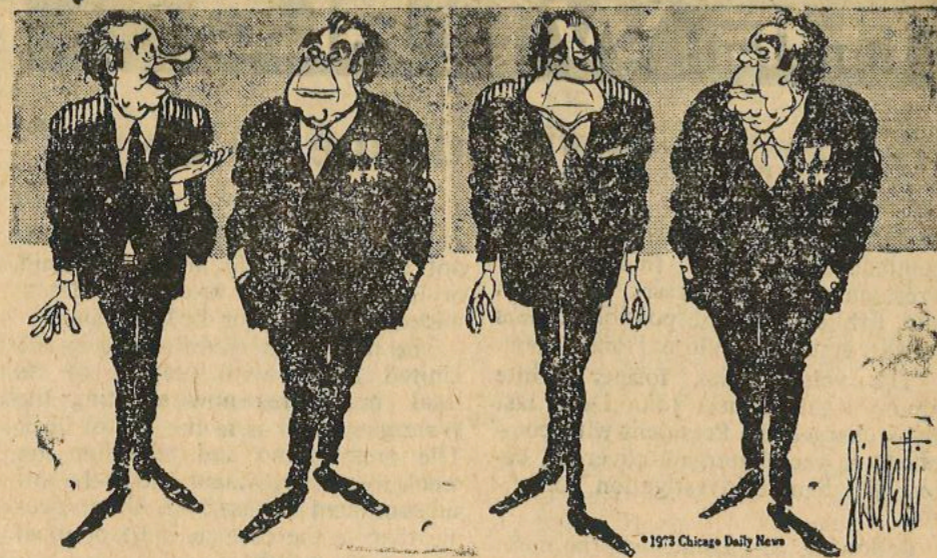
END OF COLD WAR?

The uncomfortable truth is that democracies are bad at dealing with periods of low-tension confrontation with the phenomenon that Marxists call the ideological struggle and Clausewitz could have called the continuation of war by other means. There is an almost universal human desire to believe that peace is the natural condition of man, that armies are temporary nuisances, that conflicts of interest can be dissolved by a policy of goodwill. None of these things is true, but people like to believe they are; and one of the differences between democracies and the other sort of political system is that in democracies people elect politicians who can form governments which behave as if wishes were facts.

Mr Brezhnev may have hit upon the discovery that eluded both Stalin and Khrushchev. When Stalin kept his army in Central Europe after 1945 and when Khrushchev cut the roads to Berlin and tried to move missiles into Cuba, they were doing the one thing that was reasonably certain to overcome the democracies' normal disinclination to believe the worst, and to keep them in an abnormal condition of armed preparedness. Nothing in the course Mr Brezhnev is now following is a reason for believing that the struggle for primacy between Marxism and liberal democracy that has dominated the past 28 years has come to an end; after all, the cold war got its name in the first place because it has a contest for influence short of armed conflict, and that is precisely how Russia's ideological spokesmen are describing the period ahead. But that is not how the slogans of detente are affecting, and are intended to affect, public opinion in the West.

THE ECONOMIST, London

There is a new tone, but the contrasts remain. The United States is a free society, the Soviet Union remains a totalitarian state that only reluctantly



'We'll say this is the greatest meeting since the creation'

attempts closer relations with the West. Both sides hope to reduce the heavy load of weapons through reasonable talks. This is the spirit of San Clemente.

FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, Frankfurt

... It is not unreasonable to think — even without creating deep anti-Americanism or bitter anti-Communism — that this entente will be accomplished at the expense of the European community, which neither of the Big Two has any reason to hold dear ... This collusion calls for a certain vigilance from the Europeans.

LES ECHOS, Paris

The talks now taking place in Washington will become a new and major contribution to the great cause of safeguarding a firm and durable peace in the whole world, to the establishment of reliable security.

TRUD, Moscow

There are certain fundamental facts

'I don't believe in the creation'

Courtesy: CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

that no occupant of the White House or the Kremlin could for long ignore — facts more basic and permanent than the Soviet-Chinese quarrel or the Soviet thirst for the West's industrial technology, although these have undoubtedly played a part in hastening Moscow's rapprochement with Washington.

Some of these facts are set out in the seven principles agreed upon in these talks as guidelines for the second stage of the SALT talks on limiting strategic nuclear weapons. The first premise is that nuclear weapons rule out a war directly between America and Russia, except as mutual suicide. The second is that if the nuclear balance between the super powers is to be safe, it must be stabilised and freed from dangerous uncertainty, by limiting both quantities and types of weapons on each side. (Eventually such agreements will have to be extended to include other nuclear powers — at present Britain, France and China).

THE OBSERVER, London

Latin America—

Ocean of violence or model for East and West?

From Peter Hintzen recently in Latin America

FOR centuries Latin American nations have turned their backs on one another and have been looking towards America and Europe. Even now Latin Americans rather spend money travelling to Washington, New York, Paris, Madrid or Hamburg than to fly beyond the

'Travelling through this vast continent, twice the size of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, one gets the sense of rapid change. In what direction? It is as yet hard to predict.'

Andes to a neighbouring country. Yet there is a growing sense of continental solidarity which induces Latin American representatives to vote increasingly as "a bloc" at international conferences like the ILO.

When liberator Simon Bolivar rose against Spanish oppression, he wanted to found one state comprising both Americas. As he had seen the liberated territories fragment in numerous rival states, he died a disillusioned man.

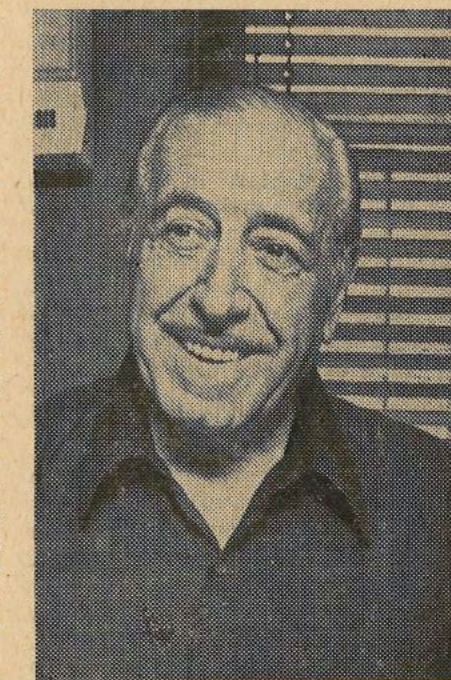
Recently Latin American statesmen have been reviving Bolivar's dream of continental unity. It was Venezuela's President Caldera's central theme during his recent trip to most of the South American nations. It is also the stated aim of ex-President Juan Domingo Peron whose loyal follower Dr Hector J. Campora got a massive 50 per cent vote in the first unrestricted presidential elections Argentina has had last March since the 'forties. Of course, in Peron's mind Latin American unity is a weapon against the hated "Yankis".

I have just returned from five months in 11 countries in Latin America. Travelling through this vast continent, twice the size of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, one gets the sense of rapid change. In what direction? It is as yet hard to predict.

How real is the trend towards this continental unity or is it only something haphazard? The obstacles

against this aim should not be minimised: individualism, prestige, jealousy and pride. However, the economic Pacto Andino, originally consisting of five Andes nations, has been a much bigger success than anybody had dared to hope for (after the disappointments of the larger but less effective Latin American Free Trade Area—LAFTA). Venezuela has already decided to join this pact and Argentina is considering it. Brazil is getting worried that she may be the odd man out.

An impulse towards continental unity is the increasing resistance against economic dependence upon the overwhelmingly powerful United States. This feeling is so commonly shared that at the Quito conference of the Organisation of American States, all Latin Americans including "capitalist" Brazil, ganged up against America to wrench concessions from



ARGENTINE PRESIDENT CAMPORA: anti-US

her concerning reprogramming of the heavy external debt burden. The feeling against the US easily produces strongly nationalist or Marxist attitudes. The newly elected President

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

JAMMU — The problem of permanent resettlement of 34,000 refugees displaced from the Chhamb-Jaurian sector during the Pakistani aggression of 1971, is causing concern to the state Government because of their demand to grant all of them farms and settle them away from the border areas.

CHANDIGARH — The Punjab Agriculture Minister, the Assembly Speaker and the Parliamentary Secretary are among those named by the Harchand Singh Committee as involved in alleged irregularities in the setting up of farms on evacuee lands in the state.

SHILLONG — The assistance of the army has been sought for rescue and relief operations in Goalpara district in lower Assam where the flood situation continues to be grave.

NEW DELHI — The Congress Working Committee has directed the Central Government to take over the whole-sale trade in rice in the coming kharif (first harvest) season.

— The Union Government has decided to sharply curtail the Fifth Plan expenditure in view of the substantial increase in deficit financing and the 20 per cent rise in prices last year.

PATNA — The Congress high command has appointed Mr Abdul Gafoor, Chairman of the Bihar Legislative Council, as successor to the ousted Chief Minister, Mr Kedar Pandey.

CALCUTTA — The foodgrain procurement drive in West Bengal has "failed miserably" because of the hoarding of the available stocks by rich farmers, traders and mill owners, according to the state Food Minister, Mr K. K. Moitra.

GANDHINAGAR — The Chief Minister of Gujarat, Mr Ghanshyam Oza, has decided to resign following the vote of no confidence passed against him by the Gujarat legislature Congress party.

BOMBAY — The 19 day-old power crisis in Maharashtra state has eased because of the resumption of normal supplies from the Nasik and Tarapur power stations.

— The civic authorities are taking emergency steps to conserve the city's water supply which is down to 12,000 million gallons, enough to last only a month.

SECUNDERABAD — The Justice Kuppuswamy court of inquiry, investigating into the Indian Airlines' Avro crash here in March, has come to the conclusion that it was caused because of lack of concentration by the pilots resulting from consumption of alcoholic beverages immediately before the flight.

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VERDICT!

THIS WEEK HIMMAT ...

IS MERCILESS towards Punjab's Congress Chief Minister Zail Singh who is bleating unashamedly at the alleged "conspiracy" to discredit his party and cables him that he cannot sidetrack the irregularities committed by his Government by such tactics.

HAILS the appointment of Governor B. K. Nehru as India's High Commissioner in London and is convinced that our loss at home will be our gain abroad.

BELIEVES impartial justice will not be advanced by President Nixon testifying before the Senate committee investigating into Watergate and urges that political theatrics be ended and the matter be brought speedily before a proper court of law.

IS PERTURBED at the Congress Working Committee's reaffirmed policy of State takeover of the wholesale trade in rice and cautions the Government against such a step in view of the fiasco of the wheat takeover.

SCOFFS at Libyan President Gaddafi's condemnation of the Egyptian Government which is said to "sharply contradict" with his own and informs him that he is fast becoming the laughing stock of the world with the stage-managed "people's revolution" in Libya.

EXPRESSES its shock and grief at the murder of Col Yosef Alon, Israeli diplomat in Washington, and points out the futility of the present theme of violence and counter-violence amongst the Arabs and the Israelis.

IS HEARTENED by the measures suggested by the Ministry of Industrial Development to expedite the working of the industrial licensing system which at present is an impediment to economic progress.

LATIN AMERICA — from page 11

Campora of Argentina is going to recognise Cuba, a step which has little more significance than that it annoys Washington.

Few people inside and outside Chile are impressed by the way things are going in that country since President Salvador Allende and his six-party Marxist Unidad Popular got into power in 1970. The fact that Allende has nationalised and is up against large American multinationals like the ITT and Kennicott Copper Co. has earned him however a lot of support. He is seen as a sort of St George fighting an American dragon.

Though Chile gets a lot of publicity in the press outside the continent, it appears that the Latin Americans themselves feel more that the real choice is between two models of development: the Peruvian model, meaning redistribution as new wealth is created and the Brazilian model, meaning first increasing the cake before it is shared out.

Brazil works according to "liberal" or "capitalistic free enterprise" principles. Peru rejects both capitalism and Communism. It is out for a new type of Socialist morality, a new type of man, a new society in which the old capitalistic motives of ambition and self-interest do not operate, but rather solidarity and the desire to give precedence to the common good.

In both countries the military seized power and nominated themselves the architects and arbiters of social change. The military in both countries are well trained, beyond immediate military responsibilities, in managerial skills, economics and sociology. In both nations the military officers are neither from the upper crust nor from the lowest classes and feel a calling as mediators.

Strive to up the standard of living of the poor

Brazil has flung open the doors to international capital. The result has been spectacular growth (more than nine per cent continuously for the last five years). It is, however, unjust to say that Brazil, a vast country, as big as China, 100 million inhabitants, rich in resources, has sold herself to multinational exploiters for the benefit of the happy few. The military regime, reinforced by honest and dedicated technocrats, see the present situation, which is still characterised by great inequality, as a transitional period. They want ten to twenty years of social peace, but have promised in the words of President Emilio Medici and of his Finance Minister, Antonio Delfim Netto, to

up the standard of living of the poorest who earn less than 50 dollars per month.

In Peru the generals want social justice now. They nationalised one American company, the IPC (International Petroleum Co.), a multinational that had given special cause for national fury, but left other international mining companies more or less untouched because at this point the country is not able to mine its own resources. In the manufacturing and trading industry they have launched an ingenious scheme of gradual socialisation of privately owned capital. In agriculture big holdings were expropriated and re-organised as co-operatives under military management, thus avoiding a steep drop in production which has invariably been the result of the implementation of the popular slogan: "The land to the tillers".

The Brazilian and the Peruvian models are like two magnetic poles attracting the other nations. Ecuador is said to have switched from Brazil to Peru. Uruguay is said to be wavering in between her powerful neighbour and faraway Peru. In that country the military are, in dealing with the Tupamaros rebellion and Government corruption, usurping more and more power. The new Peronist Argentina is doubtless impressed by Peru's nationalism; whether the country's Marxism has equal appeal remains to be seen.

People say that the fact that Chile's non-political generals were willing to lend a hand to Allende by entering his cabinet is also a result of the proselytising power of the Peruvian model which is so ably advocated by that country's well-trained officers at international meetings.

Who will win, Brazil or Peru? Maybe this is a wrong question, because it is possible that both will succeed. But one thing is sure: success in both models will depend on the ability of men to deal with the obstacles and pitfalls of human nature.

A young Peruvian, closely linked with the guerrilla movement, said to me that the guerrilla was often failing because of the very jealousy, lust for power and corruption that have motivated the upper classes. Without a change in man's motives no revolution can succeed, he felt. During last February and March Peru, up till then ruled by a wholly monolithic military "junta", came to the brink of civil war when President General Juan Velasco Alvarado fell seriously

CONTINUED ON PAGE 33

HIMMAT, July 6, 1973

West Germany-I

'I have no illusions'

Chancellor Willy Brandt speaks on Ostpolitik in an exclusive interview with 'Himmat' editor R. M. Lala

THE glass doors of the debating chamber of the Bundestag opened and out stepped Willy Brandt, Chancellor of West Germany. At first sight he appeared shorter than I had expected him to be. He wore a blue coat, grey trousers and a red and white tie. He was courteous and charming as he greeted me and we settled down on a sofa. The square jaws give strength to his face, the forehead the impression of a man who thinks.

But what strikes you above all are his eyes. They are warm, almost kindly, as he fixes his steady gaze on you and from the word "go" you feel that he is a man who will understand you.

Nine days earlier his life was saved in Israel when his helicopter was almost driven over a precipice. This was not the first time he had had a brush with death. I expressed my relief that he was spared. He nodded as he heard the first question:

"You have had the courage to reverse the trend of history by your treaties with Russia and Poland. What is your great aim for your second term of office?"

"That does not only depend on myself. We need in this part of the world a period of consolidation. What has been formally agreed to now has to be qualified by content which in many fields still has to be defined."

Turning to Western Europe Brandt

continued, "We are in the midst of a process of multilateral arrangements. I see Pompidou tomorrow. We need to think how we can bring about a European union in the West. Our influence abroad will depend upon whether we succeed in building this foundation, in organising Europe both West-wise and East-wise. That is what I am thinking about. There will also be week-by-week problems to deal with — how to develop our own society and deal with the challenges that face our community."

Q: "Are you satisfied with the response from East Europe to your treaties with them?"

"I have no illusions about it. Of course I would always be glad if certain things make quicker progress. Certain things have been done and I wish for a higher degree of human contacts in addition to technical and economic co-operation. We do not know if this will lead to conditions

In his visit to West Germany R. M. Lala also interviewed the leader of the main opposition party in Parliament, Professor Dr Karl Carstens (see page 15), and has assessed German policy in Europe in an article called "Overcoming the Legacies of War" on page 17.



which please everyone. In no case could they do any harm. Of course nobody has a guarantee that we won't fall back into the conditions we have had or conditions even worse than before.

"You may think that you are near the peak of the mountain and then you may find that the path leads you downwards into the valley. But this is life and I am not fatalistic. This is the challenge."

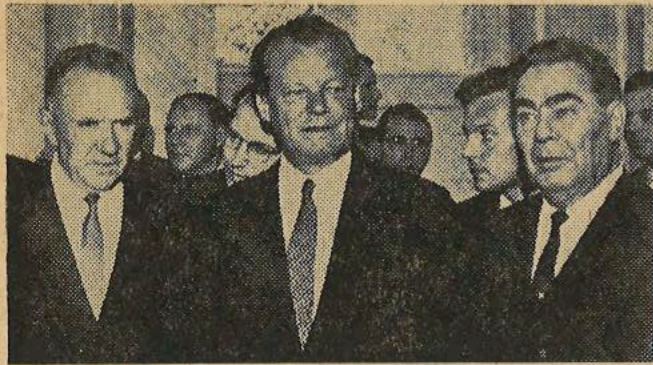
Willy Brandt perhaps feels that the peak of his career was the signing of the treaties with the Soviet Union, Poland and East Germany after 25 years of tension. These treaties have brought a relaxation on West Germany's eastern frontiers. His one aim is to see his policy succeed and at the same time to reassure his allies, especially France, that Germany is still loyal to the Western alliance.

As Chancellor Adenauer repaired relations with the nations of Western Europe in the 1950s, Brandt has attempted perhaps the most difficult task of reconciling Germany with her Eastern neighbours. Thereby he has initiated detente in Europe and secured for himself a place in history. The final judgment on his work will have to wait the verdict of time.

What kind of a man is Willy Brandt? What are his interests in life?

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

HIMMAT, July 6, 1973



AT THE SIGNING OF THE MOSCOW TREATY: Premier Kosygin, Chancellor Brandt and Communist Party chief Brezhnev

BRANDT — from page 13

Friends close to him say that he is a "very sensitive man", sensitive to surroundings and to people. Physically, they say that his capacity for work is "tremendous" even in a nation counted among the most energetic in the world. He starts his day at seven in the morning, reading the main newspapers and two summaries of news. The summary on pink paper is foreign news and on green paper, home news. Between 8.15 and 8.45 he comes to his office.

On the day following my interview his diary was packed with appointments with President Pompidou, the French Prime Minister Messmer, an official lunch, an official dinner and other appointments. On the programme there was no mention of dealing with files or papers which he presumably attends to during the night.

Strength in silence

Whenever there is a break in his schedule, he loves to walk alone on the lawns of his home, a beautiful villa which he once occupied as Foreign Minister and continues to stay in.

"What things do you think about on your walks?" he was asked once. "Many times it looks as if I think: sometimes I don't." In silence he finds his strength. He loves contact with nature, a fondness he developed in the vast empty spaces of Norway where he spent 12 years of his life. In Norway the snow and the mountains fed his spirit.

He loves to read. His favourite composer is Mozart. There was a time when he drank and smoked hard but he has cut down on drink. As a result of giving up smoking since the beginning of this year he has put on 9 kgs of weight and finds it difficult to fit into most of his suits.

Brandt's first marriage with a Norwegian lady resulted in a divorce. In 1948 he married Rut Hansen and

other Norwegian. They have three sons. The two elder sons are radicals. The eldest, Peter, who made headlines sometime back, has since settled down to passing his Master of Arts in Political Science. His youngest son Mathias appears to be the father's favourite.

Willy Brandt did not know who his father was. His mother was a shop girl, 19 years of age, at the time of his birth. A central figure in his upbringing was his grandfather, a lorry driver with strong moral and political convictions. The chequered life of Willy Brandt is in some ways the story of Germany, of its wounds, its battles, its defeats and its triumphs. Born in Lubeck, he was at 20 old enough to oppose Hitler when he came to power in 1933. There followed exile, the war years and the return to Germany. When he became Chancellor he was 55, an age when a man is at the height of his capabilities.

His early years must have been sad. His grandfather could not stand the regime of Hitler and committed suicide. His mentor, a great social democrat called Dr Julius Leber, was arrested and hanged by Hitler. Brandt himself, who organised a demonstration against Hitler, had to be smuggled out of Germany.

Assumed name

When he arrived in Norway, he had the equivalent of Rs 100 (£5) in his briefcase. He soon set up an anti-Nazi office in Oslo. Brandt's real name was Herbert Ernst Karl Frahm but in the underground he assumed the name of Willy Brandt. In Norway Brandt learnt to speak flawless Norwegian and good English. He made one or two trips to Germany for the German underground during Hitler's regime.

He was back in Oslo when Hitler's troops invaded Norway in 1940. Disguising himself as a Norwegian

soldier, he was taken as a prisoner of war by the German Army. Later he escaped to Sweden where he spent the rest of the war period. By then he had come to love Norway which was as much his home as Germany.

At the end of the war he had to face a vital choice whether to join the diplomatic service of Norway or to return to his birthplace Germany. He asked himself the question: "What is more important for the future?" He saw that there was little danger of Norway going the wrong way, but there was a risk that Germany's young democracy might fail. He chose West Germany and settled in Berlin where he felt the future of Germany and Europe would be decided.

Into public life

He threw himself into public life not without ambition. He made a living by working as a journalist for a Norwegian daily. He covered the Nuremberg trials.

In 1957 he was elected Lord Mayor of Berlin where he showed his calibre. In 1961 when East Germany built the Berlin wall to prevent their people from fleeing to West Germany it was Willy Brandt who symbolised the spirit of the Berlin people and their will to stay free. The same year he stood for election against Chancellor Adenauer and lost his bid for the highest office.

In 1965 he tried the second time for Chancellorship. Again he failed. In the grand coalition of 1966 he was appointed Foreign Minister. In 1969 he made his third attempt and became Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

A turning point of his life was in the autumn of 1966 when he fell very ill. "I was in a situation where I experienced myself on the borderline between life and death." Something very profound seems to have happened to Brandt at that time.

"From then on I had no ambitions any more which made it so much easier to do what one still can do." He added: "Certain things I have found you can only do when you have made it clear to yourself and to others that you are not looking for anything any more. Then it depends on your own quality and what others think you should do."

Brandt uttered these words in a British TV interview with Lord Chalfont and as you watch Brandt say these words you feel that perhaps during this illness — hovering at the

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

HIMMAT, July 6, 1973

W. Germany-II

Detente is not yet real say Brandt's opponents

TWELVE million refugees have flooded into West Germany since the war. Many of them have strong emotional ties with the eastern-most parts of Germany, where their families may have lived for centuries and where they still may have relatives. As a group, they tend to be sceptical of Brandt's Ostpolitik, which recognises Poland's right to keep the German areas ceded to her in 1945. They also fear that official recognition of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) will cement the

division of Germany into two separate states.

Others, who basically favour the policy of detente, think that the Brandt Government has been in too much of a hurry, has conceded too much and gained very little in return. The Bavarian Christian Democrats (CSU), even maintain that the Eastern Treaties violate West Germany's constitution. Their bid to have the constitutional court stop the treaties, however, was turned down by the court in June.

The leader of the main Opposition party in Parliament, the Christian Democrats (CDU), is Prof. Dr Karl Carstens. Recently elected to this office Prof Carstens was Ambassador to Moscow, and Secretary of the German Foreign Ministry. He is remarkably light on his feet, has shrewd penetrating eyes and speaks flawless English.

I asked Prof Carstens in the Parliament House: "If the CDU comes to power what would your policy be towards the Eastern Treaties of Brandt?"

Carstens replied: "We would respect the treaties. We would lay strong emphasis on those elements in the treaties which underline the goal of re-uniting Germany and helping people in the other part of Ger-

many. We would attack the policy of East Germany which shoots people trying to come to West Germany and maintain and strengthen the ties of West Berlin with the Federal Republic. We agree with the (ruling) SPD to increase co-operation with the East and to have more detente."

Most sceptical about the success of Brandt's policy is the CDU's Defence and Security spokesman, Dr Manfred Worner. A dynamic, blunt and brilliant personality Dr Worner is a jet pilot who still flies the latest planes. He is well informed on security matters around the world.

He does not question the sincerity of Brandt but the success of the detente policy he doubts, on two counts:

- 1) East Europe combines detente with a continuation of the class-war.
- 2) The Soviets continue a fantastic military build up — their leaders lack the will to cut down on it.

"We cannot possibly attack the Soviet Union. If they attack us we cannot last for more than four to five days in a conventional war. That is why we need tactical nuclear weapons from the US on our soil," says Worner.

Worner was questioned about Brezhnev who visited Bonn recently: "Don't you think Brezhnev is sincere? What is he after?"

Worner replied: "Brezhnev is interested in creating an impression in Western society that he wants a detente and by so doing to break (gradually) the will of the West to defend itself. He also wants economic and technological help from Germany and the USA. If the Soviets are sincere they'll stop the military build-up and open their frontiers to ideas and to men and not only to goods."

"What then do you think of Brandt's policies?"

Worner answered: "His sincerity I don't doubt. He is sincerely trying to affect the thinking of the lead-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE



PROF. DR CARSTENS: leader of the main opposition party, the CDU

BRANDT — from page 14

door of death he found a faith in a power greater than his own.

Brandt's enemies may not accept that he is unambitious. But it may be fair to say that his ambition today is for a cause — the success of his policies. If anything, he is perhaps not ambitious enough in a wider sense, ambitious to serve other parts of the world as he has served Europe.

Willy Brandt may be meant to be a friend of the statesmen of far-flung nations. He may have new "peaks" to conquer. Brandt has a message for the statesmen of the Indian sub-

continent. From his own life he can show them that the path to greatness lies in accepting the facts of history and in redirecting the thinking of one's nation. It is a more difficult path but in the long run more rewarding.

Not since de Gaulle has Europe produced a statesman of Brandt's calibre and it needed a nation like Germany to do it. How would he like future historians to judge him? "I would be happy of course if they found that I had done something to make life easier for some people and to make my country a good neighbour in Europe."

HIMMAT, July 6, 1973



DR MANFRED WORNER:
Soviets want power

ers in Moscow. But where is the result? It is only atmospheric."

Q: "What are Soviet objectives in Europe?"

"They do not want any war here nor the military occupation of West Germany but they want to use their military superiority as a political instrument to exert their hegemony."

"Do you see the possibility of detente in the future?"

"I see a chance when the balance of power forces Russia to a real settlement. That will happen when China is really strong."

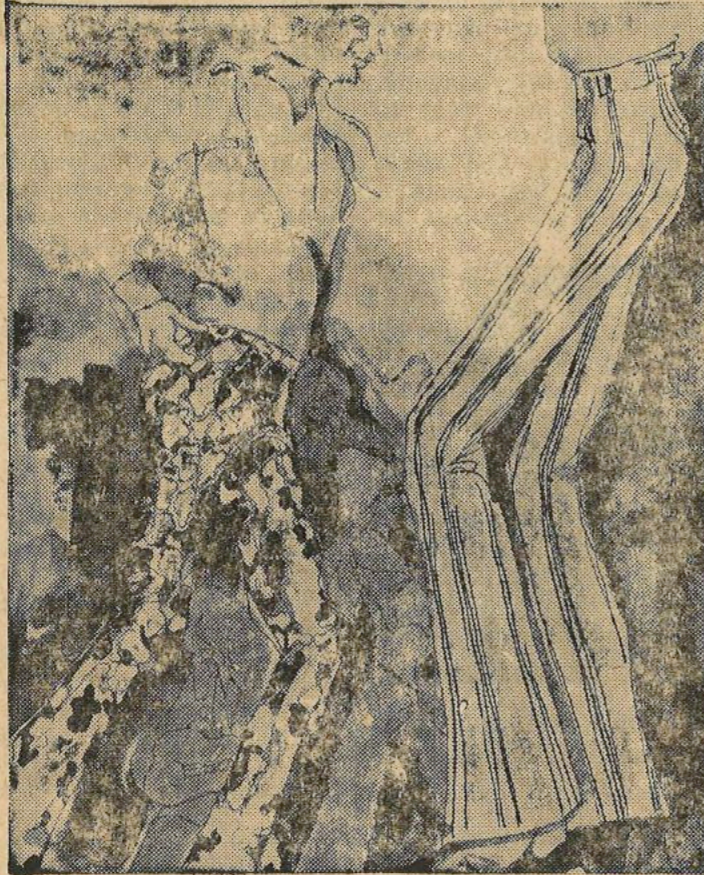
Brandt's own case was presented simply but forcefully in human terms by Adolf Scheu, Socialist MP for Wuppertal. "Brandt," says Scheu, "was concerned about people — families who for 25 years were separated. Brandt had to choose his priorities and clear up the basic relationship with the Treaties and to open the way for a liberalisation of policies in the East."

Brandt himself is no wishful thinker (see interview). The danger is that though Brandt may be clear others may be lulled into a sense of false security.

R.M.L.

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W. Germany - III

Overcoming the legacies of war

THE German people have exerted a most decisive influence on modern Europe. In 1870 under Bismark they humbled France. In 1914 and 1939 Germany unleashed two world wars. This remarkable race that has contributed so much to Europe's culture and technological genius also brought immense suffering on itself and its neighbours.

At their peak in 1914 they spread from Alsace-Lorraine (now in France) to Konigsberg now in the Soviet Union. Germans dominated certain areas now in Czechoslovakia and Poland. They constituted the heart of Europe with immense capacity for good or for ill.

In the 18th and 19th century Germany gave Europe her greatest composers. Bach, Beethoven, Wagner, Schumann, Schubert and Handel. It is said that if the Germans carried all their cultural contributions they would stumble along with aching backs!

Inventors gave Germany technological power. August Nicholas Otto invented the first combustion engine; Karl Benz built the first petrol-driven car; and Rudolf Diesel gave the world the first heavy oil engine named after him.

In the 20th century both Einstein, who discovered the theory of relativity, and Max Planck, who discovered the quantum theory, were Germans.

Germany was enfeebled by the First World War (1914-18) and the treaties with her were harsh. On the dissatisfaction of the German people rose a rabble-rouser, Adolf Hitler, and led Germany into the Second World War. The Allied leaders at Yalta and Potsdam decided to partition Germany between East and West. A vast area of pre-war Germany was allotted to Poland. Millions of Germans found themselves part of another country. Many crossed into West Germany but restrictions were tightened. Families were separated. And so to the hunger for bread in post-war Europe was added the hunger for reunification of the two Germans.

It was such an emotional issue that it almost became the creed of suc-

cessive German Governments. To the pain of separation was added the brutality of the East German regime which built the Berlin wall to seal off its people from escaping. And if anyone tried to escape along hundreds of miles of barbed wire they risked being shot. Sometimes old people were stranded in one German state and their children were in the other and the twain could not meet. As West Germans raced ahead with

'Young people should never again find it necessary to have to grapple with the heritage of a criminal policy.'

Chancellor Brandt

the economic miracle, they carried this pinch in their hearts and so did the East Germans.

Poland was afraid that one day West Germany might lay claim to parts of Poland (perhaps together with East Germany if the Communist regime ever fell). Russia, which lost

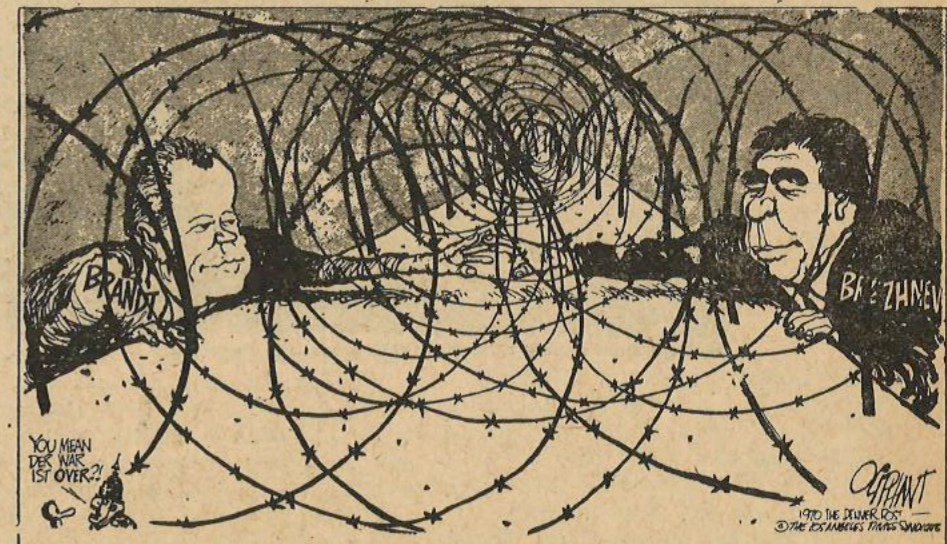
an estimated 20 million people at German hands, armed itself to the teeth and acquired great military superiority in conventional weapons. And for 25 years the Cold War continued.

West Germany, under Chancellor Adenauer, first mended its fences with West Europe — France, Holland, Britain and others. It became a part, emotionally, economically and militarily, of the Western alliance. Once this was accomplished, the German Government addressed itself to the framing of a new Eastern policy. The first beginnings came under the Christian Democratic Union then led by Kiesinger who offered a non-aggression treaty. This was not vigorously followed up and it took the accession to power of Willy Brandt and the Socialists in 1969 to pursue it further.

Brandt, one of the staunchest anti-Communists of Europe, won the confidence of the Soviet leaders by his sincerity. The treaty with Moscow was signed in August 1970 to be followed by a treaty with Poland, East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

By these treaties the Federal Republic of Germany gave up all claims to territories incorporated in other states and treated the post-war frontiers as inviolable. It did so with the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25



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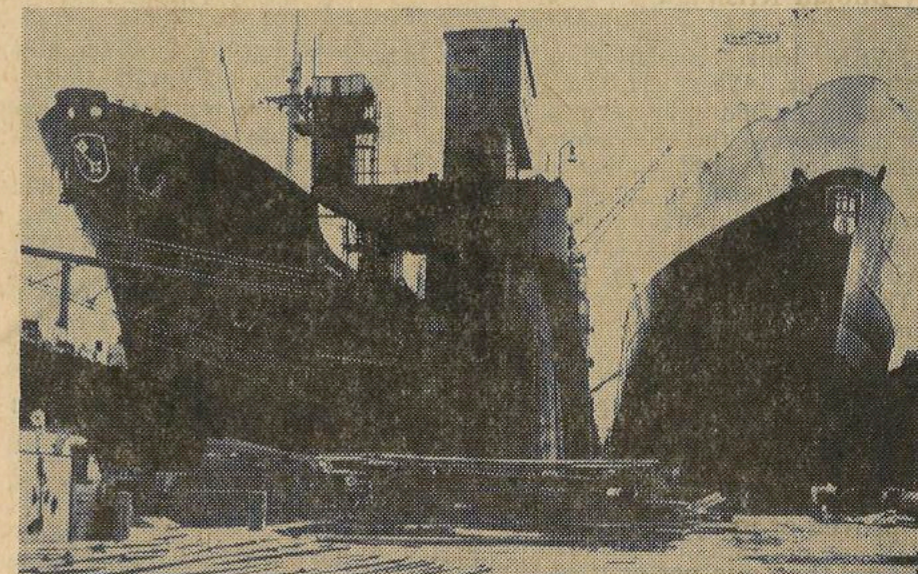
Germans love their prosperity but question their future

From Geoffrey Daukes in Bern

THE German Mark may well have replaced the pound sterling as the second most widely held currency (after the dollar) by the nations of the world. This statement in the report of the West German Federal Bank is eloquent of the accelerating economic power of the 60.8 million West Germans and Berliners.

There seems no limit to what the hard work, resourcefulness and thoroughness of this nation can achieve.

Once again West Germans enjoy a great boom, unparalleled since the Korean War, whereas a little over a year ago there were long faces and talk of recession. Of course the roaring trade in consumer goods has never stopped rising, with wages up to two and a quarter times what they were in 1962. Nor has the expansion of the building industry which began



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GERMANY TODAY

- Booming industry
- Hardworking population
- Quick settlement of industrial disputes
- Only 287,000 unemployed but 603,000 jobs unfilled

1973 with over a million housing units under construction. Orders, including a large increase of overseas orders, have spurred ahead by 17 per cent since last year. Profits, too, are up.

How is it done? There is no doubt that modernisation, beginning with the installation of new equipment after the war to replace what had been destroyed or taken away in reparations, has been a vital element. Intensive rationalisation has continued, with a high investment ratio. But this has not led to unemployment. The demand for labour far exceeds supply, with 287,000 out of work and 603,000 unfilled jobs. And this is in spite of the 2.4 million foreign workers with their families who have flooded in to the country.

Another factor is hard work. It is nothing unusual for a German director to be at his desk at 7.30

a.m. The trade unions, too, have been more disciplined than most others in Western Europe. With 16 federated unions working closely together in the German Trade Union Federation, there has also been the minimum of trade union rivalry. All negotiations are on a state or national basis and wildcat strikes are unusual. This remains true for the smaller unions not in the federation. Employers have, on the whole, accepted the inevitability of regular wage increases, settling quickly and thereby avoiding the huge losses involved in long strikes.

Although West Germany only comes sixth in the world list of consumer spending per citizen — behind the USA, Denmark, France, Luxemburg and Belgium — the impression is of everyone living in great comfort. The impact is greatest for those who knew Germany in the early post-war years with her destroyed cities and terrible housing shortage.

One Ruhr worker told me he had recently had an Indian guest "who was ready to believe anything I told him except that I was a worker." The new furniture, the television set, the washing machine and well equipped kitchen, the car, everything seemed there which materially made up a middle class citizen.

The drive for prosperity and success does not leave much room for concern for others in the world who have less. For most people helping developing countries is something the Government, and other bodies like the churches, should do to present a decent image, but it is an uncomfortable topic.

There is a growing awareness that the way the foreign workers are treated is inadequate. These, with no citizenship, often inferior accommodation and not infrequently derogatory treatment by fellow-workers, often feel embittered by their second-class status.

A few Germans attempt to overcome this bitterness by friendship, thus building a bridge between rich and poor nations. A church community in Gladbeck, for instance, went to great pains to bring in a Turkish teacher for the foreign workers' children so they could have some education in their own culture and language.

Many see runaway inflation as the menacing time-bomb. Voices are raised reminding people that between the two wars when inflation reached grotesque proportions, it destroyed the economy and the spirit of the people and prepared the way for the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

Indo-German collaboration: Accent moving from aid to trade

by Bhojan Krishnan

EVEN while nursing its war wounds, West Germany set out on its grand tour around the world exploring the possibilities of collaboration in business and industry in big and small countries. India, having launched on its five-year plans, was then on the look out for such collaboration.

The two countries were no strangers, for thanks largely to the efforts

in India is less than one per cent of that country's total private investment in the world, which shows that the Germans are either hesitant to invest in India or they find the investment climate in other countries more congenial, or both.

For the German private investors, India's vast internal market offers tremendous prospects for the future. There is also scope for both count-

could not possibly have found sweeping changes.

But India cannot help it either. With its socialist objectives, India is ever on guard against foreign monopolies spreading their tentacles and stifling small and medium industries which are the mainstay of Indian economic growth. Moreover, with the accent on self-reliance and the development of indigenous technology, India's approach to foreign collaboration has become selective. Also, since its industrial policies are framed by keeping in view all foreign investors, India does not think it is necessary to be any different in the case of the Germans.

Even so West German industrial houses have not begun to shun India. Almost all the big German firms are in collaboration with one Indian firm or the other. Notable among these are: Siemens, MAN,

Hoechst, Bayer, AEG-Telefunken, Bosch, Daimler Benz, Didier-Werke, BASF, Krupps and Stumpp and Schuele.

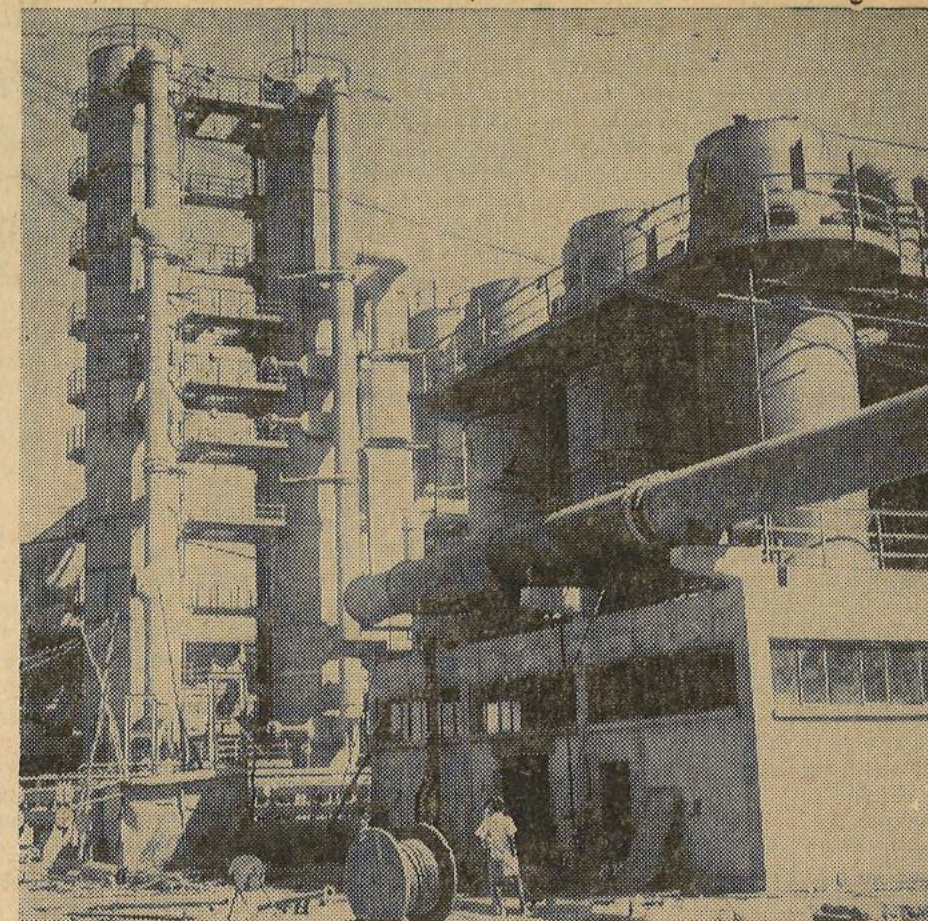
India has been the favourite of West German investors among the Asian nations. But recently there has been negligible increase in West German private investment in India. In fact there has been a marginal fall from DM 181.3 million on December 31, 1971, to DM 180.5 million on June 30, 1972. This is in glaring contrast to the steep rise in West German private investment in other Asian countries, say Israel or Singapore. (See graph).

Most developing countries wanting to enter into collaboration with developed countries fear that a good deal of money will be siphoned out of the country by the collaborators. India is no exception. In this respect, one heartening development is that the inflow through exports of just ten of the leading Indo-German joint ventures (in 1970) was higher than the exchange outflow due to remittance of dividends, royalties, technical fees and interest on loans made by all those companies having West German collaborations. In 1970-71 as against a total remittance of Rs 44.4 million, these ten companies — Gedore Tools, Dr Beck & Co. Siemens India, Motor Industries Co Ltd, Hoechst, Teksons, Traub India, Telefunken India, Asian Dehydrates and Famatex India — exported goods worth Rs 60 million.

Indo-German trade balance

The bulk of India's exports to West Germany comprises traditional items such as jute manufactures, cashew kernels, coffee, tea, hides and skins, leather, oil cakes, coir manufactures and iron ore. Of late engineering goods, chemicals, footwear, precious and semi-precious stones, medicinal and pharmaceutical products, fruits and vegetables are also being exported.

While West Germany directly imports products made in Indo-German joint ventures, it prefers to import



ROURKELA STEEL PLANT:
giant Indo-German collaboration project in the public sector

- * One third of the Federal Republic's total bilateral assistance goes to India
- * By the end of 1972, 583 Indo-German collaborations were approved or in operation
- * Less than one per cent of West Germany's private investment throughout the world comes to India — Why?

of German scholars and philosophers, the Germans were well acquainted with India's rich heritage. Also, as long ago as 1867, Siemens had placed India on the communication map by laying the London-Calcutta telegraph line.

But the first technical collaboration, in its real sense, to get underway between the two countries was in 1957 when the Government of India sanctioned two schemes. Since then the number has risen phenomenally. At the end of 1972 with 583 collaborations approved, West Germany was next only to Britain (941) and USA (683).

Private investment in India

West German collaborators transfer to Indian companies technical know-how, including drawings, patents and trade marks. In nearly a third of the Indo-German joint ventures they have acquired a financial interest too. West German private investment in India, which was but a nominal Rs 1 million in 1948, had risen to Rs 458 million by the end of 1972.

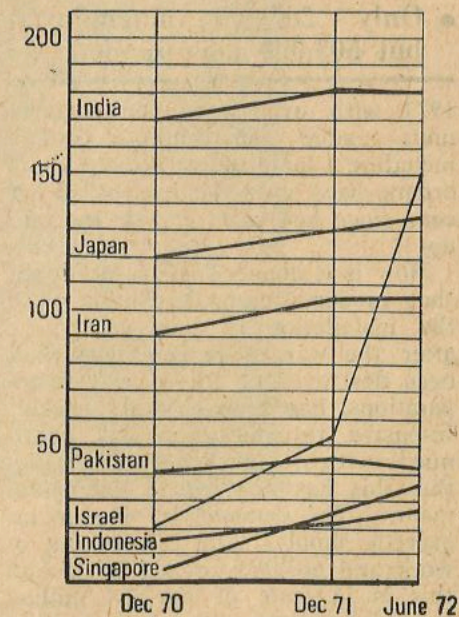
Impressive though the growth has been, the German private investment

tries to participate jointly in projects in other developing countries. Labour costs are less than in many countries, and there are possibilities of sub-contracting by India. Moreover, the fear of nationalisation need not come in the way, for there has been an agreement between the two countries since 1964 which forbids discriminatory treatment, ensures adequate compensation in the event of Government take-over and guarantees the transfer of profits and dividends. So much from the Indian point of view.

But the German private investors do not really seem to see eye to eye with the Government of India's policies towards foreign investment. So they hesitate. Why invest in a country which permits only minority participation — up to 40 per cent shareholding — with short royalty periods, heavy income-tax, unfavourable foreign exchange situations, Government interference, and vexing delays and red tape?

Not that India is ignorant of the difficulties facing German investors. Dr Hermann J. Abs, who led a high level delegation to India in 1970, had pinpointed the hurdles in the way of better economic co-operation between the two countries. When he revisited India early this year, however, he

GERMAN PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN ASIA
(in million DM)



(The figures for Pakistan upto 1971 include what is now Bangladesh.)

(30 to 40 per cent) products from India through third countries such as Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland, thereby giving some benefit of the trade to these countries. The German entrepreneurs even do not mind paying a little more to firms in these countries in order to be ensured of quality, bulk supplies, prompt deliveries and after-sales services.

India's exports to West Germany, however, are meagre compared to its imports from that country (comprising electric machinery, equipment and apparatus; base metals; transport equipment; chemicals, dyes and colours; pharmaceutical products; and precision goods) which has led to huge trade deficits for India. In 1961-62 India's imports from West Germany were worth Rs 1249 million as against exports of Rs 226 million, which left a trade deficit of Rs 1023 million. Since then the trade gap has widened further.

Experts suggest that developing countries are bound to have trade deficits and so it should not cause alarm. The Government of India, however, seems to be perturbed over the deficits to such an extent that it has preferred to cut down imports

from West Germany considerably in order to bring down the trade deficit. This is not exactly a right step to take in a situation like this. Nor is the suggestion of narrowing trade gaps with development aids from other countries a wise one. The only sensible thing to do is to build up our export potential.

And this is where West German collaboration could be of great assistance. West Germany is perhaps the first and only country to have realised the fact that, in order to foster trade between the two countries, India needs help in promoting its exports. West Germany has launched an export promotion project in India with a view to advising India and initiating export transactions.

But West Germany cannot go out of its way to absorb Indian goods by preferential treatment. Indian goods will have to compete on their own merits in the sophisticated German market. Better quality, prompt deliveries and after-sales service facilities could help Indian goods make inroads into German markets and also into the rapidly growing EEC markets. While West Germany's co-operation

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

can be counted upon in improving the quality of certain goods made here, a good deal of effort has to be made by our industrialists and the Government to raise India's image as a dependable country in trade dealings.

Besides private entrepreneurs, the Federal Government of Germany,

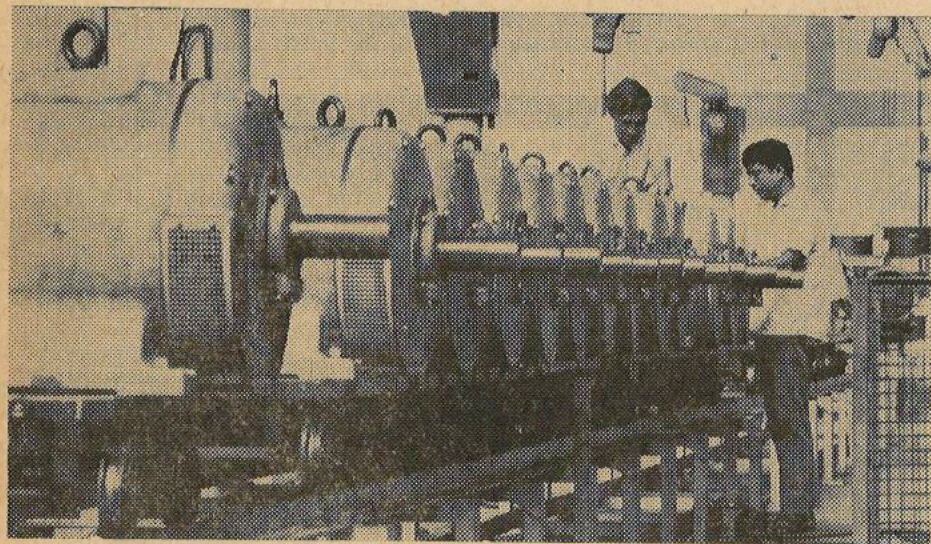
imports of fertilisers, industrial raw materials and spares. Loans are also given to Indian development banks such as the Industrial Finance Corporation and Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India (ICICI) which in turn extend sub-loans to medium and small-scale industries.

*** Within five years German agricultural assistance turned a food deficit district in Himachal Pradesh into a surplus one and increased its production 14 times**

too, is in the forefront in assisting India. In the course of 1957-69, India had received Rs 5000 million as Governmental aid. Development assistance from the Federal Government to India began in 1958 with the granting of a loan of Rs 1237 million to finance the first stage of the Rourkela Steel Plant — the biggest German-financed aid project. Some of the important public sector projects financed since then are: The Rourkela Fertiliser Plant, Neyveli Mining, Fertilisers and Briquetting and Carbonating Project, Mysore

Besides a longer maturity period and a low interest rate, the grant content of credits given by the Federal Government is about 70 per cent. That is, of the DM 250 million loan committed in 1969, DM 176 millions are in reality a gift.

Up to November 28, 1972 one-third of the official bilateral assistance provided by the Federal Government and 10 per cent of its technical aid have gone to India. In absolute figures this is more than Rs 10,000 million. Apart from developmental aids, India indirectly receives German aid



SIEMENS MOTORS FACTORY, BOMBAY:
Indo-German collaboration in the private sector

Iron and Steel Works, Kalinga Iron Works, NGE and recently the Gujarat Aromatics Project of the Indian Petro-chemicals Corporation Limited.

Aid for development programmes

Owing to the changing requirements of India, German aid is now increasingly directed for use in development programmes such as railways, purchase of ships, shipbuilding machinery, power generation equipment and other capital goods and

channelled through multi-lateral agencies such as the International Development Agency (IDA). Up to 1970, the Federal Government contributed Rs 1216 million to IDA from which India got 47 per cent or roughly Rs 900 million.

The German Government also assists India in technical education, agriculture, mass communication, promotion of exports and tourism. Germany takes in Indian students

for technical education in several vocations in the German institutes and also co-operates in setting up training institutes here. The Indian Institute of Technology, Madras, is an outstanding example of German assistance in technical training. Also in operation are: The Indo-German Technical Institute for Industrial Foremen, Bangalore; the Prototype Production-cum-Training Centre, Okhla (in Delhi); the Institute of Engineering, Faridabad (Haryana), the Master Training Institute, Bangalore; and Staff Training and Vocational Research Institute, Howrah.

Help in farming

West German participation in farming has come as a boon to Indian farmers. Mandi in Himachal Pradesh was a food deficit district in 1963. Today German assistance has turned this district into a surplus one. Within five years of launching of the joint agricultural development programme, food production in Mandi had doubled and fruit production had grown up by about 1400 per cent. Almora in Uttar Pradesh, the Nilgiris in Tamilnadu and Kangra, again in Himachal Pradesh, are other centres where the Germans are involved in scientific farming by improving the fertility of the soil, eradicating insects and pests, and evolving high-yielding varieties of seeds. As the writer had occasion to witness for himself while at the Nilgiris recently the German efforts are wholeheartedly welcomed and appreciated by the farmers.

The Federal Government gave as a gift the entire transmission equipment as well as technical assistance to the Television Studio in New Delhi in 1965. The TV centre in Bombay, which has started functioning recently and the Poona relay centre, which is to come, all point to the Federal Government's sincere desire to help India develop its mass communications base (See article page 23).

Even though the strained relations with the USA may compel India to go in more for German assistance, it is quite unlikely that India will invite foreign investment and technical collaboration indiscriminately any more. Export-oriented industries and units in the small and medium scale sectors may be permitted to have technical collaboration. The accent from now on may be more on Indo-German trade than on Indo-German collaboration.

W. Germany - VI

Germany and India join hands in TV

Interview with Carsten Diercks, German consultant

WEST GERMANY is lending a great helping hand to India in entering the TV era. The German team of technical advisors consists of Mr Schmeltz (transmission), Mr Neuhauser (studio), Mr Erismann (camera), Mr Weizel (maintenance), and Mr Carsten Diercks, co-ordinator of it all.

The team works in a small office on the ground floor of the neat and compact building of the Worli TV station, with the 300 metre (1000 feet) high transmission tower — higher than the Eiffel Tower — soaring in the background.

Mr Diercks is a tall, strong, clean-shaven man in his late forties, with longish hair and sideburns. Wearing the workmanlike outfit of a T-shirt and denim-type trousers, he is extremely friendly and speaks in precise tones — no wonder, for he himself is a television 'journalist' of more than 20 years standing.

He works at the North German radio and television station (NDR) at Hamburg, his birthplace. He estimates he has been 75 times around the globe in making over 250 films. He was an eyewitness to the Korean War, the Bay of Pigs affair of the 1962 Cuban Crisis, the Vietnam War and both the Indo-Pak wars of '65 and '71 — to name but a few of his "hot" assignments.

He first visited India in 1959 to make a few films for his studio under its "Asian Faces" series. The films were such a terrific success that he went on to make over 40 films on India for German TV.

In 1965 he helped to establish the New Delhi station. At the outbreak of the Indo-Pak war Mr Diercks happened to be in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, and was arrested for being "an Indian spy" as he was "that TV man from Delhi"! He was later released after a week in custody. "See, I've 'suffered' for India!" he says.

Mr Diercks has only one word for his Indian colleagues — "admirable". He also has a good opinion of the Indian Ministers and officials. Most of them are his personal friends. He particularly admires Mrs Indira Gandhi. "Without her you wouldn't

have had TV for a long time," he says. "She was very keen on it from the beginning. It was on her persuasion that the Government decided — and rightly so — that TV was not a luxury for India, but a necessity."

Did he have any suggestions for the Government? Yes, indeed. Mr Diercks lists the following main points for consideration:

- There should be a lot more investment. "Do you know that the amount they spend in Germany on a top programme for one evening is equal to the entire annual budget of the Delhi station? We have a saying in German: 'You must sow out of the window till it comes in through the door.'"



MAKING THE JOINT FILM ON INDIAN IITs
Mr Carsten Diercks (Second from R) with Mr Erismann (camera) and Prof Ramachandran, Director of IIT, Madras: (first from R)

- TV must be taken to rural areas with relay and independent stations and increased rural coverage on city stations.

- There should be a large number of "tellyclubs" and community receiving sets to bring the vast majority of people easily and cheaply in contact with TV.

- There should be closer co-operation with foreign stations, involving exchange of news and program-

mes. It will be of immense help to India in improving the technique and quality of her programmes.

What does he feel about the criticism of Indian programmes in the press and elsewhere? Mr Diercks was visibly roused. "I find that the professional critics always compare the shows with those in Europe and America. How can they do that? Bombay, for example, has five cameras, and they have to put up a daily five-hour programme, right? In Germany, we wouldn't have been able to do more than half an hour's programme with those facilities."

In the West, TV is being increasingly criticised for playing up sex and violence. "Yes," Mr Diercks admits, "there is really too much sex and

ON THE Spot

crime on our Western TV. It's having a very bad influence, particularly on the young." How could we avoid such mistakes? "It's mainly because of competition," says Mr Diercks,

"so as long as you keep it in Government hands and concentrate on the educational angle, you are safe. It ultimately depends on the responsible attitude of the men at the top."

Mr Diercks is currently filming a joint Indo-German collaboration film on the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs). It is a colour film of 30 minutes duration and will soon be shown all over Germany.

Sudhir Chandra

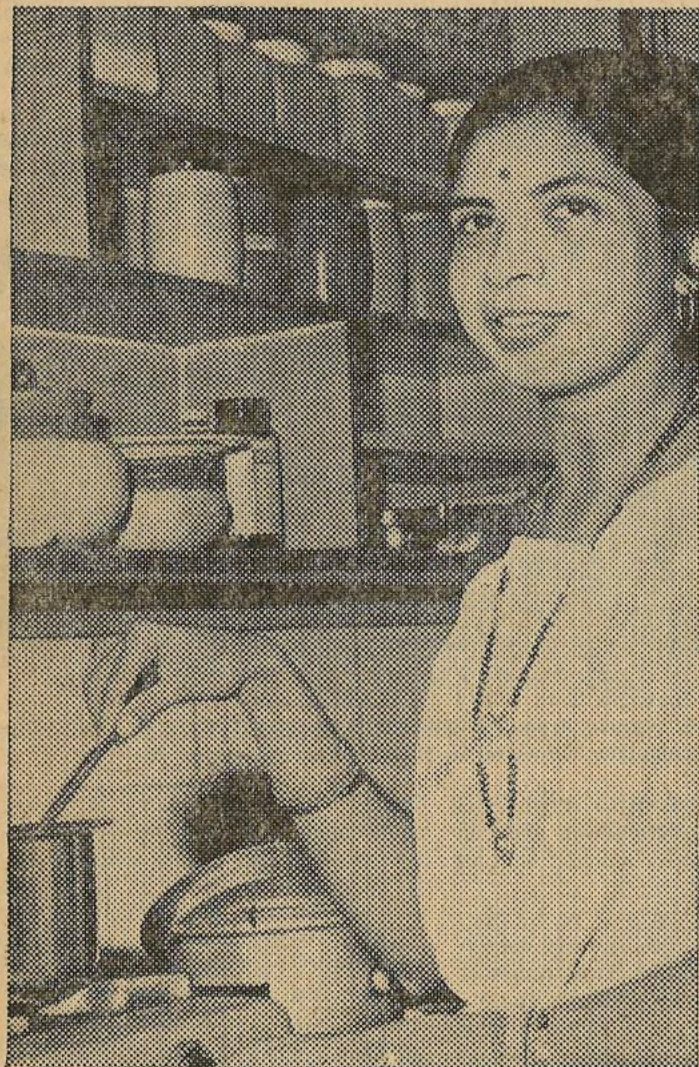
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Rising giant of Indo-German industry

IN 1827 a German professor, Georg Ohm, discovered the law which was fundamental to the practical use and development of electricity.

Only 21 years later a German company, Siemens AG, was founded which now has become an industrial giant in electrical engineering, employing 300,000 people throughout the world with operations in 120 countries and an annual turnover of DM 15,100 million (Rs 4000 crores).

In fact the 125-year history of Siemens has reflected the development of electric power as an essential modern commodity. Today Siemens spends over DM 1100 million (Rs 300 crores) annually on a systematic programme of research and development.

In India, it is the largest of all Indo-German firms, with a turnover during the last financial year of nearly Rs 40 crores and employing, together with its partners, a total of 7000 people. The company has played a major role in many power generation projects — Hiraakud, Durgapur, Patri, Khaperkheda, Korba. It has provided services and integrated

plans for total electrification of industries as far removed as textiles and steel, cement and fertilisers, sugar and chemicals.

The first Siemens manufacturing unit was set up in Bombay in 1957. Now four factories produce a wide range of electrical equipment including switchgear, electro-medical equipment, electric motors, railway signalling equipment and communication equipment for the post and telegraphs, and defence.

Their Training Centre for Indian engineers in Bombay provides skilled manpower not only for Siemens factories but also for other developing factories in India. Their apprentices have consistently topped Government examinations on an all-India basis.

Siemens India and their partners export their products to many countries such as the UAR, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and Australia. Perhaps most significant, Siemens India have not remitted any royalties to their parent company in Germany but have reinvested them within India.

QUESTIONING THE FUTURE — from page 19

wrong leadership. It is a far cry from that now, but with prices rising at over eight per cent a year the Government is being forced to take stronger action.

Willy Brandt and his Socialist colleagues in the Government have kept to their moderate course in the face of more demands from the party's left-wing for socialisation. They have not accepted a proposal to take over all house agencies, for instance, as an answer to escalating house prices.

The country is waiting to see if one measure accepted by the last Socialist Party Congress will be implemented. This aims at a wider distribution of capital and so of control, by making workers shareholders. A certain percentage of the profits of the larger undertakings would be paid into decentralised funds, to be administered by trade union and government officials, out of which workers would receive shares, non-redeemable for seven years.

These funds, of some DM. 5000 million a year, would quickly grow to major capital holdings and thereby factors of control in the country's main industries. "By the end of the

decade," writes Switzerland's "Neue Zurcher Zeitung", "they could permanently change the economic and social realities in the Federal Republic."

Nationalism is out of favour among West German youth and it has been abjured by the great majority of their elders who saw where it led them in the past. So this leaves a vacuum of aim. Political leaders of all parties have given the European Community a high priority and those now in power are trying hard to expedite a real economic union of the Community countries and then a political union, to which they would like to hand over sovereign powers.

But where such a Community would aim to take the world and what its answer would be to the main problems of human life remain unstated. As the last President of the Economic Commission of the Community, Dr Sicco Mansholt, said, larger aims are needed with the power to capture the imagination of the masses. Perhaps the statesmanship to formulate and live for these larger aims might be found in Germany. If they were they might give German youth what so many are looking for — an aim beyond destructive revolution or bourgeois indifference.

LEGACIES OF WAR — from page 17

larger objective of normalising relations hoping that some liberalisation would take place in the other states.

Willy Brandt had to persuade and convince his own people of the rightness of his policies. "Festivals," he observed, "must be celebrated as they come along. Treaties must be concluded when the time is ripe."

He hoped that with normalisation people would be able to cross the frontiers easily without having "to die in barbed wire". Since these treaties two million West Germans have visited East Germany but many fewer East Germans visited West Germany. Only those over 65 years of age in East Germany are released to settle in the West. The treaties do not rule out a peaceful reunification of Germany — and West Germany has said so.

Brandt's treaties with the East do not jeopardise NATO or the Common Market although France is somewhat nervous at Bonn's slight tilt towards Moscow — a policy de Gaulle first initiated to counter US influence. But Brandt wants US influence and troops and nuclear arms for the defence of West Germany.

The treaty with Poland was signed four months after the one with the Soviet Union. Poland was the worst sufferer at the hands of Germany and lost almost 6 million people — 700,000 on the battlefield and 5 million in concentration camps.

"To create a peaceful future," said Brandt, "we must overcome the past... The young people should never again find it necessary to have to grapple with the heritage of a criminal policy. We shall spare them that."

On a visit to Poland to sign the treaty Chancellor Brandt went to lay a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Here was Brandt, the man who fought Hitler, atoning for the sins of his nation. He stood there, his eyes moist and knelt down in spontaneous homage to the departed. He not only gave his signature to the treaty but his heart to the people of Poland. Polish Premier Cyrankiewicz responded: "We do not leave as a legacy to this young generation any matters resulting from the war... the tragic chain of wars, suffering and injustice... is now finally broken."

And so after 25 years statesmen have opened a new chapter in the history of Europe.

"We still have a long way to go," says Brandt, "but it will now be easier".

R. M. L.

Music—mighty tradition of centuries

by Johannes Glauber

IN no European country has music played so important a part in cultural life as in Germany. From the centres of German music have radiated the influences which have marked the style and character of European music for centuries.

Music reached its first peak in the 12th and 13th centuries. The "Minnesingers", mostly young nobles who travelled from court to court, singing love songs of their own composition or soldiers' songs, were the main musical influence in the non-religious field.

However the great musical awakening took place in the church. The plainsong of the monks in the monasteries developed from simple two-part singing to the first great vocal compositions of Schuetz, Schein and Scheidt — the leading names in German music before the arrival of Bach. These masters set texts from the Bible to music and used the singing voice in solo and chorus work.

With them instruments were used merely as accompaniment. But with Handel and Bach (1685-1750), greatly influenced by the Italian musical style, the use of instruments was fully developed. They wrote great

works for orchestra which still have a firm place today in the repertoire of symphony concerts. Besides his "concerti grossi" Handel is especially known as a composer of opera and great oratorios for choir, solo voices and orchestra.

Bach, perhaps the greatest composer of all time, wrote instrumental music for different groups of instruments and was the first to bring the art of the organ to a high peak. His great oratorios, the St Matthew Passion and the St John Passion and the Mass in B minor, count as the highest achievement of Western culture.

A brilliant constellation in European music was formed during the "classical" period by Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven (1770-1827). Mozart's father came from Augsburg in Bavaria, Beethoven was born in Bonn. They all three worked in Vienna, at that time the heart of the German cultural world. Haydn, Mozart and especially Beethoven brought the symphony to its finest flower, composed instrumental concertos and raised the art of opera to an hitherto unreachd height of expressive power.

Yet the personal lives of these



BEETHOVEN
great works composed after loss of hearing

masters were extremely unhappy: Mozart, the bright, lively, and brilliant composer, died in penury at the age of 35. Beethoven lost his hearing while quite young. He composed his greatest works, including the Fifth and Ninth Symphonies, without hearing a note.

Already during Beethoven's lifetime a new period, the "Romantic", was opening up. The realm of personal emotion and imagination governed more and more the content and character of compositions. Schubert composed the "Unfinished Symphony". Mendelssohn, who rescued Bach's St Matthew Passion from oblivion, wrote his Violin Concerto and the music for Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream". Like Mozart, both died while still young. The central role in the creative work of Schumann and Brahms (1833-1897) was given to the piano, which in their time had become the musical instrument loved of high society.

One of the fascinating personalities of romantic opera is still a controversial figure in Germany today: Richard Wagner (1813-1883). For his librettos he reached back to old

CONTINUED ON PAGE 31

Sausages, the "Beetle" and Grundlichkeit

by Rosemary Phelps

AS a typical English girl who had not cared much about the rest of Europe, I decided to "break out" and to learn about Germany two years ago. Since that time I have travelled and worked in the north, south, west—and dipped into the east, to and from West Berlin. It is a country which has captured my heart and imagination.

Sit in a Volkswagen "Beetle" and career up an autobahn, and you will sense the power and the excitement of this dynamic country. Others might advise you to go on a pleasure ship down the Rhine with a typical German club, spotting mediaeval castles perched on craggy rocks, with music from one of the old masters wafting out across the water. Or tourist brochures may urge you to hike in the southern Black Forest area. Anyway, wherever you travel the people of this country approach you politely and make friends. Whereas the British huddle morosely in the corner of their railway carriage, the Germans introduce themselves, make a joke or two, pass around their sandwiches and even lift your suitcase out (if you are female) at the appropriate station.

A few of the famous ideas non-Germans have about Germans are actually true. There is a startling array of sausage to be found in every butcher's shop. Some are made of liver and must be spread not sliced! (Woe betide a hungry enthusiast who chops a spreader or spreads a slicer, as I have done). Some are called literally "lasting sausage". These can be very large and almost as hard as rock. They are hung by string for years (it appears) in the larder, to be savoured bit by bit. Although I have not sampled German beer, that too does exist in large quantities, as does their famous apple cake and whipped cream.

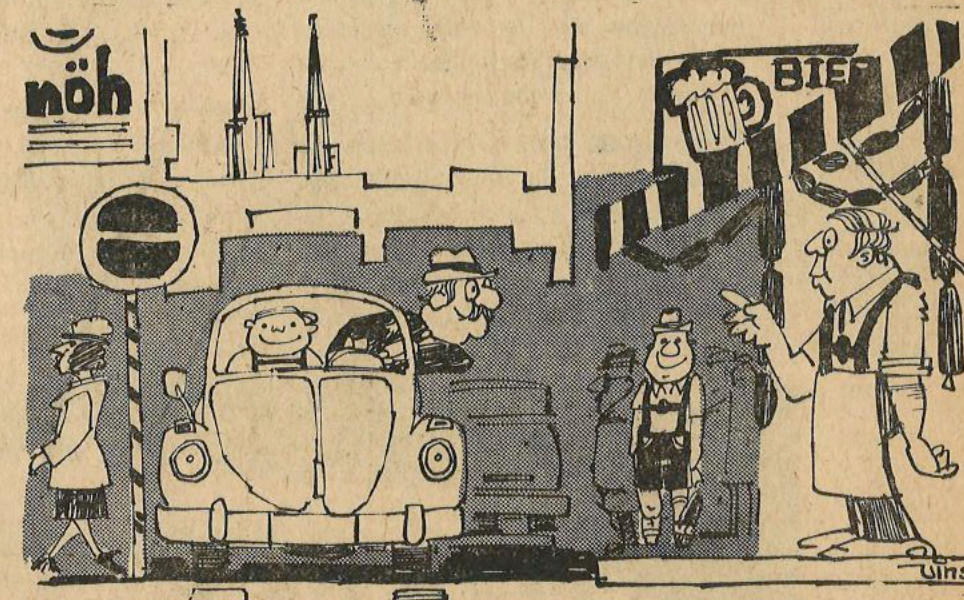
The Germans are a serious people. You feel the weight of the suffering as well as the greatness of the past behind the average family. But they will suddenly surprise you with a flash of wit and often satisfy you with the depth of their thinking. Not much of this talk about the weather

which you find at most British tea parties! In Germany people enjoy going directly to a more profound level and staying there.

They are nourished by the well-known "Grundlichkeit" (thoroughness) and try to find the root of many questions of life. They are a race of philosophers. There is a lively interest in Marxism, for example, and in the Christian church. On the other hand,

than in Britain. But this may not long continue.

There is much one could write about the different people of different areas. For instance the Berliners are both physically and in character a breed apart. They are tough, witty and artistic. There is a sense of a warm-hearted community coupled with gay independence. The wall brings them daily face to face with



Herr Zeller, can you throw me an "everlasting sausage", please?

they tell a story about a sign post. One arm pointed to heaven, the other to a "discussion about heaven". I believe it finishes with most of the Germans following the second path.

To be honest, I have not found the "iron discipline" which is reputed to run through every German's life. There is an enthusiasm for work, but also as in many European countries, the danger of a spoiled modern generation who have many of the good things of life heaped up on their plate, and not always much positive vision for the future. Father still appears to be the lord and master in many homes and the wife serves her husband more

the reality of the German situation. Guard dogs prowl in the barren no-man's land on the other side. People who live with such a reminder, slicing through their city, cutting off family and friends, must develop a grit and a humour to survive.

One day on a train journey northwards, moving along the western side of the barbed wire border, a woman climbed into my carriage. She was in tears. Her daughter waved her goodbye from the platform. The Germans in the carriage looked unsurprised. "Her visiting permit's run out" they said. "The mother has to return to the Eastern Zone."

HIMMAT, July 6, 1973

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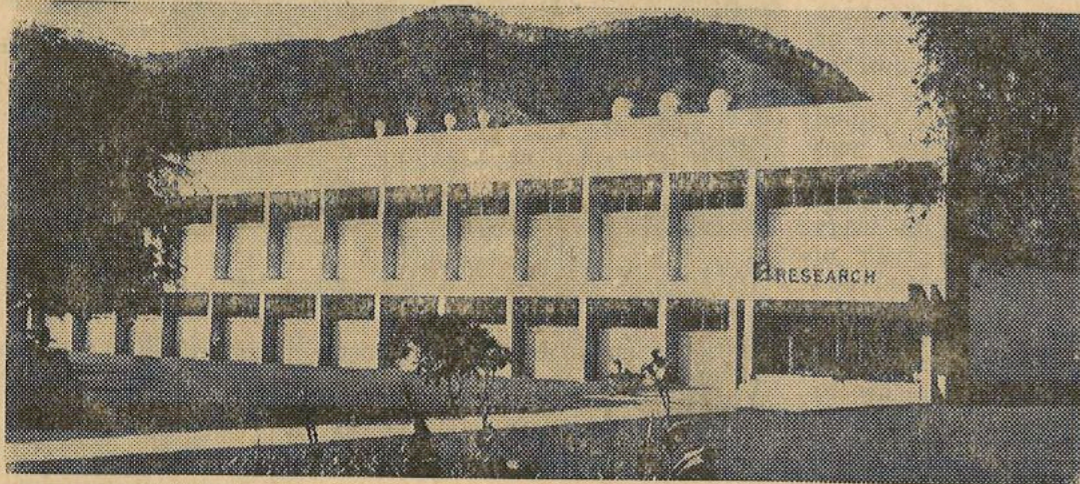
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The amazing birth of a new Europe

CREATING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY by Dr Robin Mowat; Blandford Press; £ 2.10; pp 235.

FROM time to time there is need of a specialist who will trace for us the pattern events have taken and make a comprehensive whole of the bits and pieces of history, which we have seen pass before us as we scanned the headlines year by year.

Dr Mowat does this; but in addition he takes us deep into men's aims, motives and moods, whether it be those of the household names like Schuman, Adenauer, De Gaulle and Macmillan, or those of "back-room" figures like Jean Monnet, Andre Philip, Jean Rey, Robert Carmichael and Irene Laure. And he shows how remarkably the convictions of a handful of men have moulded the revolutionary concept we see emerging today as the European Community. The author's personal acquaintance with some of the principal men involved adds colour to the story and weight to his conclusions.

After the Roman influence had receded in Europe and the 15th century

Reviewed by W. L. M. Conner

Popes had virtually abandoned the claim of Christianity as a force in public life, nationalism began to emerge as the dominant idea. Christianity might have provided the outward-looking element in this self-centred extension of tribalism, but instead the secular liberalism that emerged from the French Revolution became the main ideological influence in Europe. Cobden's concept of world free trade and Gladstone's vision of a "concert of the powers" had not enough bite and realism to impact nationalism. Bismarck, though a converted Christian at the age of 31, firmly believed that State affairs had their own morality and were not a field for religion. Thus Europe drifted towards the Kaiser's and then Hitler's World Wars.

Even before World War II Aristide Briand, the French Foreign Minister, was feeling out for "some kind of federal bond" in Europe, as was Konrad Adenauer, Oberburgomeister of Cologne and the dominant figure of the Rhineland.

The wartime Resistance produced an urge towards answering the nationalism that had shattered Europe once more, and in 1946 Winston Chur-

chill made his famous Zurich speech saying: "There can be no revival of Europe without a spiritually great France and a spiritually great Germany." Just previously Frank Buchman had arranged for the first Germans to be permitted to leave Germany to come to the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at Caux in Switzerland.

From this point onwards there unfolds the extraordinary story of how a group of men began to work on a



FRANCE'S ROBERT SCHUMAN (left) WITH DR FRANK BUCHMAN, INITIATOR OF MRA:

Schuman was among the first French statesmen to contact personally German postwar leadership

revolutionary new concept, and to create an ideological climate which would enable the rebuilding of Europe to be based upon the pooling of both France and Germany's industrial potential.

This was a conception of historic proportions, seen in the light of Europe's centuries of nationalism. It was brought to reality, with unexpected rapidity by the clarity of aim and the faith of a few men, utterly different from one another in many other respects, but possessing the spiritual stature the hour demanded. Each contributed his own part to the construction and leavened the whole lump of European leadership.

In and out of the pages come the Americans: Truman, Marshall and Acheson whose idealism and width of vision saved Europe from the collapse the Russians had anticipated. Then the remarkable personality of Robert Schuman, the statesman-ascetic whose name will always be asso-

BOOKS

ciated with the new Europe's emergence. And Jean Monnet, "the first European", with his "massive common sense" and sense of timing.

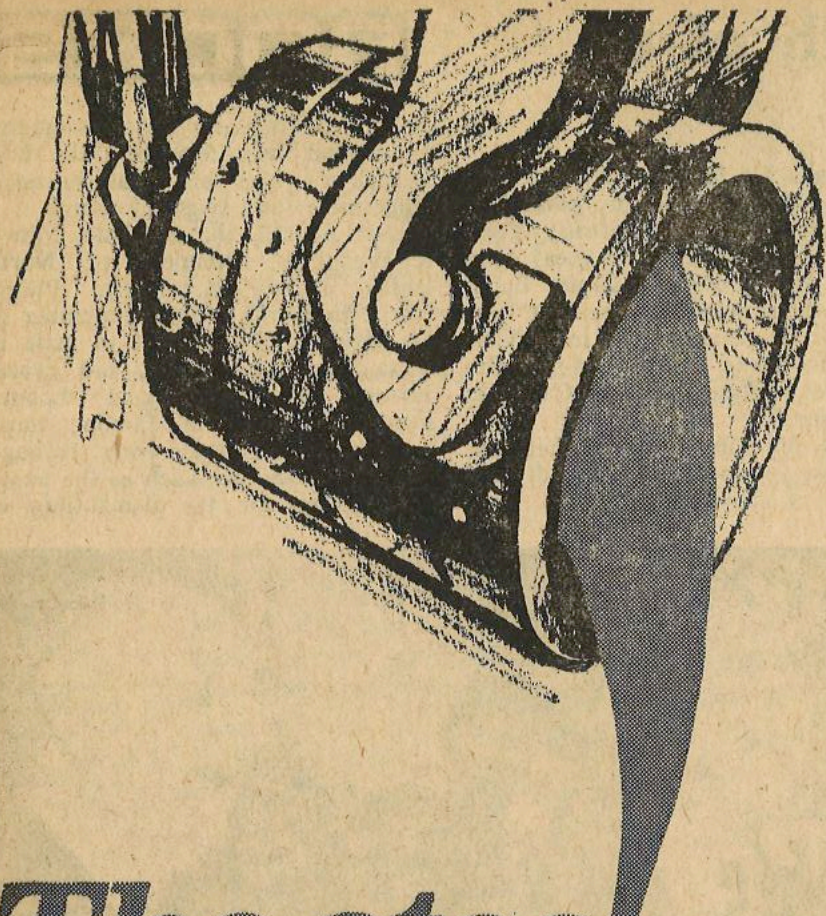
Karl Arnold, the anti-Nazi Minister-President (Premier) of North Rhine Westphalia, Andre Philip, Christian Socialist and ex-member of De Gaulle's Government in exile in Britain during the war, and Ernest Bevin, Britain's rugged Labour Foreign Minister are among those seen threading their way through political minefields, such as the popular clamour for the dismantling of

German industry, towards their destination of an integrated Europe.

An interesting aspect is the uncovering of the mutual mistrust between two equally proud peoples, the British and the French, in the process of extricating the continent from her centuries of national thinking. Britain with her insular obsession with her own sovereignty; France with her belief in her divine right to lead Europe and De Gaulle's suspicion of the Anglo-Saxons and their "atlantisme". This led to the refusal of Britain at first to join the European Economic Community (EEC), because of Commonwealth interests, and later, when she changed her mind in the '60s, to the French "non", which kept her out in the cold.

The final chapters see the entry of Britain under Heath into Europe, and Dr Mowat then turns to the future and to the growing conviction on all

CONTINUED ON PAGE 31



The steel industry strengthens the economy

Import substitution has always been behind Utmal's plan for manufacturing equipment for various industries—slag cars for Hindustan Steel, butterfly valves for the Andhra Pradesh Electricity Board and intricate paper and pulp making machinery for Seshasayee Paper Mills.

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HIMMAT, July 6, 1973

UTM 201

MUSIC — from page 26

German legends and, as a composer, mastered the use of the larger orchestra with considerable power and brilliance. He had built for himself in Bayreuth an opera house to his own design. There, on a green hill, the Bayreuth Festival takes place every year, devoted solely to Wagner's operas and attracts guests from the whole world.

The great change in German music came at the beginning of this century. Any further progress in expression and form seemed impossible in the classical-romantic style. Arnold Schenberg (1874-1951) developed a completely new system of composition, called "Twelve Tone Music". Alban Berg and Anton Webern, both pupils of Schenberg, developed this technique further. In spite of many modifications it continues to influence young composers today, for example Karlheinz Stockhausen. The masters of the 'thirties, Paul Hindemith and Boris Blacher, were also influenced by Schenberg in their creative outlook.

In public concerts Schenberg and his successors still have only a small following. People want to hear romantic and classical music, harmonising tones and pleasing melodies. Pioneer work in relation to the newer music is being done by the radio. Radio Cologne has even built a studio for electronic music. Hamburg and also the South German stations hold whole series of concerts exclusively dedicated to new music.

All radio stations have large symphony orchestras, which cover the whole range of music in their repertoire. A specially famous orchestra is the Berlin Philharmonic with its conductor Herbert von Karajan. Every year the "Berliners" play to enthusiastic audiences throughout the world.

Almost every German city has its own symphony orchestra and opera house. There are state operas in Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Stuttgart and Wiesbaden. In these theatres new productions of the operas are given each season and attract international attention. The State also supports the musical colleges, which, as well as the town conservatories, train fresh musical talent. There is music too in almost all churches. The range of sacred music reaches from simple cantatas right up to the great oratorios.

NEW EUROPE — from page 29

sides that this "ideology of integration" can only have meaning and creative value if it can become a major building block of an effectively managed world economy and can address itself urgently to the service of the Third World.


This book is a fascinating ideological study. Unlike the Marxist, Dr Mowat is concerned with the fundamental dialectic of right and wrong in the affairs of mankind and in the political, social and economic results that issue from moral and spiritual conviction. It gives historical grounds for immense hope for the future.



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PROMISE OF PLENTY WITH  SHRIRAM CHEMICALS

HIMMAT, July 6, 1973

THIS INDIA

A JAPANESE FAMILY IN INDIA

It is believed in the Nilgiris that if you live in Coonoor you live up to 75 years. If you want to hit a century, you should reside in Ooty. If you decide to stay in Kotagiri, the chances are that you will never die. Kotagiri is supposed to be the second healthiest place in the world, the distinction of the first being claimed by a town in California, USA.

"Kotagiri is a bit like heaven must be," commented a visitor. Tall gum trees guard its beauty and the fragrance of the citronella grass buoys one up. The encounters with people can be equally elevating. To meet a Japanese family in this South Indian hill station is part of the unexpected charm of the place.

Mr Tsutada is a vibrant Japanese. He seems to exude joy. Fluent in Hindi and Marathi, his stories are spiced with Indian anecdotes he has picked up. He has been in India for nine years, and is the Registrar of the Yeotmal Theological Seminary in Maharashtra. He was visiting Kotagiri with his family.

Mrs Tsutada was born in Hiroshima. On August 5, 1945, her mother had an insistent thought that she should, with her family, leave and go to another city. Neighbours tried to dissuade her since she had a very good job, and employment was hard to get during wartime. Friends and relatives said Hiroshima was a safe place to be in. However, the mother had her way. The family left on the evening of the 5th. On the morning of the 6th the atom bomb fell on Hiroshima. Since then the whole family have had the sense that God saved them because He wanted them to serve Him. Today one sister is serving in Africa, another in Europe and Mrs Tsutada is in India with her husband and two sons.

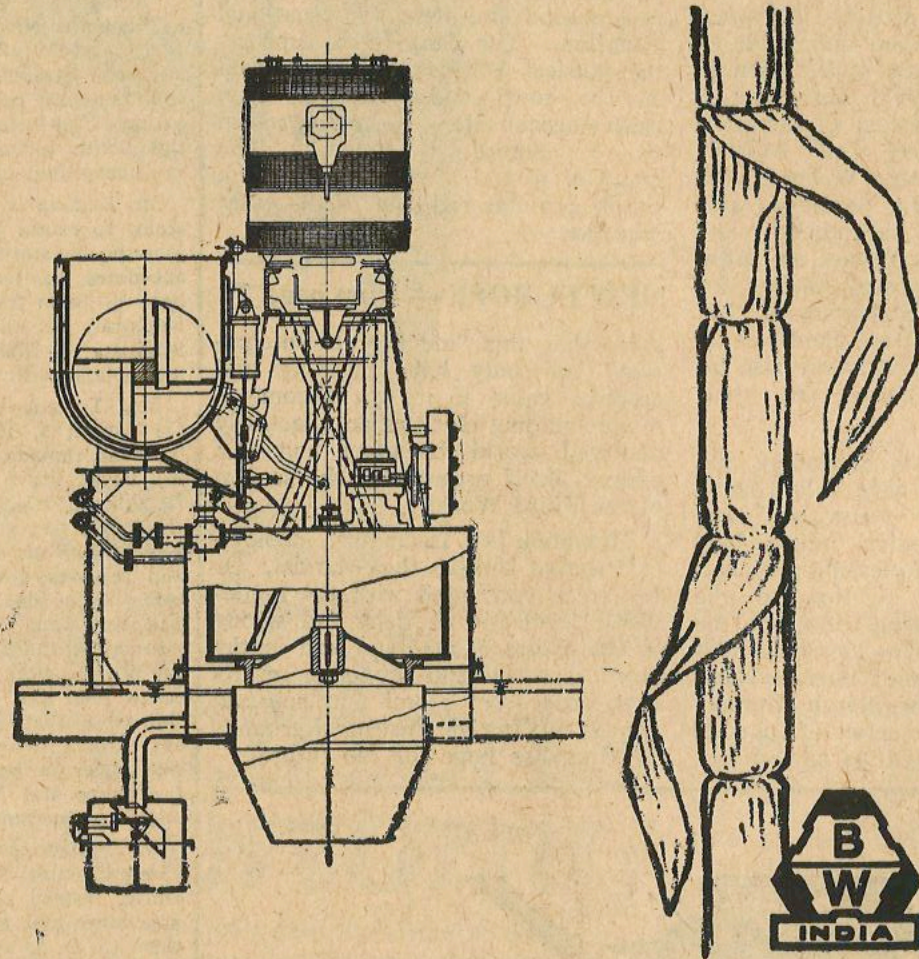
Mr Tsutada, speaking to a gathering in Kotagiri, said: "I pray that the Western world, instead of stopping to give, will give more and more. It is not easy for them to do so because of the resurgence of nationalism and other ideas in Asia and Africa. But they must not allow these to prevent them from giving from their wealth and prosperity and more than that from their heart and spirit. Then God will give them more and more of what they need. I say this for my own nation Japan and for India. When you stop giving you become stagnant, like a pool in which nothing can grow."

When he came to India, Mr Tsutada's friends in the church back home were afraid that they would not have enough resources to send to support them here. But they gave all they had. The income of the church in the last years, however, has gone up six times. "That's how God works with people," said Mr Tsutada.

Keerja Chowdhury

MAY 1973

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LATIN AMERICA — from page 12

ill and had to get a leg amputated. The fact that it was unclear whether the President could continue in office, caused apprehension among three left-wing generals whose position of influence depended completely on Velasco.

But the right-wing and centre yielded when the left got 400,000 workers to march in the streets to support Velasco. This event which led to the consolidation of Velasco shows how much depends on the human factor. Nationalism is not in itself a sufficient basis for unity.

In Brazil, the announcement that General Ernesto Geisel will succeed General Emilio G. Medici to the Presidency next year at least clarifies the situation. The jockeying for position

by different groups of army officers may now drop off. The lack of free discussion, however, may in the long run estrange the leaders from the led, even though few Brazilians want a return to a democracy with 42 demagogic parties.

Latin America is on the move after centuries of isolation and stagnation. It could become a tragic ocean of violence or a plaything of unbridled passions. But if there is a change in people and their ways equal to the changes demanded on society by technology, Latin America may become a model for East and West alike, combating the escapist tendencies of Western overdevelopment as well as the tragedies of underdevelopment.

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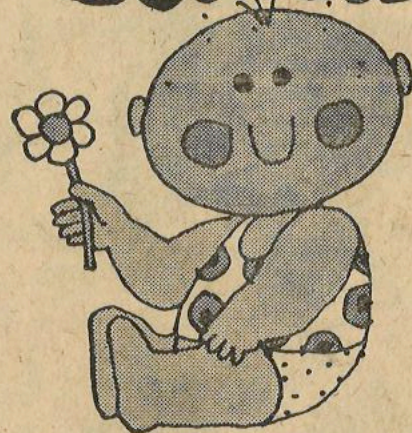
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Letters

THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

IN the Middle East conflict there seems no hope at present for a peaceful, creative co-existence of the Arabs and the Israelis, although this would be the best solution in the interest of the two powers. A peaceful co-existence between Arabs and Israelis would set a pattern for the whole Middle East, whereas cruel raids or costly, devastating war mean the road to mutual destruction for both.

The Israelis have one great advantage: they know exactly what they are living and fighting for. Every single Israeli knows what is at stake for him. After 2000 years and after an endless series of destructions and being conquered by their neighbouring powers — Jerusalem was destroyed 17 times — the Israelis have found a home for their widely scattered people, a tiny but a beautiful fatherland. The devotion and the passion of the Israelis in building up their home into a blooming orchard as well as an industrial and military power, is impressive.

The younger generation too knows exactly what it is living for. The aim of a free, secure and prosperous nation among the 80 million Arabs fills their heart. For them life is full of adventure but they also know the danger of being destroyed and "thrown into the sea", as the Arabs tell them daily. But at the same time building up Israel to become a prosperous country by using the genius of the Jewish race and the wealth of their beautiful country is for them worth giving their life. To abstain from alcohol and drugs is for them a most natural way of serving their country.

As I was told by neutral observers, the reason for the obvious inability of the Arabs to turn the desert into an orchard, as the Israelis are doing now on a large scale, is that the mental horizon of the Arabs is limited by the "clan" mentality. The Arabs neglect thinking and acting on a wider level. Instead the Israelis, though being orientals too, transformed the clan into family-like larger communities and into a basic unit of economic prosperity. The "Kibuzzims" are in fact a basically new principle. They are not predecessors of Communism. They create, especially among youth, a new link, which overcomes all differences of social standing, age and creed, and binds all members together as being responsible for the whole.

The Jewish life is in close contact with the Arab world. In Jerusalem Arabs and Israelis live peacefully close to each other, without frictions or clashes. They

are getting accustomed to each other. Israel is pursuing a policy of integration of Arabs into her economic life. About 120,000 Arabs are working in Israeli factories, earning much higher wages than before under the Arab regime. Today the Israeli Government is planning to give the Arabs high-school education, professional training and even a separate university. So the dangers and the real trouble-spots are not within Israel, but lie outside in the centres of the different Arab nations.

It is not religion that separates the Jewish nation from the Arab world. If an ideological common ground could be found, the differences of religion would be no obstacle. In Israel only 10 to 20 per cent of the Jewish population are still what they call orthodox — that means living strictly according to the "Law of Moses" and the complicated hard rules of the "Talmud", written in the 6th century after Christ.

It is fear and hatred and the unsolved problem of the Palestinian refugees that separate them. No difference of race stands between them. Both are of Semitic origin and both belong to the vast family of Semitic nations. Mutual creative co-operation in the field of building up a prosperous common community could be possible, where everybody gets what he needs and all are united in the endeavour to make their countries happy and flourishing. Arabs and Israelis could learn from each other, help each other and esteem each other. This is not a far-fetched dream. It can become reality at any time, if only a few inspired men from both sides, trying to put God's will and plan in first place, would meet to discuss the way, so that God would be the true ruler.

Such men undoubtedly exist on both sides. In their long history both nations have had men of outstanding spiritual power and creative vision. Statesmen like Moses and Joshua, or prophets like Isaiah and many others and on the Arab side, its history shows men of great spiritual power and profound wisdom like the Caliph who came to full agreement with St Francis of Assisi. Prayer is needed, deep, sincere prayer to God, that He send such men.

Dr BARON WILHELM von HAHN,
Bonn-Bad Godesberg, Germany

SCOTTISH ECONOMY REVISED

I am retiring after 38 years in the Civil Service. It was in a fit of economy that I decided to stop my airmail subscription but I realise that I am in danger of narrowing my horizons when I have retired. I see that I must not cut down my interest and care for the whole world. So I look to HIMMAT to keep India in my mind and heart.

MISS MARY McNEILL, Edinburgh,
Scotland

This was a Life

MAX MULLER
1823-1900

HE was the greatest scholar of Sanskrit language and Oriental philosophy the world has ever known. There is no other German who has done so much to develop those specially affectionate ties which have always marked Indo-German relations since then.

Friedrich Max Muller was born in Dessau, the capital of the small Duchy of Anhalt-Dessau in Central Germany, to distinguished parents. His father, Wilhelm Muller, was the "Byron" of Germany, and his mother was the daughter of the Prime Minister in the Duchy.

Giving up his earlier plan to take up music as a profession, he chose the academic line and settled down for life, at the age of twenty-five, in Oxford, England. He later married an English woman who greatly helped him to adjust to English life.

He never neglected his early love for music, nor his interest in politics acquired during his youth. His sense of music gave charm and balance to everything he said and wrote, and his concern for politics equipped him with a lasting sense of public responsibility.

Though he never saw India, he was the foremost authority on her literature and religions, and introduced the "Rig Veda", the first of the four great sacred books of the Aryans, to the world. His "Sacred Books of the East" occupied the last 25 years of his life and ran into 51 volumes.

He was a great friend of all Indian nationalists and continually campaigned for them to have a greater say in the Government. No other foreigner did so much to stimulate the Indian renaissance.

He clearly recognised the dangers of German militarism and tried his best to secure an Anglo-German alliance.

His highest ideal was a world free from hatred and discrimination, a family of nations living together in peace and harmony. By his research he hoped to contribute to the solution of the problems of human existence that have occupied the great thinkers, ever since the beginning of philosophical reflection.

As Lokmanya Tilak wrote on Max Muller's death: "In him India has lost her warmest friend, her wisest lover, and her most enthusiastic admirer, whose place, alas, will be filled we know not when!"

S. C.

The examination tussle at Utkal University

AFTER prolonged strife Utkal University in Orissa has given way to student demands. The MA examinations, which should normally have been held on July 3, will now be held in November. The incidents that led to this decision are significant.

On April 20, 1973 the Utkal University Syndicate decided to hold MA examinations on August 17, 1973 instead of July 3, in response to a student demand. However, when students demanded that the examinations be further delayed, the Syndicate refused to budge.

Firstly they reasoned the new admissions to the MA courses would take place by September and therefore it was necessary to keep the hostels vacant for the new entrants. Secondly, if the MA examinations are over by August, there would be time to prepare for the IAS and allied services competitive examinations, which would be held by September. Over 1000 candidates from Orissa appear for these examinations every year. They are mostly fresh graduates and post-graduates. Thirdly, there will be statutory dates for different examinations from 1974 onwards and it is necessary to run the courses on time.

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Closing date July 13

** The age of ideology is not over

Closing date July 27

The 'varsity's decision did not satisfy the students. It is reported that on the same night the students gheraoed the Vice Chancellor and the Syndicate members for over eight hours. At 2 a.m. the next day police intervened and the syndics were escorted to their homes. The post-graduate teaching department and the student hostel at Vani Vihar (the University campus) were closed. The administrative office had a police guard and staff members were admitted with identity cards.

"Chaotic situation"

The "Hindustan Standard" of Calcutta, reporting in its April 26 issue, assessed the situation as follows:

"Though some sort of calm prevails in the campus the whole atmosphere gives an uneasy feeling. The students continue to remain in the hostels even though the teaching department has been closed sine die and the administrative office continues to function under heavy police protection. The Vice Chancellor's prolonged absence from the campus and the Registrar's reticence gives an idea of the prevalent chaotic situation in the administration under stress."

On June 3, 1973, the Syndicate met again, this time under heavy police protection and took its earlier stand to hold the examination on August 17. At midnight infuriated students raided the residences of four Syndicate members in different localities of the city. They ransacked their houses, shouted slogans and humiliated members of their families.

On June 23, 1973 the reluctant Syndicate authorised the Vice Chancellor to act in consultation with the students and conceded to shift the examinations to November 1973.

HIMMAT was given to understand the real motive behind the students demand. One particular student fell short of attendance and therefore wanted to have the examinations postponed. He also has political links. At present Orissa is under President's rule and the next elec-

tions are likely to be held in January, 1974. If the students are somehow kept busy up to December, they can be profitably utilised in the elections.

This is one side of the battle the university is fighting. The other side is at the M.S. Law College, Cuttack.

In its final decision on April 16, 1973 the Syndicate declared 1550 law students as having "failed" in the examinations of the college held in June, July, and August, 1972. This was based on a report of mass copying in some papers. A re-examination was scheduled to be held in March, 1973. The examinees boycotted it. Again May 10 was fixed for the purpose, but the students stuck to their earlier decision and demanded that their results be announced based on their original answer papers.

Two students filed a petition in the Orissa High Court challenging the Syndicate's decision to cancel the examination. The court's verdict was in favour of the petitioners.

Now the university has referred the matter to a legal counsel and the battle continues.

R. L. Patnaik

Coimbatore welcomes 'Song of Asia'

"SONG OF ASIA", the Moral Re-Armament musical revue, which recently participated in the Ooty Summer Festival (see HIMMAT, June 8, page 4) is now in the industrial city of Coimbatore. The show, which "The Hindu" wrote "conveyed the truths and ideals Asia stood for", has been seen so far by 3500 workers, trade unionists, industrialists, students and politicians in Coimbatore.

Invited jointly by smallscale industrialists and labour leaders the "Song of Asia" has been giving packed performances in the auditorium of the Government College of Technology. A leading figure in the city, Dr Devdas, the founder principal of the Home Science College, said after a performance of the revue, "For the past two hours we have been undergoing a great experience...It has been soul-stirring, soul-searching, soul-elevating and soul-enriching. We have been stimulated and activated."

Mr Rajmohan Gandhi will resume his regular feature next week.

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HIMMAT, July 6, 1973

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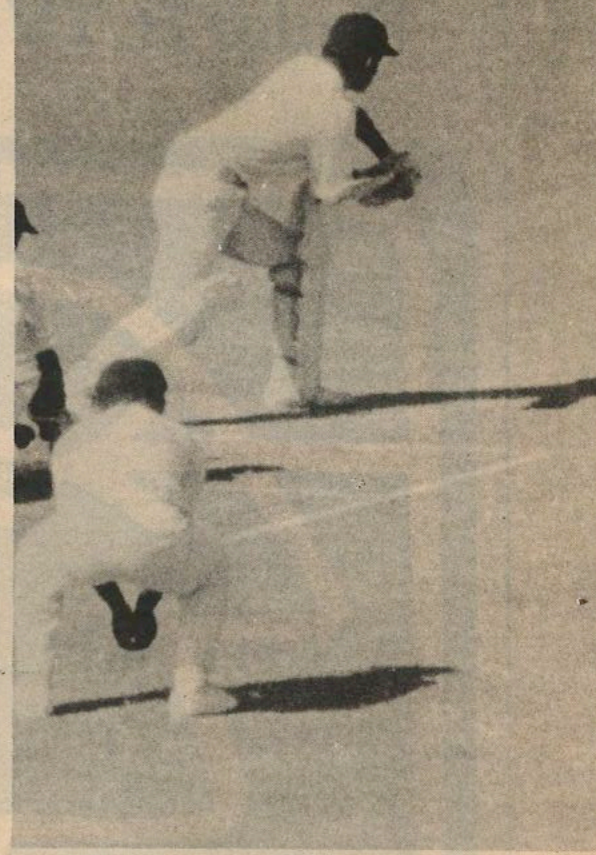
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The ball in this cricket action picture has been painted out. All you have to do is to **mark a cross** (not circle, arrow, etc) where you think the ball is. Then cut out the picture and coupon and send it to "Find the Ball" c/o HIMMAT, White House, 91 Walkeahwar Road, Bombay 6WB before noon on Thursday July 19.

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

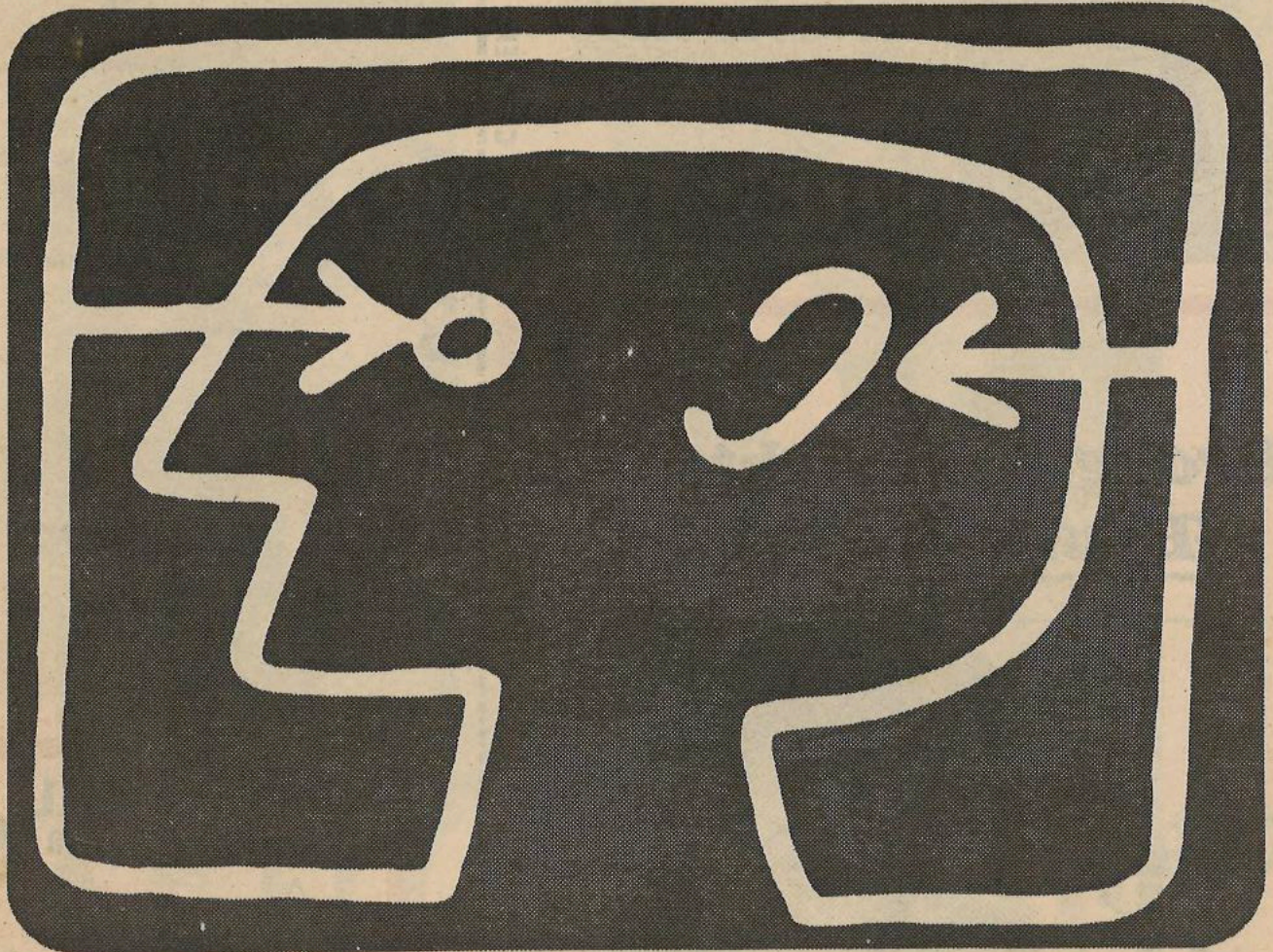
*Each week half the prize of Rs. 50 will be awarded to the nearest entry. The other half will be carried forward to a "Jackpot" to be won by the first competitor who **marks EXACTLY** the centre of the ball. This Jackpot Prize will accumulate by Rs. 25 per week until it is won.

Name _____ BLOCK LETTERS

Address _____

I agree to the rules of the competition as outlined above

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