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NUCLEAR
BLASTS, ECLIPSE,
TODDY

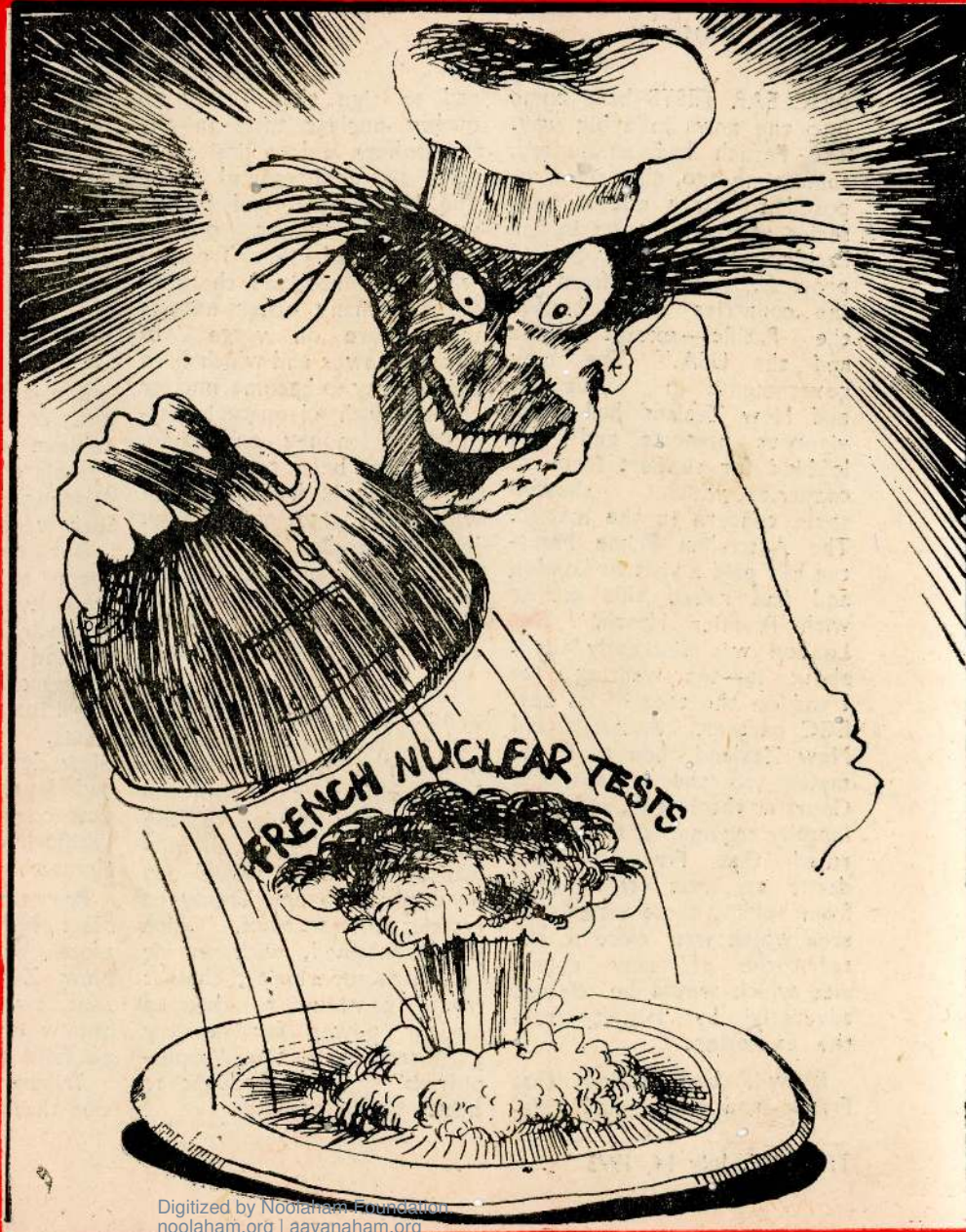
EUROPEAN
SECURITY,
CURRENCY &
GOLD, ECAFE,
DEDIGAMA

SHAMBA

SOVIET NAVY

US & USSR

HOTELS
CORPORATION,



Tribunania

- * Nuclear Blasts—France and China
- * More about the Eclipse
- * Toddy

NUCLEAR TESTS have come into the news in a big way. The French had announced, some time ago, that she proposed to carry out a fresh series of nuclear tests in the Pacific. This had evoked protests, primarily from all the countries which border the Pacific—except China and the USA. The new governments in Australia and New Zealand had made vigorous protests and had lobbied for support from all countries which showed some concern in the matter. The Australian Prime Minister had paid a visit to London and had raised this matter with Premier Heath. But London was discreetly silent about it—not wanting to tread on the toes of its new ECC partner. Australia and New Zealand then took the matter to the international Court at the Hague, and after lengthy arguments, the Court ruled that France should desist at least temporarily from holding these tests in an area which was close to the territories of many countries which would be affected adversely by fallout from the explosion.

It will be recalled that France and China had refused

to sign that Treaty to outlaw nuclear tests in the atmosphere and to limit such tests to underground tests. The USA, USSR and Britain were the nuclear powers which signed this Treaty—which also received the support of many other nations which were on verge of nuclear power and which have the capacity to become nuclear powers with adequate investment of money and time. France has been rather quiet about why it had not been willing to sign this Treaty, but its leaders had hinted that until France caught up with the powers like the USSR and the USA, it will continue to hold these tests.

But, the latest to become a nuclear power was China, and it has not hesitated to proclaim a political reason for its refusal: that until the super-powers decided to stop all tests and destroy all nuclear bombs, China would not be a party to any Treaty to restrict nuclear tests. China has maintained, with an air of benign superiority, that it would continue to develop nuclear power for military purposes until the "super-powers" were brought to heel.

Shortly after Brezhnev had concluded his US visit, China, according to a *Hsinhua* message from Peking, "successfully conducted a hydrogen bomb test over her western region at noon on June 27, 1973." Then, the despatch went on to say: "the conducting of necessary and limited nuclear tests by China is entirely for the purpose of defence and for breaking the nuclear monopoly by superpowers, with the ultimate aim of abolishing nuclear weapons. The Chinese government declares once again that at no time and under no circumstances will it be the first to use nuclear weapons. The Chinese people and government will continue to work together with the other peoples and all other countries that love peace and uphold justice in the common struggle to achieve the lofty goal of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons."

But this logic does not seem to have gone down well even with countries which are now friendly to China, and even countries which have extended diplomatic recognition to her in recent times. Already Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Mexico and Japan—large and important countries bordering the Pacific have protested to China about this test.

Protests against the French tests have also taken concrete form. Australia and New Zealand have officially sent two frigates into the area where the French wanted to hold tests.

Tribune has always pointed out that it was the unexpect-

ted which took place in the contemporary era, and that is just what happened about the nuclear blast. Everybody was looking out for a blast around Murora atoll in the Pacific, but it happened the other way, first in China, most unexpectedly. The hydrogen bomb the Chinese blasted in the atmosphere over Lop Nor, in Sinkiang, was much bigger than the devices which the French are expected to explode, in the southern Pacific. China also exploded her bomb much closer to the high population of eastern and southern Asia than the French one will be to Australia's 13 million people.

China's test was first reported by India's monitoring equipment and was then confirmed by the Americans. Its force is estimated to be somewhere between one and three megatons. The French are not expected to blast a thermo-nuclear device of such a magnitude. It is believed that the French only wanted to try out the fission trigger with less than a hundredth of the force of the Chinese blast.

The Australians have been worked up a great deal about the Murora blast. On the basis of what had happened in Japan after 1945, it was claimed that the French tests might give cancer to between one and seven Australians a year. Scientific opinion does not fully support this calculation, but if the limited French tests were expected to do this, the Chinese test must do considerably more damage. Australia has already protested vehemently to China. Others

have joined in the protests. But so far, there has been only a major build up only against the French tests. Will the screw be applied to China also now?

The New Zealand frigate, *Otago* supported by the Australian navy, has set out to cruise somewhere close to Murora. At the time of writing, these boats must have reached the vicinity of the atoll. The *Otago* carries an all-volunteer crew and Mr. Fraser Colman, New Zealand's minister for immigration, mining and development, whose name was drawn by lot at a meeting of Mr. Kirk's cabinet. The former Prime Minister Marshall, now leading the National Party in opposition, had refused to send a representative on this voyage which he described was, at best, futile exhibitionism.

Though France is not likely to be deterred by the *Otago*, there is no doubt that this protest is the most spectacular in the campaign against the French explosion which has already brought official protests from many countries, threats of protest action from the ICFU and also from Frances' own *Force Ouvriere* union group. Boycott action has already been taken by trade unions in Australia, New Zealand, Singapore and elsewhere. In French Polynesia, 5000 Tahitians led by Mr. Servan-Schreiber and four other French parliamentarians, including M. Francis Sanford, the territory's own representative in the National Assembly, marched in protest through the streets of Papeete

on June 23rd. And a French group, led by General Jacques de Bollardiére has joined protestors of other nationalities who have begun steering small craft towards Murora.

New Zealand does not want an open breach with France because its own butter exported to Britain is now within the ECC orbit. But the ruling of the International



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Court at the Hague has given a new vigour to the protests. Australia and New Zealand had prayed for "provisional measures of protection." In the order made on June 23, the Court specifically called upon France not to conduct tests that would produce a fallout on the applicant states (including the Cook's Islands, for whose external relations New Zealand was responsible and which are not further from Murora than Tahiti is) pending final decisions in the cases brought by New Zealand and Australia.

The argument that was adduced was that the 1963 test ban treaty, the 1968 non-proliferation treaty and the 1972 Stockholm declaration on environment add up to an international legal obligation not to deposit fallout. France however insisted that the judges at The Hague had no competence or jurisdiction to hear the case because everything related to defence was excluded from the general acceptance of their jurisdiction as set out by France in 1966. The judges are expected to examine the question of jurisdiction before going into the merits of the main case.

And now China has dropped a brick, a one-to-three megaton nuclear brick. China is now a member of the United Nations and therefore automatically a party to the statute of the Hague court. It will be interesting to see what many people who have been raising hell about the French tests will say about the Chinese explosion.

On the cover we have a cartoon from the Australian weekly *Tribune*. It is a skit on a frenchified cuisine threatening to blast nuclear weapons on other people's lands far away from France itself. Will France persist in these tests? Will China pay any attention to the protests which have emanated from many countries?

NUCLEAR TESTS, or no nuclear tests, *Tribune* has the solar eclipse of June 30 still in focus. The eclipse was total and visible mainly in Africa. The duration of the totality when the moon appeared to cover the sun was a little over seven minutes near the junction of Algeria, Mali and Niger. But the total blackout surpassed six minutes in Mauretania, but it was unusually long also through a 161-wide swath stretching from Northern Brazil, crossing the Atlantic Ocean and Africa, and ending in the Indian Ocean. The eclipse was partial throughout a path up to 7,360-mile-wide throughout the same stretch.

It is interesting to note that there will not be another total eclipse lasting more than seven minutes anywhere in the world for another 177 years. In fact, the eclipse of June 30 was one of the three longest since the year 699 A.D. Most eclipses blot out the sun only for a few minutes.

Into Mauretania had flocked tourists, amateur astronomers and scientists. Mauretania is a bleak land of shifting sand dunes and tough blue-robed nomads who roam

the bracing Sahara. The influx of the 3,500-odd eclipse-watchers into Mauretania was the biggest tourist boom this poor but hospitable desert nation had ever experienced. The tide of visitors overwhelmed the existing housing facilities which amounted to only 300 hotel beds in the entire country.

The Mauretania Government, already over-burdened by the effects of the catastrophic drought, did all it could with its meagre resources to welcome the visitors. The old abandoned French Foreign region post at Atar, the official site for scientists for viewing the eclipse, "was dusted and spruced up. The school rooms and other public buildings in Nouakchott, the capital, were scrubbed down and furnished with bunks while the more adventurous were invited to try out a traditional white desert tent staked out on the Cinnamon-coloured sand. The square-peaked tents, which virtually all Mauretanians live in, are comfortable affairs, richly decorated with colourful carpets and leather cushions."

Undoubtedly, the most important results will come from the observations made from the Concorde and from the experiments carried out while the supersonic plane hurtled through the atmosphere. The *Concorde*, in fact raced with the moon's 2,240-km-an-hour shadow. The *Concorde* travelling at 2,016 km-an-hour remained in the shadow for about 80 minutes. The longest look at the eclipsed sun that scientists previously had from an aircraft was about 10 minutes.

In addition to considerably increasing the time during which the eclipse was observed, the use of this aircraft also provided the following important advantages. (1) It enabled the relative speed of the sun and the moon to be decreased, thus considerably prolonging the time during which the solar chromosphere is eclipsed; (2) It entirely overcame geographic limitations (eclipses tend to occur over deserts or oceans) as well as weather conditions for the most part; (3) The effects of diffusion and absorption were attenuated because they are very troublesome in the lower atmosphere for observing astronomic phenomena in millicentric wave lengths (infrared rays).

The experiments that were planned were as follows: (a) Photographing the white corona made up of free electrons which give off sunlight, so as to study how matter moves in this medium and to

determine the lifespan of some structures linked to variations in the magnetic field (*Astrophysics Institute of Paris Scientific Research Center, Professor Koutchmy*); (b) Observing the thermal corona in long wave lengths between 2 and 5 microns, then between 8 and 12 microns. An analysis will be made of the distribution in space of the dust surrounding the sun of the spectrum of this dust so as to reveal existence of silicates (*Space Research Department of the Paris Observatory, Professor Lena*); (c) Observing the radiation emitted by the solar corona at the level of the transition layer between the chromosphere and the corona then analysing the oscillations of the lower corona so as to study energy transfer in this medium (*Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, United States, Dr. Liebenberg*); (d) Observing the far-off infrared radiation of the solar chromosphere in order to determine its temperature, its structure and the general

physical conditions there (*Physics Department of Queen Mary College of London, Dr. Beekman*); (e) Observing the emission of molecular oxygen found in the earth's stratosphere when it abruptly stops being irradiated by solar radiation (*University of Aberdeen, Great Britain, Dr. Wraight*).

It will be sometime before the results of these experiments are known. In addition, investigations were also carried out to observe human and animal reactions during the eclipse. The Kenya government sent word to remote tribesmen that when the sky darkened on June 30, it will not be the end of the world. The results of the ethological and ethnological experiments will also open new vistas of information.

The Karunanithi DMK government in Tamil Nadu was having further trouble with toddy. Under pressure of public opinion, which had been aroused by allegations that one of the mainsprings of corruption, which now enveloped the DMK were liquor licences. It first decided to close down toddy shops as from September 30, 1973.

Then, under pressure from the liquor licencees, the DMK Government had second thoughts and gave a final extension for one more year, until September 30, 1974. But further pressure has kept mounting and now it has decided that each person will be sold only one "shot" of a 100 grammes in a toddy shop. What next?

ACEVEDO

Vast cattle land of my father's fathers
that still bears the name of Acevedo —
featureless plains I cannot quite conceive.
My years wear on and I have not yet set
eyes on those weary miles of dust and home
which once far back in time my dead kinsmen
saw from the saddle— those wide-open roads
and their setting suns and shimmering dawns.
Plains are everywhere the same. I have seen
such land in Iowa, in our own south,
in the Holy Land in those willow groves
of Galilee where walked Christ's human feet.
That land is not lost. It is mine. I own
it in wistfulness, in oblivion

— Jorge Luis Borges

(Translated, from the Spanish, by Norman Thomas
di Giovanni, in collaboration with the author).

RAMBLING NOTES

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

* World-European Security, Currency and Gold * ECAFE - New Panacea? * Sri Lanka - Dedigama

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS continue to dominate the news headlines of the world. After the Nixon-Brezhnev summit, it is now the Helsinki conference on European security where Foreign Ministers from 35 countries have gathered ostensibly for the primary purpose of making Europe, and so the world, a safer place. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) was formally opened last week after "long months of preparatory talks. There is no doubt that the meeting is potentially one of great historic significance, and it has "the opportunity to create a grand new design for the future of Europe. More specifically, it can be a prime indicator of whether the present trend toward detente in Europe will develop into an era of genuine peace."

Whilst the French threatened to persist in the nuclear tests in the Pacific, in spite of protests, the three southernmost countries in Latin America experienced the traumatic experience of "near political paralysis" last week. "Chile," according to the Newsweek, "already polarized by a conflict between left and right, was jarred by an abortive army coup. Widespread terrorism persisted in Argen-

ina, following the return to Buenos Aires of ex-dictator Juan Peron. In Uruguay, a successful military coup brought at least a temporary end to republican government. All in all, it was a sad and humiliating time for the three countries that seemed to embody many of the continent's best hopes for development and democracy."

The world currency situation continues to go from bad to worse. The US dollar seems to be unable to get out of the doldrums. The currency crisis is worldwide. Singapore and Malaysia have been forced to cut adrift from the US dollar and their currencies are now afloat. The Australians are under pressure to revalue their currency which is still tied to the American dollar. A new round of international monetary "adjustments" have begun and this marks the end of the hopes for a quick return to health of the dollar after President Nixon's recent draconian (by US standards), measures to control domestic inflation and correct the nation's balance of payments. There is not the slightest doubt that last month's package of anti-inflationary measures from White House did nothing to restore trust to the dollar on world currency

exchanges. But what was worse it has blasted hopes of economic revival in the USA itself. George Schultz, US Secretary to the Treasury, had recently stated that a 4% level of inflation had to be accepted as the price for "economic freedom" in the US, and this was a clear indication that the Nixon administration was not able to fulfil a Presidential pledge to keep price and cost increases to an annual maximum of 2.5%. The US dollar is weak and is getting weaker and it had dragged down other currencies (such as those of Malaysia and Singapore) that were pegged to the dollar. As they slipped with the dollar, they suffered unnecessary and unwanted devaluation which pushed up import prices and their own living costs. The prospects for the Nixonian dollar remain so uncertain that most countries, not economically tied to the US, have no alternative but to follow the European example and float.

Gold prices have shot up to US dollar 120 an ounce when the official price is on US dollar 42.22 an ounce, that is, the real rate is US dollar 80 over the official price. It is at the official rate at which governmental gold holdings are valued, and the present two-tier system of world gold prices has brought further strains on the international currency and monetary system. The Bank of International Settlements wants to narrow the gap between the official and the unofficial price of gold, but there is very little the Bank can do about it. Little by little, it has begun to

dawn on governments that gold is today not the best way of backing a country's external economic relations. The real crux of the problem is that gold has been effectively demonetised since 1971 after the Nixonian declaration that dollars would no longer be convertible into Fort Knox gold. In reality the gold portion of a country's national reserves cannot be used for any practical purposes. Many experts are considering the feasibility of taking gold out of the monetary system, but what could replace it? Can acceptable pieces of paper become a substitute? So-called paper gold (IMF SDRs) is a possibility, especially after Bonn's endorsement of this international paper in floating the mark. Another potential development is a strong ECC monetary unit.

There is every likelihood that gold will recede from the scene. Paper money seems to do just as well today to settle international transactions. Gold today has become a frozen asset in central banks. It must be remembered that the world lived with fluctuating currencies up to the end of World War II. "The risks involved in flexible exchange rates appear much less dangerous than permanent inflation and costly battles to avoid revaluation or devaluation of a national currency, when politicians put prestige before pragmatism. However floating parities do not guarantee that governments will fight inflation. Price and cost controls are an internal matter that politicians will tackle as vigorously—and no

more—as their electorates demand."

WHILST the debate on currency and monetary problems goes on, the controversy as to how developing countries can overcome economic stagnation and reach out to affluence goes on apace. In *Tribune*, we have referred to the experiment in Brazil which is being extolled by the capitalist world, while Allende's Chile has been held up as an example of how greater social justice could be achieved through democratic socialism. Moscow has put forward various theses about how developing countries can bypass capitalism by leapfrogging their way into a socialist millenia. And now comes another panacea. A Report "On Progress Evaluation During the Second UN Development Decade (second session)" submitted to the XXIXth ECAFE session in April 1973 had drawn a gloomy picture of the economic and social situation in the developing countries of the region: of the low rates of economic growth per capita, of the increase of unemployment and semi-employment, and the terrible mass poverty in these countries. The Report, then, recommends that developing countries should endeavour to find a solution to this problem by studying and following China's experience. China is said to have found a new "specific approach to economic and social development" due to the growth of "rural industry". Can this Chinese example be a panacea? In Sri Lanka, there is a new under-current of thinking in

official circles about the miracles which will be wrought by developing "rural industry". What is the reality? Can the Chinese experience really help developing countries? And is China in a position to help other countries to know the real facts about their "rural industry"?

The Chinese media speak about significant economic achievements of the country by pointing out, in particular, to the increase of production of ferrous metals, oils, fertilisers and many other products which have come from big industrial undertakings. The data on the developments of "rural industry", where the major part of labour, not used in agriculture, is said to be utilised, is little and fragmentary. Many recent visitors to China have been seeking information about "rural industry" but not much that is new has come to light.

It is said that during the cultural revolution and immediately thereafter great attention was paid to the development of "rural industry", but now reports indicate that a state of apathy seems to have enveloped the whole thing in China itself. There are vigorous declarations that "rural industry" was being put back "into its place." It is also an undoubted fact that in the Chinese press itself there are discussions about the value and effectiveness of such small scale "rural" enterprises. It has been pointed out that the policy of mass construction of small and tiny handicraft enterprises with

the funds and the labour of districts and people's communes had not brought results commensurate with the money and labour expended in the enterprises. According to these articles in the Chinese papers, cited by knowledgeable observers in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, numerous small enterprises had diverted labour from agricultural work, utilised cultivated lands and taken over money and materials which had originally been allocated to agricultural development. Peking's *People's Daily* of June 8, 1972, had reported that small enterprises in the Shantung District of Hunan Province had deprived agriculture of over 10,000 *mous* of cultivated land during the last four years. The paper had also stressed that small industry had scattered manpower, had dispersed material and monetary resources among a multitude of little projects—and that this had adverse effects on major national development schemes.

It is strange that the ECAFE report should pick on a panacea about which China herself has begun to have serious second thoughts. Can Peking show any enthusiasm for such small scale industry after the shattering experience of Shantung? And what can be said of solving the unemployment problem? Can other Asian countries follow the Chinese example in this matter?

There is no doubt that China has solved the unemployment question, but it had moved thousands of young

people, irrespective of their profession or desires, to remote areas to develop border regions under the plea that they were going for "re-education through manual labour" to "schools of Mao's thoughts"? Can this be done in Sri Lanka? Can our young people be compulsorily sent to special farms in the Bintenne or the Wannai to be re-educated through manual labour to absorb the virtues of Bandaranaike socialism?

China has enlisted millions of its citizens to dig trenches and air raid shelters to fight "an enemy", but can such a solution be utilised in other countries in the ECAFE region? China has also a multi-million army on very low pay, but is this solution possible in other countries? China has also sent out many on construction brigades to countries like Tanzania. Can other countries do this? In addition, there is a sizable outflow of excess labour through illicit emigration to Hongkong.

It is difficult to see how the ECAFE report can recommend that other countries should follow China's "rural industry". The simple fact is that each country has to evolve its own solution to its own problems. What happens in Brazil, Chile, China or anywhere else will be of little avail in Sri Lanka?

Under inspiration from China, the United Front government's Planning Ministry had tried out the enlargement of rural enterprises through District Development Councils, and it is now

admitted that the scheme has already proved a costly failure. What our Planning Ministry has to do is to evolve something which will be effective in this country. To imitate what has happened in other countries, even if recommended by the ECAFE will lead to disastrous consequences.

THE DEDIGAMA by-election result should convince the Government that popular opinion in this country has begun to swing against it. The SLFP had lost the Dedigama seat in May 1970 by a majority of just over a thousand votes. The majority at the by-election of July 9, 1973, was around 4,500 and there is no doubt that the majority would have been far greater but for the colossal effort made by the Government to win the election. Every method of governmental influence was brought to bear on the electorate—some of which do not redound to the credit or the prestige of the Government—but in spite of this, the electorate recorded a poll which must make people think.

Visitors to Dedigama had noted that there were very few green flags or UNP posters, and UF enthusiasts had concluded that it would be a landslide "walkover" victory for the SLFP candidate. Some of them had even talked about the UNP candidate losing his deposit.

The simple fact was that Dedigama was a "silent" electorate during the last by-election. People were afraid to sport green flags or UNP

posters for fear of thuggery and intimidation from the other side. Whatever apolo-gists may say, independent observers have confirmed that visible and invisible intimidation of UNP supporters was real. In addition, Dedigama was an electorate which had plenty of everything during the last three or four weeks—plenty of goods that were scarce in the rest of Ceylon. Visitors to the area, not UNPites, have told *Tribune* that in Dedigama one had felt that rationing was not known in this island. Government spokesmen had told the voters that they should vote for the SLFP if they wanted "benefits".

Reports reaching *Tribune* had also shown that the most fanatical UNP supporters had claimed that their candidate would win by a majority of 8000 votes whilst SLFP and UF adherents had been sure that their candidate would get a majority of at least 2,000 votes. This shows that the UNP had got about 3500 votes less than what they had expected, but the SLFP had miscalculated by a larger margin because they had to make up the 1000-odd votes they were behind in 1970. Ninety five percent of the electorate had polled.

More detailed post-mortems will follow soon, but there is not the slightest doubt that Dedigama has been a big blow to UF prestige. The Government may claim that Dedigama was a traditional UNP seat, but it cannot explain away the increased majority which the UNP had scored when UF prestige

was to be said at its highest according to government propaganda—with land and estates taken over to liquidate landlords and plantation owners and thus "liberate" peasants and workers from the shackles of exploitation.

And it cannot be said that the UNP had any new dynamic policy to attract voters. UNP policy was as negative as that of the Government. The staid weekly, *Catholic Messenger*, in its issue of July 7 summed up the situation admirably:

"The campaign for the by-election at Dedigama has helped to reveal the negative approach characteristic of our political parties today. The UNP has concentrated its attack on blaming the Government for the economic hardships under which the people are labouring at present. This is the evident move for them and it is in itself legitimate. But that party has failed to indicate what it proposes to do to remedy such evils. The Government speakers on the other hand have been underlining the advantages of sending in a member belonging to the party in power. That too is the line to be expected and is in itself legitimate. But the way they put it sounds like a thinly veiled threat. It sounded like, 'Send in our man, or else you will not get anything done in this electorate.'

"If at all both parties had something positive to point out it was of the less tangible and ideological. The Government extolled the 'progressive legislation' it had brought in, while the UNP showed

themselves as the champions of freedom. Great values indeed! But what do they mean to people struggling with the problems of simple existence!"

The Dedigama by-election has come just over three years after the UF government came to power. An objective analysis will show that the Government's score is one of success in some fronts and one of failure in many other equally important fronts.

AFTER WINNING a magnificent victory in May 1970 unprecedented in the island's recent political history by securing more than a two-thirds majority in the 157-member House, it was confronted within a year by an armed insurrection by dissident youth in April 1971. The over-cocksure government had been caught napping and was able to pull itself through only with timely help in the form of arms and ammunition from a number of countries including India, Pakistan, UK, USA and the USSR. In the first two years of its existence, nearly half the Government's time and energy was spent in defeating the insurrection and thereafter in overcoming the damage to the economy.

The greatest achievement of the Government was, no doubt, the adoption of a *Republican Constitution* which broke once for all the island's 150-year old ties with British colonialism. This had been the ambition of all Governments since Independence but not one had a two-thirds majority to implement it.

However, the new Constitution adopted on May 22 did not win the support of the UNP or the Federal Party of the Tamils.

The UNP was opposed to the inscription of a specific political philosophy into the Constitution and also the subordinate role assigned to the judiciary and the dilution of fundamental rights with excessive provisos for socialist objectives. The UNP is committed to amending the Constitution, but under the present political climate, it is not likely that the UNP will be able to get a two-thirds majority in the foreseeable future — unless of course the unexpected takes place. But even more serious than UNP opposition is the fact that the new Constitution has aggravated the friction between the Sinhala Buddhist majority and the Tamil minority.

On the economic and domestic front, the Government's record makes dismal reading. It had pledged in 1970 to make life less expensive for the ordinary citizen and promised that, at least, "goods in everyday use will be made available at reasonable rates." Instead of achieving this laudable objective, the cost of living during the three years has soared at an alarming rate, with the unemployment problem becoming more and more acute.

The Government fulfilled its election pledge to restore the second measure of rice that the UNP government had cut from the rice ration, but the price of the restored measure has been increased twice and tax-

payers and their dependants have now been deprived of their free measure of rice altogether. As promised in the election manifesto, the Government has also extended trade union rights to workers, granted full political rights to public sector employees, and re-instated thousands of workers who had been dismissed by the previous government for political or trade union activities. The Government has also established a national shipping service in an effort to break the stranglehold foreign shippers had on the economy of the island.

The Government has also enlarged the public sector by nationalisation of imports, graphite mines and a private company which had a near-monopoly in the coconut oil industry. The Government has also taken over estates to be run by the Plantation Corporation and also by Co-operative Societies. Land Reforms have also been introduced. New laws to control rents and to establish ceilings on house ownership have also been placed in the statute book.

But it is not clear whether these measures extending the public sector have produced beneficial results. Land reforms and ceilings have so far tended to depress production, and new incentives are now being worked out to increase paddy production.

Dedigama has indicated that the common people are not satisfied with the way Government is conducting the affairs of the nation. The excuse that world conditions were responsible for the shortages and the increased cost of living do not seem to carry conviction.

LETTERS

ON DUDLEY

Sir,

I buy the *Tribune* weekly and thought of writing this after reading the article "ABOUT DUDLEY" which appears in the July 7th issue.

The late Mr. Dudley Senanayake was sworn in on 4 occasions and that is why they say that he was the P.M. 4 times in 25 years. Anyway it is a fact that he became P.M. only after three General elections in April '52, March 1960 and '65. Likewise this is the third term of the present P.M. after two General elections in July '60 and May '70. We all know the third term began in May 1970.

I am also a student of Politics — very much interested in the recent political history after independence.

L. P. Ranasinghe

72/11, High Level Rd,
Maharagama. 7-7-73

* * *

Sir,

Ref. your article "ABOUT DUDLEY" by a "Student of Politics", which appeared on p. 22 of the *Tribune* magazine of July 7, 1973, it is technically correct to say that Dudley Shelton Senanayake (1911-73) was Prime Minister of this country four times, when it is remembered that his first term of office (March 1952-October 1953) was divided into two by the General Election on May 1952.

Geoffrey Pieris.

Colombo 2.
6.7.73.

SHAMBA

DIFFICULTY ABOUT MAKING THINGS GROW

MAY 18-24

by ANATORY BUKOBA

May 18,

Right in front of the house was an untidy piece of land, dangerous to walk on because of thorns, land that had been cleared by us. I had started clearing it these last few days but what was left still looked such a sore sight, so close to the house, that I finished it off this morning, and in the evening, I gathered up what I cleared with a stick. While clearing I tried to save the *pol-palla* and the *vel-pennala* plants as much as I could. The *vel-pennala*, which we eat almost daily, is as its name signifies a creeper, but I have only seen one or two of these plants creeper size, and even then not big. I saw no *pol-palla* when I first came, but there is a lot around now. We have still to have our first *pol-palla* drink.

Someone gave us a present, a part of a jak fruit, the kind called *waraka* which I gather is not as common as the other kind which is called *valla*.

There is a kind of tiredness which has got me these days and it seems that the best thing to do is to sleep when it comes on. It first attacks the eyes, and I fall into a really heavy sleep. I have even fallen asleep writing this notes; and waken up to find I had written a

word I had not intended to write.

We transplanted our first vegetables today. There were *mackeral* or beans; *bandakka* or lady's fingers, as I think they are called in English, *vattakole*, which I am told are brinjals but I am not sure, *pipigna* to write it the French way, and which is, I am told, a kind of pumpkin; and *panni kumbutu* or water melon which has been growing here for some time, the older plants small yet, and only just beginning to look like creepers. There is also some *mackeral* growing here, too, plants brought from other gardens. When I look around, I find we have grown very little. There is a nice big place cleared, but much more to do, yet. One thing we have done is to go over what we have cleared. From what I can see, no one else does this, and that is why most cleared land goes back to jungle. There might be some reason for this, it saves bringing manure from outside, for the growing vegetation later becomes manure when it is burnt, and any other kind of manure these days is such a price.

May 21,

As to those vegetables we transplanted three days ago the *mackeral* or beans is clearly having no trouble at

all. The *bandakka* or lady's, fingers though smaller, seems all right, too. So, too, with the *panni-kumbutu* or water melon. The *vattakollu* or *luffa* (not brinjals) looks dead, but I have been told they might recover. The *pipigna* or cucumber, or what can be seen of it, looks no better but I have been assured they will come through all right. There was rain last evening, this morning, and again this evening.

Seeds we planted in our *attili* have germinated and look well but for the life of us we cannot remember what we planted. They will be transplanted and cared for nonetheless. The other *attili* broke, and I transplanted all the contents both seeds and earth, to a bed prepared for them. The seeds are *laulu*. The original *laulu* sapling is still in its place. I am still hoping it will make a recovery like the 18-month jak. Jak seems to do well here. The mango plant looks dead, but it is still being watered. One mango seed was planted in the corner of the vegetable bed, and there are more to go in.

Our papaw seems to be making very little progress, but seeds we have planted have germinated. It has been slow progress, too, with the *murunga* but after this rain they may put on a sprout. Only one of our six plantain trees has put out a shoot and this has put out two. This is the tree we had to cut down to give it a new chance of life. So there are three little plants new, in a cluster. All of about the

same size, all striving for pride of place.

The red onions are still with us. The bittergourd, having done well, at first, does not look too good now. There are about four of these plants.

There is only one vine with leaves, but the other five are still being watered. The two jaks grown from seeds I brought from Colombo have been growing well.

The manioc may take on a new lease of life after the rains. They have come to a state where they seemed to stagnate—no more growth being obvious.

The mosquitoes can be bad, but they are much worse on the other side of the river. One seems to get used to one's own mosquitoes.

One of my legs is very painful and it looks as if another visit to the hospital is called for. I hate to leave this place even for a minute. Eyelids heavy with lack of sleep, what more can I write? We nearly adopted a dog today, but after a good dinner, he made off, and so, another day has gone by.

May 22,

It was only by chance that we discovered it was a holiday. People seemed unmoved by the day as they were by May day, but Dudley's death had stirred them. There was no need for newspapers to tell us of that when it happened.

It had rained, too, last night, so one of us spent the whole morning fishing and was rewarded by a large catch.

The plant that I have used to try to make a fence at the top of the bank grows like a weed here. We leave them wherever we find them, but six were out, and today we planted them along the path through our acre that leads to the other bathing place. I have no idea if I chose a good place for them, but one can always move them again.

It was not really much of a day for digging or clearing and as my leg was very painful after another penicillin injection. I just lay up on bed, and read. All our mango seeds have been sown in a line. I think they would have been better sown in coconut shells as a friend suggested; they could have been transplanted together with the shell.

The *vattakolu* or luffa seems to have made a recovery. Thanks to the rains. Most of what we transplanted seems to be looking up today, for the same reasons. A friend gave us a small bundle of chilli plants. These we put in. They are bigger than ours in our nursery. No signs of life from one solitary coconut but the pineapple seems set. Our solitary mango tree shows no signs of life. Our sweet potato is always getting overlooked. The cuttings were not planted well and as they are mixed up with grass among which they were planted they are not easily noticed in spite of their prominent place, just this side of the murunga. We brought a piece of *wattaka* for its seeds.

May 23,

We made another seed bed, and in it we put more papaw seeds. Some of the papaw seeds planted before have germinated. One of us put six jak seeds in two coconut shells, after making two holes in the bottom of each shell. Then he put the shells with the seeds into the soil and covered it all up. It was not what I asked him to do. His explanation was that the seeds were in that stage of growth that they would not have kept, that they were already somewhat damaged, and that there was no certainty that they would all germinate. His reason for burying the seeds with the shells was that the seed would do better in the earth than in exposed shells, and that burying them in the earth now will not prevent the germinated seeds from being transplanted in their coconut shells later. We shall just have to wait and see if it works out all right.

A hedge was planted on one side of the path that leads from the road to the house. I started clearing thorns with a mamoty. Some had big roots and the handle of the mamoty worked loose when I was trying to dig out the roots. As the handle of our borrowed mamoty was also loose, I gave up, and went out with the knife to cut some shafts for mamoty handles. I found a fine tree, a small one, so straight that I thought it would do for both mamoties. There was also a bit of projection on it that look as if it might fit our new v.c. katha blade, the one that

One-Acre farm

was turned out in a few minutes at a cycle shop for Rs. 1/- with the promise of another rupee if it works all right. In the end we got only one mamoty handle from that piece of wood, and we cut another stick for the V.C. *katha*. I got two nails from the village, and we nailed the *katha* on to the handle so that it will not come off. Our new V.C. *katha* is such a rusty piece of iron that I hope no-one cuts himself on it.

Our plantain trees have increased their number by four, two *kolikuttu* and two *allu kehel*, all bought at twenty five cents a sucker. I had a bit of a job carrying them all here, never forgetting that they had only to touch my clothes to leave a stain that nothing would remove. Everything was watered this evening and the four new plantain trees got a bucket or a *kalla keddi* of water each.

Only one of our vines has leaves yet, and it is growing very slowly, if it is growing at all. Only one of the four surviving bitter-gourd plants looks alright; the others look "sick". Beans seem to do best here.

May 24,

One of us did quite a bit of tidying up in the "home garden," cut the paths clean that lead up to the road, swept the compound in front of the house, and made a nice open space there where hitherto there had been a pile of firewood. We have extracted the seeds from a piece of *wattaka* we bought to eat, and also from some

beans I bought today. We eat a papaw nearly every day, it cost ten or fifteen cents and we always save the seeds. The place where our three papaw trees are at present does not seem the best place for them. Their growth is slow. The place where the plantain trees are seems rather cramped. They are sandwiched between the murunga trees and the plantains and water melon, and the path to the public bathing place, our own path, leads right through the middle. They even verge on the sweet potato, which anyway were planted in the wrong place, on our grass

lawn. It is as well, perhaps, that only one of the sweet potato cuttings have survived. Everything had a watering this evening. We bought two mangoes and saved the seed.

A mango and a papaw had their skins removed and the seed, and they were then cut into small pieces and squeezed, and then they were mixed with coconut milk, salt, sugar, and a little condensed milk, and served as a pudding or drink. Fresh fruit, vitamins, and taste, and what more could you want to follow curry and rice?

ARTIFICIAL SHOULDER GIVES ARTHRITIS "COMPLETE RELIEF"

By Roy Herbert

One of the most complex joints in the human body, the shoulder, has been successfully replaced artificially at a British hospital. The new joint was developed as a result of co-operation between doctors and engineers in Leeds, northern England. Twelve patients previously suffering from severe arthritic damage to the shoulder now have replacements which they can use almost like the real thing. The success is described in the annual report of the Arthritis and Rheumatism Council, issued earlier this month. Although artificial joints for the hip, knee and fingers are now a routine treatment for arthritis, the shoulder has proved a problem because its range of movements is so large.

The new joint, developed by the orthopaedic research unit at St. James' Hospital, Leeds, and the department of mechanical engineering at the University of Leeds, is a ball-and-cup design. It replaces the humeral head and socket—the joint of the upper arm to the shoulder. The surgeon and the researchers are so pleased with the performance of the joint that they are now planning more replacements with an improved version. They say the joint gives complete relief from pain and provides a stable, mobile shoulder. One of the toughest difficulties to overcome was how to fix the new joint to the shoulder and arm. An acrylic cement can be used if the artificial joint's surface is given a particular finish.

HAT IN HAND

To Beg I Am Not Ashamed

By CANAX

I AM sorry if I have to disappoint a lot of you beggars, but a part-time Constitutional expert I know assures me the Police acted well within their rights in rounding up all persons found begging in Colombo recently. Contrary to popular belief, begging, he says, is not a Fundamental Right, nor has it been inadvertently guaranteed as one under our new Republican Constitution.

His personal view after a quick look (over his shoulder, in fact) is that there is nothing whatsoever in the Constitution to support such a belief.

Hence his advice (again personal, but that will be 500 guineas, thank you, and no cheques please) to any of the vast horde in the City who can spare a moment to listen is, "Go East, you beggar."

He says he said as much to a delegation from the city branch of the Sri Lanka Beggars Corporation (not to be confused with another motley crowd boasting the same initials) when it sought his advice, legal and otherwise, on what it termed was tantamount to negation of a cherished freedom. "To beg we are not ashamed," the delegation's chief spokesman had cried with obvious feeling.

The general feeling seemed to be that if they went East to beg—or North or South,

for that matter—it would only be because they wanted to go, not forced to go. If they wished to stay put, the Constitution upheld their right to do so, they felt.

While conceding that limiting the Police operation to within the City limits was helpful in one sense, they stressed it was totally discriminatory in another.

THE ANSWER to that, of course, was quite elementary; as our expert had rightly pointed out, nothing so far expressly stated or otherwise implied could justify the assumption that the Police campaign would begin and end in Colombo.

Said the expert in conclusion. "Those of you in Colombo feel individually and collectively singled out for special—and unfair—attention, thereby clearly deprived of equality in the eyes of the law. I suggest that you are jumping to a hasty conclusion, for I believe the objective is not to be unfair to you here but to be ultimately unfair to all beggars throughout the island without discrimination, regardless of caste, creed or Party. You obviously don't realise it, but ushering in social justice takes time and cannot be rushed, I'm afraid."

I didn't know why I was being told all this. It couldn't have been a sort of pre-emptive strike on the expert's

part to stop me from touching him for a tenner, for I have never begged anything of him except his pardon, that too very rarely.

But hearing it all set me thinking—a most unusual occurrence, you'll admit (and I'll agree) for I don't as a rule waste time on thinking. I have it done for me at home. My part of the job is to simply agree, which I do every time.

As a result of indulging in this business of thinking and thought I was prompted to do a sampling of beggars' opinions on the subject. What I have gathered seems significant enough to be of some value to the boys who waste their time making projections for planning and employment in the future, which is why I have decided to pass it on.

THE BULK of my sampling was done while I enjoyed the relative comfort of my own home. I merely had to sit back and wait—for the beggars to come to me. My wife seems to have taped out these visits so well she can tell the time not by looking at the clock but by listening to the knock at the door. They are as regular and reliable (for telling the time, that is) as any clock, she says.

"What time is it?" she asked, while I waited expectantly.

"Almost nine."

"He should be here any moment now," she replied, and hardly had she spoken when we had our first knock at the door.

The man at the door didn't actually carry a notice round his neck announcing his profession, but somehow I had no doubts about it. He was young, able-bodied and reasonably well dressed, so he couldn't possibly be a public servant calling to collect the new ration-book forms, or even a distant relative, for I don't have any. The ones I have are all close, too damn close, or so my wife tells me.

Now that I recall it, the man didn't sound like a beggar, either.

"Can you loan me a buck, sir?" he asked as though his request was the most natural thing in the world.

"Loan?" I demanded. "For how long?"

"Over 20 years, starting with a 5-year grace period on re-payment."

"Why don't you just take the buck and forget it?" I suggested.

"I was hoping you'd say that," he replied, breaking into a grin.

"Well, all right. But you'll have to answer some questions first."

TO GET down to the answers, and my conclusions:

* Unlike in the more advanced countries, no beggar here is forced to beg for want of anything better to do. It's not something they do just to keep body and soul together. It happens to be a profession chosen after much careful thought, and of

their own free will, so they wouldn't want to give it up for anything in the world, for nothing in the world could offer them better prospects or more attractive terms of service. From what I could gather, a few had, in fact, toyed with the idea of taking to politics, but decided against it. Politics was good as a short-term plan, said one, while another, who almost ran as an Independent last time (but ran away just in time) said, "What's five years, after all? Okay, it's seven now. So what can you make in seven years, after all? I have to think of my future."

* Sri Lanka need not be ashamed of its beggars, for its beggars don't appear to be ashamed of Sri Lanka. Not merely that, they don't appear to be ashamed of anything at all. I'm aware of an instance where one of them was given 5 cents, and he looked the donor straight in the eye and enquired, "Aren't you ashamed of yourself?" My wife tells me she was indeed, but had only a 10-rupee note, which the beggar was kind enough to change for her without a murmur.

* The phenomenal increase of late in the ranks of beggars is not, as is generally supposed, due to massive and growing unemployment, but because it is considered the most fashionable thing to do. For reasons still unclear, the idea has got around that if people in high places do it, it must obviously be the done thing. How can one equate a man begging in Colombo with NM begging

around in America? There is as yet no evidence, besides, that NM has been making a nuisance of himself on the streets of Washington.

* It is unfortunate that the Police should have disclosed that the reason for the crackdown was because beggars resort to stealing at night. Black sheep are found in every family, said one of the tribe whose opinion I sampled. Most beggars however preferred to sleep at night, he said, always remembering they had a hard day ahead, seven days a week. "If we don't steal during the day," said he, "why would we do so at night?" said another. "We may be beggars, but we're not insomniacs, which is what the Police are trying to make us out to be. Just how low can they get?"

* The Government should move resolutely to prevent yet another ugly confrontation, this time between the Police and beggars at large. The meagre Police resources are being sorely taxed as it is, what with having to fight the Navy on one side, the public on another, and crime on a third. What could be done to diffuse the situation is for the Government to extend recognition to beggars and welcome them as a useful segment of society. The best way to do that is to ask the Commissioner of Inland Revenue to consider them as tax-payers under the category of 'self-employed'. If NM isn't very enamoured of the idea, someone had better point out to him quick that beggars can't be choosers.

THE INDIAN OCEAN & BIG POWERS

SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE

by J. P. Anand

Institute for Defense Studies & Analyses

Foreign News & Features are running a series on the Indian Ocean and the Big Power Naval presence. Ten articles have already appeared. These articles are being written by the Institute of Defence Studies under the direction of K. Subramaniam. This week we publish an article entitled "Soviet Naval Presence". Next we will publish one on "The Chinese Diplomatic Thrust In The Indian Ocean."

—Editor

SIGNS of increased Soviet interest and activities in the Indian Ocean commenced with visits by Soviet naval ships to ports in South Asia, Arabian Sea, Persian Gulf, Red Sea and East Africa in early 1968, shortly after Britain announced its plans to reduce its military commitments east of Suez in 1967.

GOODWILL AND FLAG-SHOWING VISITS. The Soviet Navy has been sending out flotillas from Vladivostok to friendly Asian and African ports on flag-showing or goodwill visits. The first squadron of five warships, led by *Sverdlov* class cruiser *Dimitri-Pozharski* (15,450-19,200 tons) sailed into Madras harbour on 28 March 1968. The squadron included guided missile destroyer *Steregushchyi* (4,300-5,200 tons), a submarine chaser and an oil tanker. This was followed by a two-squadron cruise in 1969 in the north-west region of the Indian Ocean.

Five Soviet naval vessels visited Aden in January 1969. Two research vessels called at Colombo harbour in January 1969. In February 1969, a Soviet squadron-comprising missile carrying cruiser *Admiral Fokin* (4,800-6,000 tons) destroyer, a communication

ship and a tanker—visited Bandar Abbas and other ports in the Persian Gulf. A Soviet squadron-comprising *Admiral-Fokin*, rocket launching destroyer *Gnevnyi* (3,650-4,650 tons) and a tanker—paid a goodwill visit to Port Louis, the capital of Mauritius in April 1969. Cruiser *Dimitri Pozharski*, destroyer *Sterequshchyi* and tanker *Polyarny* visited Colombo from 7 to 11 July 1969 in the course of a cruise in the Indian Ocean.

Four Soviet warships visited Mogadishu, in Somalia, in December 1969. About the same time, three Soviet warships including a cruiser and a submarine paid "an official visit" to Aden. An anti-submarine ship and a landing ship paid a goodwill visit to Port Sudan from 27 to 31 December 1969 in the course of a cruise in the Red Sea. A Soviet submarine and a support vessel were sighted

on 4 December 1969 in the southern end of the Malacca Straits while proceeding towards Vladivostok.

In January 1970, Soviet warships visited Hodeida and Aden in the course of a cruise in the Red Sea. Soviet warships—a cruiser, a missile firing destroyer and supply ships—showed the flag off the Somalia coast in early 1970. Three Soviet warships passed through the Straits of Malacca on 21 May 1970 while on their way back to Vladivostok base. A nuclear submarine E-II class (5,000-5,600 tons) was reported to have docked at Berbera (Somalia) in mid-1970. A Z-class submarine *Vege* (1,900-2,200 tons), while accompanying an oceanographic vessel and a tanker, stayed seven months off Mauritius in 1970. A Soviet landing craft of the *Alligator* class (4,100-5,800 tons) was sighted in the area of Socotra island in early September 1970.

A Soviet naval squadron entered the Indian Ocean in mid-January 1971. Guided missile cruiser *Aleksander Suvorov* (15,400-19,200 tons), destroyer *Blestyashchyi* (2,850-3,885 tons), oil tanker *Gyrodny* (8,000 tons) and a 3,000 tons salvage and repair vessel sailed past Singapore on 15 and 16 January 1971. The cruiser and the destroyer returned to Vladivostok in the fourth week of July 1971 after a six-month cruise in the Indian Ocean. On 24 September 1971, a Soviet submarine and an accompanying supply ship were moving into the Indian Ocean after rounding the Cape of Good Hope.

At least five Soviet surface vessels from the Pacific Fleet passed through the Straits of Malacca on 17 and 18 December 1971. These included two rocket-launching *Kresta* and *Kynda* class cruisers or a cruiser and *Kotlin* class destroyer (2,850-3,885 tons), a frigate, a tanker and a minesweeper. The cruisers were equipped with SSCM and SAM missiles. One nuclear submarine and two conventional submarines were also reported to have proceeded towards the Indian Ocean at the same time. The movement of the vessels was believed to be the Soviet 'response' to US seventh Fleet's Task Force led by the nuclear-powered aircraft *Enterprise* which had entered the Bay of Bengal three days earlier on 14 and 15 December in the wake of Indo-Pakistan war in December 1971. The warships returned to Vladivostok by mid-1972.

Two *Kashin* class guided missile destroyers (4,300 to 5,000 tons) paid a goodwill visit to Colombo from 28 April to 2 May 1972 synchronising with the visit of the Soviet Pacific Fleet Commander Admiral N. I. Semirov to Sri Lanka. A *Kotlin* class destroyer called at Colombo in the fourth week of June 1972. Earlier, Soviet frigate *Capable* visited Bombay in early April 1972, coinciding with the visit of C-in-C of the Soviet Navy, Admiral Gorshkov's, visit to India.

Some Soviet vessels including four minesweepers and salvage ships arrived in Bangladesh in April 1972 from Vladivostok to clear the approaches and ports of Chalna

and Chittagong of mines and sunken ships. They completed their task in early May 1973.

Three Soviet Warships—cruiser *Admiral Senjvin* (15 450-19,200 tons), a destroyer and a submarine—paid a goodwill visit to Bombay from 14 to 20 January 1973. The cruiser and a minesweeper concluded a friendly visit to Mogadishu (Somalia) on 21 March 1973.

FLEET STRENGTH. The strength of the Soviet ships operating in the Indian Ocean was estimated between 10 and 15 in 1969. The presence of as many as 16 Soviet warships was reported in the region of Saint Brandon Group, a dependency of Mauritius, in June and October 1969. The vessels were reported to be on a space rescue and show-the-flag mission. The initial cruise in 1968 began with five warships. Soviet squadrons visiting the Indian Ocean normally consisted of 4 or 5 naval ships. *The British Minister for the Navy* told the NATO Military Committee at the Hague on 7 October 1970 that the average deployment of Soviet vessels in the Indian Ocean was one or two submarines, two to four surface ships and eight auxiliaries.

The British Minister for the Navy, Peter Kirk, told the House of Commons on 11 March 1971 that apart from a relief squadron change-over in January 1971, the maximum Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean was six vessels—three surface warships, one attack submarine and two

support ships. Besides there were a supporting merchant tanker, three hydrographic survey ships and six smaller vessels.

C. L. Sulzberger wrote in *The International Herald Tribune* (5 May 1971): "There are three Russian shipping units in the Indian Ocean: a fishing fleet operating southward to the Antarctic, a space-effort support fleet and a potential combat force. The warships flotilla is not large and usually runs to around 20 vessels of all types dependent upon shore-based air support." Sir Alec Douglas-Home told newsmen in Jakarta on July 4 1972 that the Soviet Navy was "growing in a spectacular way" and that "while previously their number was in single figure it is now between 20 and 25."

These ships are based on Vladivostok. Their area of operation is mainly off the west coast of India in the Arabian Sea, Persian Gulf, Red Sea, coast of East Africa and Seychelles and Mauritius regions. The Soviets, American analysts say, have been engaging in classical naval diplomacy, conducting manoeuvres and visiting 20 ports in 14 countries in an arc running from Sri Lanka at one end to Tanzania at the other. Traditionally, the Russian naval units from its Pacific Fleet conduct a major cruise in the first half of the year when the Indian Ocean is relatively calm—entering the Indian Ocean in December or January.

ANCHORAGES OR BERTHING STATIONS. The

Soviet Union has no bases either in the Indian Ocean or in countries bordering the Indian Ocean. It has however, some mooring buoys or berthing stations, described as anchorages or "floating bases" by the Western Press, in the Arabian Sea, south of Seychelles, Mozambique Channel, off Mauritius, Maldives, Diego Garcia, Cargados Islands and elsewhere. The network of mooring buoys could provide rendezvous points for Soviet trawlers, survey ships and units of the Soviet Navy operating in the area. The berthing stations could be used for replenishment and repair purposes.

External Affairs Minister Swaran Singh told the Lok Sabha on 19 November 1970 that according to information available with the Government of India, Russia had no military base in the Indian Ocean. He also denied that Russia had acquired a naval base at Socotra. He reiterated this in the Rajya Sabha on 7 April 1972. Apprehensions have been expressed by some Western observers that with the opening of the Suez Canal, the USSR would be able to make use of base facilities at Aden, Hodeida, Port Sudan, Berbera (Somalia) and elsewhere. Admiral Georgievich Gorshkov, Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Navy, while on a nine-day goodwill visit to India told reporters in Bombay on 7 April 1972 that the Soviet Union had not built any naval bases in the Indian Ocean nor does it have any plans to do so. "Though our boys are sailing in difficult conditions, we do not build bases in the area," he said.

Inaugurating discussions at a seminar on Indian Ocean in New Delhi on 9 May 1973, Sardar Swaran Singh described as absurd Western Press reports that the Soviet Union had a naval base at Visakhapatnam. He also said that there was also no evidence to establish that the Soviet Union had any naval base in the Indian Ocean region. The Soviets have, however, not completely neglected the area. It had good relations with many countries in the region and enjoyed bunkering and servicing facilities in some of these countries, Sardar Swaran Singh said. Pravda (13 May 1973) denied that the Soviet Union had scattered its bases in the areas or kept a powerful fleet there.

RESEARCH AND SURVEY ETC. Some of the Soviet ships are engaged in hydrographic and oceanographic surveys and in picking up returning space capsules. A Soviet vessel picked up spacecraft Zond-8, moon explorer, which splashed down in the Indian Ocean on 27 October 1970 in an area 450 miles south-east of Chagos Archipelago, lying in the centre of the Indian Ocean. Earlier in 1968, space capsule Zond-6 was also recovered from the Indian Ocean. The Times (London) naval correspondent, Basil Gingel reported on 18 December 1969 that Russia had increased oceanographic surveys on account of its expanding use of the world oceans. Normally two Soviet ships are in the Indian Ocean carrying out hydrographic surveys. In March 1971, three Soviet hydrographic

survey ships were operating in the Indian Ocean.

The Soviet Union is also helping some countries in the region to develop their fisheries. It is assisting Pakistan in developing a fishing harbour at Gwadar, 180 miles west of Karachi, along the Makran Coast. The Russians are building a new fishing port in the Gulf of Suez along the Egyptian coast. Under an agreement signed on 14 July 1970, Mauritius agreed to provide port facilities to Soviet fishing vessels in return for technical assistance for developing the local fishing industry. Soviet trawlers and fishing vessels have expanded their activities in the Indian Ocean area.

Some Western observers think that the Soviet fishing vessels have the capability of serving as naval auxiliaries as they are equipped with sensitive electronic devices which can be used for "other purposes". The *Hongkong Standard* (27 July 1970) said, "Soviet trawlers are bristling with radar equipment and direction finders. These will do a lot of electronic snooping in the area."

Four Soviet ships were deployed in the Arabian Sea along with two Indian ships in May 1973 to study the characteristics and behaviour of monsoons, before they reached the Indian peninsula, to help improve the accuracy of forecasts about floods and drought in India.

SOVIET ASSISTANCE. The Soviet Union has given substantial economic and military aid to a number of coun-

DETENTE

U.S. Compulsions for Trade with Soviet Union

by

O. Edmund Clubb

IN July, 1971, in a radical departure from the Dullesian concept of a bipolar arena of conflict in which the "free world" led by the United States would contend in solid phalanx against the evil forces of "international Commu-

nism" headed by Moscow, President Richard M. Nixon set forth the concept that in the future there would be increasing competition in the economic sphere among five powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, China and the West European community. In a sense, that concept was a protection of Mr. Nixon's earlier expression that the world was emerging from the era of confrontation and entering a period of negotiation.

tries on the periphery of the Indian Ocean. These include Egypt, Yemen, South Yemen, Somalia, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, India, Bangladesh and Indonesia. It is improving its relations with other African and Asian countries.

The Russians are developing the port of Berbera on the northern coast of Somalia. A plan to develop a major refuelling port and oil distribution centre along the coast of Ethiopia with Soviet assistance was also reported.

The increased maritime activity of the Soviet Union in the Indian Ocean may be explained in terms of developing trade and economic relations between the USSR and littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean, especially in the light of rather slower expansion of trade between Britain and EEC countries on the one hand and the developing Afro-Asian countries on the other.

Most of the US "allies" had long before withdrawn from the American Cold War crusade, and were trading profitably, with the Communist bloc. In 1970, exports by the European Economic Community (EEC) to the bloc totalled 2,300 million, Japanese exports to the Communist nations were valued at more than 1,100 million dollars. American two-way trade with the USSR then stood stagnant at about 200 million dollars. At that time the American balance of international payments was becoming increasingly unfavourable (in 1971, for the first time since 1894, even the American balance of trade became adverse), and Washington experienced a change of heart regarding commerce with Communists.

THUS it was to be considered of prime interest, but

hardly surprising, that US Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans, on the conclusion of a visit to Moscow in November, 1971, voiced enthusiastic optimism regarding the future of American-Soviet trade. President Nixon, visiting Moscow in May, 1972, acted to fulfil the promise of Stans' forecast. In a declaration of principles signed on that occasion, the United States and the USSR undertook to conduct their relations on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence; the Cold War was officially deceased. In a joint communique, the two countries undertook to expand their economic ties on the basis of the principle of mutual benefit "and in accordance with generally accepted international practice."

An initial harvest was reaped in August and September of 1972 with the announcement of a grain deal valued at 1,000 million dollars. The terms were admittedly highly profitable to the buyer, the USSR, as well as to certain big American grain dealers. This circumstance demonstrated that Moscow enjoyed a considerable bargaining leverage because of the underlying American urge to sell products: it demonstrated too that the Soviet negotiators possessed a business acumen that the American side had hardly expected of "Communists". The overall outlook brightened. Secretary Stans' successor for a brief period Perte G. Peterson, depicted the prospects for American-Soviet economic exchange in still bolder terms; he spoke of the

"great promise" offered to American enterprises that might choose to join with the Soviet in exploitation of the Soviet Union's raw materials and energy sources.

IN AGREEMENTS reached last October, the promise was given substance. The Soviet committed themselves to pay \$ 722 million in principal and interest in settlement of the World War II Lend-Lease debt of 11,100 million dollars, with the payments to extend over twenty-nine years, to the year, 2001. For its part, the Nixon Administration authorized the extension of Export-Import Bank credits for Soviet purchases and committed itself to request Congress for authorization of most-favoured-nation (MFN) treatment (as favourable terms as those accorded any other nation) for imports from the Soviet Union. It was expected that by 1978 American-Soviet trade would reach the annual figure of 1,000 million dollars.

In February, 1972, the Nixon Administration approved the issue of licences covering the export of \$ 367 million of machine tools for the once-controversial Soviet construction of a large scale truck factory on the Kaka River. In June, two American firms contracted to supply \$ 55 million worth of equipment for Soviet factories designed to produce table flatware and teapots. In September, the Upjohn Company entered upon a multi-million dollar deal to provide the Soviet Union with technology for the construction of a plant designed to produce

urethane foam for use in auto crash pads and insulation for transportation equipment.

The Occidental Petroleum Corporation has negotiated the biggest deals to date. In July, 1972, Occidental entered upon a five-year contract to provide the USSR with industrial equipment and technological assistance in exchange for Soviet petroleum natural gas and metals. The first deal in implementation of that contract came in December, when Occidental agreed to provide metal-finishing equipment and processes in exchange for nickel.

IN APRIL of this year Occidental entered upon yet another agreement, envisaging the outlay of several billions of dollars over a period of twenty years, which the American firm will provide the technology and equipment for a huge fertilizer complex at Kuibyshev, in the Volga basin, together with materials for a pipeline to connect the plant with port facilities and American superphosphoric acid, all to be paid for by Soviet ammonia, urea and potash, which Occidental will market abroad. This was effectively a barter arrangement, requiring no Export-Import Bank credits, or private bank credits involving US Government guarantees. More deals of that nature appear to be in prospect. In such circumstances, there is only limited leverage to be found in a threat to withhold official US credits or most-favoured-nation treatment.

The relative strength of the Soviet bargaining position was highlighted by the deve-

lopments of 1972. The Nixon concept of economic confrontation is bearing its fruits and the United States now faces aggravated competition, rather than helpful co-operation, at the hands of its erstwhile political allies. It is the American international economic position that is under the greater immediate stress.

Washington's regular recourse to such non-tariff barriers as "voluntary" quotas, Government subsidies (as for the export of wheat), and to "buy American" stipulations in foreign aid agreements, are the unmistakable signs of American competitive weakness in the field of foreign trade. In transmitting his Trade Reform Act to Congress on 10 April of this year, President Nixon said that the present barriers to trade cost the United States "several billion dollars a year in the form of higher consumer prices and the inefficient use of our resources. Regarding commerce with Communist countries, he proposed in the trade bill proper that the President be empowered to enter upon trade agreements with the USSR and other Communist countries, and to extend most-favoured-nation status to them, with Congress to exercise the power to veto any such agreement within ninety days after submission to it. Mr. Nixon characterized the need for trade reform as "urgent."

THE HARD fact is that, particularly since 1971, the American position in the field of international economic relations has been deter-

iorating rapidly. The "Nixon shocks" administered that summer to America's Japanese and West European allies—including a ten per cent tariff surcharge imposed on imports from all countries alike—acted to alienate the chief trading partners of the "free world" even more than old Communist foes, who were, in fact, much less affected by the moves than were those countries with whom US political ties had been closest. And, to the degree that they were alienated from the United States, they tended to draw closer to each other—and to seek new opportunities for commerce with the Communist bloc.

The Soviet Union is patently ready to trade with the United States, to utilize American technology, and to borrow both capital and skills. Moscow clearly hopes for a measure of success in that regard, but the course that will be taken in American-Soviet economic relations obviously depends in large measure on American policy. The President's message of 10 April had for its main thrust an overriding concern for America's competitive position in world economic affairs and it made full provision for the institution and exercise of economic protectionism. Mainly because of American policies and actions, economic nationalism now stands at a peak throughout the world.

The outcome of the new struggle in the world trade arena will be some time unfolding but, two observations seem warranted at this time: (1) American world economic

IN SRI LANKA TODAY

C.P. IS THIRTY

by Kubera

THE COMMUNIST PARTY of Sri Lanka celebrated its thirtieth anniversary last week with no signs of let-up in the bitter internecine conflict which has split the party right down the middle ever since its Congress held last year.

With the approach of the CP's 30th anniversary, the local newspapers were full of speculation whether the 'hawks' and 'doves' will come together to take part in a joint celebration of the event. But apparently all moves by interested parties to bring the two wings together failed to produce the desired result.

Not only did the 'hawks' and 'doves' hold two separate meetings at the same venue on two different days, but from all accounts attempts made to bring the two sections together might even have also had the adverse result—that of dividing them still wider apart and making a split in the party inevitable and irreversible.

The CP is the second party to celebrate its 30th birthday, the first being, of course, the LSSP. That by itself is a creditable achievement in a land where political parties sprout up like mushrooms,

dominance is ended and; (2) Mr. Nixon's 1972 agreements with Moscow and Peking and his formal request of Congress in April for authority to enter into trade agreements with the USSR and other Communist countries are evidence that the USA is now headed in a more profitable direction with respect to commerce with the sometime "enemy" camp in particular.

—The Progressive, Wisconsin USA.

especially on the eve of a general election, only to fold their tents like the Arabs and silently steal away the day after the election.

But through painstaking work, the CP in Sri Lanka has earned for itself a respect and admiration that may well be the envy of other political parties. Not only have its leaders earned for themselves a reputation for their honesty and political integrity, even the ordinary rank-and-file have come to be respected even by those in the opposite political camp as devoted party members who are prepared to sacrifice and in fact have sacrificed a lot for the sake of their political creed.

Minister Maitripala Senanayake is supposed to have said in a congratulatory message sent to the party on its recent anniversary (*Times of Ceylon* of 3rd July), that the numerical strength of the CP in the National State Assembly does not correspond to the influence it wields in the country as a whole. This is a surprising statement coming from a leader of

another party, *albeit*, a party allied with the Communists in a United Front. It may be taken by the CP as one of the best tributes paid to it on the occasion of its 30th anniversary.

WHENCE COMES the influence of the party? The short answer lies in that it is the CP, like the LSSP, that brought politics to the common people. Before these two Left parties came on the political scene, politics was confined to the upper crust of society who thought it was one of their own exclusive domains. Remember someone's taunt about 'nobodies trying to become somebodies' just because the latter, 'dared' to enter the political field?

By bringing politics to the people, speaking to them in an idiom they could understand, by translating into Sinhala Marxist classics and other simple books on political economy, the CP (like the LSSP) has performed a task that already assures them of an imperishable page in the political history of Sri Lanka.

Whatever one may think of the way it pampered the workers and led them into meaningless strikes (that at times adversely affected the country's economy), none will gainsay the fact that the CP like the LSSP and Mr. Goonesingha before it, played a rotatable part in winning for the working class a number of elementary human rights at a time when workers were treated little better than beasts of burden.

The CP can take special credit for the vigorous

propaganda it has carried on ever since its formation to popularise the achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, both in the West and East, and thereby make socialism a doctrine for which every political party claims to be fighting today.

THE NUMEROUS Friendship Societies it sponsored have broadened in scope from narrow sectarian organisations at the start to become broad ones including within its ranks different and various strata of society who have come to gain an understanding of socialism through films, delegations etc. Through the Peace Council and Afro-Asian Solidarity Council the CP, whose members play the leading part in these organisations, has helped in a big way the popularisation in Sri Lanka of the Afro-Asian struggles and forged solidarity with them.

Perhaps the most notable achievement of the CP on its credit side during its 30 years of existence is the persistent and patient way it struggled to cement the unity of what it called the Left and Centre parties to defeat the Right. They were also the only Left party to take a positive attitude towards the first Bandaranaike Government formed in 1956. The Communists have said more than once that if other Left parties too adopted the CP stand way back in 1956 (and not later as they came to) the history of Sri Lanka might well have been different.

Be that as it may, many know that while the other

two parties at present in the United Front (the SLFP and the LSSP) were confident of their ability to defeat the Right alone and form a government of their own, it was the CP that warned against such wishful thinking and ul-

\$ 23,000-m. arms exports by US in decade

Washington,

The United States, the world's largest supplier of arms, more than tripled its sale of weapons to other countries in the past decade, the US arms control and disarmament agency said. The US sold nearly \$ 23,000 million worth of weapons between 1961 and 1971, the agency told Congress.

It said the Soviet Union was the second largest arms supplier during the 11-year period, with exports totalling \$ 14,800 million. The report did not say exactly how many countries bought US arms during the period, but it said the biggest buyers were South Viet Nam, West Germany, South Korea, Turkey, Britain and Taiwan. Major buyers of Soviet arms between 1961-71 were India, Egypt, North Viet Nam, East Germany and Poland, the report said.

The report said world arms trading increased from 2,400 million dollars in 1961 to 6,200 million dollars in 1971.

timately succeeded in forging a front of all three parties.

THEREFORE, it may be said, without making oneself open to the charge of being too pro-CP, that it was the CP more than the other two parties at present in the United Front that was responsible for bringing about the unity of the SLFP, LSSP and CP which led to their magnificent election victory of 1970.

But the CP has not been without its quota of mistakes and shortcomings during its 30-year old existence. For instance, the CP cannot claim that it has been altogether free of the dogmatic errors of which it has often accused other Left parties, in particular the LSSP. Though the CP says that it has applied the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions prevailing in Sri Lanka, adherence to rigid dogmas has often cramped its style and led it to wrong assessments of the local situation resulting at times in grave political errors. Even its official histories admit that at times it has been guilty of moving Right-wards and at other times adopting adventurist ultra-Left sectarian positions.

Again, even the most fervent admirers of the party cannot fail to admit that at crucial junctures of the island's history, the CP has been guilty of opportunistic policies and political tactics. Sometimes betraying the long-term interests of the movement to gain petty, immediate

aims, the CP has displayed anti-national and at times even communalist tendencies. A case in point is the virtual anti-Tamil campaign conducted in 1965 by the party's newspaper, *Aththa*, the paper which seems to be one of the main causes behind the rift in the party today.

THEN AGAIN, those who have been keen observers of political developments throughout these last 30 years cannot fail to note that the CP has lost some of its initial spirit of militancy and self-sacrifice and moved gradually to become part of the Establishment today. This change began as far back as 1956 with the formation of Mr. Bandaranaike's government and has been even more noticeable with the CP itself entering the government for the first time after 1970. This, too, is another bone of contention between the 'hawks' and the 'doves' in the present controversy which has split the party into two.

But all these notwithstanding, no one can deny that the CP has played a notable part in influencing the country's history during the last 30 years. What influence the party will continue to wield in the future, no one can say. It will, doubtless, depend on how the present differences are resolved. But right now the signs are pretty dim of an amicable settlement being reached of the ideological and political differences that have now emerged inside the party in a big way.

On the other hand if these differences result in an inevitable split, the party's influence in the future will be considerably weakened. Well might commentators then say that the party's best years are already a matter of past history.

GLOBAL POPULATION

According to the U.N Demographic Yearbook, the total population of the world in mid-1971 was 3,706 million. The present annual rate of population increase is 2 per cent, and if this continues, the total population will double by the year 2006. Asia (exclusive of the USSR) in 1971 accounted for 56.7 per cent of the world total, Africa 9.5 per cent, North and Central America 8.8 per cent, South America 5.3 per cent, Europe (exclusive of the USSR) 12.6 per cent, Australia and Oceania 0.5 per cent. The population of the USSR was 6.6 per cent of the total.

More than 80 per cent of the population in Australia, Belgium, Israel, Sweden, and Uruguay live in urban localities. In Nigeria, Upper Volta, Sri Lanka, India, Cambodia, Jordan and Pakistan the life expectancy of men is higher than that of women. The lowest annual population growth rate was in West Germany (12.8 per 1,000), and the highest in Swaziland (52.3 per thousand).

IS IT TRUE?

Sherlock Holmes

* Hotels Corporation

* Intercontinental

IS IT NOT TRUE that an examination of the accounts of the Ceylon Hotels Corporation (CHC) will show that its main operational income has been from its subsidiary activities such as the BOAC/QUANTAS general sales agency? That from this link the CHC received Rs. 3.99 lakhs. That by cutting in on the private sector, the CHC collected Rs. 2.55 lakhs, by hiring cars and coaches? That the individual operational costs of each operation, such as resthouses, airline agency, the hiring car agency etc., are not shown separately in order to assess the operational costs of each operation? That all operational costs are shown as Rs. 1,146 million while the income is shown as Rs. 1.851 million, making operational costs as high as 61.8 percent of the income? That the accepted norm of a maximum cost of 52 percent has been exceeded by nearly 10 percent? That good business management circles would rate this as bad operational inefficiency? That the declared dividend of 6 percent, without making allowances for the Rs. 206,220 shown as bad debts and unsettled claims, and also an interest payment at 6 per-

cent on a Government contribution of Rs. 1,783,000, is showmanship which will not impress people who know something about accounts and accounting? That the CHC is now being paraded as a success story of a public sector (with a touch of the private) venture? That sooner or later, the costs and liabilities, now kept seemingly "invisible" by well-known accounting devices will surface and come to a head? That by that time the inefficiency even presently revealed by the extremely high operational costs will bring disaster to the CHC—unless the CHC is reorganised on more efficient lines?

* * *

IS IT NOT A FACT that investment-wise each room in Hotel Ceylon Intercontinental has cost this country Rs. 2.04 lakhs inclusive of loans and interest thereon? That even with this fantastic investment, the Hotel is still most unimpressive from a tourist point of view? That its recreational facilities, which alone can draw tourists who come in search of warmth and the sun, are woefully inadequate especially on its sea-front? That it was made out that this hotel will bring

an affluent class of tourist and visitor to the island? That Pan-Am will tout for custom and send a whole lot of tourists Lanka-wards? That, however, with internationally circulating magazines like the *Newsweek* and the *London Economist* (through its Intelligence Unit bulletins), publishing stories about the sorry state of affairs in Sri Lanka, it is doubtful if affluent visitors will flock to the island in such large numbers as to give Hotel Ceylon Intercontinental even a 50 percent annual occupancy for its rooms? That apologetics can argue that the affluent will find many attractions? That the Rs. 65 charged for a T-bone (imported) steak will be far cheaper than the £ 3 or £ 4 (or more) a person has to pay for it in London, even more than that in Paris or New York, taking into consideration in fact that the tourists get a fabulous FEECs rate for the hard currency they bring? That a major portion of the apparent profits on this Rs. 65 piece of steak will go abroad for the imports which make up this steak? That organisations in Geneva and West Germany have pointed out that developing countries, which have to import practically everything necessary to keep tourists happy, do not make anything more than a comprador's brokerage from tourism? That less than a third of the apparent profits of tourism go to the developing countries? That this should make many sit up and think about the economic miracles tourism will bring Sri Lanka?