

TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW

50 Cts.

Vol. 18 No. 19

September 1, 1973

• • •
PRIMARY
PRODUCTS,
CHINA'S NAVY

• CAMBODIA,
ISRAEL

• FRENCH
PATRONAGE

• C T B

• ISRAELI
TERRORISM

• NIXON &
WATERGATE

• ON GEMS

THESE RUMOURS MUST BE NIPPED IN THE BUD

IT WOULD be strange if the Government and the new management of Lake House were not aware of a snowballing whisper campaign in Colombo concerning the declining circulation of some of the leading publications of the group. It is asserted that true figures have been made available by persons who work in Lake House: that the *Daily News* earlier had a circulation of around 72,000 copies, that the newsprint cut had brought it down to 56,000, but after the takeover (the diffusion of ownership exercise) the figure had started slipping and that by August 20 it was around 42,000, and that the drop was continuing: that the newsprint cut had brought the *Dinamina* from 120,000 to 80,000 and that now it was already down to 60,000 odd; that the *Thinakaran* had been reduced from 32,000 to around 24,000 by the cut, and that now the circulation had dropped to around 15,000. The whisper goes on to assert that the steady drop has not been arrested in spite of the best efforts of the new management: that the announcement of prizes and competitions had tended to hold the drop of the *Silumina* and the *Weekly Observer*, but the daily *Observer* at 4500 and the *Janata* at 9000 were in a bad way.

There is no doubt that these are false figures, concocted by evil-minded reactionaries, determined to denigrate the Government and the new management of ANCL Ltd. But, unless the new management of Lake House takes the public into its confidence and furnished a weekly breakdown of its circulation figures, which a large number of its employees will know, the public will tend to believe the worst. The Government and Lake House have proclaimed from the housetops that the UNP boycott campaign had fizzled out. There is no doubt it has. But, in the face of the current whisper campaign, citing allegedly the latest circulation figures, from the horses' mouth, it is not enough to decry the UNP boycott campaign. It is in the interests of the new ANCL Ltd. and the Government itself to nip these rumours in the bud and the only way to do it is to furnish certified figures of the current circulation.

Tribunania

* PRIMARY PRODUCTS' BOOM

* CHINA'S NAVY

THE GOVERNMENT MEDIA in Sri Lanka is now at pains to stress that practically every country in the world has been hit with high food prices and that consequently there was hardship and misery in those countries. There is no doubt that prices have shot up all over the world, but some countries are able to take the new prices in their stride, whilst others like Sri Lanka have been hit so hard that they are not able to turn this way or that. This, however, is not the fate of many other developing countries which have been able to cash in on the world trade boom and they are squeezing good profits out of the richer nations of the world.

The *Economist*, August 18, 1973, had an interesting piece on this subject. After pointing out in a note that Britain had to learn to live with £1 billion trade deficit this year, *The Economist* went on to say: "Britain is in good company with its trade deficit. Many industrialised countries are now running into debt on their trade and the credit is pouring into the developing world for a change. The near-doubling of commodity prices in the past year has shifted the

balance of world trade in favour of primary producers as industrialised countries, booming together, have scrambled for new raw materials. The turnaround has been dramatic. The wealthy nations of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development were running a comfortable surplus of £ 666 m on visible trade with the non-communist world last year. Their deficit this year could reach £ 300 m. If so, it would be the first time that the developing world has grown economically at the expense of the rich. While foreign reserves of the OECD countries increased by 15 per cent in the first half of this year, those of the developing nations grew twice as fast.

"And although commodity prices are almost certain to come down they are unlikely to return what they were a year ago. The trend of the past decade, in which the developing countries saw proportionately less and less of the world wealth coming their way, has been reversed. It is something which could turn the face of the world trade negotiations starting in Tokyo this autumn. The industrialised west may well feel that it

is doing enough by meeting the high commodity prices, and so resist the political pressure to give increased preferences to the manufactured exports of the poorer developing nations."

The *Economist* also pointed out another important feature of the current economic situation in the world today. "There was a time," it said, "when commodity earnings would have been adversely affected by a devaluation of the pound or dollar. Not so today. Commodity prices have risen proportionately each time either reserve currency has slipped. Yet many of the producers still do the bulk of their trade with America or Britain, which means they have had the best of all worlds: the advantages of a revaluation, in that imports are cheaper for them, without the disadvantage of having their commodity exports becoming less competitive because commodities are always sold at world prices...."

The *Economist* then went on to point out that "this is a particular advantage in the repayment of the huge debts most developing nations have incurred and will now find easier to meet. These debts are invariably fixed in dollars or sterling, the very currencies against which commodity prices have risen most sharply. Repayment, therefore, is much less of a burden. Ghana's debt, for example, is now £ 250 m. In the past six months the price of cocoa, which provides 80 per cent of Ghana's foreign currency, has tripled against sterling. So that the interest

on the debt can readily be met, together with some repayment, by Ghana's cocoa earnings, which should be about 40 per cent above last year's. Speculation and demand in the world's commodity markets have given the commodity exporting nations an increase in the foreign earnings that far exceeds the worth of any international aid. While no other commodity has matched cocoa's giddy rise (now coming to an abrupt end), *The Economist's* indicator of commodity prices still shows an 89 per cent increase in a year. This makes the whole benefits from generalised preferences, tortuously won from the industrialised nations by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, small beer in comparison. The rise in commodity prices will probably slow down the steps that the developing world is anxious to take towards industrialisation since it appears to them to have been conclusively demonstrated that producing primary products is a far more efficient and profitable way of directing their economies. That is, for the time being."

Although the price of natural rubber has more than doubled, Sri Lanka has not been able to get the fullest benefit from this price increase because of its barter agreement with China. But Sri Lanka cannot, in any case, derive much benefit from the high prices fetched by the primary products it exports because it has not developed its agriculture to the extent that it produces

the major portion of its food requirements—which it very well could. The high prices of the food she imports offsets the increase in the price of rubber.

BUT, in the ultimate analysis, the advanced industrialised countries are still in dominant positions. *The Economist* went on: "The full effect of the present high commodity prices will not begin to benefit the producing countries fully for at least another six months. By that time world trade will almost certainly be slowing down, so the orders from the developing countries that should then begin to flood in to the developed will give a welcome fillip; about 70 per cent of the money that the industrial world pays out for its commodities comes back to it later in return orders for manufactured goods."

The oil producers in the Middle East will have an extra £ 450 m this year for investment abroad or spending. Copper producers will also have extra cash for spending—because if copper prices remain around the current £ 800 a ton it will mean a near doubling of earnings for countries like Zambia, Zaire, Chile and Peru (between them it is estimated they will earn at least £ 850m. spending money). This boom has helped President Kuanda to build reserves which had been depleted in the last two years and also give him the capital he needed to develop new mines on the copper belt. Chile gets 90 per cent of its foreign exchange earnings from copper and it is only the high price that has

kept the country internationally solvent and Allende in power—the earnings from the nationalised copper mines would double the annual earnings of Chile to £ 570 m.

It is not only the poorer countries which have been benefited by these high prices. The tremendous increase in the demand and price for wheat and grain is the biggest single factor in rectifying America's balance of payments, while the high price of wool, copper



Founded in 1954

**A Journal of Ceylon and
World Affairs**

*Published Weekly
Every Saturday*

SEPTEMBER 1, 1973

Vol. 18, No. 19

**SUBSCRIPTION
RATES**

One Year	Rs. 25
Two Years	Rs. 40
Three Years	Rs. 60

Post Free in Sri Lanka

For surface and air mail rates
to foreign countries

write for particulars:-

TRIBUNE,

43, Dawson Street,
Colombo-2.

Telephone : 33172

and other metals will push up Australia's exports by nearly 50 per cent in terms of sterling. And there is also no doubt that it is the richest among the developing countries that have done best from the boom. Malaysia and Singapore have done extremely well. Rubber price is up 98 percent this year, palm oil is up 148 percent and tin has hit all time records, and if these high prices persist Malaysian exports could jump by around £ 370 m in a year. "Not surprisingly, the Malaysian currency has floated strongly upwards as funds have been pouring in."

The Economist concluded its piece with a general summing up from which Sri Lanka could draw many lessons: "The commodity boom has sharpened the difference in the developing world between those countries that earn a large slice of their wealth from exporting raw materials and crops and those that do not have such resources. The 25 poorest

countries in the world have largely been left out of the bonanza while nations like Brazil, the largest producer of coffee, and Pakistan, with cotton and rice, have benefited substantially. This should accelerate the concentration of world aid on the least developed countries as those with large raw material earnings leave them to the charity of the rich. Until the next downturn, of course."

Pakistan, which should have made a pile on the export of its rice this year has suffered the worst flood in its history, perhaps the worst flood in the recorded history of the river Indus. It is ironic that the flood should have come ravaging down from the Himalayas almost at the same time as the new Constitution devised by Bhutto was inaugurated. August 14 this year was to have been celebrated as Pakistan's Independence Day to commemorate the new Constitution, but with flood waters creeping over the country, the celebrations were cancelled. The damage already done by the floods has been estimated at \$ 600, but the amount is likely to be greater when the final toll is taken.

IN THIS ISSUE we publish the concluding part of the article on the *Chinese Presence in the Indian Ocean*. After surveying Chinese relations with a number of the smaller countries adjoining the Indian Ocean, the writer deals with China's naval strength as—and to what could be projected into the Indian Ocean.

But since this article was written a few weeks ago there have been fresh developments. The new edition of *Jane's Fighting Ships*, that unofficial bible of the naval world, has said that China was expanding its navy and that the next four years would see its influence spreading abroad. "The American naval command in the Far East agrees that China's naval power was growing, but reckons that its new longer-range warships and submarines are intended first as a defensive counter to the massive Soviet naval build-up in the Pacific and second as an essential presence in the Indian Ocean for the moment when China may test-fire its first inter-continental ballistic missile in that direction."

The Economist, August 4, states that China's navy was now divided into three fleets—the northern, protecting the approaches to Peking; the eastern, guarding Shanghai; and the southern, based around Hainan island and Canton; and that the Americans put its strength at 150,000 officers and men chiefly operating swarms of small, fast and efficient short-range vessels, some of them equipped with Styx missiles, like the one that sank the Israeli destroyer *Eilat* off Egypt in 1967. Some guided missile destroyers are being built to a Chinese design. By American reckoning, China now has approximately 40 conventional submarines, a few of which were equipped with tubes for medium-range ballistic missiles. But these missiles are not yet available and the Americans think that there

Those Twenty Pounds

Teacher Ernest Shead of Mansfield, England, has calculated that the government owes him more than £69 million. Shead, 63, says his great, great-grandfather fought at Waterloo and failed to collect the £20 government bounty for that. If the £20 had been invested, he reasons, at 10 per cent interest, the sum would now amount to £69,108,00. "I'm determined to get the money," he says.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BY ARIEL

* CAMBODIA * ISRAEL

CAMBODIA has been very much in the news in recent weeks. But the most interesting undertones of the Cambodian affair came into the open when President Nixon made a speech on August 20 about the so-called secret bombing of Cambodia which the US had launched in 1969.

With a great deal of mystery as if some dark episode was being brought to the surface for the first time, evidence was presented to a Committee of the US Congress that the Pentagon had begun bombing

will be no operational Chinese nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines for another seven or eight years." The *Economist* report concluded by stating that foreign visitors to Shanghai now saw submarines openly moored near the former international shipyards now operated as communes, the old Kiangnan shipyard, the Shanghai shipyard and the Red Flag shipyard.

As the Indian Ocean has been made the focus of international concern, with Mrs. Bandaranaike sponsoring a plan to make it a peace zone, *Tribune* will publish a number of other articles in the coming weeks about the geopolitics of the Indian Ocean.

Cambodia in secret in 1969. This had probably made many support the Congress decision that the bombing of Cambodia should stop on August 15, but even after this date there was a sizable backwash about the bombing which had been started without the knowledge of US Congress and the American people.

President Nixon's August 20 Statement on this question merits profound attention: He said "The time has come to answer those who are criticizing the policies which helped to bring American Peace with honor in Vietnam. Specifically, I have been accused of conducting a secret bombing campaign against the defenseless and neutral country of Cambodia.

"What is the truth?

"By January 1969, when I took office, North Vietnamese regulars had overrun the entire border area of Cambodia adjacent to South Vietnam. The native Cambodian population had been driven out. Along a ten-mile-wide strip on the Cambodian side of the frontier, a network of supply lines and training bases had been established, and there the bulk of some 40,000 North Vietnamese troops were concentrated. It was not the United States but the North Vietnamese Communists who violated the neutrality of Cambodia. The suggestion that these staging areas for enemy troops, supplies and artillery—a few thousand yards from American troops—were "neutral" territory, exempt from bombing and counter attack, is

ludicrous. The Communists had made a mockery of the neutrality of those border regions. The United States was under no moral obligation to respect the sham. By January of 1969, those enemy occupied sanctuaries were no more neutral territory than was northern France or Belgium in the late spring of 1944.

"Thus, in February 1969, when the North Vietnamese responded to President Johnson's three-month old bombing halt and peace initiative with a country-wide offensive in the south, I ordered American air power employed directly and continually against the enemy-occupied base areas, from which communist soldiers had been attacking and killing American soldiers. There is today great anguish and loud protest from the usual critics that this was an attack against tiny Cambodia. That is absurd. These air strikes were not directed at the Cambodian Army or the Cambodian people. They were directed at the North Vietnamese invaders, inside Cambodia.

"The Cambodian Government did not object to the strikes. In fact, while the strikes were in progress, Prince Sihanouk invited me to make a state visit to the Cambodian capital.

"As for 'secrecy', the fact of the bombing was disclosed to the Government leaders and Congressional leaders. What is most important, soon after that bombing started, there began a steady decline in American casualties along the Cambodian frontier; and the enemy was

TRIBUNE, September 1, 1973

provided with one more incentive to move to the conference table. The secrecy was absolutely necessary to accomplish these goals. Had we announced the air strikes, the Cambodian government would have been compelled to protest; the bombing would have had to stop; and American soldiers would have paid for the disclosure with their lives."

WHAT President Nixon says is very clear: that the bombing of North Vietnamese posts in Cambodia had been launched with the tacit consent of Prince Sihanouk. In fact, there had been more than a suspicion that Sihanouk had played a Jekyll and Hyde role during this period. The

New York Times of July 25, 1973, had stated that in 1969, during the talks with the Americans, Sihanouk, had declared that Cambodia would not protest against the bombardment of certain parts of Cambodian territory by the American Air Force. Even earlier, in 1968, when Sihanouk had discussed the normalisation of relations between Cambodia and the United States with US President's special envoy, Ambassador In India, Chester Bowles, Sihanouk was said to have given his consent to American troops to pursue Vietcong forces into Cambodian territory.

Even before President Nixon made his dramatic disclosure on August 20, members of the US State Department have from time to time hinted that the bombardment of Cambodian territory was carried out with the silent approval of Sihanouk. It is believed that the most revealing facts about this matter had been set out in a report of Secretary of State William Rogers to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee: that Sihanouk had allegedly declared that he would not be against the bombardment of Cambodia by American aircraft provided there were no Cambodians in those areas. But Sihanouk knew very well that such massive bombing could not take place without many Cambodians being killed at least on the periphery.

The question has often been asked whether Sihanouk is not the slick performer who had earlier sought to fight the Vietcong with American bombs, and who has more recently

allowed massive American bombing to go on so that the "red khmers", for whom he never had any affection, would be annihilated so that a political settlement would be easier in Cambodia.

Political commentators in several Asian capitals are uncertain about Sihanouk's role at the present juncture. While they admit that if Sihanouk were restored, China's position in Cambodia would be seemingly enhanced, but only seemingly, because of Sihanouk's obligations to the United States and because his secret hatred for the Communists, be the Chinese, North Vietnamese, Russians, South Vietnamese and more particularly the Cambodian Khmers.

PRINCE SIHANOUK has now publicly denied that he was party to the American bombing, but he is yet to explain why he did not register a proper protest at the appropriate time. What can be said in his defence is that, whilst he had no alternative but to keep on the right side of China (because "friendship with China is for us as oxygen is to a diver"), yet his principal concern to maintain national integrity and security compelled brief flirtations with the USA. He kept out of SEATO and did not get too close to China for a long time, but when he discovered in the second half of the 1960s that there was an increasing presence of North Vietnamese in North-East Cambodia, he became critical not only of the North Vietnamese but also the guerilla Khmer

Dying Tradition.

Eton, the aristocratic British college, has long been a male stronghold. But times change and traditions tumble. Two years ago four girls were given permission to attend at certain times during the week, and last year there appeared the first female "full-time pupil," Lucy Bourne. Thereupon, the college paper published an editorial in which it protested that the school was "dabbling in experiments" and said in a rather ungentlemanly way that Miss Bourne was a "social misfit." The seventeen-year-old miss retorted by calling the anonymous writer of the editorial a "male chauvinist pig."

Rouge who were the ideological allies of the Viet Cong.

In 1967, following the trouble at Battambang, Sihanouk came down heavily on the Khmer Rouge. Three men, Khien Sampam, Hou Youn and Hu Nim, who are now members of the new government, had disappeared during this crackdown and had gone into the political underground. Sihanouk had also lashed out at that time against China and its use of the Cambodian — Chinese Friendship Association for subversive purposes. A breach of diplomatic relations had been avoided only because of the personal intervention of Chou En-lai.

Sihanouk whereupon differentiated cleverly between the North Vietnamese and the Chinese and reverted to using the latter to restrain the former. All this, it must be remembered, occurred during the Cultural Revolution when Sihanouk could well have been apprehensive about the role China could and would play. For double reassurance he turned once again to the US. In 1968, he accepted US guarantees of Cambodia's territorial frontiers and, following the Tet offensive, he acquiesced in—or perhaps even requested—US bombing of North Vietnamese sanctuaries within Cambodia itself.

The story of Sihanouk is a fascinating one, and the full story has yet to be revealed. It is same with much of what is happening in China itself. According to press reports, the Congress of the Communist Party of China,

a meeting of National People's Congress (China's Parliament), and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (the national forum for non-communist political groups) were scheduled to begin their sessions in Peking shortly (if they had not already met). Recent issues of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* have given the most comprehensive coverage so far about recent developments in China leading to these meetings, and an attempt will be made in this column shortly to collate and summarise what has appeared in this knowledgeable Hongkong weekly and other newspapers which have recently published analytical studies in some depth about current developments in China.

IN THE MEANTIME, events in the Middle East compel even greater attention. For the first time in the UN's history there was a unanimous censure by the Security Council against Israel. The US did not exercise its veto, but joined the other Powers

to condemn Israel's action in hijacking an Arab airliner in order to satisfy itself that Arab commando and guerilla leaders were not in that plane.

The Security Council's condemnation of Israel is indeed an indication that the Arabs have acquired a new maturity in regard to the U N. *The Economist*, August 18, commented on the matter as follows: "The Arabs have learned something about the United Nations by now, and they will not set very much store by their victory in the Security Council on Wednesday. It was a novel experience for them to watch all 15 members, and even the United States, condemn Israel for forcing down the Carvelle on August 10th, searching it for terrorists, and then delivering it back to Lebanon: as novel an experience, indeed, as watching an Arab airliner flying out of Libya become a hijack victim on Thursday. That unanimous vote of disapproval makes Israel look very lonely: it is a mark of the Arab's

YOU'VE DISCOVERED THE TRIBUNE

Why not subscribe Today?

ONE YEAR OF EXCITING, STIMULATING
COMMENTARY ON THE IMPORTANT
ISSUES OF THE DAY FOR RS. 25.

Post Free in Sri Lanka

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET, COLOMBO-2.

Telephone: 33172

growing sophistication in United Nations politics that did not insist on a resolution which demanded punishment as well as disapproval, and would thereby have got it vetoed by the Americans."

Deploring the diversion of the Lebanese civil aircraft by Israeli Air Force as unjustifiable action that could lead to countermeasures, the United States demanded that international efforts to cope with terrorism must go forward "within and not outside the law." U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, John Scali, told the Security Council on August 14: "the commitment to Rule of Law in International Affairs, including the field of international civil aviation, imposes certain restraints on the methods governments can use to protect themselves against those who operate outside the law." In casting his vote for the resolution adopted on August 15, Mr. Scali said it is a warning "to all members of the world community that the community will no longer tolerate illegal interference with any one of the basic means of communication from any quarter." In condemning Israeli's forcing down of a plane it thought carried Palestinian guerilla leaders, the resolution also called on Israel "to desist from any acts that violate Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity and endanger the safety of international civil aviation."

Arising from this incident, there have been many critical comments about Israeli methods in various newspapers in Europe and elsewhere. One

CEYLON: MARGINAL NOTES

BY SERENDIB

ON FRENCH PATRONAGE

THERE IS no doubt that the weekly *Nation* reflects the thinking in the most influential section of the United Front, a section which gets things

story which has attracted attention is that the Israelis have recruited agents' provocateurs from among unstable Arab elements to indulge in terroristic activities in order to besmirch the name of the PLA and the guerilla movement. It has been suggested that the terroristic acts in Athens recently and in Khar-toum earlier were the work of Israeli agents provocateurs planted inside the Arab guerilla movement. Such Israeli actions have increased anti-Israeli feeling throughout the world.

Furthermore, the fact that the Norwegian police arrested two Israelis for the murder of an Arab in Oslo was a major blow to Israeli prestige and many believe that the Athen's episode was enacted by Israeli agents among the Arabs in order to divert attention from the Norwegian incident. The hijacking of a Libyan airliner by an Arab immediately after Israel's hijack in Lebanon is said to be another diversionary stunt.

It is time that Israel learnt that terrorism does not pay.

done and which has successfully carried through a great deal of what was set out in the UF programme. In its issue of August 24th, it had a front page story which hints at a development of great political significance which will have international and Commonwealth repercussions. Under the heading **FRENCH PATRONAGE MORE ADVANTAGEOUS: PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION SPEAKS OUT ON TEA**, the *Roving Correspondent* of the *Nation* reported as follows: "The French Parliamentary Delegation in Sri Lanka hinted last afternoon that it may be to Sri Lanka's advantage to ditch Britain in favour of France as far as our negotiations with the European Economic Community on Tea are concerned. The President of the Delegation, M. Jacques Delong, emphasised that although France was already intervening on behalf of her ex-colonial possessions in Africa, none of them is a tea producer. Whereas many Commonwealth countries do produce tea. The unposed question was: How can the UK extend the required patronage to Sri Lanka's tea, when she had identical obligations to other Commonwealth tea producers?"

"The other members of the delegation which is currently, touring Sri Lanka, are M. Joseph Legrand of the French C.P., M. Paul Cailland, an Independent Republican, M. Michael Alloncle of the Union of Democrats and M. Georges Peizerat of the Democracy and Progress Centre.

"Speaking about French aid, M. Delong emphasised that France has exceeded the '1% of GNP' stipulation of the last UNCTAD which asked developed countries to transfer 1% of their GNP as aid to the under-developed nations of the world. 60% of this is state aid, 40% private. State aid is now available at 2.5% interest with extended periods of re-payments. In addition, the Government will in future guarantee private aid. Moreover, the Cabinet has now decided to ensure that developing countries receive a fair price for their commodities...."

The report then went on to deal with what the French delegation had to say about the French nuclear tests, but it was nothing new—the French standpoint on nuclear tests are now well known.

BUT the French effort to lever Britain out of the picture in this area gives rise to many interesting questions. It must be admitted that France is in a stronger position within the ECM than Britain. Furthermore, whilst there are several British Commonwealth countries which produce tea—industries in which Britain has invested heavily—France has no former colony which grows tea. What the French suggest is

that Sri Lanka should transfer its tea marketing in the ECM to French patronage: and the *Nation* indirectly seems to think that French patronage would be more advantageous than the British connection.

What France is now seeking to create among its associates in the ECM is a new kind of *sub-imperialism* where the satellite gets a greater share of the booty. The term *sub-imperialism* is now used to describe the new phenomenon where an advanced country gets a less developed country under its wings and is willing to have multi-national corporations operate in a way that the less advanced countries get a bigger share of the profits. The United States has already created such outposts in Brazil in South America and in Iran in the Persian Gulf. It is significant that Iran will shortly invest its excess dollars, derived from oil exports, in refineries in the USA which import Iranian crude.

FRANCE is busy making such sub-imperialist states in Africa out of former colonies. And France seems anxious to extend its operations to Asia once again, and Sri Lanka is certainly on the route to former French colonies in Indochina. The UTA - Air Ceylon agreements is an exercise in *sub-imperialism* from which this island derives much profit. The UTA was certainly willing to give away much more than the BOAC was willing to give Air Ceylon.

Smaller and less developed countries like Sri Lanka derive small mercies from the

contradictions and trade rivalries of the bigger and more advanced countries. When the word *imperialism* was the order of the day and was a political imperative in the terminology of nationalist and left parties in subject countries, satellite status was first called *colonial*, and then with the political independence of the post-second world war period, this satellite status was described as *neo-colonialism*.

Now the same status, with greater affluence being accorded to the satellite, is more crudely called *sub-imperialism* by critical marxists, but it is described as multi-national joint enterprise by those who favour such development.

MUGGING

A group of New York policemen recently undertook an experiment to see how a foreign tourist would fare in the city after dark. The role of decoy was assigned to Patrick Quinn, who took a walk down one of the main streets one late evening. Here is what the other policemen, following him at a distance, recorded: "At 11 p.m. four youths approached and took Quinn's wallet, containing \$5. At 12.15 a.m., a fifty year old man stripped the watch off Quinn's wrist. At 1 a.m., Quinn's last valuable, a ring with a ruby coloured stone, worth \$50 was whisked from his finger by a twenty-year-old man."

IN ANY CASE, countries like Sri Lanka seem to have limited options in the matter. We are not big enough to be completely on our feet especially as we are hamstrung by the economic heritage of the past and the doctrinaire politics of the present. We refuse to develop as other small islands which have done well in the contemporary era (eg Singapore, Hongkong, etc) because we do not want uninhibited capitalism even if it means relative affluence from the richest to the poorest. We want to go the way Cuba has gone although it means hardship, austerity and sacrifice.

But even in this process of reaching out to socialism, we have to lean from one imperialism to another, from Britain to France, or we have to lean heavily on one partner of the socialist bloc or another. And we cannot forget the existence of our neighbour India—we even seek lines of credit from the not-so-affluent India.

It is difficult to be realistic in a situation like this. To break away from the bondage of the old imperial patron Britain we seek to slide into sub-imperialist joint ventures with a country like France. Can a small country like Sri Lanka ever be totally independent in the true economic sense? Can any country be truly independent today? Or must we accept inter-dependence as a fact and readjust our policies on a more pragmatic basis?

SHAMBA

Vandals Destroy Our Crops

by ANATORY BUKOBA

June 19-24

June 19,

WHERE I was clearing today was almost black with the combination of dense undergrowth and overhead cover. I start the morning trying to make a pile of the dead vegetation. Another goes round with the knife stripping straight lengths of cut wood off their branches. We have quite a pile of this now. Thin ones and short ones for tables, and the long ones for beds. We have made a *massa* table with a shelf. The lower shelf for a suitcase and shoes, and the top for vegetables and fruits. We have also made a *massa* table to use as a writing table, and another to hold our magazines. This last is in our living room, which also holds our *massa* beds, so that anybody who comes into see us can look at them. We are lucky to have some old copies of *Economist* which always make good reading. Ordinarily they would be quite beyond our purse.

After breakfast, which today was *kande*, a sort of porridge made with rice, fruit, coconut milk, and, as we had it today also with *pol palla*. I start clearing. Today, as it was market day, one person went straight off to that, while the other two weeded, one with the mamoty, and the other with the knife.

Lunch is rice, and we cook this twice a day now, and not once a day as we did before. From then on the day seems to go very rapidly, too rapidly, for there is such a lot to do. Today we packeted seed, two hundred packets, and we finished the job by lamplight. There was rain this morning, so only one of us watered, and only what was newly planted. We do not look for friends dropping in. We have our regular callers, and sometimes others. On occasion people looking for jobs, or without jobs, are sent here by the shop-keepers, but we do not employ anybody here. Sometimes those dropping in help us with packing the seeds.

It is a great life, this village life, once you are accepted, and an Oxford background seems to make no difference to one being accepted. On the roads we meet people who have seen us before in other places. There is a great equality here.

June 22,

THERE is a herb growing here called *irramassu*, said to be useful for purifying the blood. We drank it this morning and again last thing tonight. It is boiled with salt and lime. Tonight red onion was added, and it makes

a pleasant drink. This morning it tasted like medicine. The herb is a creeper, with a distinctive leaf, and quite a singular arrangement of them.

Two coconut trees went in today and a bread fruit tree. All these came from Colombo, or rather, a village not so far away. Coconuts have their own nourishment, the nut from which they grow. The bread fruit has to rely on its root. A white flowered temple tree was cut down not so far away, and I retrieved one of its branches, with the owner's permission, and brought it back. We cut three smaller branches from it and planted them. The holes dug for the coconuts were not so deep, and after they were properly dug, salt was sprinkled round the sides of each hole.

Two cadju trees were transplanted, and there is still a third one to move. There are two *laverlu* trees also to transplant. Chilli was transplanted.

The tomato is doing really well and the lady's finger, cadju and spinachs. In the case of the spinachs we had put down both plants and cuttings. The chilli is getting along slowly, rather like the manioc, which seem to refuse to get bigger. Our plantains do not seem to grow at all, nor the first papaw we put down. I think it has a lot to do with the soil. That behind the house towards the river, and to the right towards the road, is very poor. To the left of the house it does not seem much better, and it is really

too exposed to the sun. Towards the front, and a little away from the house, the soil is really good. This last part also has a great deal of shade.

This morning I trod on a snake. I must have been half asleep when I did so, for I neither saw the snake before or afterwards. I must have felt something, for I looked down and saw this snake, a medium size one squirming under my feet. I think I was very lucky not to be bitten, thanks to good old St. Patrick for saving me. He is the patron saint against snake bites, as well as being the patron saint of Ireland. I was wearing rubber sandals when I had this adventure, and strangely enough I was not at all frightened.

June 23,

WE spent the morning packing seed. There was *Thiringu*, which means wheat, but it is not really so, and orange, cadju, papaw, beans, cowpea, water melon, pumpkin, to mention what I can remember off hand. Another was sorghum. As a result of this I was unable to do any of the things I had wanted outside. I have just looked at the list of what we really did packet and I find that I have forgotten to mention *vel penala*, a creeper which grows wild here and which makes a good vegetable although it is as bitter as spinach. From all accounts, it is to the vegetables world what Vichy water is to non solids, and that is Healthy Giving.

Dry wood and dry vegetation can make a really fierce blaze, as I found out

today. I was glad that there was nothing of real value or importance near that blaze. I was also on the alert in case it spread. Fortunately it did not.

When we had friends this evening and we were all inside drinking tea, someone broke off all the tender branches of four of our murunga trees. It was probably done in a temper, and we were wondering whether the cause of this temper or spite, was immediate or remote. It was a lesson to us to be on the watch. I had a feeling that the living room, cum bedroom of our house is too closed up, preventing close observation of man and beast. There was another run (written in my

Cement From Ash

Volcanic ash has proved an excellent source for high-quality building materials. Specialists from the research institute of building materials in Georgia (a Republic in the Soviet Transcaucasia) have found out that it can serve as a basis for manufacturing cement and concrete. The ash acquires the necessary qualities after calcination in special furnaces. In the process it alters its chemical composition, becoming highly resistant to acids. Georgia has plenty of volcanic ash deposits within its territory, which are 20 to 25 metres thick. Deposits also occur in many other parts of the country.

sleep, I meant raid) on our *divul* trees, this time by a party of children. I suppose the temptation to break the as yet *Divul* is strong. The children were not at all perturbed at being caught. I just sent them away after telling them not to. They were children I did not know well.

One way of overcoming the scarcity of sugar is to have a piece of juggery in one's mouth while sipping the tea. The villager has discovered that sugar goes further by not mixing it with the tea, but by having the sugar in the palm of the right hand, and licking the sugar between sips. A piece of juggery in the mouth has much the same effect.

June 24,

THERE are people near here who grow vegetables on quite a large scale by directing water along channels to their crops. It is the method used in the Jaffna peninsula

even in home gardens. By opening and blocking channels there, water is directed to every plant. Here, at the farm I saw, where everything has to be done on a bigger scale, water is directed to every bed or line of vegetables by the same system of opening and blocking channels. These people over here, know the variety of every vegetable they had planted, and they have only been at the game three years, or so I understood.

Cowpea is quite a new vegetable around here, so new, that it has not got a Sinhala name. In spite of all that, every one seems quite familiar with it, and I came across a variety of it today which can best be described as white cowpea, from the colour of its seed, and that is the name it goes by. The seed is smaller than the more usual variety.

American vegetables are being grown around here in some places. One goes by

the name of squash, and it grows into quite a big vegetable, but not so big as our pumpkin or *wattakka*, and it is all manner of shape, size and colour. The next problem is going to be, how to prepare it for cooking. It promises to be a bigger problem than growing it and no one as yet knows the answer.

Whosoever's fault it might be, and whether it is an inside job or not, the vandals have been at work again. This time it was the turn of spinach. Most of the young spinach plants have been wantingly broken, a few chilli plants uprooted, and, it appears, while we were looking at the damage done to these, more *murunga* trees were attacked and their branches broken off. My first sensation was of the presence of evil while the truth was first being borne in on me, and my next when I tried unravel the knot was the feeling of just being stamped as to who has done it.

STILL BORROWING THE TRIBUNE?

BE AHEAD OF THE TIMES WITH YOUR COPY

PAPER SHORTAGE COMPEL US TO LIMIT OUR PRINT ORDER, AND TO ENSURE YOUR COPY EVERY WEEK BECOME A SUBSCRIBER

* 1 Year Rs. 25 * 2 Years Rs. 40 * 3 Years Rs. 60

Post Free in Sri Lanka

TRIBUNE

43, DAWSON STREET,

TEL: 33172

COLOMBO-2.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE C.T.B.

by
Lankaputra

Bus commuters, be ye sad no more! The bus services will not break down completely—at least not in the near future. You will not have to trudge to work, though walking, remember, is good exercise. This heartening news was vouchsafed us by the Minister of Transport, Leslie Goonewardene, in the National State Assembly on August 23rd. What is more, he even promised an improved service by the CTB by February next year. This was made possible, he said, because the Government has released the foreign exchange needed by him to import 450 bus chassis and an additional Rs. 20 million for the import of spare parts.

ACCORDING to the Minister, the CTB was in a very sorry state when the United Front Government came to power in 1970. They had been able to improve it considerably till August 1972. Since then, however, the situation had deteriorated due to difficulties connected with the shortage of foreign exchange necessary to import essential goods needed by the CTB. Thus, the strength of the operational fleet of the CTB which stood at 4249 in 1970 had gone up to 5098 by 1972, but had since then come down to 4572.

The CTB, it will be remembered, was run at a loss during the first four years of its existence, that is from 1958 to 1961. But it started making profits from 1962, and in 1964 the profit it made was no less than Rs. 19 million.

But profits began to fall from 1965 onwards and the CTB finances had again begun to be in the red by 1968. The reasons for this were given

in the annual report of the Central Bank for that year. According to that report, the main reason was that the work-force which was 23,854 in 1964 had increased to 34,936 by 1968—a rise of over 45 per cent.

This increase in the work-force resulted in the wage bill of the CTB increasing from Rs. 66 million in 1964 to 162 million in 1968. Thus was the profit of Rs. 19 million in 1964 converted to the howling deficits in 1968 and thereafter.

Further figures are enlightening. In 1964 the CTB had 4162 buses with 27,000 men to run them. By 1969, the CTB fleet had decreased to 3787, but the employees on its payroll had increased to 44,000. In other words, 17,000 more workers were employed by the CTB to run 375 less buses!

And this from the Auditor-General's report: "Although the number of buses is less and the number of employees is more, one-third of wage payments in the CTB are on

overtime." At that time, all this was attributed to the political jobbery and corruption indulged in by the UNP Government.

WHAT WAS the situation by the time the United Front Government took office? The CTB then had 5600 buses of which 1140 were not road-worthy. Thus, its effective strength was only 4460 buses—1365 short of the 5825 considered necessary for the purpose of giving a satisfactory service.

The prices of buses, spare parts and fuel oils had increased. The wage bill too had gone up steeply. According to the figures given in a progress review by the CTB submitted to the Ministry of Planning, the CTB was losing 6 cents on every mile run. And the accumulated losses by April 1971 was Rs. 120 million!

It was with a view to rectify matters that the present Minister effected an increase in the rate of bus fares that same month. On that occasion he said: "The time has come when everybody in this country will have to join the Government in taking measures which are necessary to put the country on the road of economic development. As we go forward on the socialist path, state enterprises, instead of being subsidised by the state, must increasingly supply the state with the capital required for the country's development."

Mr. Goonewardene also hoped that the new increased bus fares "will yield the CTB a sufficient income

which will place it in a sound financial position and ensure that it will continue to improve its services to the public over the years." However, it cannot be said that this hope had been realised during the course of the last two years.

State corporations were established, first in the 1940's and then increasingly from 1956 onwards, with a view to empower competent, independent Boards of Directors to administer large-scale business enterprises on commercial lines without being hamstrung by the fi-

nancial and administrative regulations pertaining to Government Departments. Those who first thought of this idea of state corporations certainly did not envisage Governmental or Ministerial interference in the day-to-day administration of these corporations.

But, unfortunately, from the very start political interference and favouritism has been very much in evidence and nowhere more than in the CTB.

THUS, the Boards of Directors in the CTB, have been changed with every change of Government. Unnecessary political interference has made it difficult for these Boards to run the bus services efficiently on strictly business lines. There was once the case of a Prime Minister having to involve himself in such a petty issue as the transfer of a CTB Depot Manager!

Coupled with this has been the bureaucratism at the top resulting in needless red-tape that puts to the shade the delays and frustration caused by the ordinary Governmental regulations. Even Mr. Leslie Goonewardene, during the recent debate in the National State Assembly, was forced to admit the existence of this "bureaucratic power" in the higher echelons of the CTB, but said that this has been curbed to some extent by the establishment of worker's committees.

But the workers themselves are not free from blame. They, and not the bus commuters, have been the best beneficiaries of the bus services being nationalised, what

with better pay, greater security of service, other fringe benefits and what not. But could it be said that they have always put their best foot forward to make the biggest success of the nationalised services?

There are numerous trade unions in the CTB owing allegiance to various political parties. Often it is their political loyalties rather than devotion to the cause of the workers or the larger interests of the CTB that have motivated the actions of these trade unions, sometimes resulting in strikes causing inconvenience to bus travellers and adding to the losses of the corporation.

And political favouritism and corruption, always the bane of the CTB, have not ceased to exist even after the formation of the United Front Government in 1970.

In this connection, it is gratifying to note that Mr. Goonewardene has stated that disciplinary action was being taken against corrupt CTB employees and that 1600 such employees have been dismissed from the time he took over as Minister. It is also heartening that one of the 28 demands recently adopted by the Joint Committee of Trade Union Organisation is that the appointment and promotion to jobs in local government bodies and state corporations should be only on the basis of merit. Implementation of these salutary measures is bound to lead to a better service for our much-harassed bus commuters.

Hippies Keep Out

According to *France Presse*, the Moroccan Ministry for Tourism has banned entry to foreign hippies and asked those already in the country to leave. Its spokesman said the step was taken to save Moroccans from being corrupted.

* * *

Secret of Longevity

To live long, 150 year-old Iranian Abbas Haskar told newsmen the other day, one must keep one's cheerful disposition and sense of humour. He had never allowed anything or anyone to upset him too much, he said. Not one of the 36 women he had been married to had succeeded, he affirmed.

DOESN'T CRIME PAY?

Rob Thy Neighbour—While You Can

By CANAX

THE SPATE of robberies now being spotlighted in the newspapers is a pointer to the way things are moving in the country, according to a sociologist friend who makes a big thing about studying and analysing behavioural trends. "It's too early to say," he tells me, "but my research into the motivational aspects of the matter suggests that, right now, crime may be considerably more satisfying to many people than most other forms of human activity."

"For one thing, it pays," he adds, "and that's saying a lot these days."

He contends that humanity has lived with crime, and vice versa, from time immemorial, which explains why people never have been very worried about it. But what he finds very significant in Sri Lanka is that, of late, even the Police—of all people—have begun to worry about it.

"From the looks of it, I'd say the Police have at last realised that following the example of politicians isn't going to get them anywhere," he says. The Police, it seems, consider themselves totally different in that politicians come and politicians go, but the Police have to go on forever. At least they hope to. I can't see any difference, though.

He is personally in complete agreement with the Law

on that point. "I can understand their concern," he explained, "for they can't hope to fool all the people all the time, and they'd be very short-sighted to settle for anything less."

I MUST have looked non-plussed without realising it, for he promptly decided the matter called for clarification.

"What good is it," he asked rhetorically, "them telling people that crime does not pay, when it does, it does?"

Just for the record, he says he even asked a policeman if he believed crime did not pay, and the lawman thought he was joking. "You can hardly convince others when you don't believe it yourself," my friend observes.

In his considered opinion, the simple fact that more and more people were taking to crime was clear proof of the growing credibility gap between the Police and the public. "It shows they are being believed less and less," he says.

The message could of course be getting across, but he is convinced it was reaching only those who, for reasons still obscure, seemed to have a marked, may be natural aversion to a life of crime. "But that is like preaching to the faithful, and is a waste of time—and Government money."

Surprising though it may seem, he has no doubts that there are still a lot of people, and young people at that, who'd rather do nothing than rob, even if only to keep body and soul together, expecting instead the Government to find the answer to their problem, which was jobs. Or, rather, the lack of it.

"Such people have no initiative," my friend says, "and are really beyond help. Like God, the Government also helps those who help themselves but, unlike God, the Government can only do that much and no more, which is an unfortunate, even inexplicable limitation."

THERE WERE many ways the authorities could counter the lack on initiative which in turn caused the problem of unemployment. No doubt the Government had done much in this regard, says my friend, but it was unrealistic to expect all youth to be equally enthusiastic about getting back to the land. After all, he muses, no two fingers are alike.

He was inclined to view the apparently successful agricultural policy as being due largely to effective propaganda, like holding out examples of youngsters making a fortune on just one crop of chillies. But if every young man opted for it there would hardly be a fortune at the end for anybody.

"It was sheer luck," he says, "that there wasn't a mass exodus, but of course the problem of unemployment remains."

He favours seeking other avenues as well to get over the problem. Those youngsters who considered picking chillies dull and unexciting simply because they are made that way, should be actively encouraged to do their own thing, like picking pockets instead, and stop being a drag on the nation. They probably aren't aware, he says, that there's a fortune to be had in many a pocket, to say nothing of the goodies to be found in homes. Other people's of course.

The obvious thing to do now, he says, is to launch a island-wide publicity campaign to make youth aware of what they are missing.

"Of course crime, like poverty, is its own reward," says my friend. "but if anyone manages to get six months R. I. as well, that must be considered a welcome, if unexpected bonus."

As for the Police, he feels they are as much worried about having given the public the wrong impression (about crime) as they are about having given themselves the right one. While it was encouraging that an increasing section of the public got at the truth, no thanks to the Police, an increasing section of the Force also appeared to have found enlightenment in the process, thanks to themselves.

"The consequent feeling of frustration in the Force must be overwhelming," my friend concludes. "It must be traumatic to realise that crime itself can be far more rewarding than its detection was, is or ever could be."

The grass, he feels, is always greener on the other side, but one had to be a real cow to believe it, and luckily none of our lawmen was quite as bovine as that.

THE MOST acceptable compromise in the circumstances would be for the Police to have the best of both worlds, so to speak—or, better still, go chew the cud on both sides. But the Police, highly disciplined Force that it is, would probably reject such happy compromises out of hand, in which case they'll never know what they are missing.

My friend has been greatly encouraged by a recent report of how five robbers had entered a house, gagged the inmates, and helped themselves to jewellery worth Rs. 8000/- and Rs. 3000/- in cash. Before leaving, they had told the helpless head of the house, "Save more money, we'll come again."

It's that last bit that makes my friend happy. "It shows not only initiative but great ambition and confidence," he says. "I don't know whose example they were following, but they'd make worthy successors to NM as Finance Minister."

SATELLITE PICTURES CAN HELP DROUGHT VICTIMS

Satellite pictures obtained by Christian Aid have revealed possible previously unknown underground water tables in India's western drought areas. This is the first time satellite pictures have been used for this purpose. They were sought by Christian Aid during the recent drought crisis. A geologist who has been leading the search for water in Maharashtra said they were "immensely valuable" and described this use of satellite as "highly significant for the whole of the underdeveloped world." Dr. Chris Wigglesworth, until recently based in Bombay and now staying in Edinburgh, has indicated on the pictures possible water sources. Infra-red film is being sought to help confirm these findings before transfer to the Indian Government and Christian Aid's Indian sister agencies, both drilling for water in these regions.

The photographs were taken by a new scanning device on board the United States earth resources technology satellite, launched last July and orbiting the earth 565 miles up once every 103 minutes. It has been taking 9,000 photographs every week. With drought currently affecting all or part of 20 African countries and people and livestock dying of thirst with almost certainly untapped sources of water beneath their feet, Christian Aid is anxious to again make use of satellite pictures for these regions but first must contact local geologists to assist translation of the photographs.

Chinese Presence And Naval Strength

by S. K. Ghosh

Institute For Defense Studies & Analyses

DESPITE the growing Chinese influence and the keen competition with the Soviet Union to establish a countervailing influence in the regions mentioned earlier, there has been no concrete evidence as yet of actual Chinese naval presence in the waters of the Indian Ocean in the sense the USA and the USSR have.

CHINA has also been trying to exert its influence on the tiny but strategic island republic of **Maldives**. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were established in October 1972.

China's relations with **Burma** which had remained extremely strained during the cultural revolution and particularly since the June 1967 anti-Chinese riots in Rangoon, have improved considerably during the last two to three years. During this period (1967-1970), the Burmese Government had been worried about China's continued involvement in insurgent activities in the minority areas, particularly in the Shan and Kachin states bordering China. New Ambassadors were exchanged by the end of 1971 and there were definite signs of Chinese intentions of improving relations with Burma.

Since the middle of 1970 Peking has reduced its comments on the insurgent activities in Burma to the minimum and stopped making references to the "Ne Win fascist clique". Ne Win's

visit to Peking in August 1971 was the beginning of the process of mending broken fences and soon thereafter China resumed its economic aid to Rangoon suspended since 1967. Sino-Burmese trade which reached its lowest ebb in 1967-68 is now picking up. A high level Chinese trade and economic delegation, led by Foreign Trade Minister Pai Hsiang-Kuo, visited Rangoon in December 1972. The delegation's talks with the Burmese authorities mainly concerned the industrial projects to be financed by the £ 19.3 mn balance of the £ 30 mn long-term loan extended by China in 1961.

AMONG the **South-East Asian** countries situated on the shores of the Indian Ocean, **Malaysia** appears to be keen to normalise its relations with Peking, now that the latter has suspended its propaganda support to the insurgents operating on the Thai-Malaysian border. A recent report indicated that Malaysia had placed before its four other partners in the ASEAN—Singapore, Thai-

This is the third and concluding part of the Series on *China's Presence in the Indian Ocean*. Earlier we had published two articles on *Soviet Naval Presence in the Indian Ocean*. From next week we will publish articles on *Foreign Bases in the Indian Ocean*.

land, Indonesia and the Philippines—the issue of their future relations with China "squarely", when the Foreign Ministers of the five-power group met in Bangkok on 16 April 1973. Malaysia, according to Premier Tun Abdul Razak, has "firmly and definitely" decided to establish formal diplomatic relations with China. If Malaysia recognises Peking, Singapore may follow suit.

Indonesia, however, seems still to be unclear about Peking's intentions in the region. It resents Peking's continued support to the officially-banned Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). "The time has not come" (to normalise relations with China), said Foreign Minister Adam Malik on 18 February 1973. He also rejected a proposed summit meeting with China and Japan to normalise relations with Peking.

China, on its part, has welcomed as a positive development the idea of neutralisation of South East Asia, a proposal mooted by ASEAN nations. It says that if the region is truly neutralised—by withdrawal of foreign military installations and naval bases—China will respect such neutralisation. On the whole, China is endeavouring to re-

gain its influence in the South-East Asian Indian Ocean littoral countries, which it had lost almost completely in consequence of its support to the insurgent movements in the region during the late sixties. With the end of the Cultural Revolution and the consequential termination of the isolationist foreign policy in the seventies, China has had to change its tactics.

China has been a regular purchaser of **Australian** wheat, taking on an average, 80 mn bushels annually during the past 10 years, despite the fact that the two countries had no diplomatic relations. Following the installation of the labour Government under the premier ship of Gough Whitlam in December 1972, China established diplomatic relations with Australia and New Zealand. The normalisation of relations opened up good prospects for friendly co-operation and exchanges in various fields including trade, culture, science and technology, between the two countries.

The first Soviet warship appeared in the Indian Ocean in early 1968. A cruiser, two destroyers and an oiler from the Soviet Far East Fleet called at Madras, Bombay, Karachi, Colombo, Basra, Umm Qasr, Bandar Abbas and Magadishu. During the following two years Soviet naval squadrons had reportedly made about 50 visits to the 16 littoral countries in the Indian Ocean, and the Soviet Navy, which, according to the 1971 British White Paper on Defence, had about 20 warships at one point, "cruis-

sing along an arc running from Ceylon to Tanzania", now reportedly maintains a flotilla of 4 to 5 ships in the Indian Ocean. These ships form part of the Soviet Far East Fleet and are based on Vladivostok. Instead of holding any formal naval base rights in the Indian Ocean littoral countries, the Soviet Union has made efforts to develop afloat replenishment and support capabilities. Submarines on sustained and long cruises are often accompanied by submarine tenders and submarine repair ships.

In 1970, the Soviet Union concluded an agreement with Mauritius under which in return for technical assistance Soviet fishing vessels are provided harbour facilities. At the other end of the Indian state of Singapore has agreed to provide the Soviet Union with dockyard facilities at the Sembawang dockyard. More than 500 vessels reportedly visited Singapore in 1969.

THE CHINESE have nothing to match the Soviet naval deployment. There have been occasional reports of Chinese submarines visiting the Indian Ocean area in Indonesian waters and near the Andamans. But these reports have never been confirmed. A statement made by the Minister of Defence Production, L. N. Mishra, in the Rajya Sabha on May 7, 1970, said that "recently some Chinese naval ships were observed in the Indian Ocean." But the Minister added that he could not, however, estimate the number of Chinese ships present in the Indian Ocean "for lack of information".

On 14 June, 1971, Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram said in the Lok Sabha that there "is no indication of any recent increase of the presence of Chinese naval ships in the Indian Ocean." In fact, the correct position in this regard would appear to be that apart from the various commercial ships which have been regularly plying between Shanghai and Dar-es-Salaam, via the Malacca Straits, Colombo, Karachi and Aden, and a few "light units" of the Chinese Navy which reportedly called at Dar-es-Salaam in early 1972, no tangible proof of the presence of Chinese naval ships in the Indian Ocean is available.

The PLA Navy is the weakest component of the Chinese Armed Forces. According to *Jane's Fighting Ships 1972-73*, the Chinese naval fleet consists of 42 diesel-powered submarines, four destroyers, nine destroyer escorts (small frigates), eleven escorts (sloops and corvettes), 17 fast missile boats, 20 submarine chasers (patrol vessels) 315 fast gun boats, 200 fast torpedo boats 22 coastal and river defence vessels, 27 medium and coastal minesweepers, 54 amphibious type landing ships and craft, 33 auxiliaries and support ships and 375 miscellaneous and service craft.

There are 155,000 officers and men, including 16,000 naval air force and 28,000 marines. The vast majority of these 1100 odd ships, aggregating only to about 200,000 tons, are more than 25 years old or are small vessels used primarily for coastal defence. The biggest

ships are 4 destroyers, none equipped with missiles. Of the estimated 42 submarines only one is long-range and equipped with three cruise missile tubes and the rest are conventional medium or short range ones, and none of them can reach a long distance, say the US mainland shores, and return.

As such, the PLA Navy is not capable of maintaining any sustained naval cruise in the Indian Ocean, particularly in the area near the Indian sub-continent. In this context, a remark of Premier Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore is relevant. He told the *New York Times* in June 1972: "I do not think that there is going to be a sizeable Chinese presence anywhere in South Asia. I do not see a Chinese Navy, a Chinese Seventh Fleet, complete with missile and aircraft carriers, in the South Pacific or the Indian Ocean in the 1970's."

THE FUTURE Chinese Naval expansion is likely to be in the area of nuclear submarines, both hunter-killer and ballistic missile types. Three nuclear powered submarines are reported to be in various stages of construction. These vessels are "designed for a displacement of 3000 tons and an armament of missiles and torpedoes". Given the vast coastline of China, there is also a distinct possibility of China following the modern international trends of building a large number of small high-speed missile boats to guard its coastline effectively. It is a matter for speculation whether in addition to these two major ex-

THE WORLD TODAY

Israel's Mistake And The World Reactions

by

Barry Brown

Washington, Aug. 16,

THE temptation to fight fire with fire is familiar to almost everyone. But to succumb to it is almost always dangerous, and that is particularly the case when a Government does so. The point has been proved by Israel's forcible diversion of a civil aircraft

pansion plans, China will also opt for the development of a very strong ocean-going surface navy.

In any case, it will be quite some time before China will have adequate resources to be able to afford building a nuclear submarine force, a defensive coastline flotilla operating from its home ports, a large merchant marine fleet, and a sizeable ocean going surface navy—all at the same time. In these circumstances the probability of China being able to influence the nations in the Indian Ocean periphery by regular flag-waving, by sending its ocean-going naval ships on trans-oceanic missions, appears to be low.

But more Chinese merchant marine ships and submarines may increasingly appear in the Indian Ocean in the coming years. There may also be more transfer of smaller Chinese naval vessels (like gunboats) to Indian Ocean littoral coun-

tries over Lebanon and the unanimous condemnation of that action by the U.N. Security Council.

When an individual is convinced he has been wronged and undertakes to strike back at his foe by his own means, outside the law, he is likely to run two risks. In the short term, he may well fail to achieve his purpose. In the longer run, he will weaken the rule of law in the society within which he must live, and thereby ultimately diminish his own security. The Israeli action was a grievous mistake in both respects.

The interception of the Air liner en route from Beirut to Baghdad by Israeli fighter planes did not achieve its avowed objective, which was to apprehend four leaders of Arab terrorist movements believed to be aboard. When the commercial plane was forced to land in Israel, it was discovered that they had cancelled their reservations just before take-off.

IN THIS connection, however, it seems possible that the failure may actually have spared Israel some even more serious consequences of her action, for a successful kidnapping would almost certainly have compounded her problem internationally and might well have made the ever-present danger of Arab

counter-violence even more acute.

But what made this resort to a new form of aerial hijacking an even more fatal mistake, in the longer perspective, was Israel's deliberate decision to act outside International Law.

To be sure, the Israelis were led into this course of action by their conviction that international society could not and would not take effective action to protect them. As their spokesman in the U.N. debate put it, the Security Council, "during the entire 25 years of the Middle East conflict has been unable to make up its mind, even once, that armed attacks against Israel by Arab states or from the territory of Arab states constitute transgressions against the U.N. charter and International Law."

The temptation to fight fire with fire is not difficult to understand.

YET IT is precisely because the fabric of International Law is so fragile that it needs

to be guarded with special care by all who understand what chaos would result if, for example, many Governments were to engage in aerial hijacking as a matter of state policy. That was the view expressed by U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations John Scali: "The commitment to the rule of Law in international affairs, including the field of International Civil Aviation, imposes certain restraints on the methods governments can use to protect themselves against those who operate outside the Law."

The American vote against Israel applied, as Ambassador Scali stressed, to "a specific complaint about a specific incident." Because the resolution was wisely designed not to call for economic sanctions against Israel, such as might have disturbed the delicate Arab-Israeli balance of power, the United States saw no need to consider using its veto, as it has on other occasions to defeat one-sided anti-Israel proposals. Those vetoes were employed not to defend Israel, but to try to maintain a measure of

stability in the middle East. As Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco, recently observed in an interview on Israeli television, American interests in many respects are "parallel" to those of Israel, but "they are not synonymous...."

THUS, when it became clear that the vote on the resolution condemning the Israeli diversion of the plane over Lebanon would be a vote against terrorism itself, the United States had no hesitation in supporting it—as it has every move against this sort of international violence from whatever quarter and in whatever cause. As to the application of sanctions to put teeth into existing anti-hijacking treaties, the United States has consistently supported such moves also, and expects to do so again at the meeting of the International Civil Aviation organisation in Rome later this month. But the guiding principle must be, as Ambassador Scali put it, that the struggle against terrorism should be waged "inside, not outside, the law."



Find out what's really going on in Sri Lanka and the world

To participate in discussion on difficult or unexpected topics, to be confident in your knowledge about this country and the world and to find yourself better informed than your colleagues—read the **Tribune**, a little time each week, and that will give you an interpretative analysis of current events and also indicate the course of future developments. **Tribune** will point out what is important today and what may happen tomorrow.

Nixon's Watergate Speech

—restrained criticism full of doubt and scepticism—

The following are excerpts from U. S. editorial opinion on President Nixon's August 15 speech on the Watergate situation:

New York Daily News: "...His speech was a stout reassertion of his own innocence of any wrongdoing coupled with an earnest appeal that Americans not let 'obsession' with this sordid business cripple vital Government activities. No new information or evidence was offered that would help resolve conclusively in the public's mind the accusations and conflicts arising from the Senate hearings now in recess. For that reason alone, it is unlikely that the President rallied to his side many Americans who have doubts about his connection with Watergate but whose minds are still open..."

Pittsburgh Press: "The President will not be granted the confidence he needs to lead effectively until suspicion is stilled...The initial conclusion is that Mr. Nixon is making a grave mistake by clutching to his bosom the Watergate tapes, wrapped in a legalistic mantle of confidentiality. In a practical country, the feeling is that people with nothing to hide do not hide things."

Los Angeles Times: "The President has tried to resolve the issue of Watergate once and for all. Everyone who cares for the stability of the Government will wish he had.

But it is our initial judgment that he did not succeed."

Kansas City Star: "...Mr. Nixon's strongest points were made when he promised to be more vigilant in the future...But in the end, too many questions remain unanswered"

Atlanta Constitution: "...The nation needs a President who knows names, places, times, events, conversations, investigations. This man tells us he will not try to deal in those facts...If he is too good to answer the charges against him, if he is above the fray to the extent he need only promise to be 'more vigilant in the future, then this nation has some very hard thinking to do..."

New Orleans Times Picayune: "The issue of Watergate has assumed proportions quite unrelated to the incidents involved. President Nixon has, on balance, been a good President and may go down in history as a great one. The actions of his associates relating to Watergate constitute an ugly blot but certainly not one which should obliterate his record as a whole. Certainly there are lessons to be learned from Watergate, lessons in administration, lessons in ethics, and lessons in public relations. There is also a lesson to be learned in restraint. Now that the essential evil has been exposed, let us move forward in the critical areas so vital to this great nation."

New York Times: "Mr. Nixon offered no new information, clarified no issues and transcended none of the nagging controversies. Instead he repeated his now familiar denials that he knew anything prior to the Watergate break—in or that he participated in the subsequent cover-up. President Nixon closed with an appeal to the nation to turn away from a 'backward—looking obsession' with Watergate in favour of concentrating on urgent national problems... The saddest fact is that Mr. Nixon does not yet seem to realize that his own continuing lack of total responsiveness to the unanswered questions on Watergate are the biggest obstacle to such constructive action. It is his failure to release the tapes and his refusal to make

Ideal Cache

Yukio Yuzaki was so scared that somebody might steal his small fortune—309,000 yen—that he decided to find a safe place to hide it. The toaster, he thought, would be an ideal cache. A few days later, he appeared in a Tokyo bank with the—toaster. He had completely forgotten about the money and had switched it on. For two and a half hours seven tellers examined the charred remains of Yuzaki's fortune. Having convinced themselves that they were dealing with an honest man, they gave him new banknotes in exchange for the burnt.

a clean break with the past which prevents an early resolution of the Watergate issues. His concerns for the nation are well founded, but he has not yet done what is necessary to enable Americans to turn away from the Watergate scandals."

Miami News: "The nation badly needed a strong, and reassuring statement from President Nixon on the Watergate Affair. The people are disheartened and confused and the affairs of Government are at a standstill. But try as he might, Mr. Nixon either does not under-

stand the implications of this crisis in confidence or he cannot bring himself to address them with the kind of candor they demand. The sad truth is that he continues to be far more outraged over the attention Watergate receives than he is of the Watergate crimes themselves. We earnestly wished that Mr. Nixon's speech last night had been a triumph. He is our only President and the Nation needs his leadership. But we must conclude that he has no real understanding of what is at stake and of

what it will take to put the country back on course."

Philadelphia Inquirer: "Perhaps the best commentary on President Nixon's latest—but not necessarily last—Watergate explanation came near the end of the statement released with his speech: I realize this statement does not answer many of the questions and contentions raised during the Watergate hearings. Indeed it does not, nor did the speech with which Mr. Nixon broke almost three months of silence on the subject. The disappointing fact is that the President added nothing to what he had previously said."

BRITISH RESEARCHERS DISCOVER NEW MOSQUITO CONTROL TECHNIQUE

A method of destroying mosquito larvae which could have far-reaching success in the control of mosquitoes, is described in the latest annual report of Britain's Medical Research Council. Research at Bath University, in south-western England, has shown that natural oils called lecithins can be used to kill mosquito larvae and pupae, and unlike other oils they do not cause pollution problems. Earlier work on the idea of oiling stagnant water to eliminate mosquito larvae proved impracticable. The oil prevented oxygen reaching the larvae and the larvae died when they could not penetrate the oil layer on the water surface. However thick layers of oil caused pollution and thin layers did not work properly.

At Bath University researchers have discovered that lecithins will form layers that stop larvae and pupae getting their oxygen, but these natural oils are safe and only a relatively few grammes per acre of water surface are required to do the trick. Trials in Kenyan rice fields with fairly heavy mosquito populations proved that in only four to six hours all fourth-stage larvae and pupae were killed. In two weeks of watching after treating the water with lecithins, no mosquitoes reappeared. Researchers found that the natural lecithins could safely be applied to water used for consumption and irrigation. Other flora and fauna were not affected by the lecithins, and extensive laboratory tests have demonstrated that even very large amounts of lecithin do not give rise to pollution or crop hazard.

Washington Star News: "Essentially, what the President was saying... was that he wants the great majority of Americans to help him cut his losses on Watergate so that he can get back to running the country. It was a predictable appeal. And to a degree it was a very compelling appeal. It may well strike a responsive chord across the country, although probably not to the extent that Mr. Nixon would like to expect. And yet the speech was probably a net plus for the President. Perhaps he has turned the corner. The public, we dare say, is not only sick of Watergate but thoroughly in agreement with Mr. Nixon that the time has come for the President, Congress and everyone else to pay more attention to the vital business facing the country. The President, in his forthcoming press conference and other public actions, ought to go farther

to reinforce that point, and at the same time to correct some of the flaws and omissions of last night's speech. We hope he does."

Baltimore Sun: "Second thoughts on President Nixon's address to the nation Wednesday night are much the same as first thoughts. The speech added almost no information we had not known before, and the accompanying written paper added less: it is essentially nothing but a reiteration of Mr. Nixon's speech and paper of April 30 and May 22."

Washington Post: "It was a speech of large silences and vague insinuations, hardly what the public had been led to expect from the accounts of Presidential preparation for Wednesday night's television address. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of that address as a whole and its status—almost that of bemused spectator—which Mr. Nixon assumed for himself. 'The time has come for the rest of us to get on with the urgent business of our nation,' he said. The President cannot have it both ways. He cannot disassociate himself from those acts of his administration that have appalled people and take credit for those of which they approve. He cannot say the uncertainties caused by the scandals are wrecking his opportunities to get on with a higher mission—and then blame the uncertainties on someone else. Mr. Nixon accuses the Senate Committee and some commentators of 'an effort to implicate the President per-

sonally in the illegal activities that took place.' Well, the President is implicated: he is the President. These things took place under his roof, and he has yet to convey to the American people that he understands either his own responsibility or their justifiable dismay."

Chicago Daily News: "What we missed in the President's speech was a convincing recognition of the seriousness of the burglary and all the other activities now labeled Watergate.. It is not, as he argued, that a 'continued backward-looking obsession with Watergate is undermining confidence in the Government. It is rather that those events, and the way the administration has handled them, have undermined that confidence."

Chicago Tribune: "Those who hoped that President Nixon would provide some dramatic new evidence about Watergate Wednesday night, either to vindicate himself or otherwise clear up the fog, were surely disappointed. With a few relatively trivial exceptions, he said pretty much what he had said before.. It is true that as the Senate Watergate hearings have progressed, they have degenerated into a sort of carnival dedicated to implicating the Presidency. It is true that the country—or at least the Government—has become 'so mired in Watergate that other pressing matters are being ignored and vital legislation sits unattended on the Congressional calendar. All of these things are true and lamentable; yet in the

context of Mr. Nixon's inadequate comments on the matter at hand, they come out sounding like excuses or diversionary tactics. However legitimately Mr. Nixon may complain about these things, it is he himself, at the moment, who is in the best position to free the logjam, and this he has not done."



STAY WITH
TRIBUNE
Renew

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION

- o One Year Rs. 25
- o Two Years Rs. 40
- o Three Years Rs. 60

Post Free in Sri Lanka

Tribune
43, Dawson Street,
Colombo-2.

Telephone: 33172

IS IT TRUE?

Sherlock Holmes

* ON GEMS

IS IT NOT TRUE that officials of the Gem Corporation have been inundated with gems now that an amnesty is in force for three months? That many Ceylonese have brought back the Ceylon gems they had exported earlier (officially and unofficially) in order to sell them to the Gem Corporation? That there are three reasons why this was being done? That one reason is that any gem sold to the Corporation will help to convert black money into white with the immunity of a tax amnesty thrown in for good measure? That secondly, there was a convertible foreign exchange component in exporting any gem? That further, the prices paid by the Corporation were high enough to induce many had held the gems abroad to bring them back?

That it is an open secret that many people found it profitable to circulate the gems merry-go-round wise? That a gem sent abroad fetches foreign exchange and

that this gem could be again made to earn foreign exchange if brought back to Ceylon and then re-exported? That in this way many foreign exchange hoards could be brought into the white with FEECs and an amnesty to make repatriation attractive?

That the gem amnesty operation will make the rich richer under cover of giving producers a better deal? That it is still the middleman who benefited? That in this process there were fears that certain corporation officials were paying more for gems to certain persons (no doubt for a consideration)? That when the day came when these gems have to be sold and marketed it would reveal a sad state of affairs in the Corporation when it would be found that the Corporation had bought many gems at inflated prices? That already the Corporation management has had to take action against some of its employees? That one has been dismissed and

another interdicted? That there are stories going round that certain purchasing officers of the Corporation had privately bought gems from rustic villagers and that they had later sold them to the Corporation through their brokers at highly inflated prices?

That even though these stories may be false, there is no doubt that certain happenings in the Corporation have given room for such stories? That the stink emanating from these stories will soon reach the high heavens? That big names are being coupled with some of these shady gem stories? That customs officers are said to have been afraid to search incoming Ceylonese, suspected of bringing back gems to get the benefit of the amnesty, because of possible repercussions in VIP circles? That many unscrupulous Ceylonese were willing to risk their necks in order to have gems to sell to the Corporation and also export them under the present conditions because of the tax reliefs, because of the certainty of making black money into white and finally of being able to have 25% of the foreign exchange earnings in convertible rupee accounts in order to import luxury items into Ceylon?