

2	Headlines Of The Week
7	Onassis & Greek Army Junta
11	Nixon's Cabinet
13	In Retrospect
14	Maha Sivaratri
16	New Light On West German Officers' Suicides
22	Soviet Merchant Fleet
32	Israel's Tragic Dilemma



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## TWENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF CEYLON'S INDEPENDENCE: OPTIMISM IN THE MIDST OF DARKENING SHADOWS

The twenty-first anniversary of Ceylon's Independence was celebrated amidst a great deal of pomp and pageantry in the town of Kandy on February 4. The Government and its propaganda machine struck a very optimistic note that in spite of tremendous odds and the sad heritage of nine years of SLFP rule, the National Government of Mr. Dudley Senanayake had followed policies that has made Ceylon turn the corner of economic stagnation and that it was rushing full steam ahead towards making Ceylon a land of plenty and prosperity. **But**, this is only one side of the picture. There are discordant voices that assert that the Government's claims are fanciful: that the country is being sold to international bankers *via* the IMF and the World Bank:

that the statistics about the success of the food drive are a hoax upon the people: that whilst only a small class of industrialists and agriculturists are making unconscionable profits; and the mass of the people were sinking deeper and deeper into unemployment and lower standards of living. Government propagandists seek to dismiss these criticisms as fanciful, and stress that such broadsides against the Government are either motivated by rival party polemics in preparation for the next elections or were the outpourings of irresponsible elements with an axe to grind. **Most** people, however, take a cynical view of the claims of both sides and are waiting to see whether the realities of the situation of the next one year will bear out at least a part of what the

government claims it has done. It must be said that although Government propaganda has made much of the food drive and its success, the ordinary man still remains sceptical about its benefits because the price of rice and subsidiary foodstuffs continues to increase day by day and scarcities are as scute as ever. *Over* all these looms the death of the Mahanayake Thero of Malwatte who died on the very morning of Independence Day. But more than this is the sad tragedy of the way in which the Army units had behaved in the University campus. The Government has lost a great deal in prestige and sympathy by rushing to the defence and rescue of marauding army men. The last has not been heard about this episode.

## Headlines Of The Week

**FRIDAY, January 24** — The CTB will this year buy five hundred and twenty buses and orders have been placed with the manufacturers. A Rice Research Institute is to be set up shortly. The Ven. Baddegama Wimalawansa, Principal of the Sri Lanka Vidyalaya, Maradana has asked the Prime Minister Mr. Dudley Senanayake to withhold the implementation of the Sammatha a Sinhala until the views of the public are taken into consideration. Shots were fired at cars carrying top Soviet leaders and astronauts as they drove into the Kremlin yesterday. Russia put into orbit another earth satellite in the Cosmos series.

**SATURDAY, January 25** — Writers, scholars, educationists and playwrights are up in arms against Sammatha Sinhala — the Standard Sinhala report — released by a Committee appointed by the Minister of Education. The GMOA in a memorandum to the Salaries Commission has asked for a forty percent all round increase in salaries.

**SUNDAY, January 26** — India's Minister of Commerce, Mr. Dinesh Singh, who arrived in Ceylon yesterday, led the Indian delegation at the first ministerial level meeting of the Joint Economic Co-operation Committee between India and Ceylon at the Central Bank auditorium. The Prime Minister yesterday declared open the Indian Industries Exhibition at the International Culture Centre, Wellawatte to celebrate Indian Republic Day. Spain was under a three-month State of Emergency today with police holding powers of arbitrary search and detention and with press censorship reimposed. At least six people died in riots in Pakistan. Jan Palach, the twenty one year old student who burnt himself to death, was buried in Prague with all the pomp, ceremonial and mourning of a state hero.

**MONDAY, January, 27** — Legislation will be introduced in Parliament shortly to widen the scope of activities of the State Plantations Corporation. Six notorious gang robbers of Colombo were arrested today while in the act of breaking into a house at Katugastota. The Indian Minister of Commerce said at a press conference that Ceylon and India were now working towards the setting up of an Asian Common Market, probably on the lines of the European Common Market. Addressing the Cairo Conference held in support of the Arab people Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike said, "We are convinced that, but for the encouragement given by some imperialist powers, Israel would not be engaged in military adventures and playing the dangerous role as she is playing today. Britain has expressed support for the French call for Big-Power talks in Middle East peace.

**TUESDAY, January 28** — Public servants have been taboed from meeting any member of the public at their offices, except with the prior authority of their respective heads of departments. The Ceylon Filmgoers Association has protested to the Prime Minister and the Ceylon Film Chamber against the increase of rates in cinemas. Nearly two hundred thousand acres will come under IR-8 paddy cultivation. President Ayub Khan facing the great challenge to his ten-year-old rule has sent a special representative to study the situation in East Pakistan where riots against his regime have erupted into serious violence. Fifteen people were hanged in Iraq for spying for Israel.

**WEDNESDAY, January 29** — The Government is now examining the question of transferring more items to the Open General Licence category from the present "B" category. Top priority for the Maskeliya Oya project has been ordered by the Minister of Lands, Irrigation and Power, Mr. C. P. de Silva. India has agreed to consider increasing the foreign exchange allocation hitherto allowed to advertisers in that country for buying radio time over the Commercial Service of the Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation. President Richard Nixon at his first press conference, pledged new initiatives for Vietnam peace, appealed for defusing of the explosive Middle East issue and warned that the US would continue to oppose Peking's admission to the United Nations. The Governor of West Pakistan has issued a tough warning to anti-social elements and said that the Government would deal with them in a suitable manner.

**THURSDAY, January 30** — The *Sun* reported that paddy cultivation in the Amparai district during the 1969 Yala season was being threatened by a prolonged drought and that the expected crop from this region was doubtful unless there was sufficient rainfall within the next two months. The Minister of Local Government, Mr. R. Premadasa, who paid his first official visit to Jaffna yesterday, was given a tumultuous welcome by the people. The Panadura Magistrate yesterday returned a verdict of homicide at the inquest into the death of Garlis Perera who was found dead in the Panadura remand cell. The condition of Tamilnad Chief Minister Mr. C. N. Ahnadarai took a turn for the worse this morning following a severe heart attack. The Iraqi Government is determined to hang new batches of people if convicted of spying for Israel, a Government Minister told a press conference yesterday. Troops guarded key trouble spots in East and West Pakistan today amid signs that the Government will bow to Opposition demands for a parliamentary debate on the country's political crisis.

**FRIDAY, January 31** — Ceylon's foreign trade during the first ten months of last year showed a deficit of over Rs. 191 million — an increase of over Rs. 50 million over the corresponding period in 1967. The Government has decided to re-employ on a casual basis all public servants who have been served with notice of termination of service because of their failure to acquire proficiency in Sinhala. Police throughout Ceylon have been briefed to go all out immediately against offending CTB drivers and conductors and errant taximen who are responsible for a major proportion of road

accidents. The Minister of Home Affairs, Dr. W. Dahanayake, outlined to a deputation of the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress that liquor would be available only on permits from next October. Rioting students hurled rocks at shops and police in Naples as demonstrations in many parts of Italy ended in violence. British mail services came to a halt as post office workers went on strike in the country's main centres.

**SATURDAY, February 1** — The Leader of the Opposition, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, returned to the island yesterday after attending the Cairo Conference. The *Times of Ceylon* reported that the Government had decided to engage the services of a host of world famous singers to boost Ceylon's tourism in song. In an Independence Day eve message the Prime Minister said, "We are at the crossroads of a new era, in that as a free nation we are emerging from childhood to youth. We are at a stage when it is most propitious to turn our attention to national development. Mr. G. V. D. Wilfred Perera, President of the Union of Post and Telecommunication Officers, has asked the Prime Minister to appoint an impartial commission to investigate whether any foreign embassy or official did take part in promoting or in calling off the recent strike by public servants. Iraq claims spies still at large are planning more acts of sabotage and has again warned that more hangings are possible.

**SUNDAY, February 2** — The Department of Health Services is now asking patients or their relatives to go ahead and purchase drugs from outside, whenever drugs prescribed for therapeutical purposes are not available at State medical institutions. BOAC and the British Government have agreed to give Air Ceylon technical assistance under the Colombo Plan to help it move into top gear as an international airline. A West German Group consisting of representatives of the public and private sectors has decided to invest in two hotel projects in the island. President Ayub Khan in a broadcast to the nation last night invited his political opponents to meet him for discussions on the problem confronting Pakistan. Chief Minister Mr. Annadurai is still unconscious, according to a medical bulletin issued yesterday.

**MONDAY, February 3** — Customs duty on basic raw materials for local industry has been abolished and other duties on industrial raw material and components have been reduced by the Ministry of Industries. The Peradeniya campus was closed yesterday after clashes between soldiers and undergraduates. The University will re-open on February tenth. According to a recent audit check the CTB has spares worth fifty million rupees. The Cabinet sub-committee on Food Production is studying a proposal to increase the GPS price of paddy. Ceylon's first five-star hotel — the Pegasus Reef

at Hendala — is expected to be ready within the next eighteen months. When he opened the Junior University at Kuliapitiya the Prime Minister told the Minister of Education, Mr. I. M. R. A. Iriyagolle, "You are working too much. You have to look after yourself too. If you go on like this something will happen to you. The Chief Minister of Madras, Mr. C. N. Annadurai, died shortly after midnight. President Richard Nixon and his foreign and defence policy aides began a day's conference on United States strategy in the Middle East yesterday.

**TUESDAY, February 4** — Ceylon celebrated its twenty first independence anniversary today at Kandy amidst pomp and pageantry. In his Independence Day message the Prime Minister called upon all races to unite and march forward together if Ceylon was to achieve economic development and progress. The Ven. Amunugama Rajaguru Sri Vipassi Thero, Mahanayake of the Malwatte Chapter, died yesterday. A State funeral will be accorded to him. The All Ceylon Independent Students' Association said in a press release that the Vice-Chancellor of the Peradeniya University should take full responsibility for the unpleasant incidents that took place between the Army personnel and the student body, as he had permitted the Army to be billeted in the Campus in the teeth of opposition from the University staff and students. Twenty four people were killed and thirty six injured today when struck by the girders of a bridge while riding on the roof of a Madras-bound express to attend the funeral of Chief Minister Annadurai. Anti-American feeling in Japan took a new turn yesterday when a group of left-wing students raided the US Embassy in Tokyo. Many Royalists who have fought from their mountain hideout to put a king back on the 1,000 year old Yemen throne have crossed over to the Republic side — rendering remote any chance of restoring the monarchy after seven years' of civil strife.

**WEDNESDAY, February 5** — The *Daily Mirror* reported that the Inspector-General of Police had confessed to the paper in an interview that about twenty five percent of the police prosecutions against the public were regrettable fabrications and frame-up. The Central Bank has directed the Commercial Banks not to increase their advances to the private sector up to June 30, 1969, by more than eight percent over the level of such advances as at August 31, or September 30, last whichever is higher. A Bill to amend the Inland Revenue Act No. 4 of 1962, was tabled in the House of Representatives today. The Bill will give effect to the Budget proposals which were announced by the Minister of Finance on August 2, 1968. The United States has accepted the French proposal for four-power talks on the Middle East. A nation-wide strike threatened to paralyse Italy.

For The Record

## Mr. Nadesan's Concluding Part Of The Statement On "For The Information Of Advocates"

*We publish this week the concluding part of Mr. S. Nadesan's Statement "For the information of Advocates."— issued on January 6, 1969. The first part was published in Tribune of January 26.*

The meeting of 15th July 1968 was well attended by both practising and non-practising advocates, and it was fairly clear that if the proposed amendment was put to the house it would have been defeated. The Attorney-General presided at this meeting. Before the amendment was even moved, Mr. Corbett Jayawardene raised a point of order as to whether non-practising advocates could vote at the meeting, and requested the Attorney-General to rule on this preliminary question. The Learned Attorney-General said that he found it a matter of great difficulty to give a ruling on the point of order raised by Mr. Corbett Jayawardene, and that therefore he wished to refer the matter to the Bar Council for its ruling, and he adjourned the meeting. There is no provision in the Rules of the Bar Council for the Chairman of a General Meeting of advocates to refuse to give a ruling when a point of order is raised, and to refer the matter to the Bar Council. One of the Rules of the Council states that the decision of the Council on any question of construction of the rules shall be final. This only means that if there exists a decision on a matter of construction, it is final. It does not mean that when a point of order is raised at a meeting the Chairman may adjourn the meeting, with all the inconvenience caused, and refer the matter of the decision of the Bar Council.

Besides, in this instance, the implicit decision of the Bar Council when it accepted Mr. Ranganathan's resolution appointing a Sub-Committee to prepare a list of advocates, and when it accepted and acted on the basis of the Sub-Committee's report and brought an amendment, was that under the Rules non-practising advocates had the right to vote. Nevertheless, this meeting had one good result. For the first time what was happening in the Bar Council became a matter of concern and interest to the general body of advocates.

**Action Filed.** The net result of all that happened was that the holding of the annual elections was further delayed. July, ended, the whole of August passed but the Bar Council did not meet to act on the Attorney-General's reference, despite a written request by some members. On the 28th August 1968 an advocate filed an action in the District Court of Colombo against Mr. E. B. Wickremanayake and Mr. Bodinagoda for inter alia judgment and decree restraining them from acting in any manner in the capacity of members of the Bar Council. The Court did not issue an enjoining order or interim injunction restraining either of the defendants from acting as Chairman and Secretary though an application was made and the matter has been fixed for inquiry on the 22nd day of January 1969.

**The Requisition.** On or about the 23rd September 1968 a requisition in terms of rule 18 B and signed by over 15 advocates was served on the Secretary requesting him to convene a meeting for the purpose inter alia of "Considering what measures should be taken to

remedy and regularise the situation arising out of the disregard by the Bar Council of the Rules, and its failure to hold an election as required thereunder." The Secretary replied to this letter stating that he was unable to convene the meeting on account of the District Court action. He concluded the letter as follows: "In the circumstances you will appreciate my inability to act on your letter till a decision of the District Court is obtained in regard to the application for the interim injunction. This is a duty which I owe to the Court as the matter is sub-judice."

On 25th September 1968 a number of advocates wrote to the Hon. Attorney-General requesting him to reconvene without delay the General Meeting of advocates which was commenced on 15th July 1968 and which he had adjourned in order to obtain a ruling of the Bar Council on a question of interpretation of the rules. The Attorney-General by his letter dated 11th October 1968 stated that he regretted that he was "unable at present to reconvene the adjourned General Meeting." He added that a meeting of the Bar Council had been convened to consider the question referred by him but that it had decided that the consideration of the matter be deferred until the determination of the application before Court. This refers to the application for an interim injunction in the District Court action.

Apparently the Secretary of the Bar Council, and the Bar Council itself, felt that nothing could be done until the District Court application was concluded. This might well take months. In the meantime a Bar Council which should have gone out of office in January 1968 was still continuing to function. The delay in holding the elections was due largely to the tussle that had developed as to whether non-practising advocates in employment should be permitted to vote or not.

**New Bar Council Elected.** As there appeared to be no way of getting the Bar Council told the ho

elections without further delay, the requisitionists who had earlier sent a requisition to the Secretary, and had met with a refusal themselves gave notice of a special meeting of advocates to be held on 24.11.68 to consider what steps should be taken in view of the failure of the Bar Council to hold elections since December 1966. At this meeting held on 24.11.68 a Committee was elected to hold the elections to the Bar Council and this Committee sent ballot papers to all advocates practising and non-practising. The poll was concluded on 17.12.1968 and a new Bar Council was elected, a Bar Council representative of the whole body of advocates as provided in the Rules.

**Former Bar Council acts.** After the meeting of the 24th November and the subsequent actions of the elections Committee, the old Bar Council and its Secretary stirred themselves to action. The Secretary, who had earlier refused to convene a General Meeting on the ground that some matter was subjudice and that he owed a duty to Court has now found it possible to announce the issue of fresh ballot papers the holding of a meeting despite the fact that the application before the District Court has not yet been disposed of. The majority of the Bar Council who earlier refrained from giving a decision as to their interpretation of the word **Advocate** "until the determination of the application to the District Court", to quote the Attorney-General's words, were now willing to give a ruling. On the 14th December the old "Bar Council" met to give its decision as to what the word "Advocate" used in the rules meant. The Attorney-General Solicitor-General, Mr. H. V. Perera and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva were conspicuous by their absence. The old Bar Council by a majority purported to interpret the rules. Under their construction of the rules the word "Advocates" did not include all advocates on the roll of advocates. The effect of their ruling is that all advocates in full time employment except the Attorney-General, the Solicitor General and Crown

Counsel, are excluded from the definition of the word "Advocate."

On the basis of its decision as to the meaning of the word 'Advocate' in the Rules, the old Bar Council is now proposing to hold elections. In arriving at this meaning the old Bar Council has overlooked not only the plain and unambiguous meaning of the Rules but also the history of these rules based as they are on the English Bar Council Regulations. These regulations do not define 'Barristers' in the way in which our old Bar Council has defined "Advocates". It has ignored the fact that in December 1966 it was elected on the votes of practising and non-practising advocates alike. If our Rules mean what the old Bar Council now says they mean, namely that non-practising advocates have no right to vote, then the old Bar itself was illegally constituted. If, on the other hand, the present view of the old Bar Council is wrong, then the "Bar Council" contemplated on the basis of the exclusion of advocates in employment from exercising the vote will be illegally constituted. The old Bar Council has, in arriving at its decision excluding advocates in employment from the franchise, forgotten its own resolution appointing a Sub-Committee to compile a list of all advocates, adopted after Mr. H. V. Perera gave his opinion that under the Rules as they stood all advocates practising and non-practising were entitled to vote. It has overlooked its own Sub-Committee's report that under the Rules both practising and non-practising advocates were entitled to vote. It has overlooked the fact that it decided on an amendment to the Rules and placed the amendment before a general meeting for adoption, a general meeting whose business was adjourned because the inability of the Attorney-General to give a ruling. What is more the majority of the members of the Bar Council have forgotten that the Rules can only be amended at a General Meeting of Advocates, and that no rule can be amended by the Bar Council under the guise of construing the rules. Indeed, the majority of the old Bar Council have

gone contrary to the cardinal rules of interpretation applicable to all documents, rules of association, and statutes alike. When the language is only plain but admits of but one meaning, the task of interpretation or construction can hardly be said to arise. It is not allowable to interpret what has no need of interpretation.

Under the English Bar Council Regulations the term barrister has not been defined, as it required no definition. The words "practising barrister" is however defined under the rules as "a barrister who is entitled to practise and who holds himself out as ready to do so, not being otherwise employed in a whole-time occupation."

**Breakaway Group.** On the basis of this 'decision' of the old Bar Council giving a restricted meaning to the word "Advocates" in the Rules, which has the effect of depriving practically all employed advocates of the vote, its Secretary has announced in the papers that steps are being taken to hold election to a new "Bar Council." It will be clear that what is contemplated is the holding of elections not by the whole body of advocates resident in Ceylon as provided in the Rules, but a section of advocates. Such a new "Bar Council" will not be the Bar Council contemplated by the Rules. Naturally it cannot give any rulings normally binding on all advocates practising and non-practising alike, and it cannot therefore serve the needs of the profession. In fact what has happened is that there has arisen a group of Advocates, mainly from the Colombo Law Library, who perhaps due to a community of interest wish to band themselves together to preserve and safeguard their common interests. While one cannot of course commend this breakaway group, one cannot have any objection to such a move, as dissident breakaway groups are a feature of any democratic structure. This has been, unfortunately, only too common in the trade union field in Ceylon. What is, however, dis-

turbing, is that this group instead of forming an association of its own, enrolling members, collecting subscriptions, and looking after its own peculiar interests, is attempting to subvert the Constitution of the Council of Advocates for its own purposes. The fact that the members of the old Bar Council are honourable men and their actions are due to a misconception of the history and functions of the Bar Council and of the meaning of its Rules does not make it any the less a subversion of the Constitution, unintended though it be. In the process any new "Bar Council" it may set up ceases to have the right to speak for the advocates of Ceylon, who will naturally not be bound by its decisions or ruling. Fortunately the body of Advocates in Ceylon, both practising and non-practising, have already elected a new Bar Council which will function according to the Rules and protect the legitimate interests of the profession.

## 2. FUNCTIONS OF THE BAR COUNCIL

It is not necessary to relate here all the legitimate interests of the profession with which a Bar Council should concern itself, but one or two matters may be touched upon.

The safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the profession does not mean that the Bar Council should concern itself in promoting the interests of any one advocate in preference to others. The Bar Council as pointed out above is basically a Committee of a Trade Union of Advocates. While it is entitled to criticise any erroneous principles on which appointments available to advocates are made, or to press for the recognition of correct principles in this regard, it is no part of the functions of the Bar Council to pronounce on the comparative merits or demerits of any of the members of the trade union which it represents when appointing authorities make appointments.

Neither is it proper for the Bar Council to recommend any particu-

lar member of the trade union for silk. This is a matter solely for the Attorney-General who naturally will consult the Judges who are in the best position to give independent and impartial advice. These are not functions appropriate to the committee of a trade union. So far as the Chairman of the Bar Council is concerned, he has no powers apart from the Bar Council. He presides at meetings of his trade union committee, acts as its mouth-piece, and carries out the directions of the Committee. It would be improper for him to intervene in the matter of appointment of Judges or Queen's Counsel, or in the matter of any other appointments, or to make recommendations to the appointing authorities. The Chairman should not perform a function which is not within the legitimate province of the Bar Council itself, and what is more without a specific resolution of the Bar Council authorising him to make a recommendation in any particular case. If the Chairman does so he would be utilising his position as Chairman not in the interests of the general body of advocates as a whole but to promote the interests of a few. If an impression is created that unlike other trade union leaders the leader of the Bar trade union is a sort of king-maker so far as public appointments are concerned, such an impression is calculated to undermine the morale of the membership and the independence of the Judiciary.

It has to be recognised that membership of the Bar Council, or even Chairmanship of that body, does not confer any greater rights on such members of the Bar than is enjoyed by all other members of the Bar. For instance, by long tradition and custom a rigid table of precedence which is now legally binding has been established in our Courts. We have in this regard followed the English practice. In accordance with this settled practice the Attorney-General takes precedence over all other advocates, next to him come the Solicitor-General and Queen's Counsel. The latter rank according to the date of their patents. The precedence of Junior Counsel is determined by the date of their

enrolment or call as the case may be. On ceremonial occasions ever since our Courts were established we have observed this order of precedence. Thus on such occasions the Attorney-General has occupied the centre seat at the Bar Table, the Solicitor-General sat on his left and the most senior Queen's Counsel present sat on the Attorney-General's right, the Queen's Counsel sitting at the inner Bar according to their seniority. In accordance with this well established tradition Mr. H. V. Perera Q. C. being the most senior Queen's Counsel, whenever he was present in Court sat on the seat next to the Attorney-General on his right. About two years ago on a ceremonial occasion when the members of the Bar went into Court at 11.00 a.m. they found Mr. E. B. Wickremanyake Q. C., the then Chairman of the Bar Council, in the seat usually occupied by Mr. H. V. Perera Q. C. When Mr. Perera arrived, finding his seat occupied by the leader of the advocates trade union, Mr. Perera gracefully moved on to the next seat. It may be mentioned that before the arrival of Mr. H. V. Perera one of the senior silks present drew this matter to the attention of the former Chairman, who however asserted that as Chairman of the Bar Council he was entitled to do what he did.

A Queen's Counsel who is a member of the Bar Council cannot when he appears in Court with a more senior Queen's Counsel insist that by virtue of his position on the Committee of his trade union he has precedence over his senior and should therefore lead in the case. Neither can the Chairman of the Bar Council claim any such privilege over other members of the Bar because of his position in his trade union organisation. It may appear that these are obvious propositions which need no stressing. But the fact remains that during the past two years the former Chairman of the Bar Council has asserted a right to precedence which he does not possess. The fact that the person displaced happens to be the greatest lawyer that Ceylon has produced is irrelevant to the real issue.

In England the Chairman of the Bar Council, even if a Q. C., does not take precedence over other Queen's Counsel. The Indian Advocates Act makes statutory provision among other matters for central and provincial Bar Councils which have power to enrol and take disciplinary action against advocates. Section 23 of the Act deals with matters of precedence in Court, and follows largely the English practice. In this section no mention is made of the Chairman of the Bar Council at all. In fact, the Chairman of the Bar Council as such has no place in Court. Yet we have witnessed in this country for the last two years the spectacle of an assault on one of the rights of the Bar by the former Chairman of the Bar Council. The former Chairman has been regarded as one who has in the past defended the rights of the Bar. If in this matter he has not done so it is clearly because he misconceived his position as Chairman and thought that in doing so he was upholding the rights of the Bar. However the fact remains that this misconception has led to the ouster of Mr. H. V. Perera from his rightful place at the Bar table. Today, as the result of another misconception, attempts have been made to oust advocates in employment from their membership of their trade union. The last meeting of advocates met to resist these attempts to elect a Bar Council which would safeguard not only the rights but also the integrity of the profession of advocates. Now that such a Bar Council has been elected all members should give it their fullest support and resist those divisive forces that have arisen in our midst.

In the past the only standing committee of the Bar Council has been the disciplinary committee. It is now proposed to enlarge the activities of the Bar Council so that it may engage in other work beneficial to the profession as a whole, and for this purpose to appoint a number of standing committees. These will deal inter alia with law reform, business and procedure of courts and tribunals, junior advocates, distress and retirement benefits, legal education, and public relations. It

is proposed that these committees consist, as is the case in England, of both members of the Bar Council, and of other advocates, so that it might be possible not only to map out a programme of work but also to accomplish it satisfactorily. Suggestions from advocates which will help this work will be welcomed by the Bar Council.

*Concluded*

*In Greece*

## Onassis Aids Military Junta

THE marriage of Jacqueline Kennedy to Aristotle Onassis appears to have brought good luck to Greek premier George Papadopoulos who seized power as leader of a right-wing army coup 17 months ago. Shortly after the marriage, the US withdrew a selective embargo on military assistance to Greece which it had imposed in May, 1967, as a gesture of displeasure at the overthrow of the civilian government led by King Constantine. The selective aid embargo permitted a flow of ammunition and spare parts to the new dictatorship, but held back the new tanks the two minesweepers, and 20 20 to 30 jet aircraft which had been badly wanted. US officials held their breath, hoping that Papadopoulos would not insist on flaunting the aid resumption. They were relieved when he restricted himself to saying that the aid "lies within the framework of Greek-US friendly relations and the defense needs of the two countries and the North Atlantic alliance."

There are signs that Onassis is in the process of bringing good luck to Papadopoulos in a much more direct fashion. On Oct. 24 Onassis — the owner of a worldwide shipping and real estate empire believed to be worth more than \$550 million — flew to Athens for business discussions with the Greek premier. Subject of the meeting was reported to be a \$360-million investment package which Onassis is arranging for Greece. Although few details are available,

the package is believed to include a new oil refinery, an aluminium plant, shipyards, and additions to the tourist industry. In negotiating the investment package, Onassis is following the lead of Litton Industries, the US industrial conglomerate, which was granted a massive contract by the Papadopoulos regime as soon as it came to power. The contract puts Litton in charge of a co-ordinated program to bring massive investment into the impoverished Greek island of Crete. Litton's long-range profit on the contract is expected to be enormous.

The attraction of large numbers of foreign investors who identify their interests with those of his regime is a tactic which Papadopoulos is counting on to solidify the political position of his unpopular regime. Papadopoulos tried to win a veneer of respectability for his government by presenting a regime-drafted national charter for approval in a referendum on Sept. 29. The charter provides that the government may dictate electoral laws and make all decisions on administration of the electoral process that could conceivably have a bearing on its outcome.

The charter permits the regime to initiate new elections on just 35 days' notice — which doesn't allow much time for campaigning by an opposition. It also requires any new parties intending to run against the government to be screened in advance by a junta-approved constitutional court. The court is empowered to ban parties "Whose aims or activities are manifestly opposed to the form of government or tend to overthrow the existing system." Observers in Greece note that an overwhelming majority of Greeks voted "yes" in the referendum because they realized that failure to pass the charter would have meant the regime would have drafted a similar document and put it before the people under what junta officials described as "conditions of more discipline."

P.H.

Controversy

## Comments On Cardinal Cooray's Press Conference On Birth Control

DR. N. D. W. LIONEL

CARDINAL COORAY'S comments on the Birth Control issue at the recent Press conference he held after his return to the Island makes interesting reading despite the fact that only a small fraction of what he said has been reported in the Press.

His view that the encyclical is "a Magna Carta for the world" is an echo of the words of Archbishop Murphy of Cardiff is not unexpected. The pattern of thinking is typical of those who long once again for an era of docile obedience to authority which many thought would disappear after Vatican Council II.

The Cardinal attempts to minimize the opposition to the encyclical as being an exaggeration of mass media. It appears as if the Press has become the favourite whipping boy not only of politicians but of prelates as well. It is obvious to anyone without bias that the encyclical has created, as Fr. Karl Rahner stated, "an unprecedented worldwide opposition from theologians, priest and the laity." There are none so blind as those who do not wish to see.

THE AUTHORITARIAN attitude of the Cardinal is seen in his statement that the Church like a club has its rules and that members have to abide by them or are free to leave the Church.

*Dolores Berg* contrasts this attitude very aptly in a letter to the "National Catholic Reporter" of the United States: "A Catholic can be sitting in prison awaiting execution for having murdered someone, and on one tells him to get out of Church. A Catholic can be convicted of rape and no one tells him that since he obviously does not believe in what he has been taught, he should leave

the Church. A Catholic can be caught stealing and no one ever suggests that he leave the Church.

"So why is it that when someone publicly disagrees with Pope Paul's encyclical on artificial birth control, it is suggested that he leave the Catholic Church? Are murder, rape and theft lesser crimes against God and man than the prevention of the birth of an unwanted child? If there is room in the Catholic Church for murderers, rapists and thieves, surely there is room for the Catholic parents who recognizing their human limitations and failings, choose to prevent the births of children whom they would be unable to care for properly.

"In the Scriptures, we find no mention of Mary Magdalene's children. Yet Jesus loved her. Can married Catholics who practise birth control expect less from his Church?"

The Church as a club with rules is a new concept for which there does not appear to be any scriptural basis. Christ founded the Church to save all, but his stewards want it to be exclusively for those who obey the rules — rules not of the founder but those of the stewards.

The Cardinal would no doubt remember the passage in the epistle to the Galatians where St. Paul says: "When Peter came to Antioch, however, I opposed him to his face, since he was manifestly in the wrong" (Gal. 2.11). Peter was then Pope. According to the Cardinal, Paul should have left the Church without opposing Peter.

IT IS WELL to remember that as *Rosemary Haughton* states: "The Holy Spirit does not guarantee that the Church will never fail, only that it will not finally fail and final fail-

ure has been averted over and over again because there have been people like Paul and Catherine of Siena who have not feared 'to oppose Peter to his face' because he stood condemned."

"The living authority of the church has no power to draw up doctrines of its own. It can only interpret what comes from God and it can only know what comes from God by revelation backed by demonstrable reason... In the present case neither revelation nor convincing reason is forthcoming" (*Fr. Adrian Hastings* in 'On Human Life' p. 72).

The present crisis has been caused not so much by a rebellion of the faithful as by those who have made infallibility and authority seem identical so that almost any utterance of a Pope is thought of as incontrovertible.

We are told by the Cardinal that discussion of the encyclical could be allowed, but not disobedience. This is quite confusing for if at the end of the discussion we cannot agree with the encyclical which, is not infallible, as Mgr. Lambruschini said at the Press conference held in Rome to explain the encyclical, is it blind obedience that is required?

*Bishop Butler* discussing this problem states: "If the church has not committed her infallibility on a point of teaching then she cannot require an unconditional assent to that teaching... where the church's moral guidance does not come as an inevitable inference from the church's infallible teaching there is similarly a possibility of legitimate disagreement." (*Tablet* 21st Sept. 1968, p.934)

CARDINAL HEENAN who cannot by any means be labelled a rebel, said in a recent television interview that "Man is bound to follow his conscience. The teaching of the Church is that a man must do this even if his conscience is in error". Referring to the use of contraceptives, he said that if a couple said conscientiously that they were "quite sure that this is the right thing to do, then they must follow their



conscience. If they are really doing that in the sight of God, the priest or the Bishop does not matter compared with God. Then when they told their priest, he must say to them 'God bless you.' The couple could also continue to receive the sacraments."

When a contrast to the legalistic pastoral issued by our own bishops.

It is gratifying to find that the Cardinal does not deny that there is a population problem, as many Catholics brought up in a tradition of opposition to contraception do. He however, adopts the other approach of showing how easily the problem can be solved. According to him all that is required is elimination of poverty, fuller exploitation of food resources, better distribution of food, marriage after about 25 years and longer lactation.

Nothing is simpler than to solve the world's food problem on paper. All one does is to calculate the world's cultivable land surface, estimate the maximum yield per acre, throw in some romancing such as harvesting the seas for new food and shooting people off into outer space to colonize other planets and hey presto! the problem is solved, give or take a few details. Of course good old Colin Clarke is always there to provide "scientific" support.

Everyone agrees that increase of food production and equitable distribution of the food would to some extent solve the problem of hunger and starvation in the developing countries but these are easier said than done, particularly in the case of small and impoverished nations with a rapidly rising population. As pointed out by the FAO recently, although over the past 10 years the developing countries have scored impressive gains in food production this increase has been largely wiped by the even more rapid growth of population. Many other factors also influence the increase of food production and distribution. In fact, the problem is not simple as the Cardinal would have us believe.

AS A. E. C. W. Spencer, Lecturer in Sociology, Cavendish Square Graduate College and a member of the World Union for the Scientific Study of Population, pointed out: "In theological terms I see no prospect of abolishing original sin before the end of this century. Nor, in social scientific terms, do I see any quick and easy way of making governments wise, convincing the upper classes that their behaviour is unjust, eliminating monopolies or curing indolence. These problems have been recognised since the dawn of history. I personally have great faith in the combination of social scientific research and democratic government as a problem-solving mechanism, but I doubt whether democracy informed by social science will be sufficient to do the trick in the near future.

"Even if they (the obstacles to social and economic progress) could be removed overnight, if all governments suddenly became wise, if rich and powerful people became crusaders for social justice, if all monopolists became altruistic and if 'blameworthy' indolence vanished, the problem would be huge. Because socio-economic development is not just a question of tube-wells, hybrid maize, better bulls and steel ploughs: it is a question of changing attitudes of mind (deeply rooted in traditional and values) that prevent the effective use of these innovations — and changing them without destroying the culture as a whole. It is a question of changing social relationships (with ramifications through the whole social system) that likewise prevent the effective use of such innovations — and changing them without wrecking the social system as a whole. It takes a community time to integrate an innovation into its culture, and to adapt its social relations. Time is the one element it will not have if its population is growing at a (compound) rate of 15, 20, 25, or 30 per thousand per annum.

"It is not entirely pointless to observe how long it has taken to introduce into the Catholic Church, as an institution, the innovations needed for its own development in a changing world.

"... For centuries, well educated and intelligent men, secure in positions of power in the Catholic Church have recoiled in horror at the thought of innovations that would involve changing its culture and social structure. In the past three years they have stressed over and over again the terrible strain which the implementation of Vatican II imposes upon 'ordinary simple Catholics' in the rich and well educated societies of Europe, N. America and Australia. Yet they have no hesitation about asking illiterate peasants living near the subsistence level in often appalling insecurity to accept rapid change on a massive scale. Let him who is without sin throw the first stone." (The Newman, October 1968. p. 209).

THE EASE with which gratuitous advice is given to nations on how to solve the problem of overpopulation without the advisers themselves taking an active part helping to solve them is characteristic of not only the Press statements of the Cardinal but also of the recent encyclical as well. Daniel Callahan points this out forcefully in commenting on the encyclical: "What I find striking is that the encyclical, by its omissions perpetuates one of the great immoralities of the magisterium's stance on contraception. It does not show any practical willingness to make the Church's wealth fully available to those who suffer as a consequence of its teachings; it offers them only a vague spiritual consolation, nice words. The Catholic parish has never felt a communal obligation to give full support to large families; and rarely has it done so. The papacy has used none of its money to support the scientific research in rhythm the Pope calls for; nothing in the encyclical suggests it intends to do so now. The bishops of the world have never given any financial priority whatsoever to problems of over-population and the economic requirements of underdeveloped countries. Compared with its interests in the preservation of Church property, the maintenance of authority, the building of schools and churches, the magisterium's interest in poverty, family life and human

dignity has been almost entirely verbal. In America, the bishops have a large and effective propaganda machine designed to protect the Church's tax-free status and to work for federal and state school funds; on race, poverty and war, they are generally content to issue statements.

"In short, the magisterium—popes and bishops — has let the practical burdens fostered by their moral teachings fall exclusively on others, urging them to make radical sacrifices of a kind it is clearly not prepared to make. Hypocrisy is one word appropriate here; immorality is even better.

Neither the Pope nor those bishops who have supported the encyclical have given the slightest indication that they intend to give up anything of their own security commensurate with what a poor family, trying to make do on rhythm or abstinence would have to give up to follow their teaching. The magisterium strikes the rhetorical pose of the prophet and the bodily pose of the self-righteous rich man who feels no compulsion to put his own house in order." (*Commonweal*, 23rd August 1968, p. 559).

#### OUTLOOK

#### *Co-operatives In India Form*

## An Integral Part Of The Institutional Framework Of Development Of Agriculture

Shri A. C. Bandyopadhyay

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT in India is now over 60 years old. It was started mainly to deal with the acute problem of rural indebtedness in the early part of this century. The movement has travelled a long way since then. The focus of attention of the movement continues to be directed to agriculturists for whom co-operatives were originally organised; but the activities of co-operatives have undergone a transformation. Provision of credit by co-operatives is no longer considered as a mere aspect of solution for rural indebtedness; it is now viewed as an instrument of agricultural development. To assist in the introduction of modern technology in agriculture, co-operatives have widened their sphere of activities to provide services and facilities to agriculturists for raising the level of productivity. Co-operatives now form an important and integral part of the institutional framework of development of agriculture.

Provision of credit, however, continues to be a major function of co-operatives in the agricultural sector. The primary co-operatives credit societies — many of them service co-operatives — at the village level occupy a pivotal place in the agricultural co-operative movement. These societies provide short and medium-term loans to agriculturists mainly for production purposes. They undertake distribution of modern agricultural inputs like fertilisers, seeds, pesticides etc. For credit or banking aspect of their activities, they constitute an integral part of a three-tier co-operative Banking structure to the other two tiers, being the central co-operative banks at the district level and the apex co-operative banks at the State level. For undertaking distribution of agricultural inputs these societies are serviced by co-operative marketing societies which procure the inputs in bulk and supply to the service co-operatives for distribution to agriculturists. For pro-

viding developmental finance for long-term investment in agriculture there is a long-term co-operative credit structure consisting of central land development banks and primary land development banks.

**CREDIT ACTIVITIES:** Co-operative credit activities have registered substantial progress in recent years. There are nearly 180,000 primary co-operative credit societies covering 90 per cent of the villages and about 45 per cent of the agricultural population in the country. The quantum of short and medium term loans disbursed by these primary societies increased from about Rs. 23 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 365 crores in 1966-67. The estimate for 1967-68 was about Rs. 400 crores.

The land development banks are a principal source for provision of long-term loans to farmers for land reclamation, private minor irrigation sources, expensive farm machinery etc. The number of primary land development banks and branches of the central land development banks which provide loans to individual agriculturists is about 1,250. This structure is of relatively recent origin, but the growth of the loaning programme of these banks has been rapid during the last few years. The loans advanced by these banks increased from about Rs. 11 crores in 1960-61 to nearly Rs. 80 crores in 1967-68. The programme for 1968-69 is about Rs. 100 crores.

Co-operatives have thus emerged as a major institutional agency for provision of agricultural credit. The loaning policies and procedures of credit co-operatives are being increasingly orientated to service agriculture effectively. Crop-loan system has been introduced for short and medium-term credit to ensure that co-operative credit is production oriented. In our present agricultural situation, co-operatives are eminently suited to be an effective instrument for promoting a progressive agriculture. Modernisation of agriculture implies use of improved seeds, fertilisers, better implements and the like. Co-operatives can help to increase the effectiveness of the agri-

cultural extension work, and can make available the requisite inputs to farmers. Co-operatives are now playing an important role in the distribution of agricultural requisites. The value of fertilisers and other modern inputs disbursed by co-operatives increased from about Rs. 35 crores in 1960-61 to nearly Rs. 160 crores in 1966-67. Co-operatives have built up a vast network of over 53,000 retail distribution points for fertilisers. The value of fertilisers handled by co-operatives increased from Rs. 28 crores in 1960-61 to nearly Rs. 115 in 1966-67. The value of seeds distributed by co-operatives increased from Rs. 3 crores in 1960-61 to Rs. 23 crores in 1966-67.

**FOURTH PLAN PROJECTIONS:** The Fourth Five Year Plan is now on the anvil. The new agricultural strategy with its emphasis on introduction of high-yielding varieties, expansion of irrigation facilities and introduction of multiple cropping for the maximum use of irrigation potential, hold promise of an early breakthrough in agriculture. Co-operatives have to shoulder a larger responsibility in providing adequate support to this new strategy. It is envisaged that the level of short and medium-term co-operative credit in the last year of the Fourth Plan will reach Rs. 700-800 crores. The total long-term credit to be provided by the co-operatives for developmental purposes during the entire Fourth Plan period may be of the order of Rs. 700 to 800 crores and, in addition, co-operatives are expected to finance special agricultural development programmes taken up in compact areas to the extent of about Rs. 150 crores for which re-finance facilities will be available from the Agricultural Refinance Corporation. In the field of distribution of inputs, it is expected that co-operatives will handle in the last year of the Fourth Plan fertilisers worth Rs. 650 crores (about 55 per cent of the total value of fertilisers likely to be distributed in the country), improved seeds and pesticides worth Rs. 50 crores each and implements worth Rs. 15 crores.

The magnitude of the tasks to be

performed by co-operatives in the immediate future has thus widened substantially. To meet fully the challenge of the situation, co-operatives have to carry out reforms in

their structure and administration, greater emphasis on service rather than credit aspect of their function, and develop greater concern for the problems of the small farmer.

*Who Is Who In*

## THE NIXON CABINET — BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF THE MEMBERS

*Richard M. Nixon was inaugurated President of the United States of America on January 20. The new Cabinet, which he named early in December was officially endorsed after that. There has been much comment on the Cabinet in the American press. The New York Times, for instance, wrote on December 15 that "this group, made up of bankers, corporation lawyers and millionaire businessmen, is clearly conservative." "Some newspapers note that most of the new Cabinet members have never held high government posts and that Nixon has probably enlisted these people so as to have a free hand in dealing with the basic home and foreign policy issues. He had warned his Cabinet against making any political statements before January 20 and added that anyone violating the rule "would have difficulty in the Cabinet." Newspapers stress that there is not a single Democrat union official, Negro or woman in the government. Below are brief biographies of the Cabinet members.*

York Country. During World War II he served in the Navy. In 1952, when General Dwight D. Eisenhower became President and Nixon Vice-President, Rogers, an old friend of Nixon's was appointed Deputy Attorney-General. In 1957 he became Attorney General. On leaving the government, Rogers, like Nixon, joined a law firm. He is one of the senior partners of Royall, Koegel, Rogers and Wells, which has offices in New York, Washington and Paris. In 1967 he was on the US delegation to the United Nations. The American press, however, believes that he has limited experience as a diplomat.

### MELVIN R. LAIRD Secretary of Defence

Melvin Robert Laird was born in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1922. After his graduation from Carleton College with a Bachelor of Arts degree in political science, he enlisted the US Navy and soon won a commission. He took part in World War II and was twice wounded. His political career began in 1946, when his father died and vacated a Wisconsin State Senate seat. He campaigned for the position and became a legislator. In 1952 he was elected as a representative to the Republican national convention and later served on the party's committees. In that same year he was elected to the US House of Representatives. As a member of the Sub-Committee on National Defence, he had considerable influence on the form and content of the budget. He played a major role in obtaining increased allocations for the Polaris submarine programme. As a

### WILLIAM P. ROGERS Secretary of State

William Pierce Rogers was born in Norfolk, New York, in 1913. He obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree at Colgate University in 1934 and then studied law at Cornell University. After that he was appointed Assistant District Attorney in New

leader of the Republican Party, he has long been associated with Nixon.

**DAVID M. KENNEDY**  
Secretary of the Treasury

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David M. Kennedy (no relation to the late John F. Kennedy) was born in Randolph, Utah, in 1905. He received his law degree from George Washington University in 1937. At first he thought of practising law but decided to become a financier after the economic crisis in the 1930s. In 1939 he graduated from a banking school and joined the Continental Illinois Bank and Trust Company, the biggest in Chicago, eventually becoming its president. In 1953-54 he was Assistant to the Treasury Secretary. He is a Mormon and, according to *Time* magazine, "one of the nation's most astute and aggressive bankers." Kennedy is a director of many companies, including the Communications Satellite Corp. and a trustee of the Chicago and George Washington universities and other scientific institutions.

**GEORGE W. ROMNEY**  
Secretary of Housing and Urban Development

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George W. Romney was born in Mexico in 1907. His family moved to the United States when the Mexican Revolution began. He studied only a year at college and one semester in a university. He is a practising Mormon and served two years as a Mormon missionary in Britain. On his return to the United States he became a lobbyist for the Aluminium Company of America and then joined the Automobile Manufacturers Association. In 1954 he became President of American Motors. His last post was Governor of Michigan. In 1968 he sought Presidential nomination but withdrew his name when he realized that he had no chance, and gave his support to Nixon.

**JOHN N. MITCHELL**  
Attorney-General

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John N. Mitchell was born in Detroit, Michigan, in 1913. He at-

tended Fordham (Jesuit) University and Fordham Law School. During World War II he served with the US Pacific Fleet, commanding a patrol torpedo boat flotilla, and was President Kennedy's superior officer. After the war he was with a New York law firm which emerged with the Nixon firm in January 1967. He lectured at Fordham and Columbia law schools and at other institutions. As a New York municipal attorney, he was associated with measures put forth by Government Nelson Rockefeller. In 1968 he was campaign manager for Nixon.

**CLIFFORD M. HARDIN**  
Secretary of Agriculture

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Clifford Morris Hardin was born on a farm in Indiana in 1915. He has a Doctor's degree in agricultural economics and taught at Wisconsin, Michigan and Nebraska universities. In 1954 he became Chancellor of the University of Nebraska. He is a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation and a member of the advisory committee of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation. He has taken part in a number of international agricultural conferences.

**ROBERT H. FINCH**  
Secretary of Health,  
Education and Welfare

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Robert H. Finch was born in Tempe, Arizona, in 1925. He graduated from the University of Southern California Law School and then practised law in Los Angeles. He fought in World War II and the Korean War. Served on various Republican Party committees in California. When Nixon was Vice-President, Finch was his administrative assistant and became one of his principal advisers in the 1968 election campaign.

**WINTON M. BLOUNT**  
Postmaster-General

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Winton M. Blount was born in Union Springs, Alabama, in 1921. He graduated from the Staunton Military Academy and attended the Uni-

versity of Alabama before enlisting in the US Air Force. During World War II he was a B-29 pilot. After the war Blount entered the construction business and helped build the space development project at Cape Kennedy. In 1968 he was elected President of the US Chamber of Commerce.

**JOHN A. VOLPE**  
Secretary of Transportation

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John Anthony Volpe was born into an Italian family in Wakefield, Massachusetts, in 1908. He is an engineer by profession. In 1933 he founded the John A. Volpe Construction Company, which specialized in civil engineering. His company is a multi-million-dollar enterprise. During World War II he served in the Navy's engineer corps. He was elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1961 and 1965.

**MAURICE H. STANS**  
Secretary of Commerce

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Maurice Hubert Stans was born into a house painter's family at Shakopee, Minnesota, in 1908. He is a graduate of the University of Columbia and holds an LL.D. In 1955-57 he was Deputy Postmaster-General and in 1958-61 Director of the Bureau of the Budget. Took an active part in Nixon's election campaign, making wide use of his connections in the business world to raise the funds for it. He succeeded in getting \$20 million.

**WALTER J. HICKEL**  
Secretary of the Interior

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Walter Joseph Hickel was born in Ellinwood, Kansas, in 1919. He went to state public schools. Owns hotels, stores and industrial companies in Alaska. Is a member of the Republican Party's National Committee. In 1967 he was elected Governor of Alaska.



There is a hint thrown in here that the LSSP leaders had talks with certain UNP Ministers, and another hint there that the Right-Wing of the SLFP, wishes to get closer to a section of the UNP. The press is playing the old game of their erstwhile imperialist bosses: if we divide them we can continue to rule!"

WHILE the Prime Minister goes about the length and breadth of the country claiming that the food drive has been a success and has begun to yield rich dividends, Mr. Hema Basnayake, who championed the cause of the United National Party at the last general elections, has become sharply critical of the food drive and is painting a gloomy picture which suggests that the country is yet a long way off to self-sufficiency.

The *Dawasa* group of newspapers which devotes many inches of its columns to Mr. Basnayake's speeches throughout the Sinhala areas said at a Farmers' Association meeting at Kiribban Ara, Uda Walawe, that the Prime Minister's dreams of making the country self-sufficient in rice by 1970 were based on a beautiful picture painted by responsible officials.

At another meeting at Embilipitiya Mr. Basnayake was reported by the *Sun* as saying that the impression created by politicians and responsible Government officials was that the farmers were leading a happy and contented life. It was natural that these politicians and officials got annoyed when he came out with the true picture of a farmer's life. They were a suffering lot with no proper meals and a comfortable place to rest. They did not obtain a plentiful harvest and they had no social security or savings as a result of which they were in heavy debt. By the time they reaped their harvest, the rich people who had given loans to these farmers were at the paddy fields to collect the paddy.

Continuing he said that it was true that the price of rice was around Rs. 1/60 a measure even in the paddy cultivating areas. A

majority of the farmers had to part with their crops in the field itself and thus they themselves had to buy their rice requirements at high prices. Those farmers did not have sufficient rice for their consumption and had only two or three meals of rice per week.

Mr. Basnayake drove the point home—a matter that the Coalitionists themselves are trying to drive hard to the people—that the Government, which spoke of an increase in the paddy yields, ate its own words when it signed an agreement to import two hundred thousand tons of rice from China. The increase in the crops was only on paper. It did not reduce the import of rice.

Following close on the heels of Mr. Basnayake's embarrassing statements is the report in the *Sun* that paddy cultivation in the Amparai district during the 1969 Yala season is being threatened by a prolonged drought and the expected crop from this region, which included the Galoya Valley, was doubtful unless there was sufficient rainfall within the next two months.

TOURISM was one of the industries which the National Government thought would bring in a fortune and which would be able to replace the tea industry, which according to projections by the Food and Agricultural Organisation, will suffer disastrously by 1975 or so due to supply being in excess of demand.

While earnings from the tourist industry have yet to make a tangible impact on the country's financial position, it would appear judging from press reports that jet-load of tourists coming to Ceylon from European countries have been able to have an enjoyable stay even without having anything to sustain themselves in a hotel. In this connection, the *Observer* reported that European tourists enjoyed the comforts of an air-conditioned guest house without spending a single cent and at the end of their sojourn left the country with glittering sets

of gems. The report went on to say that their entire stay had been financed by groups of Ceylonese and that the latter were being paid outside the country and into their private bank accounts either in London, Hongkong or Switzerland.

Quite naturally questions are being asked in many circles why this big swindle has not yet caught the eye of the Government. In these circles it is often said that it would be infinitely far better for the Government to have a more watchful eye on the tourists who arrive in the country virtually penniless and the shady businessmen who are building big balances in foreign banks, instead of spending lots of money to get tourism into pop gear through world famous singers.

KAUTILIYA

*Vigil And Fasting On*

## Maha Sivarathri-The Great Night Of Lord Siva

By B. S. Sarma B. Sc. (Ceylon)

THE great night of Lord Siva is celebrated on the fourteenth day of the waning moon. Of all the festivals dedicated and deemed to be holy to Almighty, the fourteenth night of the dark half of the month Magha, in February-March, is the most propitious.

The present day mode of life makes it difficult for most of us to observe all the religious festivals and ceremonies.

Sir Monier Williams, in his "*Brahmanism and Hinduism*", says that "Although Hinduism has no ecclesiastical organisation under any central authority, it has a longer list of festivals (*utsava*) and seasons of rejoicing, qualified by fasts (*upavasa, vrata*), vigils (*Jagavana*) and

seasons of mortification than any other religion".

Mahasivaratri is celebrated by Saivites all over the world. Apart from the religious and philosophical reasons, the observance of the great night of Lord Siva serves to recall most of us who are plunged in worldly affairs for the reconsecration to the spiritual life.

The origin of the observance of the great night of Lord Siva is lost in antiquity. But there are varied legends to explain the origin and the benefits obtained in observing Mahasivaratri.

The observance of the great night of Lord Siva is affirmed by the fact that spiritual, psychological and philosophical benefits that augmented the devotees who observed the vigil and fasting even thoughtlessly are narrated in Skanda Purana, Siva Purana, Linga Purana and in the Santi Parva of the great epic Maha Bharata.

During Mahasivaratri, worship is conceded to Lord Siva, in the form of Sivalinga, which is the basic form.

Mahasivaratri observance begins with the fasting during the day, and worshipping Almighty during the great night.

The great night of Lord Siva is divided into four equal quarters (four *yamams*) and during each quarter Lord Siva, in the form of 'Sivalinga', is worshipped according to the rituals that are described in Puranas, and in other religious scriptures. The manner of worship varies according to different texts.

There is no hard and fast rule for the mode of observance of the great night of Lord Siva.

Nevertheless, true devotion from the devotee is more essential than the formal observances. This is well explained by Kannappa Nayanar's story, given in Periya Puranam and in Thiruvachakam.

Mahasivaratri is celebrated in Thailand from a remote past, on the full moon day of Magha month, in February-March. The detailed description about this is given in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

Sivaratri day is celebrated by those who follow Jainism on the same day as observed by Saivites.

**SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GREAT NIGHT OF LORD SIVA RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE:**

When we expect God to shower upon us the boon of Supreme bliss, He naturally expects us to become worthy recipients of it. He wants us to be prepared to sacrifice what is most dear to us. One of the dearest things for man is sleep, which is essential for life. On the Sivaratri day, if we are ready with a determined mind, to sacrifice that dear object of us (i.e. sleep, which we enjoy with great pleasure) then we can call ourselves to be fit to receive boons from God. The main idea is to prepare us to sacrifice things most dear to us. In order to prove ourselves to be good receivers, we are wakeful throughout the night and the following day. Because on the following day we will fall asleep without our knowing it. If we can sacrifice the sleep for a night and a day, then we pass the 'test'. This is the religious significance of Sivaratri, the great night of Lord Siva.

**Philosophical Significance:** Those who are poisoned physically should not sleep, because sleeping with poisoned physical frame will result in death according to medical men. Siva the Lord, took poison in order to save the

entire Universe, from the dread of poison, arisen from the milky ocean. When Our Lord did not sleep for a night for our sake, then we should also be wakeful for a night, at least to show that we did not forget our debt to our Lord.

When we are sleepless, it is useless to be so physically alone, but we should mentally think of the Lord the whole night. But it is not possible for the masses to be wakeful and at the same time to think of God mentally. So, even if we manage to be wakeful throughout the night by some means or even compelled by circumstances, then we get the result. In order to prove this, the story of a hunter, who did not sleep the whole night which was meant for Siva, for fear of a tiger is told. The hunter's ultimate motive is not to sacrifice his sleep for the Lord. He wanted to save himself from falling a prey to the tiger. Yet he attained the full benefit, because, though he was not wakeful for God, he at least observed a sleepless night on the prescribed night. This story encourages us to observe the night without sleep somehow. It is just to encourage the masses.

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In West Germany

## New Light Into The Sensational Series Of Suicides By High Ranking Officials

by JULIUS MADER

*In recent times, a considerable number of suicides of high-ranking West German Bundeswehr-officers and government officials, also caused a public sensation. One of the most noteworthy ones of these suicides was 40 year-old leading government official Dr. Hans - Heinrich Schenck. The stir was caused not only by the background of the affair but also by the very way in which the suicide was reported.*

Although Schenck committed suicide in the night from October 14th to 15th, 1968 the Press Office of the relevant Federal Ministry of Economics waited one week before admitting that Schenck had committed suicide and altered the spelling of his name into Schenk (without c). There were also different versions of the way he had killed himself. According to the West Berlin "BZ" of October 25, 1968, Schenck had hanged himself in his Cologne apartment, while the Hamburg "Zeit" of the same date reported that he had shot himself. Whatever are the facts of the case, one thing is certain, namely that Lawyer Schenck had, during the past seven years, been in uninterrupted charge of the Foreign Trade and Development Aid Department in the West German Federal Ministry of Economics. And what is more, he was, according to the "BZ", "working there on important projects for developing countries."

**SCHENCK, ALSO KNOWN AS HUBERT SCHNEE:** In Bonn, his death was laconically motivated by "fits of depression", while no mention was made on the cause of the fits although it is not at all difficult to elucidate the background of the

matter. Schenck, born on May 3, 1928, was the son of Hans-Carl Schenck, a colonel attached to the General Staff of the Hitler-Wehrmacht. His wife Ina was the daughter of an Upper-Silesian nobleman by the name of von Massenbach. Many connexions of this case become more lucid when one realises that Schenck back in 1950 and 22 then, maintained first operational contacts with US-West German intelligence headed by Hitlerite Lt. Gen. Reinhard Gehlen. At that time, Schenck was officially in charge of the West German Federal Custom Office, while carrying out, as a side-line, various intelligence jobs under the alias of "Hubert Schnee", as registered in the Pullach Intelligence Centre. It was certainly no coincidence that this man, after finishing his studies, re-appeared in the Federal Ministry of Economics and began as a proven expert in subversive activities, to devote himself precisely to "development aid."

### DEVELOPMENT OFFICIALS

**AS AGENTS:** Meanwhile, the fact has become known that all Bonn-controlled institutions for development aid avail themselves of this camouflage for carrying on large-scale political, military and economic subversive activities. Here just a few examples from the recent past to illustrate this fact: In Ghana, West German agent Lutz Herold was convicted of subversive activities. Herold had worked there on behalf of the West German Carl-Duisburg - Gesellschaft and, in addition, as reported for the Hamburg news - magazine "Der Spiegel." In January 1967, the Congolese intelligence service arrested in Kisan-gani four West German nationals as spies who first pretended to have been sent there in order to do preliminary work for a development

project. In September of the same year, West German Guenther Krabbe was ordered out of Nigeria, because according to an official communique, he had "endangered the security of the State". The so-called "Institut-fuer Internationale Solidaritaet" which is affiliated to the West German "Konrad - Adenauer" Foundation for Political Education and Promotion of Studies has been found to have meddled in the domestic political affairs not only of the Cameroons, Tanzania, Lesotho and Congo-Kinshasa and to have offered bribes to leading officials in these countries, but also to have engaged in subversive activities in Ceylon, Indonesia and several Latin American countries such as Chile.

### INTELLIGENCE TRAINING PRECEDES FOREIGN SERVICE:

Lately it became known that every co-operator of that mysterious West German "Foundation", before serving in foreign countries, has to undergo intelligence training. In addition, the fact seeped through in Bonn that the German Development Service, called (DED), too, supplies West German intelligence with regular reports. This DED - organisation has in African countries approximately 500 and in the Latin American countries more than some 300 so-called development aiders working for them. And the Bremen paper "Weser - Kurier" reported, one week prior to Schenck's suicide: "The Federal News Service is ostensibly anxious to find students and scientific co-operators of (West) German universities and colleges for intelligence work abroad. This applies, in particular, to the employment of young people in developing countries. "One of those hired agents" was ordered to explore, during his stay in a developing country, clearly-defined details on church organisations, co-operatives and trade unions. He actually sent such reports to a cover-address." The Hamburg "Spiegel" (Nr. 41/1968) added that hired scientists were granted scholarships by the "Friedrich - Ebert" Foundation which is controlled by the Social Democratic Party.



**THE FAILURE OF "SPECIALIST" SCHENCK:** Already that much has become known so far that most of the West German espionage agencies, which are camouflaged as associations for assisting development have always maintained connexions with the Federal Ministry of Economics (Foreign - Trade Department and Development Aid) in general and with "specialist" Schenck in particular. His prospects, however, were not too good, since he failed to guarantee the secrecy of intercontinental West German subversive activities, as demanded by his backers. By following the chain of cause and effect one might assume that certain criticisms might have resulted in the reported fits of depression. The personal tragedy of Government Counsellor Schenck reveals part of the intelligence jungle in which, as

the world had learnt, Western security services, including in particular the Israeli services, have greatly intensified their activities in West Germany and that there have been complications and vehement arguments with the West German intelligence centres and among themselves as well.

Incidentally, Schenck was — and of this the Bonn government is well aware and therefore anxious to keep silent about it — a close friend of Bundeswehr Lt. Col. Grimm who committed suicide on October 18, 1968, two days after the beginning of the emergency exercises Fallex 1968, after having been in charge of the security service attached to the West German war ministry.

Asia; their mission to suppress Communism in Asia or to establish a global balance of power, because the Americans are not interested in our papers. They do not read them. They do not listen to us. In any case we are not paid to teach them and we have no interest in teaching them in the light of the long evolution of Vietnamese history.."

The author maintained that despite the 530,000 troops in the country the United States is not fulfilling any responsibilities toward Vietnam. Only "Vietnamese can be responsible for our own country and people. We must assume these responsibilities in admitting the strength, but also the mistake and defeats of the US in Vietnam." Seeming to take as his starting point rumours of a "de-Americanization" of the war, he continues. "It is not all that easy. We have got far too used to depending on foreigners. First the French, now the Americans. Many important individuals in position of authority, once they heard of the impending withdrawal of US forces, started to panic. They lost their appetite and sleep in transferring money and acquiring passports to set themselves up abroad. If the heroes (in the struggle against invaders in ancient times) Quang Trung, Le Loi, Tran Hung Dao and others came to life, they would be lost in shame; they could never recognize their descendants, they have become so disgusting and absurd."

Nguyen Huu Dong goes on to discuss certain American mistakes in Vietnam: "We will not dwell too much on their mistakes, however. If we say too much, they will hear about it and be on our tracks — and that would be both unfortunate and dangerous for us (*Song* was banned Aug. 4). But we must say something in order to make it clear that as the Americans are incapable of doing anything worthwhile for us, we had better get busy ourselves, with our own affairs."

**ARROGANT ADVISERS** among the first mistakes he lists, *Dong* refers to the American habit of spending their own government's funds lavishly

*Saigon Press*

## Flays Us Arrogance: Hatred Towards It Reaches Flashpoint

by Wilfred Burchett

Averell Harriman's declarations at the Paris talks that the Saigon regime is normal, constitutional and democratic, so impressed editors and journalists in Saigon that some of them began to write and publish — after the Paris talks started — what they really thought, even about Americans.

The result was a number of newspapers and journals were banned. Among them was the weekly, *Song* (Life), in which on July 27 there appeared a long signed article by Nguyen Huu Dong, "American Responsibilities in Vietnam." The conclusion was contained in the opening paragraph wherein the author denied that Americans had any responsibilities at all toward Vietnam — only toward the US itself. At times the language was allegorical, at others brutally frank. In any case the message came through

clearly: "Vietnamese Unite, Americans Go Home." The article made mincemeat of Harriman's thesis that the Americans are in Vietnam by invitation and according to the wishes of the Vietnamese people.

**'IF THEY MAKE MISTAKES, LET THEM'.** "We should no longer show the way so that elephants trample on our tombs", wrote *Dong*. "If they (the Americans) are making mistakes, let them continue to make them. If they know nothing about Vietnam, leave them in the shadows of their ignorance. In this way the Vietnamese people will not be divided, will not have fallen for the 'American way of life.'

"It is not our task to discuss Americans' responsibilities toward themselves, their mission to behave like gentlemen to be gardeners throughout the world, including Southeast

ly as they enrich themselves. Another mistake is their arrogant attitude as "advisers" which results in the Vietnamese "setting themselves against them and making Americans the butt of their sarcasm." The author contrasts the attitude of Soviet and Chinese advisers in North Vietnam, whose behaviour "is certainly more discreet and intelligent. Their term of duty is not so short, not just for a year or two... as a result they have time to study and understand the Vietnamese way of working, their customs and language. Also the advisers and the North Vietnamese authorities have the same list ideology..." As for the American advisers, they serve only a year or two and "most of them do not speak Vietnamese. They work through go-betweens and in most cases the interpreters become even more haughty and arrogant than the advisers themselves; this is something the Vietnamese people cannot accept. Because of traditions of hospitality and courtesy, they behave correctly toward Americans, but they can absolutely not show any respect toward their interpreters. There is also a traditional feeling of contempt for go-betweens who serve foreigners..."

**IT DOES NOT** require a great deal of imagination to understand that in castigating the "go-betweens", the author is really attacking the Thieu-Ky regime itself and all those who collaborate with the Americans. He continues: "The greatest American mistake is their use of violence. They make too great a display of their might in action as well as in their way of life. One Yankee more in Vietnam, one more anti-American Vietnamese. The Americans make no effort to camouflage their great strength. They have decided to seize power at all levels, from supreme command of the war and policy down to subordinate services so that the Vietnamese have the impression that they have to look up to them as the big bosses, as a conquering and dominant power. The Vietnamese people, despite all this, accept them as friends allies but will never accept the status of valets or slaves to any great power whatsoever.

Confronted with a great foreign power, the Vietnamese people know only one course of action — through-out our history and at the present — that is resistance, overt and active or clandestine and passive, by non-collaboration."

This seems extraordinary language in a paper appearing in the very heart of US power in South Vietnam, but by the end of July 1968, such expressions of opinion were current at all levels of society in Saigon, according to visitors from the South Vietnamese capital. Those who had contacts with Vietnamese noted a marked change in their attitude between February - March and July - August. Opinions formerly whispered behind closed doors were traded openly in the streets and cafes. This was partly because the Tet (Lunar New Year) and May offensives had dealt heavy blows at the Saigon regime's organs of repression, especially at the lower levels, and partly because the Americans had been forced to sit down and talk with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Paris. The mighty had been humbled and the lowly took advantage of this.

"Another great mistake (of the Americans) is that they count on their wealth and the abundance of their means", continues the *Song* article. "...The Vietnamese people intensely dislike the way of life of the Americans and other foreigners in Vietnam. With the money they throw around, they have sown chaos as far as Vietnamese morals and social habits are concerned. Countless are the families that hate them, because of daughters forced into prostitution to feed their children and aged parents. At the sight of foreigners fondling and kissing prostitutes in the streets and bars, the Vietnamese people feel nothing but the most burning shame. It is difficult to retain friendly feelings toward the Americans, even if they are our allies or benefactors..."

"We can ally ourselves with the US when the interests of both sides coincide. But we are ready to resist them on the battlefield when these interests

do not coincide and become hostile and contradictory. We are not afraid to tell them this quite frankly..."

An appeal to all South Vietnamese to take the road of the National Liberation Front in armed resistance against the US invaders could hardly have been more direct. That such an appeal could be published under the very noses of the Americans and the Thieu-Ky regime reveals the open contempt with which both were regarded by mid-1968.

"By coming to Vietnam, the Americans have certainly taught us a lesson", the author continues, "a lesson of bitterness and humiliation. They have shown us very clearly that we can have no confidence in any allied nation, that we cannot count on any friendly country at all to assume our responsibilities in safeguarding our country and our national salvation. But what should we do? What can we do for ourselves?....."

"For a long time past we have prepared a humane, social revolution by our experiences, by the ordeals we have been through as well as by the difficulties and mistakes we have made, but it was still not the moment to unleash it, to actively carry it out on a general scale. If the situation were different, we could delay it, but now we are obliged to accomplish thoroughly and rapidly this revolution so as to stimulate the will of the people to fight. We must arouse them, pull them out of sloth, apathy and subjection to bring them together and take part in a united struggle for national salvation. The adversary will not let this quiescent state of affairs continue forever (the article was published during the mid-June, mid-August battlefield lull) and the Allies cannot continue forever to support such a costly state of affairs. They will be forced to negotiate and if one speaks of negotiations, concessions must be envisaged..."

The author is clearly appealing to his compatriots to choose sides and act before it is too late and he leaves his readers in no doubt as to which side they should choose. He adds, "Latent forces in the South should gather together gradually and secretly to unleash this revolution," and con-

cludes, "To end our discussion regarding American responsibilities toward Vietnam, we reaffirm once more that the Americans can have no responsibilities toward Vietnam and the Vietnamese people. . . . Now with our own weighty responsibilities, we must save our country from the enemy and prepare a brilliant future for our people."

The *Song* article was not an isolated phenomenon. It was one among many appearing in the Saigon press at that period and despite the banning of half a dozen papers, such articles still appear. By everything one can learn, the *Song* article truly reflected the opinions of the overwhelming majority of Saigon's middle class and intellectuals, including high-ranking members of the army and administration. On Sept. 8, for instance, Prof. Ly Chanh Trung of Saigon University in an address to some 300 intellectuals, including Catholic priests and students, had the following to say:

"As a Vietnamese, I can no longer support a situation in which foreigners are destroying with impunity my country with the most modern and terrible means under the signboard of 'defense of US freedom', a freedom which the South Vietnamese people, who have repeatedly rejected it, simply cannot swallow." Trung who was addressing a teach-in organized by the Saigon General Students' Association, continued: "As a Vietnamese, I cannot accept this. I advise those Americans who really want to defend freedom to defend freedom in their own country — that of the Negroes in revolt and that of the Indians dragging out their miserable existence."

Such public expressions of opinion were simply unthinkable a few months ago. With large sections of Saigon razed to the ground by American bombs and napalm, with the thunder of almost daily B-52 raids against the villages on the perimeter of the capital, the hatred toward the invaders is reaching flashpoint. When the hour strikes, Americans in the cities as in the countryside, will not find a Vietnamese friend to whom to turn.

GUARDIAN, New York

"Open Economy" Policy Of

## Indonesia Designed To Attract Foreign Private Investments And Technical Know-How To Develop Economy

THE INFLOW of foreign investment is of utmost importance for a country like Indonesia, where economic factors such as natural resources, market and manpower are in abundance.

The Indonesian Government wants to rehabilitate the country through an "open economy" by giving emphasis to export development and encouraging private enterprise to take a greater and more active part in the development of the country.

Indonesia is determined to become a productive member of the world economic community, and, for this purpose, Indonesia never hesitates inviting foreign capital and international technical and managerial know-how to participate in the building up of the economy.

The Government will leave the development of natural resources like oil prospecting and producing, mining, logging, and fisheries to private enterprises, whilst putting most of its own resources in the development of transportation, communications, education, health and rural development facilities.

66 projects were approved by the Government by the end of the first semester for 1968, and the Government expects this figure to reach the 100 mark by the end of this year.

**FORESTY ATTRACTS MANY INVESTORS. BIGGEST CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN MINING.** Indonesia's effort to make its policy in foreign investment attractive and competitive has borne fruits. In general, the introduction of Indonesia's new Law on foreign investment of January 10, 1967, significantly improves the climate for foreign investment. At the end of

last year, some indication of success was apparent already. 30 projects were approved by the Government and the Technical Team in 1967, involving a total capital investment of more than US \$150 million. In the first semester of 1968, the number of projects approved rose sharply, reaching 66 at a total value of more US \$250 million. If the 50-million dollar worth of oil projects, and 75-million dollar nickel project in Sulawesi are included, Indonesia has succeeded in getting more than US \$375 million of foreign capital invested in the country so far.

The inflow for foreign capital into Indonesia during the last one and a half years has been most encouraging for those who want to see Indonesia economically on its feet again.

Along Djakarta's main streets, branches of foreign banks are sprouting up — the Bank of America, the Chase Manhattan Bank, the Bank of Bangkok, the Chartered Bank, the Bank of Tokyo — all of which may be regarded as so many votes of confidence from international industry and commerce in Indonesia's bright economic future. Three years ago, this kind of development was unthinkable.

In the recent past, foreign capital was identified with colonial capitalism, and any direct inflow of foreign capital was considered the spearhead of an economic onslaught of imperialism, endangering Indonesia's hard-won political independence.

With the change of government in the beginning of 1966, a new opinion and a fresh attitude have developed in Indonesia with regard to foreign capital. Characteristic elements in Indonesia's current economic policy

are, among other things, the decision to return nationalized foreign assets to the original owners, and the introduction of the foreign investment law.

Lately, public attention has favourably shifted from politics and ideologies to economic development. In a situation where domestic capital is very scarce, the Government turns to foreign resources to help Indonesia's economic development, by giving them the opportunity in the country and make their contributions to the improvement of Indonesia's economy

**APART FROM THE** armaments all other sectors of the economy are open to foreign investment.

Statistically, the industrial sector attracts the majority of foreign investors. 28 projects, out of 66 approved so far, operate in the industrial sector. The biggest capital investment, however, is to be found in mining. The US Freeport Sulphur Company Incorporated, which engages in copper mining in West Irian, has a capital outlay of US \$76.5 million.

The prospect of investment in all sectors of the economy is favourable.

In the manufacturing and the industrial sector, Indonesia offers a market of potential growth. Indonesia's vast natural resources offer a good base for a profitable manufacturing business. When fully developed, this business may eventually serve the whole Southeast Asian region.

With only 5 per cent of Indonesia's territory mapped out in detail, the possibilities for investors in mining and in oil may ultimately prove to be virtually unlimited. Indonesia confidently hopes for the further exploitation of its mineral deposits. In fact, Indonesia has become one of

the world's leading producers of crude oil. Approximately 90 per cent of the country's known oil-bearing shelf area has already been contracted for, or is currently under negotiation.

Agriculture is the most important sector in Indonesia's economy, providing more than 70 per cent of its 110 million people with a livelihood. To increase agricultural production, an intensive use of irrigation, insecticides and fertilizers is needed. At present, Indonesia imports about US \$27 million of fertilizer annually. Therefore, foreign enterprises interested in establishing fertilizer plants in Indonesia will be welcome.

Foreign investment has quite a large scope in the canning industry for exports of fish and fruits, which abound in Indonesia. Further, Indonesia's forests constitute as yet insufficiently tapped resources of great wealth.

By offering a combination of such incentives and accommodations to prospective investors, as compared favourably with those offered by other developing countries, Indonesia has a good reason to believe that she will manage to secure a proper international economic relationship, thus enabling the development of a healthy economy.

—News From Indonesia

## 'No more Vietnams'

The U.S. Army has approved plans for the creation of a school of "overseas security operations" at Ft. Bragg, N.C., now the base of the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Centre. According to an article by George Ashworth in the Oct. 24 *Christian Science Monitor*, "the school will try to teach officers to know how to help friendly foreign governments cope with an extremely broad range of insurgent activities. Building upon what was learned in Vietnam, the school will endeavour to produce graduates who can understand insurgency, recognize symptoms and remedies, and act in a broad range of specialties to prepare host nations and armies to do what is necessary. Army officials are said to maintain that the new program will be so effective that future involvement by U.S. forces abroad will not be great enough to cause domestic political controversy, as in Vietnam.

In the September issue of its official organ, *Army Digest*, the Army boasts that its "School of the Americas" at Ft. Gulick in the Panama Canal Zone already operates a program for training Latin American military officers in counterrevolutionary warfare techniques. Ft. Gulick alumni now occupy key positions in several Latin governments. A number of U.S. military experts want to avoid "future Vietnams" concentrating on the task of spotting and dismantling insurrections in the formative stages. *Washington Post* columnist Jack Anderson wrote Sept. 7 About "a secret interdepartmental policy study, which calls for the creation of crack, mobile counterinsurgency units" whose work would be coordinated by the Defense Department, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the agency for International Development. Instead of sending massive direct military assistance to prop up governments undermined by insurgency, the new program would move in early to train the local army in the special techniques of counterrevolutionary war. Once its forces have been trained and equipped, the threatened regime would be able to carry on without further U.S. involvement.

*NLF's Telling Military Blows Force*

# United States To Have Talks With The Democratic Republic Of Vietnam

IT MAY BE SAID with certitude that the Vietnamese people have in 1968 scored decisive military and political successes in their just struggle against US intervention, for their country's freedom and independence. The telling blows dealt the aggressor in the South and the North have radically altered the situation in the country and forced the United States to agree to talks with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front. And although Saigon and Washington are delaying the opening of the quadripartite talks and trying to complicate the situation in Vietnam itself, there are no doubts about the outcome of the struggle. The *Washington Post* is absolutely right when it says that the turn in the conflict "is very likely irreversible."

A year ago the US Command believed that victory in Vietnam was in sight. And so the offensive launched by the NLF armed forces at the end of last January came as a complete surprise. Supported by the local population, the Liberation forces broke into Saigon, captured Hue by a lightning blow, entered Da Nang and attacked dozens of other towns and bases. The offensive stunned Washington. The *Boston Christian Science Monitor* wrote that it "caused almost as much havoc among the allied forces as had the retreat from the Yulu in Korea" and that it was followed by a "time of dismay."

The US command rushed reinforcements into battle and subjected the cities and towns taken by the patriots to barbarous air raids. Despite all this, the NLF offensive continued right up to the autumn. The Liberation Army carried out large-scale operations in May, August and

September. The position of the intervention forces steadily worsened.

By autumn, the patriots had liberated new areas with an aggregate population of 1.5 million. Thousands of new volunteers joined the Liberation Army. Its units surrounded dozens of cities and bases and kept them under systematic fire. The American attempts to drive them back from Saigon, Hue, Da Nang and other cities and bases brought no results. Even according to the patently minimized figures published in the American press, more than 15,000 interventionist troops have been killed this year and about 100,000 wounded. In other words, in this one year the Americans have lost more men than in all of the seven preceding years of the war. Moreover, American sources have also admitted the loss this year of over 1,500 planes and helicopters. Lastly, another \$30,000 million have gone down the drain.

On December 20 the National Liberation Front celebrated its eighth anniversary. It has rallied round itself wide segments of the population who unanimously support the new political programme it adopted in August last year. Elections to the new organs of power — the People's Councils — have been going on in the liberated areas since spring. "The National Liberation Front", the *Paris France-Soir* writes, "is setting up a popular administration at all levels." What is more, the paper says elections are being held not only on liberated territory but in the "disputed" areas, under the very nose of the American and Saigon army and police.

The *New York Times* reports that People's Councils have already been

established in seventeen provinces, five towns and 38 counties. South Vietnamese peasants, according to the NLF Central Committee, have been given free of charge more than 2.5 million hectares of land confiscated from traitors.

It is perfectly clear that the changes which have occurred in South Vietnam are irreversible. And Washington is forced to reckon with this.

THE US "strategy of escalation" has suffered a fiasco in North Vietnam too. The air war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has cost the United States \$7,000 million. Since its beginning nearly four years ago American planes have carried out about 120,000 battle missions and dropped more than 2.5 million tons of bombs. But they have achieved nothing. The air raids have failed to bring the North Vietnamese to their knees, the *New York Times* writes. With the all-round assistance and support by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the people of free Vietnam have repulsed the enemy's attacks and inflicted heavy losses upon him. No fewer than 21 million shelters, individual and collective, have been built for the 17 million people in the D. R. V. The effectiveness of the air defence has been steadily increasing.

Having convinced itself that, there was no hope of subduing the valiant people of North Vietnam, the US Command restricted the air raids and artillery bombardment of D.R.V. territory on March 31 and halted them altogether on November 1. This complete and unconditional cessation of warfare was a big victory for the Vietnamese people and their friends, and, moreover, paved the way to a political settlement and restoration of peace in Vietnam.

Washington, however, is clearly in no hurry to settle the Vietnam problem. The Pentagon is out to win time for further operations in South Vietnam. It has not given up hope of weakening the position of the National Liberation Front and restoring Saigon's control over as many

localities as possible. The fighting goes on west and north of Saigon, in the Mekong Delta, in the Central Highlands and on the coast, with the Americans making great efforts to wrest all the villages they can from the patriots.

But what is to be done with these villages after that? The interventionists are in no position to maintain permanent garrisons in them. "At this point in the war," the *New York Times* writes, "we can't afford to tie up large numbers of troops to guard villages." It is no use turning the job over to the Saigon forces either, for they themselves have to be guarded the *Washington Post* reports that since June of this year they have been deserting at a rate of almost 13,000 a month. The Americans have got themselves into a vicious circle.

**MADDENED** by the reverses they have suffered, the interventionists are ruthlessly bombing villages, using B-52s. On December 9, for instance, these strategic bombers dropped more than 1,000 tons of their lethal cargo, most of it in the Da Nang area. The Americans also use toxic agents against the liberated areas.

At the same time they continue with their provocations against the D.R.V. From December 2 to 9 American planes carried out 600 reconnaissance missions over North Vietnam. In the last three days of that week they also dropped bombs on various areas on seventeen occasions, killing 46 and wounding 53 people. The *New York Daily News*, mouthpiece of the American ultras, has advised the US government to resume air raids on the D.R.V. and especially on Hanoi, Haiphong and Vinh.

The periodical flare-ups of the policy of escalation are merely aggravating the situation in Vietnam. They bode nothing good for the United States, which should be no less interested than the others in a political settlement of the Vietnam problem.

The true friends of the Vietnamese know that it will take still more

vigorous efforts to put an end to US aggression in Vietnam.

"The year 1969", says the appeal adopted by the Stockholm Conference

*A Profile Of*

## Tupolev—Dean Of Aircraft Designers

In the race for civilian supersonic air travel the Soviet Union has beaten the West. On new year eve in Moscow, the world's first supersonic airliner, TU-144, was successfully test flown even as the US designs of Boeing—2707 remained struck in the early project stage and the Anglo-French 'Concord' stays close to the grounds. The brain behind this newest Soviet achievement is the Dean of Aircraft Designers, Andrei Tupolev. The name Tupolev is synonymous with Soviet aviation. The markings, ANT and TU, have a tradition of half of century of flying in diverse parts of the world. The small ANT-1, a sports monoplane, was created by Tupolev in 1923 when, as he himself confessed, all the resources he could lay hands on for aircraft designing and development were "brimming energy and genuine enthusiasm." He followed this up quickly with the first Soviet all-metal two-seater plane ANT-2 and ANT-3 in 1925. ANT-3 commanded Western respect when it flew on the Moscow - Berlin - Paris - Rome - Vienna - Warsaw - Moscow route and excelled the record of the flight from Moscow to Tokyo and back. In May 1937, two of Tupolev's

*In Switzerland*

## The Buhle Scandal Regarding Export Of Swiss Manufactured Arms To Areas Of Conflict Bared

"Within a few minutes our plane will land at Zurich airport", the stewardess announced with a dazzling smile.

The passengers bestirred themselves, closing books and bags, fast-

on Vietnam in mid-December, "shall be the year of international mobilization to end the war in Vietnam and assure independence and peace for the people of Vietnam which is vital for world peace."

creations landed in the North Pole on an expedition. His bombers made a great showing in the battle against Franco Spain in the thirties. The version of ANT-2 called 'Maxim Gorky' remained the world's biggest plane for 16 years. It was during the war that Tupolev began the TU series beginning with fast divers and bombers. In the post-war years Tupolev designed heavy jet planes, both for defence and passenger traffic. His brilliant achievement was the giant TU-114 which made its flight on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution. For many years these planes have been serving on long international passenger routes operated by Aeroflot. His latest supersonic creation, TU-144, which is now an object of marvel for the whole world is designed to carry 120 passengers at a speed of 2,500 km per hour to a distance of 65,000 km nonstop. It will fly at an altitude of 20 km. Twice decorated as Hero of Socialist Labour, the grand old man of Soviet aviation, Academician Tupolev has created more than 130 versions of aircraft in his sixty years of service. A modest man of 80, he prefers to talk less and work more.

ening safety belts and exchanging tidbits of information about Switzerland's largest city gleaned from guidebooks. Only one passenger, a middle-aged, impeccably groomed gentleman, sat still observing the tourist excitement with the superior

air of the seasoned traveller. Gabriel Lebedinsky, business manager of the Oerlekon-Buhrle concern, was accustomed to long-distance flights (the plane was flying from South Africa). Now he was returning to Zurich, his permanent place of residence, and was pleasantly picturing his homecoming when he was startled by a curt voice behind him:

"Monsieur Lebedinsky, you are under arrest!"

Two other prominent members of the same firm were arrested soon afterwards

**THIS IS HOW** the newspapers described the first act in what came to be known as the Buhrle scandal and which caused the biggest sensation Switzerland has known for many a year.

Big engineering plants, textile mills, a bank, a publishing house, an insurance company, a river fleet, a hotel — these are only a few of the 75 enterprises of various kinds owned (some of them outside of Switzerland) by this finance and industrial group, whose annual turnover is estimated at around 850 million francs. The whole of this huge outfit is to all intents and purposes controlled by the Buhrle family. Dieter Buhrle, a lawyer by education, has managed its affairs since 1957. His aunt, Hortensia Buhrle, figures as Vice-President of Oerlekon-Buhrle Holding Company. Dieter sits on the council of the Union Bank of Switzerland, one of the biggest in the country, whose President, A. Scheffer, is a member of the board of several of the Buhrle subsidiaries.

The Buhrle concern, incidentally, is listed among Switzerland's leading firms. Several of its engineering plants, among other things, produce war materials. Anti-aircraft guns, missiles, shells and similar "hardware" items are manufactured in Oerlekon, a suburb of Zurich, and Pilatus-Porter and Mirage aircraft at Stans, a town situated on the shores of Lake Lucerne. Buhrle arms were widely advertised at the Swiss Army exhibition held last summer in

Geneva. Of the Dieter Buhrle plants it was said that the anti-aircraft defence systems they produce "safeguard the country against attacks from the air". Buhrle arms are even more eloquently advertised in the pages of American, West German and other military magazines. Much of this output goes for export.

Since Switzerland is a neutral country, the Swiss Federal Council forbids the export of Swiss-manufactured arms to any country at war or to any part of the world where the threat of an armed conflict exists. The banned list includes the Middle East, South Africa, Vietnam and several other of the world's "hot spots." Licences to sell weapons to other countries are issued only upon receipt of written pledges from the buyer that the weapons will not be re-exported to other countries.

And now this reputable concern, it turns out, has been guilty of gross violation of Swiss laws. "The firm's agents, it appears, operated with false documents, going so far as to forge the official papers of other states. Its arms went to Israel, the South African Republic, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria and other countries on the banned list.

The investigation is not yet over; business manager Gabriel Lebedinsky and the two other detained employees may very well have still more "production secrets" to reveal. However, it is already known that in the course of two years more than 300 anti-aircraft guns, some 5,500 missiles and nearly a quarter of a million shells produced by the Oerlekon plants found their way to the "trouble spots" of Africa and the Middle East, netting the concern a cool 10 million francs, according to incomplete estimates.

**SPEAKING** in the Swiss parliament recently Socialist deputy Walter Renschler charged that the Zurich firm had supplied its unofficial customers not only with armaments but with instructors besides.

"It is a downright shame", Renschler cried. "On the one hand, we

send Swiss to Nigeria to alleviate the sufferings of the population (a reference to the Swiss members of the Red Cross mission — G. D.) and, on the other, Swiss are giving instruction in the use of death-dealing weapons!"

The *Tribune de Geneve* carried a cartoon showing crates of food bearing the Swiss emblem being dropped by parachute, and beside them, bombs with the trade mark "Made in Switzerland."

Several Swiss newspapers maintain that the barrels of guns delivered by Buhrle to Africa still bore traces of the swastika and other identification marks of the Hitler Wehrmacht. These guns, it is reported, were ordered by nazi Germany in the last phase of the war and even paid for, but were never delivered. Twenty years later, the old markings having been erased, the Zurich business sharks resold them to the African countries.

The journal *Blick* added fuel to fire by reporting that another Swiss firm, Hispano-Suiza, had also been engaging in unlawful traffic in arms, exporting its output first to Francewhence it is forwarded to the "Republic of Biafra", the Nigerian separatists, *Blick* claims that Hispano-Suiza is swindling its customers into the bargain; about 10 per cent of the 30,000 shells turned out daily by Hispano-Suiza's Geneva plant are rejected by technical inspectors for defects that can cause the shells to blow up the gun barrel or fall hundreds of feet short of target. Formerly defective shells were sent back to the resmelted, but since April 1968 the firm has been selling them to African countries. *Blick* quotes one Ritz, a director of the Geneva plant, as remarking to a colleague: "We sell the rejects to the Negroes now."

The management of Hispano-Suiza has hotly denied all the *Blick* charges. But the denial has not convinced anyone.

**THE AFFAIR** has caused deep indignation in Switzerland. It has been widely discussed in the press, on

TV, and in parliament, and has become the object of a government inquiry. The authorities have also decided to make a thorough review of all the dossiers of past years relating to export of armaments by the various firms.

The public is demanding the exposure of nefarious dealings of the arms merchants and punishment of all guilty of violating the laws of the neutral state. However, Dieter Bührle and his friends have evidently not lost hope of being able to extricate themselves from the mess. A communique issued by the management refers to the transactions that touched off the scandal as a minor "unpleasant incident." Dieter Bührle claims he knew nothing about the illegal sale of arms or the sending of instructors, and avers that the firm is the victim of the dishonesty of individuals in its employ. Lame excuses of course.

The demand for a ban on all export of Swiss arms is becoming more and more insistent. A proposal to this effect was made the other day by a group of prominent members of the Socialist Party. Deputy Andre Muret (Swiss Party of Labour) declared that in their drive for profits capitalist manufacturers would continue to break the laws. The only way to prevent a repetition of such scandals as the Bührle affair, he said was to nationalize the plants manufacturing weapons.

The proposal to ban arms exports, not to speak of nationalization, has scared the arms merchants. Dieter Bührle, for instance, says that any such step would reduce employment not only at the military plants but at the enterprises supplying them with raw materials and parts.

The *Luzerner Tagblatt*, organ of the Radical Democratic Party, voices concern lest the investigation of the Bührle scandal lead to the punishment of the firm's directors, for this, it opines, might give rise to "anti-capitalist sentiments." It remains to be seen how the case will develop — whether in favour of the financial and industrial tycoons or along the lines demanded by broad sections of the public. In the meantime the "gun merchants' scandal" continues to be front-page news here.

### *Moscow Viewpoint*

## Soviet Merchant Fleet Poses No Threat To Western Shipowners

Several London papers have carried reports of an alleged Soviet threat to British shipping. "The rapidly expanding Soviet fleet poses a long dark shadow' over western shipowners' said Lord Geddes, president of the United Kingdom Chamber of Shipping, according to the *Times*. We asked Soviet shipping agencies their view on these allegations.

RECENTLY the Soviet merchant fleet has been accused of undermining world shipping, of cutting rates and other mortal sins. In 1961, when the Soviet Baltic Shipping Line applied for membership of the Baltic and International Maritime Conference (BIMC), there were many predictions in the West that the Russians intended to destroy the organisation.

But years passed, the Baltic Shipping Line became a member of BIMC, and today many speak of fruitful and useful Soviet partnership in the conference. The same happened when the Anglo-Soviet Steamship Co. sought membership — as a broker — of London's Baltic Exchange. The red scare was used again and the Exchange turned down the application.

As a result, the Baltic Exchange itself was the loser, as all Soviet ship-chartering operations were stopped. Sober members of the board soon understood that its decision had been shortsighted and accepted the Anglo-Soviet Steamship Co. as a member. Today no one claims that Russian presence in the Baltic Exchange undermines the principles of modern shipping.

When the Baltic Shipping Line expressed a wish to join the Atlantic Passenger Conference, again threatening warnings were heard about the expansion of the Soviet fleet. The Baltic has lasted for about a year —

over the service of one passenger ship on the Moscow-Montreal line. But in the end reason got the upper hand and the Baltic Shipping Line became a member of the Atlantic Conference.

For the past three years it has been conforming, in the most scrupulous manner, to the conditions of the conference, fruitfully co-operating with all its members in a businesslike way. Symptoms of the familiar epidemic are now seen once more — first in Australia, and then in Europe. The press is again talking about "the threat of the Soviet merchant fleet", and saying a cut-price war in international shipping is being conducted by the Russians.

Past experience suggested that the arguments would be much the same as previously, but there was one surprise. Lord Geddes, President of the United Kingdom Chamber of Shipping, announced the Chamber's intention of asking the Prime Minister for measures to stop Russian competition in reducing freight charges.

In recent years, the Soviet Union has purchased from Australia about 150,000 bales of wool annually. The terms were that delivery should be made by the purchaser, that is, the Soviet side. Until recently, the wool has been shipped by lines in the Australian - European conference, which charge high rates.

This made Soviet shipping agencies think about using their own ships. This summer, the Baltic Shipping Line, through the national corporation Sovfracht, decided to open its own service to Australia for shipping wool. And, as is usual in such cases, we proposed carrying Australia-bound foreign cargoes on the outward journey. Acting on the basic policy of the Soviet merchant fleet



of co-operating with foreign shipping agencies, the Baltic Line informed the conference of its wish to co-operate and its readiness to become a member.

The acting president of the Australian maritime conference, Mr. R. A. Lloyd, responded immediately to this offer and announced that the conference was prepared to negotiate the Baltic Line's admission.

He would lead a responsible delegation to the Soviet Union, he said.

But the delegation began putting off the date of its departure and then refused to hold talks altogether. And so the Baltic Line started working on the Australian-Europe route independently. Who is to blame for this? Not the Soviet side. According to British press reports, Lord Geddes has said that evidence is available of non-commercial — according to western standards — activities by the the Soviet merchant fleet on many trade routes. Proof would be relevant, but Lord Geddes will not be able to cite any, because there is none.

Soviet shipping lines work only on a commercial basis. He has also referred to alleged discrimination in the USSR in favour of its own vessels. Here again, not a single fact was given. The facts and figures really tell a different story. The table on this page shows clearly that the Soviet Union is building up its merchant fleet primarily to ensure its own sea-trade, hardly keeping pace with the rapid growth of Soviet sea-borne exports and imports.

The amount of cargo carried by foreign ships, including British vessels is growing year by year. Where is the discrimination? It seems that the British Chamber of Shipping needed accusations in order to support its argument against the Soviet shipowners' appearance on the USSR - Australia line. But recently officials of Soviet and British shipping agencies discussed the attitude of some conferences towards the Soviet shipping lines. Then the British side declared that it did not interfere in the activity of shipping conferences.

What are the governmental measures that Lord Geddes is demanding to defend the interests of the Australia - Europe conference? The recently - signed Soviet - British agreement on merchant shipping declared all-round support for freedom of shipping. Soviet shipping agencies are strictly adhering to this provision in all their activities. If, however, they are refused co-operation, they will not close down, but will compete with shipowners' conferences and associations. It is a fair game, fully corresponding to the principle of free competition, so cherished in the West!

—Soviet Weekly

Letters To The Editor

## ★ TRANSPORT & TOURISM IN CEYLON

Sir,

Good transport is vital for tourism. Time was when Minerva Hire and Dyson Armstrong who founded the firm of Armstrong's Tourist Agency made small fortunes by transporting tourists to Kandy and over the island, with a trained group of drivers many of whom later ran their own travel agencies. They used open, touring cars and not the small, uncomfortable saloons which are now on the roads. They did not sacrifice comfort for cheapness, hence Ceylon made a name as an ideal stopping point for ships.

After the period of deficit budgeting in Ceylon and the consequent inflation, most transport fleets came in for a severe battering, shortage of spares and tyres. I recall a survey made by the Government tourist authorities in 1962 when it was shown that nearly 70 per cent of the tourist transport was over 15 years old, and that only 10 per cent was within the five year range. Diplomatic cars sold at the Government Stores department were offered, with the Customs duty tacked on, as a stop-gap, and two lines of credit from the U.K. and France were negotiated about 1964 for the supply of cars and tourist coaches of the Greyhound and Swiss Postal Motor coach types. The purblind actions of the bureaucrats in charge of tourism and the Ministry minions in charge succeeded in creating the impression that private operators should not be given new cars, or even factory-reconditioned cars like Cadillacs and Mercedes Benz cars which are used widely in many European countries. It is only fair to refer to the efforts made in the past to solve this problem on

Year	Soviet Foreign Trade (Billion Roubles)	Dead-Weight Tonnage Soviet Merchant Fleet (Million Tons)	Total foreign Shipments (Million Tons)	of which by Foreign Ships (Million Tons)
1960	10.1	4.1	49.8	29.7
1967	16.4	10.0	121.7	59.7

the basis of 50 new cars each year, or 50 factory reconditioned cars of a larger size with up-to-date upholstery etc. The emphasis was on cars for tourist purposes and not for taxi services.

Import of cars with a four-year lease of life was a big mistake. Even on the premise that beggars cannot make demands, we had the range of aid from Japan, U.S.A., U.K., France and Germany for importing cars. Those with a short lease of life are heavy on annual depreciation. What is more, with a blackmarket prevailing the temptation for drivers and agencies to collect money in foreign exchange and account for it in rupees is very great. Some firms do this blatantly, depriving the country of foreign exchange although they are helped by the government to renew their fleets. Such people are parasites on the economy. They should get short shrift.

Every importer of a tourist car should be made to account for loan and depreciation payments in foreign exchange. This will be fair by all. Why should Government pay the bill for imports in foreign exchange and allow a privileged group to reimburse themselves with illegal profits made on the blackmarket. The big swindle reported in the Press extends to operators of tourist cars.

Private taxi owners have made representations to the Minister of Communications that an unfair advantage has been given to taxi owners who operate tourist cars as taxis or hiring cars and charge very high rates. The tourist cars should have been used only and exclusively for tourist transport, and all agencies made to account for all mileage done, after garage tests and not only milometers, paid for in foreign exchange.

To develop a taxi business in the guise of tourism is cheating the Government which has given them help. The stock excuse that (i) there is insufficient tourist business to keep a car on the move throughout the year; (ii) that tourists pay in rupees only and (iii) that only

tourist transport operators should be given preferential treatment is utter nonsense and a negation of fair play. It is quite evident that the Tourist Board is molycoddling tourist transport operators at the expense of the general public of Ceylon and the much-maligned private taxi operator. The latter do not earn foreign exchange and are not in the gem business as so many of the tourist transport operators are. They are striving hard to give a service to the public and to earn a legitimate living. Half the malpractices that are reported on are due to the high cost of spares, which the tourist transport operators do not incur as they have new cars. I suggest that both to prolong the life of the tourist cars and to ensure the collection of foreign exchange for hires, all tourist cars should be forbidden from partaking in the taxi business for Ceylonese under pain of immediate prosecution.

As a local newspaper said the other day, some people are making huge profits under the guise of tourism by illegitimate means. They even use private cars for tourist hires, and pocket the difference. A certain big time operator is known to have used the private car of the A.S.P. of his district to prevent any Police interference. I can give the number of the car and the name of the A.S.P., if required.

Import of 50 cars per year — 40 for tourists and 10 for taxi services — from the factory reconditioned cars now supplied by Germany and the U.S.A. will reduce our foreign exchange bill and provide cars with a 10 year lease of life for taxi purposes. Small taxis can also be imported within the 5 year lease of life period and within the 50 cars imported, and drawn by lots. This has been done elsewhere with great success.

The Japanese Toyota Air conditioned car costs less than some of the cars imported. The French line of credit could have been used for another purpose since offers were made by other nations as well.

~~We must also standardise~~ makes of cars for import to reduce costs

of spares. This standardisation will result in cheaper prices.

Tourist transport operators have no excuse whatsoever to argue against FECS. They get higher rates for transport than the taxi operators and have much lower repair and maintenance bills to meet.

When tourists have in fact changed their money at the FECS rates and have to pay in rupees they should be called upon to produce their passports, which should carry an endorsement of the value of foreign money exchanged at FECS rates, and the transport bill should be made out with the passport number, and a duplicate sent immediately to the Exchange Control authorities for checking against the purchase of rupees at FECS rates. This should be a quick process. Anyone found declaring that he received Ceylon rupees in payment should run the risk of having his licence as a tourist transport operator immediately cancelled if he has done any wrong. It is only in this way there will be some sanity in the control of movement of Ceylon's foreign exchange earnings from tourism. At present, nobody is concerned.

The taxi operator is blackballed and harassed at every turn, but the tourist transport operator who misuses his tourist cars for local hires has it both ways and is a favoured citizen. Why should there be this distinction of the elect and the outsiders when the elect are known to be trafficking in foreign currency, this committing a heinous offence against the country.

GERARD ALVIS

Halloluwa Road,

Kandy.

## STUDENTS' UNREST

Sir,

Students in many parts of the world, including Ceylon, are exhibiting an unprecedented restlessness. This is entirely a new phenomenon. Old conservatives, wagging their their experienced heads, are convin-

ced that with their death the world will 'go to the dogs.' Others attribute this to the want of a religious background and advocate the opening of more Dahanselas and Sunday Schools. It is significant that this restlessness is manifested chiefly among University undergraduates who constitute the brains of a country and are expected to occupy key position in its service in the future.

Students' unrest is the result of grievances — genuine or imaginary. The solution obviously is prompt investigation and redress if genuine. Suppression is a wrong approach which will send them underground to flare up against at an opportune moment. The authorities concerned should adopt a realistic attitude.

University students probably feel that they have no future. On leaving the Universities with degrees they idle at home continuing to be a burden on their parents. They see around them others who are idling in spite of their degrees and fear that a similar fate will overtake them. They are in short suffering from a sense of frustration.

Government must squarely face the problem of the future of our educated youth. Jobs cannot be taken out of a hat as a magician does. Our youth are capable and yearning to be engaged in useful occupation. The State must step in with the goods. We have heard so much of planning and planners but we have yet to hear of plans for the utilisation of the talents and energies of our young men who annually leave our Universities. At present there is little scope for the talents in a country which awaits development and restlessness is the inevitable consequence. The Government must rise to the occasion and adopt measures to enable the unemployed to find jobs. This is not a party matter. Whatever the party in power, it will be dangerous to overlook so important a problem.

W. A. GOONETILLEKE

Hapugala, Wakwella,  
Galle, 30.12.68

### KARMA OR GOD?

He met me in a bus, and explained it all;  
He had a Catholic been at birth,  
And then, to St. Benedict's he did go,  
And finished up at Wesley. And now,  
A Buddhist true he was, by conviction,  
I could not let this challenge go unsaid,  
And questioned him about his reasons for this change:  
For my part, I was a Catholic by conviction,  
And this I let him know beyond all doubt;  
'Twas simply said. He then explained his motives  
For the change. He put it very simply.  
A Buddhist believed in Karma, a Catholic  
In a God. Karma was the force that drove the world  
According to irresistible laws, he said. The world  
Revolved round Karma. If a man was good,  
By a cycle of rebirths he ceased to be reborn  
And found *nibbana*. His destiny was in his hands.  
Not so with God, for God was with his fellow men,  
Who relied on Him as Father, the Creator.  
The Buddhist man was on his own; his destiny  
Was in his hands: so said my mentor.  
With a Catholic, 'twas not so. With him  
It was a constant case of man relying on God  
To pull him through. No 'birth for him  
There was; just heaven or hell.  
And so the journey to a close did draw,  
And I debussed and went my way, of yore,  
And thought I'd write some verse, and put this down  
To give some fellows thought, that'd make them think.

Karma or God — that is the question. A lot  
Is left unsaid: the deities of jungle folk —  
How they fit in. If Family Planning has its way,  
What hope for man? Does man live longer,  
Reach *nibbana* quicker, or be born a pig?  
These are questions those must ask  
Who believe in Karma and the contra-ception.  
Then the planets: shall we move to space  
To fill the hungry bellies of animals that men are born?  
It might be so, we can't quite say.  
That the sun will be darkened, and the moon  
Refuse her light, we Christians know.  
So God and Karma — let's be reconciled.  
Is man the final arbiter of his fate,  
Relying on none to help him through?  
That's the Buddhist way, my mentor said.  
For Christians, their destiny is in their hands,  
But they're not masters of their fate  
In quite that way. We believe that Karma  
Has a mind which He will change  
To suit our needs. He is not, we say  
A reasonable unreasoning force, but Man.  
He is Jesus Christ Who made the world  
And man became and for our sakes did die —  
All this my mentor on the bus did know,  
And told me so but he believed in Karma,  
Not in Christ, Who for us is Master and our God.  
It is revelation that tells us so, and the miracles  
That knew no laws when He on earth did live.

*Despite High Profits In 1968*

## The Big Three In Auto Field Raise Prices On 1969 Cars & Trucks

THE BIG THREE in the auto field, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, raked in a total net profit of one and a half billion dollars in the first six months of 1968 as compared with \$1.2 billion dollars in the first half of 1967. Yet each of these companies is raising its prices on the 1969 cars and trucks.

In the first half of this year, GM netted \$959 million, compared with \$911 million for the same period in 1967. Ford made \$390 million, compared with \$267 million, and Chrysler \$248 million compared with \$66 million.

Senate Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin has just released what he says was Ford Motor Company's unit cost analysis on its 1966 model cars. And the figures are shocking.

The figures show that on a four door Galaxie 500, for example, the cost to the dealer included a 16.8 percent profit to Ford. But optional equipment — usually amounting to one-third of the selling price — was marked up between 57.8 percent and 293 percent over the cost.

Here is how the figures tell the story of the Galaxie: It costs \$1360.38 in regular material to build the standard model. This does not deduct the profits made by Ford subsidiaries who supply the parts. It costs \$20.23 for minor materials such as glue, solder and paint. Stand and parts such as screws, nuts and bolts cost \$16.32 and the cost of material transportation was another \$19.98. Labour cost to assemble the unit was set at \$57.85. Light, power

and depreciation was \$147.12. So it cost Ford \$1,621.88. And what do you think the dealer had to pay \$1,827.37. And the suggested (!) list price was \$2,676.82.

But as if Ford's wasn't make enough look at what Nelson calls the "frosting on a very large cake" — the mark-up on optional items.

V8 engine — dealers pay an extra \$75.60 for an engine which costs only \$19.22 more than the standard model. \$136.89 for a \$56.24 transmission, \$40.16 for a \$21.74 AM radio, \$46.22 for a \$13.01 set of tires, \$250.14 for a \$158.49 air conditioning unit and \$10.17 for \$5.93 seatbelts.

And when you add on the dealer's profit, well, you know what the retail price then becomes.

If ever a case was obvious for a prices review board it is here in the auto industry — and in Ottawa what do we find?

In answer to questions in the House of Commons about what the Canadian government is going to do about the price hikes on the '69 models we have the following reply from the Prime Minister: "Mr. Speaker, I have not exactly followed all the context, but the hon. member knows the federal government has no control over control price setting between a consumer and a dealer in respect of automobiles or other similar types of goods."

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.  
Buying a new car, anyone?

*Economic Notes*

## Malaysia & Singapore

### Shippers Rebutt

### Western Shipping Lines

IN CANCELLING their contracts with the Far Eastern Freight Conference, which carried the bulk of their export cargo, the rubber shippers from Malaysia and Singapore have given a fitting rebutt to Western liner conferences whose frequent, and invariably unilateral increases in freight rates are a major problem for developing countries. The action and the quick follow-up arrangement of alternative shipping facilities make it clear that the conferences are not indispensable for the developing countries. Nor are they as invulnerable as they seem if a determined effort to break their stanglehold on trade is made by shippers in these countries.

Malaysian and Singapore shippers had been engaged in a long struggle with the conference from whose clutches they have now freed themselves. The secret of their success was their unity and determination that in case the conference did not relent, they too would not accept its obnoxious terms. At the same time, they pursued their effort to work out alternative arrangements which they believed, were not beyond them, considering that while they needed to export their commodity, certain other countries needed to import it as well. That they were not mistaken was proved when shipping lines from so heterogeneous a group of countries as the Soviet Union, Japan and Australia, besides Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic, created a pool of vessels to carry their rubber. There achievement points to considerable possibilities in this direction which producers of other primary commodities can explore.

Viewed in this context the efforts that our own shippers have made to break the conferences' stranglehold on our trade seem to lack direction and perspective. Yet they are unquestionably in a better position than their counterparts in other developing countries not merely to help themselves but also to help others. This does not mean that

they should cease drawing the attention of the conferences to the damage that the latter's unilateral decisions cause to our export trade, besides infringing the UNCTAD resolutions. But this campaign as it is, needs to be buttressed with a search for replacements for conference lines.

when transplanted. The investigations which followed were naturally unpleasant for the surgeon. And so Dr. Cooley has decided not to use the hearts of murderer's victims.

ANOTHER practical problem is the very high cost of the operation. So far none of the patients could have afforded to pay for it himself. In Houston, for instance, such an operation costs \$25,000. Dr. Cooley has thought up a way to raise the necessary money. Being an ardent musician, he has assembled a small jazz band made up of his assistants, with himself as conductor. The discs recorded by this "heart" band are very popular in Texas and throughout the country, and the money they make goes to cover part of the transplant expenses.

Neither Cooley nor De Bakey believe that the transplant of a live heart solves the problem. They hold that an artificial heart made of plastic would be more reliable. Also necessary are preparations which would prevent the organism from rejecting the graft.

V. ROSEN

*Which Is More Reliable For Transplant*

## Artificial Heart Made Of Plastic Or A Live Heart ?

THE NEW HEART 22-year-old Wylie Julliard received in a Cleveland hospital on December 16 was, as it were, a jubilee one: the transplant was the hundredth since the first such operation was performed by Cape-town surgeon Professor Christian Barnard on December 3, 1967. His first patient died twenty days after the operation. His second, 58-year-old dentist Philip Blaiberg, is alive and well. On January 2 he and Professor Barnard celebrated the first-ever anniversary of a man living with another person's heart.

The transplant is nevertheless still a complicated and risky operation. Of the 98 persons who have been given a new heart (two of them twice) only 39 — or a little over a third — had survived by December 17. The causes of death were either serious diseases traceable to the old heart or the rejection of the new heart by the recipient's organism.

The number of countries where transplants are made is increasing all the time. They were recently joined by Australia and Israel. The record is so far held by the United States, where most of such operations are made in Houston, Texas. On May 2 the well-known surgeon Denton A. Cooley transplanted his first heart at St. Luke's Hospital. Shortly afterwards, his former teacher, Professor Michael De Bakey, performed a similar operation at the neighbouring Methodist hospital. Since then they have made about twenty between them.

Where do the donors come from? Most of them are victims of automobile accidents, which kill thousands of people in the United States every

year. In Texas there are even road signs warning people to drive carefully if they do not want to meet with Dr. Cooley.

On one occasion Dr. Cooley used the heart of a girl who had been shot. But this gave rise to complications. The killer's lawyer said he doubted that the victim of his client was dead when her heart was removed. The prosecutor admitted that he had no adequate proof of the victim's death inasmuch as the heart was still alive

## PEACE AND THE POPE

We welcome Holy Father, your urgent call to peace,  
 However late the summons, may all wanton carnage cease.  
 The Nations which united in declaring Human Rights  
 A quarter century ago, are still engaged in fights.  
 The lion lies not with the lamb but will upon him pounce,  
 The rich and strong exploit the weak and few their crimes denounce,  
 There is no limit to their greed, their power knows no bounds  
 They measure human worth and weal in dollars on in pounds.  
 They rain destruction, death, disease six thousand miles from home,  
 Ignoring all the world's protests and pious pleas of Rome.  
 Worse bondage of another sort obtains in other clime  
 Where colour is enough excuse to justify all crime  
 The Negro in white Africa or in America  
 Despoiled, disrupted and despised cries vengeance is not far.  
 Rich oil wells in the Middle East will continue to brew  
 Sufficient trouble to suppress the Arabs and the Jew.  
 And who so blind that cannot see the rank absurdity  
 Of keeping China from her seat in right and equity ?  
 While some enjoy surfeit of wealth and others die of want  
 While millionaires bestride the earth which starving spectres haunt,  
 While race and colour, class and creed are things in which we pride,  
 And ignorance and knowledge do the human race divide,  
 So long will exploitation and violence not cease  
 Despite glib talk of Human Rights and pious pleas for Peace.

MERVYN CASIE CHETTY

# FILM PAGE

● **BONNIE AND CLYDE**, Warner Bros. - Seven Arts release, now showing at the *LIBERTY CINEMA* revives the Depression ridden Southwest of the 1930's. It was the time when bank robber Clyde Barrow and his cigar smoking sweetheart, Bonnie Parker, held Sheriffs and Banks in terror and frequently captured headlines with their daring, reckless and often pointless crimes. The movie, an action packed drama, a beautiful, but tragic story of the attractive pair of thrill seekers, stars Warren Beatty and Faye Dunaway in the title roles. The film in Technicolor was directed by Arthur Penn produced by Warren Beatty, photographed by Burnett Guffey, with art direction by Dean Tavoulari, and music by Charles Strouse. The screenplay is by David Newman and Robert Benton. Other cast members include Michael J. Pollard as C. W. Moss, the driver for the Barrow gang; Gene Hackman as Clyde's brother, Buck; Estelle Parsons as Buck's wife, Blanche; and Denver Pyle as the Sheriff who hunted down Bonnie and Clyde in an obscure wood in Arcadia, La., on May 23, 1934.

The movie unit spent 10 weeks in northeast Texas, in and around a series of small towns near Dallas.



M. G. Ramachandran and Jayalalitha in a romantic scene in the Tamil movie **KUDIYIRUNTHA KOIL** (Eastmancolor), to be released shortly in Ceylon Theatres Ltd. circuit.

Rowlett, Maypearl, Venus, Ponder, Pilot Point, Garland among them, which had been visited by the Barrow gang for their raids on banks, grocery stores and petrol stations. The small communities had remained almost unchanged since the early 1930's. In Texas, the area is still called "Clyde Barrow Country." Three of the actual banks held up by Clyde Barrow and his gang in Pilot Point, Red Oak and Venus are still standing. All closed during the Depression, then re-opened for "business" as the movie cast went about looting them anew. The Texas bank sites selected by director Arthur Penn and Warren Beatty, who made his debut as a producer with this film, included banks actually held up by the notorious Bonnie and Clyde during the 1930's. Among them were the Ponder State Bank in Ponder and the long closed Farmers and Merchants Bank of Pilot Point. Towns people were cast as bank clerks, depositors and passerby for robbery sequences. Some of them had actually been around when the real Barrow gang struck, among them one native of Red Oak, who remarked, "at least Clyde came and went, fast, you movie fellows blated through four or five times." With the unit went a retinue of 20 period cars, 1930-34 models of Stearne-Knights, Hupmobiles, Star Durants, Jewetts, Fords, Chevrolets and Dodges. These were acquired on the location sites, reconditioned with tuned-up motors and, after their use, they were sold at a profit to vintage vehicle fans.

The most explosive personalities behind the filming of this movie were two mild-mannered special effects experts. Danny Lee, chief of special effects, and his assistant, Howard Jensen, worked behind the scenes during location shooting in towns around Dallas, Texas, on gimmicks designed to add realism to the motion picture. Gunfire was natural and integral item for the story of the bank robbing exploits of the notorious Barrow gang during the early Depression struck 1930's. Among the Lee and Jensen projects, all effected without undue danger or injuries, were blast-

ing out bank windows, shooting the hat off a guard's head and blowing two cars apart with bullets. The bank window was shattered by a compressed - air contraception that fired three-eighths of an inch ball bearings, simulating pistol bullets fired by Warren Beatty. Compressed gas

## EMPIRE Air-Conditioned

From Thurs:

**The Face Of Fu Manchu**  
in Technicolor & TechniScope

3rd Week

## MAJESTIC Air-Conditioned

in 70 m.m.

MGM's **GRAND PRIX**  
in MetroColour

8th Week

## REGAL Air-Conditioned

Columbia's

## BORN FREE

in Panavision & Colour

From Friday in

Ceylon Theatres Circuit:

Libra Films'

## SAMAJE SATHURO

Directed by: Somasekaran of  
"Sadassulang" fame

Extending 4th Week

## SELLAMAHAL

M. G. Ramachandran in

## Kudiyiruntha Koil

in Eastman Colour

## SAVOY Air-Conditioned

Next Attraction

James Stewart—Peter Finch

in

**The Flight Of The Phoenix**

## CROWN

Next Attraction

Sunil Dutt — Nutan

in *AVM's*

## MEHRBAN

in Eastman Colour

(CO<sub>2</sub>) also was used to blow off the hat and puncture it with a bullet hole. Two cars that were to be blown apart, a vintage Hupmobilo and Nash, were rigged with explosive capsules triggered by more than a mile of wire hidden in each car. Fired, the mechanism riddled the cars like sieves.

The movie had its world premiere at a time and place, an in circumstances that brought it world attention. The picture was the official United States entry in the International Film Festival held in Montreal in August, 1967, as part of exciting Expo 67. It was accorded the honour of being the film that opened the entire festival. Producer and star Warren Beatty, co-star Faye Dunaway and director Arthur Penn attended and received the attention from the international press and the knowledgeable first-night audience. Reactions were overwhelming. The *New York Times*, reporting from Montreal on this major cultural event

noted that the film was "wildly received with gales of laughter and given a terminal burst of applause."

The film tells the exciting story of a band of notorious bank robbers who terrorised the Southwest during the Depression struck 1930's. Two restless, attractive young people, Clyde Barrow (Warren Beatty) and Bonnie Parker (Faye Dunaway) meet on a hot after noon. He is out to build a reputation as a gunman and she is out for fun and frolics. They do not fully go together as lovers, but as a holdup team, they work extremely well. The law starts to close in on the Barrow gang and, they have to shoot their way out of a rented cottage. Gleeefully escaping capture, the Barrow gang including Bonnie, Buck Barrow (Gene Hackman), C. W. Moss (Michael J. Pollard) and Clyde, cross state borders eluding police. But persistence on the part of the law is rewarded when the gang rides into an ambush, three members of the gang, Bonnie, Clyde and Moss survive the attack only to be caught later.

melee by helping the C.I.D. officer (JAISHANKAR) and gets the worst of the nightmares. Finally, the culprit is chased and caught in the railway yard.



**KINGSLEY  
PLAZA  
MYLAN**

2, 6 & 9.30 p.m.

Sivaji — K. R. Vijaya  
Nagesh

**OOTY VARAI  
URAVU**

(Eastman Colour)

**GAMINI**

2, 6 & 9.30 p.m.

CINEMAS'

**SURAYA**

5th Week

**LIDO**

10.30 a.m. 2.30, 6 & 9.30 p.m

President's Gold Medal  
Winner

**CHEMMEEN**

( Eastmancolor )

Music:- Salil Chowdhury

**CAPITOL**

2, 6 & 9.30 P.M

M. G. R.—Savithiri in

**PARISU**

with

**TAMIL PAGEANT**

(Eastman Colour)

**Air Conditioned  
LIBERTY**

WARREN BEATTY  
FAYE DUNAWAY  
in

**"BONNIE AND  
CLYDE"**

Technicolor

**CENTRAL**

JAISHANKAR — ASOKAN

in

**NEELAGIRI  
EXPRESS**

● **NILAGIRI EXPRESS**, ALS Production Tamil movie, Ceylon Entertainments Ltd. release, now at the *CENTRAL* and other centres, is an entertaining crime thriller with suspense and pleasant music. The musical score is provided by T. K. Ramamurthy and the film is directed by Thirumalai, Mahalingam. The Vijaya Nirmala, Vijaya Lalitha, S. V. Ramadas, V. S. Raghavan, Vijayan, Sow, Natarajan, Tambaram Lalitha and Parvathi.

The plot revolves around the murder of a wealthy man travelling in the Nilagiri Express. He purchases jewels worth Rs. 50,000, and speaks about it, unaware that others are following his movements. A gang is soon after him in various guises, such as the hotel receptionist, a disguised vamp, and the leader of the gang awaits the opportunity to grab the jewels. In the proceedings a co-passenger ends up getting into the

*Without Comment From The New Statesman (London) On*

## ISRAEL'S TRAGIC DILEMMA

**THE REPRISAL RAID** on Beirut Airport has unleashed a torrent of international abuse and moralising on the heads of the Israelis — notably from such countries as Britain, which bears the brunt of the insurance, and America and France, which have large financial holdings in the battered airlines. It is significant that no such indignation was voiced after the Athens incident, in which an Israeli was killed; and the immediate Arab reaction — the brutal murder of an Israeli girl in a further terrorist raid — has passed unnoticed and uncondemned.

The attack on the El Al airliner at Athens was not the first such incident; nor was it designed to be the last. The armed thugs, masquerading as patriots on Lebanese soil, had openly boasted of their determination to destroy Israel's civil air communications with the outside world. The Lebanese press hailed the Athens attack, which was designed to kill all 51 crew and passengers (many non-Israeli) aboard the airliner, with the headline: "May God bless your hand, o heroes!" The Lebanese Government allows the terrorists to plan their operations from its territory: the Prime Minister himself publicly states that their presence in Lebanon is both "legal and sacred." If this is the definition of legality and sanctity entertained by the Lebanese ruling class, they must not be surprised if it puts their property at risk.

Whether the reprisal was a prudent act is another matter. Naomi Shepherd, our experienced Jerusalem Correspondent, sees it as prompted more by despair than by careful cal-

culatation of its probable effect. Many Israelis believe that the policy of massive retaliation always pays, at least in the short term. The evidence is conflicting. All find the policy distasteful, and all agree that such acts must postpone a final settlement still further. But with every month that passes, more and more Israelis think that such a settlement is a fantasy. Heaven knows, this is the openly proclaimed view of all the Arab Governments, with the sole and sane exception of Tunisia. If hope of a settlement is ruled out, the Israelis will opt for physical security, however tenuous. And if this means using force as retribution and deterrent, then so be it. What objective person can blame them?

The wisdom of creating a Zionist State is a matter for historical debate, not contemporary argument. Israel exists and is entitled to preserve herself from extinction — the avowed aim of the Arabs. Three times they have tried with their regular forces to destroy her, and have failed. Now, unwilling for the present to risk further State-to-State conflict, they permit, in some cases encourage, terrorism. Israel can get redress at the UN, which she understandably regards as a hothouse of hypocrisy.

Her last wisp of faith in this institution was destroyed in 1967, when the UN forces promptly evacuated their positions at the nod of President Nasser. Israel has no reliable friends. In 1956 she thought she had "at least found an ally" (Ben Gurion's phrase): but France has since, from the most egregious motives of commercial and political self-interest, switched sides. The US Government

still provides arms, but such help is wholly dependent on considerations of electoral and international expediency. Israel must save herself by her exertions and knows it. She is a better judge of what these must be than outside Powers, great or small, who do not stand in peril of genocide.

**THE GREAT POWERS**, however, are now thoroughly alarmed, rightly judging the Middle East to be a more urgent threat to world peace even than Vietnam. Russia, which has in a sense inherited Britain's relationship with the Arab Governments, finds herself in our old dilemma: how to appease them effectively while restraining their self-destructive impulses. America, Britain and France want to halt the drift to international piracy, in which they would be the chief sufferers. There is loose talk of the Powers "imposing" a settlement. But as things stand, this would be at Israel's expense — and in the teeth of her resistance. It would be an international crime equivalent to the partitioning of Poland, and involve acts wholly unacceptable to British, America and even French public opinion. What the Powers should do is to seek a formula which would bring the Arab and Israelis into direct negotiations. In many respects the Arab case is a strong one: they have valid territorial and financial claims. But its chief and decisive weakness is that they have never at any point been willing to sit round a table to discuss these claims with the Israelis. Any course pursued by the Powers which does not recognise this key to the problem will be both immoral and futile.

January 3, 1969